

LIFE OF GURU NANAK

SARJIT SINGH BAL



PUBLICATION BUREAU
PANJAB UNIVERSITY
CHANDIGARH

LIFE OF GURU NANAK

By
SARJIT SINGH BAL



PUBLICATION BUREAU
PANJAB UNIVERSITY
CHANDIGARH

Published by
R. K. MALHOTRA, Secretary
Publication Bureau, Panjab University, Chandigarh

All Rights Reserved

First Edition : 1969
Reprint : 1984

Price : Rs. 60

Printed at
Panjab University Press, Chandigarh

FOREWORD

Guru Nanak has a unique place amongst the spiritual leaders, preceptors, reformers and saints of India. His teachings have a universal appeal and they hold good for all ages.

The impact of this great Teacher on Indian Society during the last 500 years cannot be easily estimated. In the fields of spirituality and ethics, he has deeply influenced the lives, thinking and conduct of millions of people.

India—and more so the Punjab—can legitimately feel proud that this man of God was born in this land. But the great Master did not confine his mission to this country; he travelled far and wide, to far-off lands and countries, in order to enlighten humanity as a whole and deliver to them his message of love, peace, devotion to God, social justice, religious tolerance and universal brotherhood of man. For Guru Nanak no country was foreign and no people were alien.

We are fortunate that the 500th Birth Anniversary of the great Guru has fallen during our life. It is an opportunity for mankind to acknowledge its debt of gratitude to its great benefactor and teacher. It should be a matter of gratification for all concerned that the auspicious occasion is being celebrated, in a befitting manner, throughout India, as well as at numerous places abroad.

The Panjab University, Chandigarh also decided to pay its respectful homage to Guru Nanak not only by holding the celebrations on a level which the occasion demanded, but also by publishing nine standard and scholarly books on the life, teachings, philosophy, poetry and other aspects of the great Teacher.

The authors of all these books have attempted to deal with the subject-matter of their respective books in an objective, dispassionate, authentic and scholarly manner. There can be difference of opinion amongst scholars, but honest differences should not be unwelcome in the world of scholarship.

* * *

The present book is one of the set which is being published by the Panjab University on the auspicious occasion.

The book is an exhaustive biography of Guru Nanak. The author has tried to discover the man who founded the Sikh religion. He has made critical use of the Janamsakhis and other early accounts of the life of Guru Nanak and has brought out the true greatness of the Guru, without using the myths associated with him.

* * *

I should also like to take this opportunity to place on record my appreciation for Shri Bal Krishna, Secretary, Publication Bureau, Panjab University, who has produced this book, as well as all the other books of the set, in a very short time and in a very efficient manner.

Panjab University
Chandigarh
November 23, 1969

Sujan Bhan
VICE-CHANCELLOR

PREFACE

I felt greatly honoured when the Panjab University, Chandigarh, asked me to write a biography of Guru Nanak in connection with his Birth Quincentenary. When the assignment was made, only six months were left at my disposal—obviously a very short period in view of the magnitude of the work involved. However, I pursued the task with a spirit of dedication and I am happy that I have succeeded in discharging the obligation.

I could not have completed the difficult job but for the encouragement and help given to me by a number of well-wishers and friends, which it is my sacred duty to acknowledge.

I must express my deep gratitude to Shri Suraj Bhan, the Vice-Chancellor of the University, for giving me the opportunity to study the subject in great detail through a liberal grant for visiting libraries all over the country. I must also thank Professor R. R. Sethi, Head of the History Department of the University, for recommending to the Vice-Chancellor a number of facilities to enable me to complete the work in time.

I am indebted to the Panjab University Library, Chandigarh, the Khuda Bux Library, Patna, and the National Library, Calcutta, for the great help I got from them in the matter of collection of material for the biography.

I am grateful to Dr. M. S. Randhawa, Vice-Chancellor, Panjab Agricultural University, Ludhiana, S. Gurdial Singh

(Retired Inspector General of Police), Secretary, Guru Nanak Foundation, S. Sujan Singh Registrar, Panjab University, Chandigarh, and Dr. Kishan Singh Bedi, Retired Joint Director of Agriculture, Punjab, for their encouraging interest in my work. S. Sujan Singh and Dr. Bedi went through the monograph in its manuscript form and made useful suggestions for giving it the shape in which it is being published.

I must also acknowledge my indebtedness to Shri Kirpal Singh, of the Panjab University Library, for collaborating with me in the search for material on the subject, and to Mrs. Anand Kumar Singh Bal for the useful help rendered by her for a month when I worked in the libraries at Calcutta and Patna. Shri Kirpal Singh was assigned to me by the University to help me on a part-time basis but he worked with an enthusiasm that made the search for sources less difficult.

Professor R. N. Seth, Reader in English, Panjab University Evening College, Chandigarh, Dr. D. L. Dewan and Shri Raja Ram, Research Fellows in the Department of History, Panjab University, Chandigarh, also deserve my thanks for their kind help. My wife encouraged me in more ways than one to pursue the work with devotion.

In the end, I must place on record my sincere thanks to Shri Bal Krishna, Secretary, Publication Bureau, Panjab University, Chandigarh, for the great pains he took in the production of this book. But for his commendable co-operation and hard work, the book could not have been published in time and in the present shape.

Panjab University
Chandigarh
November 23, 1969

SARJIT SINGH BAL

CONTENTS

I	Introductory	1
II	Birth	15
III	Unusual Child	19
IV	Problem for the Father	29
V	Refusing to Settle down	33
VI	Taking up Service	37
VII	The Momentous Day	41
VIII	Fighting Shams	47
IX	Teaching the Holy	55
X	Resisting Temptations	61
XI	Singing his most Ecstatic Song	67
XII	Silencing the Hypocrite	72
XIII	Describing the Palace of God	78
XIV	Preaching God's Immanence	81
XV	Teaching Humility to the Learned	84
XVI	Challenging Formalism Abroad	94
XVII	Undergoing his most Poignant Experience	102

XVIII	Rebuking the Wealthy	110
XIX	Raising his Headquarters	113
XX	Founding the Sikh Church	120
XXI	The Last Journey	130
	Notes	145
	Bibliography	265

CHAPTER I
INTRODUCTORY

Guru Nanak was born a Hindu. We must, therefore, see him in the context of that religion which had two parallel strands running side by side throughout its long history. One strand of that religion was highly speculative and was concerned with the religio-philosophical questions. The answers of ancient Hindu seers to those became the common denominations of the faiths and beliefs of the various religious orders that evolved during the course of its chequered history. The other strand was made up of the religious practices of the various sects in it, who prayed and worshipped under the directions of the 'wise' and fought and patched up their quarrels, depending on the intensity of the feelings of the men who propagated the one or other of the many faiths that arose and fell within the Hindu fold to make its history a story in which furious disputes alternated with the beautiful synthesis of conflicting attitudes.

The first strand supplied the characteristic beliefs shared by the Hindus in general and distinguished Hinduism from other religions. Among such beliefs, the first and most important to take birth was the doctrine of transmigration. It was first propounded in *Brahadaranyaka Upanishad* but had a much earlier and humbler beginning in the soul theory of quite a primitive type. It later developed into the "magnificently logical Indian doctrine of samsara".¹ In its developed form, this belief in the transmigration of the soul and the complementary belief in *karma*

were intimately linked together. That meant that the deeds of one life conditioned the state of life of the next.²

The theories of transmigration of the soul and *karma* offered a very consoling and satisfying explanation of one of the most potent facts of life, viz. suffering to the Hindu mind. The Hindus had enough of it throughout their known history, as is clear from the fact that almost all the Hindu seers had characterized their contemporary world as *Kalyug* and separated it from *Satyug* by billions of years.³ The two theories in combination seem to give to the Hindu mind a satisfactory answer to the suffering around and also make it optimistic regarding its escape from the painful process of repeated births.⁴

In its long philosophical quest, the ancient Hindu seers discovered three ways of escaping the 'cycle'. They were the paths of *gyan*, *karam* and *bhakti*.⁵ By following any of these three paths, one's self could merge into the Universal Self ultimately and attain salvation.⁶

The belief that one attained salvation by merging oneself in the Cosmic Self led to the formulation of His attributes in Hindu religion. After some doubting moments of quest, the ancient Hindu philosophy seemed to have discovered God as 'all powerful, all-pervading, self-existent, eternal, incomprehensible, absolutely supreme and in whom all creatures find their origin and dissolution.'⁷ That is *Upanishad* but a careful examination of different Hindu philosophical thoughts would clearly show that this concept of the Ultimate Reality was, by and large, accepted by all denominations and became a common Hindu view of the Almighty.

To know Him and to follow one of the three paths was to become a great exponent of *dharma* which was the way of God and of righteousness. That was by no means easy. One reason

which made the path of *dharma* difficult was the existence of *dasyus*. They extended their baneful influence and stood in the way of the spread of *adharma* and thus aggravated suffering.⁸

The All-Powerful tolerated the *dasyus* and their ways only to a limit. When human misery and wretchedness increased to an extent so as to make life of the mortals almost unbearable, He in His mercy would come as an *avatar* to the world to expose the *dasyus*, fight for *dharma* and bring the misguided to the right path.⁹ The belief in His birth as *avatars*, like the transmigration of the soul and *karma*, became one of the important constituents of the religio-philosophical Hindu culture and in its uniform acceptance made that culture unique among the world cultures.

It is also possible to pick out some other universally accepted tenets that constituted the Hindu religion. The Hindu cosmogony—more a matter of religion than of science—was one, but by no means the only one, to give a special flavour to the Hindu culture. According to this system of cosmogony, the cosmos passed through cycle within cycle for all eternity.¹⁰ The basic cycle was the *kalpa*, a day of Brahma, and 4320 million years long.¹¹ Within each *kalpa* were fourteen *manvantaras*, each containing seventy-one *mahayugas* which, in turn, were divided into four *yugas*, Krata, Treta, Dvapara and Kalyuga of unequal lengths.¹² Each *yuga* represented a progressive decline in piety, morality, strength, stature, longevity and happiness.¹³ God created and re-created the universe in turn not from the primeval matter but from His own essence. It was all a 'sport' (*lila*) of the World Soul and was conceived by the Hindu philosophical thought on the analogy of the production of a work of art from the mind of an artist.¹⁴

The above thoughts and beliefs constituted one strand of the Hindu beliefs. Their ancient seer, had really soared to dazzling heights in expounding them, *puranas* later commented upon and

popularized them. These beliefs and thoughts which constituted one strand of the Hindu religion more or less continued to be accepted by all Hindus as late as the fifteenth century in which Guru Nanak was born.

But there was also the other strand of Hindu religion, more colourful and with an early history which ran back much longer. It concerned the practical side of the Hindu religion—or rather religions—and had its origins in the sacrifices and ceremonies of the Aryan worship before their seers began speculating on the fundamentals. The objects of their worship were the anthropomorphic *devtas* who were sought to be propitiated by detailed and complicated ceremonies. The Brahmanas or tribal priests gave out that the ceremonies were pregnant with utmost power and mystery, and through them they succeeded in obtaining immense hold on the community.¹⁵ Later, they deliberately idolized the different sacrifices performed under their directions to such an extent that by the later Vedic Age, it began to be widely believed that the “universe itself arose from a primeval sacrifice to make the brahmanas, as a class more powerful than earthly kings.”¹⁶

The Brahmanic hold on the imagination of men was first challenged by a class of people outside the Aryan fold and they succeeded so well that a “great effort was made to convert them to the orthodox cult.”¹⁷ They were the *munis* or the silent ones and the secret of their success in breaking into the closed walls of the Aryan order was the popular appeal of their extreme penances of various types. They practised mental and spiritual exercises of meditation and they dwelt in the depths of forests.¹⁸ They often wandered in large groups, wearing simple garments, or completely naked, to centres of habitation, begging alms and proclaiming their doctrines to all who wished to listen and thus popularized asceticism.¹⁹

The original motive of the *muni* asceticism was the acquisition of magical powers, but by the time it challenged the Brah-

manical influence it had become a highly sophisticated affair.²⁰ The entry into the Aryan fold of the *munis* resulted in the emergence of new doctrines and practices which became part and parcel of the ever-widening Hindu religious thought. Accounts of discussions and teachings of some of the more orthodox of the early mystics were collected and added to the *Brahmanas* as *Aranyakas*.²¹ A place of prominence was found for the *munis* in the Aryan social structure by formulating the four stages of life. And a system of mystical training, often known as *yoga*, was accepted as an element of the orthodox system.²² An important result of the entry of ascetic mysticism was to introduce in the Hindu religious thought an element of otherworldliness and escape from an unhappy and unsatisfying world.

In the sixth and seventh centuries B. C., Buddhism and Jainism challenged the 'orthodox teachings' and for about a thousand years, the Brahmanical-Muni dominance collapsed and maintained a precarious existence.²³ Perhaps the reason why Buddhism and Jainism were victorious for such a long time was that in the initial attempts to meet their challenge, the orthodox Hindu faith split itself into sects and factions. It all began with an abortive attempt made by the orthodox leaders to set their house in order to face the challenge from heterodoxy. An effort was made to evolve some sort of synthetic Hinduism by devising the theological conception of *Trimurti*, i.e. the manifestation of the Supreme Being in three forms of Brahma, Vishnu and Shiva²⁴, but the actual result was to provoke the extreme sectarians to become dogmatic about the exclusive sectarian deities like Vishnu, Shiv and Shakti.²⁵ In an attempt to appear as the sole and exclusive exponent of Hindu culture, each one of the sects became unduly fastidious and insistent on the supreme importance of ceremonious and formalistic rituals like wearing the sacred thread, performing the *gayatri* and the other rituals. The centrifugal and disintegrating process having once begun soon became a rut and each one of the numerous gods of the

Hindu mythology was deified. Indra, Veruna, Yama, Ganesh, Hanuman, Kama, Lakshmi and many others made their appearance in human forms carved in stone figurines to split the Hindu order and make its members oblivious of the profound beliefs and ideas that united them and gave character and distinctiveness to the culture whose basic tenets were acceptable to all of them.

Some time in the seventh century of the Christian Era the Hindu faith suddenly discovered its mistake and started a revolutionary activity within its folds. Through ceaseless conflict of ideas, philosophical debates in schools and sectarian disputes, in temples, the Hindu thought freed itself "for the first time" from the old traditional ways and made itself receptive to suggestions from outside, including those whom it sought to combat.²⁶ As if to make up for the thirteen centuries of oblivion, the Hindu Church now came out almost with a vengeance.

Down in the South, the *Saiva* and the *Vishnava* saints combined in the beginning of the eighth century to wean the people away from their allegiance to Buddhism and Jainism and win them over to the worship of Siva and Vishnu. And while doing that they reminded themselves that the chief weakness of Buddhism and Jainism had been their cold logic and exclusive appeal to the mind and wisely decided to attain their object by making an appeal to the heart.²⁷ In moving verses, they sang of the joys of the life of devotion and of dwelling in the presence of God and of seeking of His Grace²⁸ and thereby selected one of the three ways known to the Hindu mind to usher in "one of the most fruitful movements in Indian history."²⁹

The Shaivite and the Vishnuite saints had an easy victory over Buddhism and Jainism in the South through the Bhakti Movement begun by them but in their victory could not maintain their unity. They now split themselves into the *Adiyar*³⁰ and the

*Alvar*³¹ saints and began competing among themselves for the allegiance of the people. But, now the division proved a blessing, at least for the Bhakti Movement as a whole. With a view to strengthening their respective hold, both the *Adiyars* and the *Alvars* took over a number of things which had helped Buddhism and Jainism in their long ascendancy in India. From Buddhism, they took over its devotionalism, its sense of transitoriness of the world, its conception of human worthlessness, its suppression of desires and asceticism as also its rituals, the worship of idols and *stupas* or *lingum*, temples, pilgrimages, fasts and monastic rules and its idea of spiritual equality of all castes; from Jainism they took its ethical tone and its respect for animal life.³²

Between the seventh and the twelfth centuries, the celebrated *Adiyar* and *Alvar* saints assimilated their ideas into *Puranic* theology and pervaded the whole with warm human feeling. They composed their poems in the language of the people to enable them to sing their songs to the common but receptive men.³³ The result was that the *Bhakti* Movement in the South started sweeping everything before it. By the beginning of the twelfth century, it was supreme in the entire Deccan with one of its greatest exponents, Ramanuja, busy stressing "on the *bhakti* or devotion as the principal means of attaining the final bliss."³⁴

With its victory nearly complete in the South, the Bhakti Movement started moving towards the North. In the later half of the twelfth century, Jai Dev was noticed popularizing it in Bengal³⁵ and in the thirteenth century, Trilochan, Namdev and Permanand expounded it in Maharashtra.³⁶ Sadhana appeared on the scene in Sindh. It was, however, left to Ramananda, "fifth in apostolic succession to Ramanuja"³⁷ to take it to the citadel of the Hindu orthodoxy in the North at Benares. That was in the middle of the fourteenth century.

The lucky accident of his—a South Indian's—birth in the neighbourhood of Benares and his early education in that city

itself would not explain his success, though that certainly was a factor in making him "the bridge" over which the *Bhakti* Movement crossed from the South to the North.³⁸ What really helped him achieve success was that he improved upon the early *bhaktas* in permitting "the Sudras to become his disciples and to participate in religious functions on almost equal terms with the higher castes" and in "rejecting the medieval stigma that barred the fair sex from pursuing the career of religious thought and practice."³⁹

These revolutionary steps were a measure of the greater challenge that the Hindu faith faced in northern India in the fourteenth century than the South Indian *bhaktas* had ever faced during the seven centuries of their activities in the South. This challenge was in the form of a rival mysticism, the Islamic Sufism.⁴⁰

Sufism, at once a body of doctrine and a movement,⁴¹ came to India many years before the establishment of the Delhi Sultanate by Qutub-ud-din Aibek in 1206. The first Sufi saint to make his appearance on the Indian scene was Sheikh Ism'il⁴² who was soon followed by Uswan al Hajwari, better known under his sobriquet of Data Ganj Baksh.⁴³ Data Ganj Baksh who was the author of several books and was regarded as the founder of the Sufi cult came to India in 1039⁴⁴ and died here in 1072.⁴⁵ Through his writings, the best-known of which is *Khasaf-al-Mahajub*,⁴⁶ and his saintly life, he left behind a great impact, enabling Abul Fajj Rumi, a local born, to carry forward the movement begun by him.⁴⁷ In the second half of the twelfth century there came another Sufi from the north-west who made an equally powerful impact on Indian thinking. His name was Sayyid Ahmad Sultan Sakhi Sarwar, popularly known as Lakhi Datta.⁴⁸

Twenty years before Lakhi Datta died, there had come from Persia "the greatest of the Sufi saints, who founded a long line

of spiritual descendants that has endured even up to the present time." He was Khawaja 'Usman Harwani of Chist'. He came to Lahore from Ghazni in 1161⁴⁹ and having visited Multan and Delhi finally settled down at Ajmer, where he lies buried now,⁵⁰ while his disciple Bakhtiyar Kaki, a native of Ush, took up his residence at Delhi.⁵¹ The two began the famous Chishti Order of the Sufis.

About the same time that the founders of the Chishti Order had arrived in India, Baha-ud-din Zakariya, an Indian born mystic, came to India after a long sojourn abroad.⁵² During his journeys to Bukhara, Baghdad and Jerusalem, he had met Shihab-ud-din Suhrawardi and had become his disciple.⁵³ On his return to India, Baha-ud-din Zakariya founded the Suhrawardi Order of the Sufi faith.⁵⁴

These two orders had already successfully popularized the Sufi faith before the establishment of the Delhi Sultanate but when Qutab-ud-din laid the foundation of that State, they achieved further success in spreading this 'Muslim mysticism', springing from the doctrine of *Wahadat-ul-wujud* or the Unity of Being—a doctrine that identified the *Haq* and *Khalaq*, the creator and the created.⁵⁵ Their teachings which consisted in looking upon God as the Unity behind all plurality and the Reality behind all phenomenal appearance,⁵⁶ craving for direct communion with Him and attaining absorption in Him through *tauba* (repentance), *wara* (abstinence), *zuhd* (piety), *faqr* (poverty), *sabr* (patience), *shukr* (gratitude), *khauf* (fear), *raja* (hope), *tawakkul* (contentment) and *riza* (submission to the divine will)⁵⁷ influenced a large number of people in northern India in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.

The life of simplicity and poverty led by the Sufis made an extremely strong appeal to those at the bottom of the caste-ridden Hindu society. They, particularly those of the Chishti

Order, looked upon the possession of private property as a serious impediment to the development of their spiritual personality.⁵⁸ Although most of them led married lives and had children, very few of them owned houses, the ones in which they lived were generally made of mud with thatched roofs. They would not accept any subsistence allowance from the State and usually lived on charity willingly given by prosperous men though sometimes they suffered a great deal for this approach.⁵⁹ They liked to put on tattered clothes and usually wrapped themselves in a patched *do-tahi* (twin-ply cloth). They practised fasting in order to weaken and control their base desires.⁶⁰

The daily routine of the Sufi heads in their *jamaat khana*s, unlike the Hindu monasteries, usually near the cities,⁶¹ fascinated the poor. The daily life of Nizam-ud-din Auliya⁶² was typical of most of them. He would say his prayers early in the morning in a congregation, after which he retired for meditation. After sunrise, he would meet the visitors. At about midday, he would retire to a private room for a short rest and midday sleep. After the *zuhr* prayer (1 p.m.) he would again retire to receive special visitors whose interviews had been fixed previously. In the evening he would go to the *jamaat khana* where he would break his fast and eat a piece of bread and some vegetable. After finishing his evening (*maghrib*) prayer he would again grant interviews to the visitors until the time of *isha* prayer in congregation. Thereafter he would start telling the beads of his rosary. At night he would be busy in meditation.⁶³

The Sufis adopting some Hindu beliefs and practices added to their popularity. Their looking upon the relations between God and the soul as one of the beloved and the lover, and their insistence on a pacific and non-violent attitude of life were as much borrowed from Hindu beliefs as the starving and torturing of the body, such as *Chillah-i-ma'kus* from the Hindu practices.⁶⁴ In carrying the message of Islam to the Hindus, particularly to those

of the lower castes, they spoke in the language of the people.⁶⁵ People would find it difficult to distinguish them from the Hindu sadhus.⁶⁶

Ramanand would not have cut any ice, as already noted, in the face of this Sufi activity and influence, if in his practices he had not accorded a generous recognition of the spirit of the age by admitting Sudras and women to his religious order. But he had also simplified the form of worship and begun preaching through the medium of Hindi.⁶⁷ The result was that though he had not given up any of the fundamentals of the Hindu thought and beliefs, he emancipated "for the first time . . . national intellect from the thralldom of scholastic learning"⁶⁸ and attracted a galaxy of sharp and sensitive intellectuals like Anantananda, Kabir, Pipa, Bhavananda, Sukha, Sursura, Padmavati, Narhari, Raidas, Dhanna, Sain and the wife of Sursura, around him.⁶⁹

When Ramanand died in 1470,⁷⁰ he left behind two schools of religious thought, one conservative and the other radical.⁷¹ The first remained true to ancient beliefs and allowed only slight changes in doctrines and rites, the other struck out a more independent path.⁷² It is the leaders of the latter school which produced the greater impact; Pipa⁷³ and Raidas⁷⁴ in the present Uttar Pradesh, and Dhanna⁷⁵ and Sain⁷⁶ in the area now covered by the Rajasthan State. But the one destined to be remembered as the greatest disciple of Ramanand was Kabir.

Kabir was more successful than the others because he not only laid greater emphasis on inward spirituality, to the exclusion of outward ritualism, but set a new objective before himself, viz. the conciliation of Hinduism and Islam.⁷⁷ And as was only natural for "the first leader of Medieval Reformation for the Hindu-Muslim unity in the sphere of religion",⁷⁸ he borrowed the best of both Hindu and Muslim mysticism, the *Bhakti* and the Sufi teachings.

His birth and training combined to enable him to do that.⁷⁰ He was the son of a Brahmin widow who in order to hide her shame had left him on the bank of a tank in Benares. He was picked up by Niru and Nima, a Muslim couple without a child, and he spent his childhood in the house of "his Muslim parents" when he was also being subjected to the "Hindu atmosphere" of the city of Benares.⁸⁰ Endowed with a keen and enquiring mind, he was already familiar with both the Hinduism and Islam when he was "awakened" by Ramanand⁸¹ and initiated into the Bhakti fold. But after leaving "his teacher", he travelled from place to place and spent considerable time in the company of Muslim Sufis of Manikpur, Jaunpur and Jhusi.⁸²

When he finally settled down as a teacher in the City of Benares, he created a stir as much because of the "destructive side" of his mission as its "constructive part".⁸³ This was all the more so because in the beginning there was more of the former than of the latter and it extended to both the Hindus and Muslims.

While insisting on having faith in one formless God,⁸⁴ he attacked with fearless indignation and in trenchant language the whole apparatus of externalia which obscured the truth or separated the Indian communities from one another.⁸⁵ He rejected both the Vedas and the Quran and the supremacy of the Brahmans and the Mullahs. He opposed uncompromisingly the "meaningless formalities and rituals of Hinduism" and was "equally vehement against the Muslim form of prayer, the fast of Ramzan, and the reverencing of tombs and graves".⁸⁶ He showed his utter disregard of the extreme ascetic ways of both Hindu *bhagtas* and Muslim Sufis by leading a simple but all the same a *grihsta* life. He earned his livelihood through his parental profession of weaving, and married a girl named Loi whom he met on the Ganges in the hermitage of a *Vairagi* and by her had one son whom he named Kamal, and one daughter whom he named Kamali.⁸⁷ He declared again and again that Rama and Rahim,

Krishna and Karim, Mecca and Kashi were at best the expressions of the same Absolute force,⁸⁸ and pride in one religion or other was as meaningless as that in one's caste :

If God be within the mosque, then to whom does this world belong ?

If Rama be within the image, then who is there to know what happens without ?

Hari is in the East, Allah is in the West—Look within your heart, for there you will find both Karim and Rama.

All the men and women of the world are His living forms.

Kabir is the child of Allah and Rama. He is my *guru*, He is my *pir*.

Vain too are the distinctions of caste.

All shades of colour are but broken arcs of light.

All varieties in human nature are but the fragments of humanity.

The right to approach God is not the monopoly of Brahmins, but belongs to all who are sincere of heart.⁸⁹

This was not all. In the hope that his going little deeper would be more effective in bringing the Hindus and the Muslims together, he began calling Him, somewhat indifferently not only as Rama, Hari, Govinda, Brahma, Samrath, Sa'in, Satpursa and Bachan but also as Allah, Khuda and Sahib.⁹⁰ Within the framework of the old Hindu cosmogony, he introduced notions of Jili⁹¹ and Badrudin⁹² to explain the origin of the universe and its nine constituent spheres.⁹³ He openly condemned the doctrine of incarnation and almost rejected the theory of *karma* but without becoming a Sufi, for, instead of advocating Muslim trust "in one Prophet and his book" he rejected it.⁹⁴

Kabir appears to have been keen on preparing the ground for a religion of the centre with a middle path "of love which would unite all castes and creeds"⁹⁵ and on which both the Muslims and the Hindus would tread in common. He actually once said that this was the "higher path" he himself had followed in life : "the Hindus resort to the temple and the Mussalmans to the mosque, but Kabir goes to the place where both are known. The two religions (*din*) are like two branches in the middle of which there is a sprout surpassing them. Kabir has taken the higher path abandoning the custom of the two. If you say I am a Hindu then it is not true, nor am I a Mussalman".⁹⁶

Kabir may be said to have both succeeded and failed during his lifetime. He was a success not only in the sense that round about Benares his "dohas, in (Hindi), which look like parables and contain a trenchant criticism of the prevailing beliefs and practices of the age, had a great appeal for the common people"⁹⁷ but also in the sense that his loud advocacy of the middle path "was taken up all over India and was re-echoed from a hundred places".⁹⁸ He may be said to have failed in the sense that he could not provide a proper organization for his "religion of the centre" to perpetuate it, with the result that soon after his death his disciples were reduced to an impotent sect making the hollow claim that they were continuing the tradition of the founder.

Kabir was at the height of his fame when Nanak appeared on the scene with his great discovery that there was no Hindu and no Mussalman. Like the saint at Pusa, he also set before him the difficult task of building up a new path to unite the Hindus and the Muslims. It is universally agreed that he succeeded to a much greater extent than Kabir.

CHAPTER II

BIRTH

In the late sixties of the fifteenth century there was a small village in the Sheikhpura District¹ sharing the name of Talwandi with many equally unknown villages all over the Punjab. It was then a small village situated in the midst of dense forests and wasteland.

To distinguish this village from other Talwandis, people called it Talwandi of Rai Bhoë after the name of the man who had 'rebuilt' it.² Many years earlier, on this very site, a Hindu Raja had first founded a human habitation which had been decimated, like many other similar habitations by the early Muslim invaders. Sometimes between 1421 and 1434, Rai Bhoë managed to obtain a large number of villages³ from Mubark Shah, the second ruler of the Sayyid Dynasty, and on the ruined site which was to be the future birth-place of Guru Nanak, raised a habitation and loved it with the fondness of a founder. He chose to make it his own permanent abode for the future.⁴

Rai Bhoë soon proved himself to be a man of vision. Instead of losing himself in ease and luxury, he showed some sort of a vision of life and made the welfare of the people living in his *jagir* but particularly in Talwandi, his primary concern. Knowing the likelihood of anarchy resulting from the havoc then being wrought by Jasrat Kokar of Sialkot, Fulad Turbachcha of Bhatinda and Sheikh Ali of Kabul all over the Punjab, he adopted measures for the safety of Talwandi by erecting a fortress to safeguard the place. Then he

adopted measures for the economic well-being of the fellow villagers. He not only got wells dug all over the Talwandi lands but also improvised a canal from the nearby Ravi to supply water to its fields. He, thus, gave the village founded by him "distinction of a sort."⁵

To this village, then cut off from the outside world, Rai Bhoë had invited a number of families to settle there permanently. One of the families that was attracted to this village was that of Shiv Ram⁶ and his wife, Banarsi. Shiv Ram and other Hindus soon constituted about eighty per cent of the village population but the founder, perhaps a Hindu convert himself,⁷ was extremely liberal towards them.

Shiv Ram and Banarsi⁸ held a religious belief which was an amalgam of Shivite and Vishnuite beliefs in which there was more of the former than of the latter. In fact, the names of both the husband and the wife were symbolic of the religious views of their family. Shiva was one of the three deities within the Hindu pantheon and Benares was a seat of Shiva but where Vishnu's incarnations, Rama and Krishna, were equally honoured.⁹

Shiv Ram was one of the very few Bedis, a respected sub-caste of the Hindus, to have accepted Rai Bhoë's invitation. That, combined with his personality, helped him to command the respect of not only the growing village but also of the whole *tappa* or district. He soon became a great favourite of Rai Bhoë and the two developed mutual admiration for each other.

The close and intimate relationships between Rai Bhoë and Shiv Ram were inherited by their sons. Very likely, this was because Rai Bhoë's son, Rai Bular,¹⁰ was as liberal as his father and Shiv Ram's elder son, Mehta Kalu,¹¹ was as devoted to the head of the village as Shiv Ram. Mehta Kalu was appointed the *patwari* or the agent and accountant of the village by Rai Bular.¹²

Mehta Kalu was "a man of the world" with "parsimonious habits". His thriftiness enabled him to become "a man of

substance", but it also made him avaricious, unsociable and bitter of tongue. Very few of his neighbours really liked him, although, outwardly, they all showed him respect.¹³

The brunt of Kalu's biting tongue had to be borne mostly by his comely wife, Tripta.¹⁴ Daughter of one Rama¹⁵ of Chaliawala¹⁶ in the *Majha* country situated between the rivers Ravi and Beas, she was a complete contrast to her husband and was "gifted with a sympathetic, generous nature, mild and gentle and extremely soft-spoken". She was devoted to her husband in spite of his faults and "patiently put up with his outbursts of temper and made a point of never crossing him in any way."¹⁷ It was this attitude of self-abnegation and self-effacement of the mild-mannered Tripta that ensured, more or less, a smooth domestic life, though occasional quarrels continued taking place.

Mehta Kalu and Tripta were blessed with the birth of a daughter in 1464. Following the practice quite common then, Tripta had gone to her parents' house on this first confinement. The new-born child was, therefore, named Nanaki.¹⁸ The birth of a daughter was a sharp disappointment for Kalu and his biting tongue became all the more vitriolic in his dealings with his wife. Like a typical Hindu women of the age, she started following a strict religious regimen so that the gods might be pleased with her and bless her with a son.

Tripta had to wait for five long years for the birth of a son. The great day for her was the third day of the light half of the month of Baisakh of A. D. 1469.¹⁹ This time the intemperate Kalu had not sent Tripta to her parents. So the son was born at Talwandi.²⁰

The future founder of the Sikh religion was born sometimes at about midnight,²¹ but in spite of the late hour when the midwife, Daultan, announced his birth to Kalu, the father's joy knew no bounds. As if to suggest that Kalu's long prayers for the day had not gone unrewarded, she said that there was something unique²² in the new-born child for, instead of crying, he

was noticed at the time of birth with "the laughing voice of a wise man joining a social gathering", and he had "a halo round his head". When she further added that at the time she had taken the new-born into her hands the first sound he had made was like that of a person who appeared to be half laughing and half-speaking,²³ she made Kalu get anxious of what the astrologer would say the following morning.

The family priest, Hardayal, who was expected to divine the future of the child came the next day earlier than he would have done normally, possibly because Kalu had sent him a message to do so. Hardayal did not disappoint the proud father. He told Kalu, with what amount of honesty we cannot say : 'Fortunate, indeed, art thou, O Mehta, to have such a child as thy son. He will be a unique king, holding sway over vast dominions, and adored by all sections of humanity. His name and fame will spread far beyond the confines of India'.²⁴

Nine days later, at the name giving ceremony,²⁵ the parsimonious Kalu loosened the strings of his money bags, and there was great rejoicing and feasting.²⁶ The child was given the name of Nanak to rhyme with that of his sister, five years his senior.

CHAPTER III

UNUSUAL CHILD

The first five years¹ of Nanak's life were spent mostly in the company of his elder sister, Nanaki. The lonely girl got a playmate whom she fondled and teased by turns, but she loved him deeply. Of course, Nanak was then the darling of Tripta and Kalu, who in their joint affection for their only son, would now quarrel less often. They would rather vie with each other in showering affection on him. They would sometimes sit and plan for the future of the child and, hoping to get support in their plans from the master of the village got all the closer to him. The latter naturally reciprocated their sentiments and occasionally dropped in at Kalu's place. During his frequent visits to Kalu's house, he watched Nanak grow into 'a strong and healthy child'² and developed a fondness for him. Could he have divined that his early attention to Nanak would earn for him a place in history as one who was the first to discover the greatness of the son of accountant or *patwari* of his village ?

Still another person who gave the young child of Kalu his unstinted love was his neighbour, Sayyid Hussain.³ The Sayyid, not blessed with any child of his own,⁴ loved to put Nanak on his affectionate lap as no one else among Kalu's neighbours did. By the time Nanak was three or four years old, the Sayyid became so fond of him that he would take him to his favourite resort, an assemblage of *sadhus* and *faqirs* in the jungles around Talwandi. As the young Nanak watched the elderly, Sayyid "a Shi'ite Muslim"⁵ sit in the company of his favourite *sadhus* and *faqirs*,

his own natural piety blossomed earlier than it would have normally done. Perhaps because Nanak heard the venerable Sayyid frequently utter the name of Allah and remember Muhammad, he began to display even as a child, the same veneration for the Muslim prophet as for Vishnu and Shiva.

By the time Nanak was five, he began to talk of God⁶ himself and his "prattling words" evoked the admiration of many,⁷ but particularly that of his mother and of the Sayyid. He began to develop reserved habits, a contemplative mind, and a pious disposition. In the words of Khazan Singh, he then "began to show signs of religious spirit and sublime soul."⁸ That was rather early. Little wonder that when sometimes in those days Nanak's maternal aunt, Lakho, came to see his sister at Talwandi, she noticed his strange ways and confided her fears to Tripta remarking that her son was "soft headed".⁹

Quickened by the twin influence of his mother and the Sayyid, Nanak proved a precocious child by the time he was five. He began to show interest in the *Shastras*, the *Koran* and the Muslim lore.¹⁰ This interest in religion affected Nanak's attitude towards playing and other things around him. It is said that during that period, instead of indulging in the usual childish sports, "he invented new games involving a realization of the Presence of God."¹¹ His heart would melt on seeing anyone in misery and would often carry from home articles of food and clothing and bestow them on the needy. Such charitable actions became his main concern and preoccupied him more than his study in the village school, one of the two, that existed at Talwandi.

Nanak's regular education began at the age of five¹² when Kalu in the traditional manner made a formal presents of rice and betel-nuts (*supari*) to Pandit Gopal and entrusted him with the task of teaching Nanak.¹³ It appears that Nanak attended Gopal's *pathshala* for about two years learning "from specimens on the upper margin of a *patti*, or a wooden 'slate' to trace the 'nagric script' and for some time at least participating in his

fellow students 'recitation in group concerts'.¹⁴ Precocious child that Nanak was, in the two years that he regularly or irregularly attended the school, he became familiar with "rudiments of *Lehnda* and practical accounts useful for shopkeepers and tradesmen."¹⁵

Had that been all, Nanak would have ended the way most mortals do—finish his education, earn his livelihood and then pass into oblivion. But Nanak showed one extraordinary feature for a child of five or six. Quite often, instead of attending the *pathshala*, the future Guru Nanak would slip away to join Sayyid Hussain in the forest to enjoy the company of "persons distinguished for their religious bent of mind".¹⁶ It led very naturally to Nanak's beginning to know of the names of the renowned religious teachers, and acquiring elementary knowledge of the teachings of the latest Indian reformers of the Bhakti and Sufi denominations. He also began an acquaintance with the Indian religious literature of the age. Some of the people whom Nanak appears to have met during that period had travelled far and wide and would often relate anecdotes from their experiences at these places to sow the seeds of the wanderlust that distinguished Nanak in later years.

These constant visits to the forest and his association with religious men affected Nanak profoundly.¹⁷ It is said that at this stage he altogether stopped taking interest in games common among the children of those times. Instead, his parents noticed him copying learned Pandits by wrapping papers in clothes "in imitation of . . . covering scriptures". Sometimes he would pose as if he were reading one or the other of them. One fine morning when his mother enquired of him, out of love, what preoccupied him, he replied that he was "reading the *Sapt Shaloki Gita*".¹⁸ It is evident that at that young age, Nanak could not have understood the *Gita* written in Sanskrit but his reply to his mother's query was significant. Nanak must have surely heard of these "beautiful and sublime verses" from some

Pandit in the forest. To highlight the future greatness of the Guru, the Sikh tradition makes only a casual mention of that Pandit and that too in anonymous terms but in talking to Nanak of the *Sapt Shaloki Gita* he created in him the mood of adulation of the Lord at an impressionable age.

This mood in its early and perhaps immature development gave rise in Nanak to an aversion to the "wordly knowledge at school" and ended Nanak's interest in Gopal's *pathshala* abruptly. Gopal, one day, reprimanded Nanak for being irregular in attendance and neglecting his studies. The young pupil, in his newly developed cynicism of the education he was getting in the *pathshala* retorted that he saw nothing good in the education that he was getting in the school because it contributed nothing to the salvation of the soul. The Sikh tradition, in retrospect, has seen in this incident the portents of the future and has visualized Nanak, a child of seven, addressing Gopal the following verse :

Burn worldly love, grind its ashes, and make it into ink; turn
superior intellect into paper.

Make divine love thy pen, and thy heart the writer;
ask thy guru and write his instruction.

O master, learn to write this account,

So that, whenever it is called for, a true mark may be found
thereon.

There greatness is obtained, everlasting joys,
and everlasting delights.

They in whose heart is the true Name, have the marks of it
on their brows.¹⁰

This led to a small break in Nanak's formal education. Under the mistaken belief that if he were to engage his moody son in grazing cattle for some time, the latter might develop extrovert habits and give up excessive preoccupation with

otherworldly interests, Kalu started sending his son to his fields with his buffaloes.²⁰ Kalu's hopes were, however, soon belied. He received the information that instead of looking after the cattle, Nanak surreptitiously disappeared in the neighbouring forests or just neglected the cattle who would then stray into the fields of others. What made matters worse was that Nanak did not even show any concern about his own personal safety, either. No less a man than Rai Bular once warned Kalu that he had heard rumours that while the dangerous snakes moved out of the bushes and hissed nearby, Nanak was either sleeping or engaged in moody speculations.²¹ If that worried Kalu, it alarmed Tripta, and her entreaties, combined with Rai Bular's suggestions, and forced the father in Kalu to send Nanak to school once again. He, however, sent him to the other school in the village.

This new school to which Nanak was sent was being run by one Pandit Brij Nath.²² Kalu had sent Nanak to that school in the hope that Nanak who had shown some special liking for Sanskrit would be absorbed in what Brij Nath would teach him and that would keep him away from his wanderings in the forest.

The two years that Nanak attended Brij Nath's school did him immense good though not in the sense desired by Kalu. Nanak obtained a more systematic knowledge of Hindu mythology and its philosophical content. It can be safely presumed that Nanak soon got initiated into Vedas, and the six systems of philosophy during his two years' association with Brij Nath.

In preventing the meditative Nanak from wandering in the forests, Brij Nath failed miserably. If anything, what he had been telling Nanak, even though occasionally, of the Hindu lore excited him all the more to sit in the congregations, held by the respected *sadhus*. The kaleidoscopic effect produced by the rapid coming and going of the *sadhus* perhaps also maintained Nanak's interest in their meeting-place in the forest.

The academic approach of Brij Nath and the emotional appeal

of the *sadhus* combined to deepen Nanak's absorption in the divine meditation. One afternoon, Nanak surprised Brij Nath by asking the real meaning of 'Om'. Brij Nath who had insisted on Nanak writing this word in the beginning of every composition, ever since the latter had begun to write, could not give a satisfactory answer. Nanak himself replied by reciting some lines which later were refined and so nicely put in his poetic composition called 'Oankar' dealing with the Creator and His manifestation. Brij Nath should have realized that in giving this explanation, Nanak was only showing how much more he was learning from the *sadhus* than from him, but he did not. Nor did he do so when Nanak recited to him the following hymn :

'They who love Mammon are painfully ignorant

Without money, goods cannot be had from a shop;

Without a boat, man cannot cross the sea;

So without serving God, one is completely lost.

Hail, hail to Him who showeth the road !

Hail, hail to Him who communicateth the Word !

Hail, hail to Him who blendeth us with God !

Hail, hail to Him to whom the soul belongeth !'²³

Kalu had overlooked Nanak's visits to the forests and his association with the *sadhus*, more so because Nanak was showing immense interest in his studies and Brij Nath had made no complaints to him. But what Nanak did at the sacred thread (*janeu*) ceremony completely upset him. He might have then, well-regretted his decision to send Nanak to Brij Nath.

On Nanak's tenth birthday, Kalu had arranged Nanak's *janeu* ceremony with customary festivity. He had invited his relatives from outside and almost the entire populace of Talwandi on that auspicious occasion, but when the family priest moved forward

to Nanak with the *janeu* in his hands "the boy caught the thread with his hand, and asked the priest what he was doing, and what advantage it was to put a thread of that description on him". The priest replied that "the *janeu* was the basis of the Hindu religion, that without it a man would only be a *shudhra* and that by putting it on, greatness should be obtained in this world and happiness in the next." Nanak appears to have been expecting this because he immediately came out with the rejoinder :

Out of the cotton of compassion,
Spin the thread of contentment,
Tie the knot of continence,
Give it the twist of virtues;
Make such a sacred thread,
O Pundit, for your inner self.
Such a thread will not break,
Nor get soiled, be burnt, be lost.
Blessed is the man, O Nanak
Who makes it a part of his life.
This cotton thread, for a penny you buy,
Sitting in a square, mud plastered,
You put it around the necks of others.
In the ears some words you whisper, O Brahmin,
And claim to be a spiritual teacher.
With the death of the wearer falls the thread,
Thus without the thread he departs from the earth.²⁴

The priest shifted the ground and was nonplussed for a moment. When sufficiently self-possessed, he tried to prevail upon Nanak to accept the *janeu* in the name of religion and while trying that argument reminded Nanak of his inexperienced and youthful age.²⁵ "Thou art but a child of yesterday. Are we not as wise as thou? Unless thou wearest this thread thou shalt be a person without religion". Nanak retorted :

"Though men commit countless thefts, countless adulteries,
utter countless falsehoods and countless words of
abuse,

Though they commit countless robberies and villainies, night
and day against their fellow creatures;

Yet the cotton thread is spun, and the Brahman cometh to
twist it

x

x

x

When it becometh old, it is thrown away, and another
put on'.²⁶

True religion, Nanak told the irate Hardayal, consisted in
losing oneself in the praise of the Omnipresent. That, and that
alone, gets one the true thread.

'By adoring and praising the Name, honour and a
true thread are obtained

In this way, a sacred thread shall be put on, one which will
not break, and which will fit one for entrance into God's
court'.²⁷

Nanak did not accept the thread and pointed out the hypocri-
tical nature of the ceremony by saying :

'There is no string for the sexual organ, there is no string for
women to restrain themselves;

x

x

x

There is no string for the feet, there is no string for the
hands;

There is no string for the tongue; there is no string for the
eyes;

Without such strings the Brahman wandereth away.

He twists strings for the neck and putteth them on others.

He taketh hire for marrying others;

He putteth out a scroll, and showeth the fate of the wedded pair.

Hear and see, ye people, it is strange

That, while mentally blind, a man is called wise'.²⁸

All this happened when Nanak was not as yet ten. It created a stir and attracted the notice of all present there. Many became despaired for his future, but others admired the spirit of the boy. The chief among the latter was Rai Bular.²⁹

The *janeu* incident infuriated Kalu and blaming Nanak's association with Brij Nath for this outrageous conduct of his son, stopped Nanak's schooling once again. Kalu obviously was incapable of appreciating Nanak's state of mind though Tripta must have disclosed to her husband, Nanak pouring his heart to her :

'Without the Lord's Name how could I live, Mother ?

Night and day I repeat it and remain, O Lord, under Thy protection.

Nanak, he who is imbued with His Name, obtaineth honour'.³⁰

So that the free time that Nanak was to have now, may not be spent in the company of *sadhus* in the forest, Kalu thought of engaging him in agriculture. Kalu tried to be tactful when, one day, he told Nanak that "he required assistance in the cultivation of his land, and Nanak was of an age to turn his attention to agriculture". When Nanak apparently showed interest in the proposal,³¹ Kalu thanked his stars, little knowing that Nanak would show as complete an indifference to agriculture at the age of nine as he had shown to the herding of cattle at seven. That was only natural, because Nanak's ideal was to "become a husbandman, making good work (his soil) and the Word of God (his) seed; ever irrigat(ing) it with the water of truth" in the hope that then "God will germinate in (his heart)" and help him "obtain the dignity of *nirvan*".³²

Much to the chagrin of Kalu, Nanak continued his visits to the forests to hear the wise. Now he would, at times, himself get absorbed in God, much to the neglect of the work his father expected of him. One day Kalu remonstrated strongly with Nanak against his wandering in the forest, but got the following reply :

'Preaching and listening are as the sighing of the wind, when man's mind is tinctured by the illusion of world.

The Lord casteth a look of favour, and is well-pleased with those who meditate on Him alone'.³³

Kalu soon realized that he had failed miserably in turning Nanak's attention to agriculture and turned to Rai Bular for advice.

The latter, a secret admirer of the courageous boy, advised Kalu to renew Nanak's schooling. He suggested that Nanak be put in the new *madrassa* that had just come up. This *madrassa* was the result of Rai Bular's invitation to one Qutub-ud-Din to settle at Talwandi for the twin object of looking after the village mosque and teaching Persian to the children of the village.

Nanak's new teacher was a Sufi and evoked Nanak's respect. During the next five years³⁴ that Nanak attended Qutub-ud-Din's school, he got acquainted with the Sufi philosophy. He soon began pondering over the four stages in the Sufi path to salvation : *Shariat*, the law of external ceremonies; *Tariqat*, walking in God's way; *Mar'fat*, Divine Law and *Haqiqat*, beatitude or union with God. If anything, Qutub-ud-Din and the Sufi influence made Nanak all the more introspective and otherworldly. He, however, continued to learn Persian, which later helped him get a job at Sultanpur.

CHAPTER IV
PROBLEM FOR THE FATHER

During the five years that Nanak studied in Qutub-ud-Din's *madrassa*, he would spend a good deal of his time in the forest in conversation with *Sadhus* "on divine topics".¹ Perhaps under the Sufi influence that had slowly begun to affect him, or because of some exponent of *Bhakti* teaching whom he met in the wilderness during that period, he began to look for God like a mystic :

'None knoweth the extent of Thine outline.

Though all meditative men were to meet and meditate
upon Thee,

Though all appraisers were to meet and appraise
Thee—

They who possess divine and spiritual wisdom,
priests, and high priests—

Yet they could not describe even a small portion of
Thy greatness'.²

The failure to fully comprehend God's nature was no excuse for forgetting Him. On the other hand, that failure made constant speculation through the repetition of the Name all the more necessary :

'If I remember Him I live,
If I forget Him I die.

x

x

x

He who forgets Thee is a low born'.³

Nanak thought of developing qualities which should help him to do away with "entanglements" which hindered his losing himself in the "love of God".⁴

Nanak's absorption in God worried his parents, and that was natural. In the contemplation of the Divine, he would often abstain from eating and drinking. At times, he would hide himself in the forest, deliberately avoiding contact with his fellow beings, to spend his time in conversation with his favourite *sadhus* and *faqirs*. Sometimes he would be "found in contemplation and careless of all that happened around him" not only at home but even in the forest.⁵ He became "the laughing stock" of the villagers, but in spite of his father's taunts to that effect, he continued to follow "the dictates of his own mind".⁶

Feeling it necessary to do something to cure the abnormality in the otherwise fourteen-year old healthy son of his, Kalu first tried an exorcist⁷ and then a physician on Nanak.⁸ But that only made matters worse. To the exorcist, Nanak said :

'Some say a demon has possessed me; others say
I am under the influence of a spirit;

Some say I am affected with a malady, and others
say I am under intoxication.

Whatever the people think of me they say according
to their own respective understanding,

Whereas poor Nanak has gone mad for His Lord'.⁹

And to the ignorant physician who did not know "that the pain lieth in my heart", Nanak said :

'O physician go home, thou canst not diagnose my
disease;

I am imbued with the love of my own Lord. To whom
dost thou administer medicine' ?¹⁰

Kalu became anxious, all the more so because he had, by the time his son was fourteen, begun planning his marriage. He had even chosen his future daughter-in-law. She was Sulakhani,¹¹ daughter of Mul Chand Khatri, of Pakhoka Randhawa. Mul Chand was of the same status as Kalu. Belonging to the Chona sub-caste of the Khatri, he was, at the moment working as a *patwari* at Batala.¹²

Kalu's anxiety was that he was finding it difficult to announce the choice by a formal engagement of Nanak with Sulakhani. His own daughter, well-advanced in years according to the standards of the times, was still unmarried.¹³ That worried him as much for Nanaki's sake as the fear that he might lose the girl on whom he had set his eyes as Nanak's bride.

Kalu's problems were solved when one fine morning Rai Bular suggested a suitable match for Nanaki. The 'patron' moved about a great deal and during one of his many visits to Sultanpur Lodi, he noticed one Jai Ram, a Palta Khatri, as a suitable match for Nanaki. No sooner did he come back to Talwandi than he mooted the proposal to Kalu and Tripta, both of whom accepted it with gratitude.¹⁴ Nanaki's marriage was fixed for 29th March, 1485, and when it took place, Kalu synchronized it with Nanak's engagement to Sulakhani.¹⁵

Nanak's marriage took place on 1st April, 1485, when he was nearly sixteen.¹⁶ It was only natural that Kalu celebrated it in a grand manner. He took a large marriage party¹⁷ consisting of influential Bedis and a number of his fellow villagers. It included Jai Ram and Parmanand,¹⁸ Ram¹⁹ and Kishen,²⁰ Bala and Mardana. Mardana, in charge of Kalu's purse, was quite the happiest member of the party. In the festivities that marked the party's four-day stay at Pakhoka Randhawa, he played a great role.

Sulakhani, received by Tripta as a prized possession of the family, was sent back to her parents till Nanak would go for the

muklawa,²¹ but that was not to be for another three years. In those years, Kalu was to attempt to solve the problem of taking Nanak out of the school and to employ him suitably to discharge the responsibilities of a married man.

CHAPTER V

REFUSING TO SETTLE DOWN

One fine morning, a few months after Nanak's marriage, Kalu called him, and reminded him of the responsibilities of a married life. He said he had opened for Nanak a shop which the latter must stock with provisions for retail sale to the villagers. To make his otherworldly son take to running the shop enthusiastically, he told him that in case he succeeded in making even a modest profit from the shop, he would later help him undertake the big venture of trading in horses.¹ Little did he know that while he was trying to stimulate his son's ambition for worldly success, Nanak was muttering to himself :

These are the secrets of honest shopkeeping :

Our transient life is our shop,

And the Holy Name is the merchandise

With which we are entrusted ;

Alertness of mind and purity of deed

Are the warehouses in which to store the Name.

Let thy dealings be with the saints ;

They are sound, reliable customers.

Take a fair profit and be happy.²

And

O travelling tradesman, let thy trade be in scriptures,

And let thy wagon be drawn by the horses of Truth,

Gather good deeds for travelling expenses
And tarry not in the way.

When thou reachest thy goal and tradest in Gods'
country—heaven,

After thy travels thou shalt enjoy thy trade.³

Apparently, however, Nanak was silent, and this encouraged Kalu in his wishful thinking to believe that for once at least Nanak was serious. He immediately gave Nanak, what was at that time, the none too modest sum of twenty rupees and asked him to purchase some profitable commodity from a neighbouring market town.⁴ Nanak was further told to take along with him the family servant, [Bala Sandhu, to carry back the purchased articles.⁵

When Nanak and Bala, destined for the market town, reached Chuhar Kana, about twenty miles from Talwandi, they learnt of a party of destitute *faqirs* in the neighbourhood. Nanak's inquisitiveness quickened⁶ when he was told that they belonged to Nirvani persuasion.⁷ Instead of moving along to make purchases to stock the shop, he moved to them, followed by the reluctant Bala and "derived a great pleasure from the long discourse"⁸ that he had with their leader, Sant Ren.⁹ Nanak's eyes, by now as much used to discern the mundane problems of the *sadhus* and their spiritual depths, had noticed in the course of the discourse that though the party had been engaged in religious devotion near Chuhar Kana quite for some time, they had not received any offerings. The party was starving and the leader was feeling worried. The difficulty was accentuated by the fact that the Nirvana practice prevented them from taking their naked selves within the town and the village precincts to beg for alms.

That was too much for the pious Nanak. He got up rather abruptly and gave a hint to Bala to accompany him to the

market town. A few hours later, he was back among the *sadhus*, laden with "flour and pulses and other things necessary for a feast."¹⁰ As the hungry *sadhus* prepared their meals, they surely saw in Nanak's tender frame a great soul. Was not the sixteen-year-old Nanak God's instrument in coming to their succour when the alternatives before them were starvation and the giving up of one of the essential practices of their order ?

As Nanak and Bala turned their step homewards, Bala asked Nanak what he would tell his father. Nanak's reply was that he would frankly confess what he had done and in spending the money to fulfil the want of the needy *sadhus*, he had really effected a *sacha sauda* (a truthful bargain).¹¹ Bala did not then comment on what Nanak had expounded, but on reaching the outskirts of Talwandi, when Nanak chose to doze and give his tired limbs a little rest¹² before seeing his father, Bala slipped away to tell Kalu¹³ of what had happened to his dream of initiating Nanak into running a shop.

Bala had done that with the best of intentions. He had expected that in telling Kalu of what had happened at Chuhar Kana before Nanak confronted his father, he was preventing an angry scene. He was, however, mistaken. On hearing the way Nanak had spent the twenty rupees, Kalu went red with rage, clutched Bala by the arm and hurried to the spot where Nanak still lay dozing. He rudely woke up Nanak, his stupid son—that is how he felt at the moment—and raved and stormed at him and insisted on an explanation.¹⁴ Nanak, out of his filial respect for his father, did not give any reply, but that silence did not save him from the sharp slaps, the first he had received from his father so far.¹⁵

Kalu became convinced thereafter that Nanak was incorrigible and would never lead the kind of life, which, he fervently cherished his son to lead. And since all his hopes regarding his only son were dashed to the ground and his worst fears were confirmed, he ceased to put any more pressure on "the

perverse youth". For some time to come, he resigned himself to an attitude of complete indifference to his son.¹⁶

Nanak, on his part, perhaps feeling that in the last outburst his father's fury had almost entirely spent itself became bolder in associating with the *sadhu* and the *sanyasis*.¹⁷ Out of this indulgence in the pursuits of his liking was born another encounter between the father and the son which gave a new turn to Nanak's life.

One day, as Nanak was returning from his morning bath, he came across a *sadhu* absorbed in contemplation. Nanak approached him and the two began to converse.¹⁸ At the end of the conversation, Nanak took off the wedding ring, and presenting it, along with the *lotta* (a metal vessel with a spout) to the *sadhu*, wended his way home.¹⁹ When Kalu first learnt of Nanak's liberality to the *sadhu*, he kept quiet. Very likely he had then been told that only the *lotta* had been given away and that was not serious, but when he learnt later that Nanak had also given away his wedding ring, he lost his self-possession completely and turned Nanak out of the house.²⁰

Nanak, after some moments of hesitation repaired to Rai Bular. As the village chief and patron of Kalu's family, the Rai became anxious but did not know what to do to end the quarrel between the worldly father and otherworldly son. Luckily for Nanak, Rai Bular was still thinking of doing something when Jai Ram, on one of his many visits to his parents-in-law, came to him. The two proposed to Kalu that Nanak be sent to Sultanpur.²¹ They must have hoped that the sister's affection might succeed where the fathers' sternness had failed.

CHAPTER VI

TAKING UP SERVICE

Knowing well that Nanaki would be extremely happy to have her brother at Sultanpur, Jai Ram left Talwandi immediately after Kalu had agreed to Rai Bular's and his proposal. He was keen on carrying "the happy tidings" to his wife as early as possible.¹

Nanak followed soon after. As he trod along during his five days journey from Talwandi to Sultanpur² he must have wondered whether he would really be welcome at the house of his sister and brother-in-law. If he had any misapprehensions, they were belied as soon as he reached Sultanpur. Nanaki was all happiness to see him; Jai Ram was all cordiality. In fact, the latter went much further. He assured the nervous Nanak that as far as he was concerned, he would like him to continue pursuing his religio-philosophical quests.³ This assurance had an interesting effect on Nanak. The latter replied that he would not like to be a burden and wished to earn his own living.⁴ Perhaps what prompted that reaction was the feeling that he had no right to take with his brother-in-law the liberties that he had taken with his father.

For Jai Ram, this surprising offer of Nanak was most welcome. He seized it and took Nanak to Nawab Daulat Khan⁵ and introduced him as an "educated man",⁶ well-versed in Persian and in keeping accounts.⁷ The Nawab immediately made Nanak his *modi*, with the promise that he would shift him to something better later. And, thus Nanak started his career as a government servant in December 1487 at the age of eighteen.⁸

When Kalu heard the happy news at Talwandi, he hastened to Sultanpur with Mardana. On seeing a changed Nanak sitting at the *modikhana*, Kalu "could hardly contain himself with joy".⁹ He left Mardana behind at Sultanpur to mark his appreciation of Nanak's reforming himself and, on his return to Talwandi, he encouraged many a pal of Nanak to move to Sultanpur to take jobs, like Nanak, with Daulat Khan.¹⁰

Nanak did his job in the *modikhana* enthusiastically. For one thing, he was not alone. Mardana had been accommodated in the *modikhana* itself; his other friends spent the evenings with him. But the more important reason was that the work at the *modikhana* was most agreeable to his disposition. It was full of all sorts of provisions and he enjoyed the right of opening "the doors of the store-house to the poor and the needy".¹¹ It pleased him to see all those coming to the *modikhana* and going away satisfied with "food, clothes and money".¹²

Nanak soon got absorbed in his job. The success of the *modikhana* became almost a passion with him and to see it flourish he even went to the extent of cutting down his own expenses and that of Mardana to the very minimum. The two denied themselves even "battered bread" and lived on the "coarsest morsel".¹³ They did this because the amount sanctioned for alms by the *modikhana* was not enough to meet the growing demands on it. Every pie, thus, saved through personal discomfort was spent in the name of the *modikhana*.

Nanak's liberality and the resultant appreciation created jealousy, and the malicious ones began to conspire against the new entrant in the Nawab's service. Within a few months of Nanak's taking his job, someone secretly informed Jai Ram that Nanak was extravagant and squandering the money of the *modikhana* and when that report had not the desired effect, he managed to convey the matter to the Nawab.¹⁴ The latter ordered an enquiry,¹⁵ but it revealed that not only were the provisions in the stock in order but also everything else was so, and the report made to the Nawab was without any foundation whatsoever.¹⁶

The complaint had misfired and when Nanak was given a clean chit, he redoubled his zeal in carrying out his duties. After about a year, feeling secure, he accepted Jai Ram's and Nanaki's suggestion and brought his wife from Batala and seriously began the life of a *grahisthi* which was to become one of the chief commandments of the religious order which he was to found later.

Nanak was nineteen¹⁷ when Sulakhani joined him at Sultanpur but that did not bring about any change in the daily routine of his life. As before, he would rise early in the morning to bathe in the *Bein*, a stream near Sultanpur, and then spend a few hours on its banks meditating on the Almighty.¹⁸ Occasionally, Mardana would come with him to play the rebeck and then he would be lost in communion with God. As if that much was not enough, he suddenly began to exercise his great talent, latent so far, to organise regular meetings of like-minded friends after their evening meal and to sing songs and have religious discourses in praise of the Lord. These would continue till late at night.¹⁹

That Nanak was not only holding charge of the *modikhana* but also was leading a pious life attracted to him a host of religious men, and those too of all denominations. Among them would be Vaishnavite and Shivite Hindus, and Sunni and Shia Muslims. Some of them would attend his evening gatherings also. Nanak soon became the darling of both the communities and started having easy access to the high and the low.

This was too good to continue uninterrupted. Once again, after the lapse of a few years, interested people directed their malicious campaign against him. To be more effective this time, they asserted that Nanak was not merely mismanaging the *modikhana* but was misappropriating money for the use of his family.²⁰ The Nawab, taken up by the vehemence of the campaign forgot the earlier experience and summoned Nanak. The injured *modi* showed the boldness of an honest man, and demanded an immediate inquiry into the accounts of the *modikhana*.²¹

Perhaps the Nawab took Nanak's boldness to be a design to

cover the truth in the complaints made against him, personally supervised the "critical examination" lasting "for no less than five days".²² The result redounded to Nanak's glory. The investigation revealed that far from owing anything, Nanak had arrears of three hundred and twenty-one rupees due to him.²³ That pleased the Nawab immensely and with a view to compensating him for the anguish inflicted on an honest soul, he sent for his treasurer, Bhagwan Das, and ordered that "in addition to Rs. 321 due to Nanak, a further advance of Rs. 3000 be made to him".²⁴

This enquiry proved a blessing in disguise. Nanak was never suspected of anything dishonourable in future and the Nawab left the *modikhana* completely to Nanak which the latter ran with scrupulous honesty for the next ten years or so.

CHAPTER VII

THE MOMENTOUS DAY

After Nanak had thus served for twelve years in the *modikhana* at Sultanpur, there came the most momentous day of his life. That day proved to be a turning-point in his life as also in the history of religion. The Sikh religion, the youngest in the world, germinated in what Nanak experienced on that fateful day of 1499.¹

On the morning of that day, Nanak, as usual, went to the *Bein* and then suddenly disappeared.² When he did not go to the *modikhana*, a vigorous search was made for him in which Sultan Daulat Khan showed as much concern as Nanaki and Jai Ram. This continued for three anxious days.³

The devout Sikhs believe that in those three days, Nanak "went homewards and waited upon His celestial abode".⁴ He successfully obtained His audience⁵ and received the *mulmantra* which he was to preach with indefatigable persistence for the rest of his forty years of life, east, south, north and west. The secret of the *mulmantra* was to lie in the erring men's continuing to be conscious of Him through *nam-marg*. When they were to repeat every morning.

There is one God,
Eternal Truth is His Name;
Maker of all things,
Fearing nothing and at enmity with nothing,
Timeless is His Image;

Not begotten, being of His own Being :
By the grace of the Guru, made known to men,⁶

chances were that they would not go astray.

It is further believed by the devout Sikhs that the Lord enjoined on Nanak to preach this *mulmantra* to the world which had been increasingly becoming ungodly and sinful for some time past. Nanak was further told to elaborate on the *mulmantra* by telling "the world" that,

As He was in the beginning : the Truth
So throughout the ages
He ever has been
So even now He is Truth immanent,
So for ever and ever he shall be truthful eternal.⁷

As if to encourage Nanak in his arduous work in that dark age, He assured Nanak that the latter would have His constant support :

Nanak, on whom Thy (favourable)
look is, on him is also mine;
on whom thy benevolence is,
on him is also mine.
My name is : The Supreme Brahm, the Supreme
Lord; and thy name is : the Guru,
the Supreme Lord.⁸

To those not sharing in the devotion of the followers, the above is a "story" introduced by the *janamsakhis* "to establish a divine sanction for the mission of Nanak" and not to be accepted literally.⁹ They, however, concede that during those three days Nanak had a "mystic experience",¹⁰ and henceforth "felt an irresistible urge within himself, call it divine if you like, to proclaim the truth that he had inwardly realized."¹¹

The nature of the experience has been debated and would continue to be debated but all are agreed that after remaining undiscovered for three days, when Nanak reappeared, he was a changed man.¹² Feeling that he had made a great discovery, he resigned his job, got the accounts of the *modikhana* checked, and desired that all that was due to him be given in charity to the "poor and the needy".¹³ He then put on "the garb of a faqir" and became "a public speaker".¹⁴

Nanak chose to make "a graveyard on the bank of the river"¹⁵ his pulpit and this, coming on the heels of his resignation at the mature age of thirty, made his near and dear ones feel that he had gone mad. For that reason they did not take him seriously though Nanak was most eloquent in his discourses on God. This is Nanak's own testimony of how his friends and relatives reacted to his first utterances :

'Simpleton Nanak hath become mad upon the world
 And knoweth none other than God.
 When one is mad with the fear of God,
 And recognizeth none other than the one God,
 He is known as mad when he doeth this one thing—
 When he obeyeth the Master's order—in what else is then
 wisdom ?
 When man loveth the Lord and deemeth himself worthless
 And the rest of the world good, he is called mad'.¹⁶

But soon Nanak began to be taken seriously, partly because of the sweet music of Mardana's *rabab* (rebeck) and partly because he successfully converted many persons of importance at Sultanpur. One of them was Mansukh, a trader with influential friends at Lahore and all over the Punjab, and business contact with the distant Ceylon.

Perhaps that encouraged Nanak and now he "openly began to preach his mission and teach righteousness to all classes and

religions alike."¹⁷ His boldness brought him more success. Some started leaving off polytheism, stone and idol worship and began to come to hear Nanak's pure and simple theism.¹⁸ The Muslims also started coming to him and liked his discourses.

Nanak's success attracted, as was perhaps natural, the wrath of the "religious priests, both Hindus and Muhammadans"¹⁹ but more so of the Qazi of Sultanpur.²⁰ What seems to have piqued him was that Nawab Daulat Khan once again began to have a soft corner for Nanak and he began planning an onslaught on the intruder. The Qazi got his opportunity when one fine morning Nanak declared in his daily increasing congregation that "there is no Hindu and no Musalman".²¹ This remark could be interpreted to imply an offence to the Muslims,²² and on that plea the Qazi prevailed upon the Nawab to summon Guru Nanak "to his presence" and explain the meaning of his remark, 'there is no Hindu and no Musalman'.²³ Nanak was blunt. He told the Qazi and the Nawab:

'To be a Mussalman is difficult; if one be really so,
then one may be called a Mussalman.

Let one sit, love the religion of the saints,
and put aside pride and pelf as the file removeth rust.

Let him accept the religion of his pilots,
and dismiss anxiety regarding death or life;

Let him heartily obey the will of God,
worship the Creator, and efface himself.

When he is kind to all men,
then Nanak, shall be judged a Mussalman."²⁴

His remarks set the Nawab thinking. Then Nanak turned

exclusively to the *Qazi* and advised him :

'Let compassion be thy mosque,
 Let faith be thy prayer mat,
 Let honest living be thy Koran,
 Let modesty be the rules of observance,
 Let piety be the fasts thou keepest;
 In such wise strive to become a Moslem :
 Right conduct the *Kaaba*;
 Truth thy Prophet
 Good deeds thy prayer;
 Submission to the Lord's Will thy rosary;
 Nanak, if this thou do,
 the Lord will be thy Protector'.²⁵

All that was bold enough, but something bolder followed. Nanak pointed out, by implication, the hypocrisy that attended the apparently religious routine of the *Qazi* :

'Five prayers, five times a day,
 With five different names;
 Make the first prayer, truth;
 The second to lawfully earn your daily bread;
 The third : charity in the name of God
 Fourth : purity of the mind,
 Fifth : the adoration of God.
 Practise these five virtues,
 And let good deeds be your

article of faith : the *kalma*,

Then you can call yourself truly a Moslem.²⁶

And,

'He is a Mussalman who effaceth himself,
Who maketh truth and contentment his holy creed,
Who neither toucheth what is standing, nor eateth
what hath fallen

Such a Mussalman shall go to paradise.'²⁷

Nanak finally explained that he had been searching for a man who was devoted to Him and he had not found one so far. How could he say then there was any Hindu or Mussalman around ?

'I am a sacrifice (to Benign Self),
I am a sacrifice unto Him.
I am a sacrifice unto those who repeat (His) Name,
Unto those who repeat (His) Name I am ever a sacrifice
Were this body, my beloved friend, to become a dyer's
vat, the Name to be put into it as madder,
And the Lord the Dyer to dye therewith such colour
would never been seen
O my beloved, the Bridegroom is with those whose
robes are thus dyed.
Nanak's prayer is that he may obtain the dust of
such a person's feet.'²⁸

CHAPTER VIII

FIGHTING SHAMS

In February 1500,¹ Nanak left Sultanpur to begin his travels, generally known as *udasis*. In his first *udasi* which was towards the east, Nanak went as far as Kamrup but it is doubtful whether he knew that he would go so far when he started his first *udasi*. In all probability when he and Mardana left Sultanpur² and set out on their first long journey they had thought of going no farther than Hardwar.

On leaving Sultanpur, Nanak and Mardana first turned homewards to Talwandi. They had been out of the village and its familiar surroundings for a very long time and before embarking on their first tour, they wanted to announce their intentions to their parents.

From Sultanpur, they moved to Govindwal, then to the present site of Amritsar,³ ultimately reaching Lahore where they stayed for a few days. There, Nanak delivered some divine sermons.⁴ If tradition is to be believed, when at Lahore, Nanak had an argument with Sayad Ahmad Taqi, *murshid* or the religious guide of the bigoted Sikander Lodi, the Emperor of Delhi.⁵ It appears Nanak's experience of the Lahore citizen was not particularly happy for he described it as follows : 'Lahore Shaihar qaihar, sawa pahr'.⁶

Nanak and Mardana left Lahore and went to Eminabad.⁷ A very significant incident took place soon after they reached that place. It reveals Nanak's aim then and for a long time to come to fight hypocrisy in whatever form it would present itself to him.

It is said that during his stay there, one Bhag Mal, a Hindu official, gave a charitable feast (*brahmhoj*), to which Guru Nanak was also invited but he did not accept the invitation.⁸ The Guru made no secret of his refusal to accept the invitation : Bhag Mal's earnings were "unlawful".⁹ It was natural that when the official heard of Nanak's explanation, he felt insulted and summoned him to his durbar. Nanak was not the man to evade the encounter. From the story¹⁰ that the Sikh tradition has built up around what happened when Nanak faced Bhag Mal, it is clear that something dramatic must have happened. In all probability, the Guru told Malik Bhago, as Bhag Mal is called in Sikh tradition, in his characteristically frank manner which literally bordered on bluntness that Malik Bhago owed his position and riches to "bribery and oppression".¹¹

Nanak's frankness excited the wrath of Bhago who used his influence with the Khan of Eminabad to make Nanak's stay there difficult. The Guru and the faithful Mardana had to spend some time "nowhere entering a village" and rejecting all offerings as poison.¹² But all that did not dishearten the inspired Nanak. Rather, it strengthened him all the more in his resolve to expose hypocrisy, whether religious or political.

The hostility of the Nawab of Eminabad, however, prevented Nanak and Mardana, though temporarily, from going to Talwandi. They had intended going to that place from Eminabad but, instead, now moved to Darp *ilaga* and visited Sihoke and Sahoke before reaching Sialkot.¹³ There, Nanak soon earned some fame by encouraging the city to call off the bluff of a *fuqir*, Hamza Gaus, who forgetting his true calling was blackmailing the city with the threat of a curse.¹⁴

The Guru's success in the Darp *ilaga* encouraged him now to direct his steps to Talwandi. He sent Mardana ahead of him and himself passing through Gujranwala and Mattiwind reached Talwandi soon after.¹⁵ Nanak had returned to the village after an interval of some thirteen years, and naturally noticed many changes but the one which struck him the most was the developed piety of the aged

Rai Bular. The latter had constructed a tank and assigned a handsome *dharamarth* to a feeding-house where he loved to entertain the holy persons of all orders, including those of Hindus and Muslims, in the hope that those acts would "command him to the Lord so that he might be admitted into His Divine Court".¹⁶ Nanak felt it his duty to warn the Rai, one of his earliest admirers, and a patron of his father of the futility of those apparently religious acts. He advised him to concentrate his thoughts on God :

'I recommend to you one thing, that you obey the Lord,
Supplicate with folded hands to one whom thou canst
not force.

O Rai, no one can find such a Guru;

Do whatever pleases Him, wisdom and command will not
do, let anyone try and see.

Shaikh, mushaikh, sidhs and *sadhs* shall all be called upon to
render accounts.

Vishnu assumed ten incarnations, and ruled the worlds
In the end, he became one with dust and gained nothing
The greatest, the powerful, warriors and heroes
Nanak says, have all crumbled to dust'.¹⁷

The village could not hold Guru Nanak back for long. He upset and saddened his parents one day when he announced that he would soon move out to fulfil the 'divine mission'¹⁸ entrusted to him. Kalu and Tripta naturally felt sad and requested Lalu, the Guru's uncle, to prevail upon him to give up his resolve of a long journey. Lalu tried to impress upon Nanak his obligation to his family, but got the following reply :

'Forgiveness is my mother, and contentment my father,
Truth is my uncle with which I have controlled
my mind;

Hear O Lahu, this is meritorious; all the people are bound by worldly entanglements and how can their relationship be termed a merit ?

Love (of the Lord) which is my brother, is my companion, whereas affection is my uncle;

Patience is my daughter, such is my company formed of.

Peace is my constant female companion and intelligence my handmaid.

Thus, is composed my whole family who are my constant associates.

The only one God who has created the whole universe, is my husband,

He, who forsakes Him and seeks another, O Nanak ! shall suffer'.¹⁹

Bidding farewell to his parents, relations and friends, Guru Nanak and Mardana were soon moving through the then dense Chhanga-Manga jungles to Kasur from where they went to Chunian. They halted there only for a while and that too to recoup the energy for further march. Turning south-east, they passed through Malwa and Bangar and finally reached Bhoie to stay there "on the banks of the Saraswati River".²⁰ The place was full of Hindu priests known as *pandas* for whom the holy garb was just a cloak for their ugly and nefarious living. Nanak advised them to refrain from all evil deeds and live upon honest earnings. He also told them of the "hollowness of polytheism and stone worship" and emphasized their taking to the "righteous path" of "true worship of the One Lord".²¹

Guru Nanak and Mardana stayed at Bhoie for some time and finally left it to attend the fair in connection with solar eclipse at Kurukshetra,²² made holy because of its association with the Mahabharata. On that day, Kurukshetra would attract a large number

of pilgrims and Nanak did not want to miss the opportunity of exposing the taboos and shams introduced by "the priests to increase the revenues to fill their coffers".²³

On reaching Kurukshetra, Nanak immediately made himself conspicuous by choosing to fight "the holy" on a point which was sure to agitate them very much.²⁴ He forced a discussion on the Brahmans' "horror at the use of flesh"²⁵ by declaring :

'It was the custom of gods to kill rhinoceroses, roast them and feast upon them.

They who forswear flesh and hold their noses when near it, devour men at night.'²⁶

x

x

x

Flesh is allowed in the *Purans*, flesh is allowed in the books of the Mussalmans; flesh hath been used in the four ages.

Flesh adorneth sacrifice and marriage functions; flesh hath always been associated with them'.²⁷

Then he used the people's focus on him to explain "that the earth, the sun, the moon and the stars were all suspended in the air, ever moving and running on their natural courses, and the eclipses were nothing but natural shadows on the light of the sun and the moon; and that the custom of making offering on the occasion was nothing beyond a selfish invention of the priests to increase their own revenues."²⁸ As if to hammer the point that Brahmans were totally ignorant to all those who were watching the dialogue, Nanak told the Pandit claiming the greatest learning and who was most voluble on abstaining from taking flesh that he was wasting his energy in foolish squabbles :²⁹

'Thou understandest not thyself, yet thou instructest others;
O Pandit thou art very wise !

O Pandit, thou knowest not from what flesh hath sprung,

Corn, sugar-cane, and cotton are produced from water, from water the three worlds are deemed to have sprung.

Water saith, "I am good in many ways"; many are the modifications of water.

If thou abandon the relish of such things, thou shall be superman, saith Nanak deliberately.³⁰

And

'Fools wrangle about flesh, but know not divine knowledge or meditation on God.

They know not what is flesh, or what is vegetable or in what sin consisteth'.³¹

From Kurukshetra, Nanak left for Hardwar, according to Macauliffe, "in pursuance of the mission"³² of convincing the great number of pilgrims who would congregate there of the futility of "cleaning their bodies" or "performing ablutions" with "hearts filthy".³³ As if to get the foretaste of the entrenched orthodoxy that he was to face at Hardwar, Nanak and his companion met a party of *Vaishnavites* on the way busy cooking their food in a *chauka* or cooking-square. Mardana went to them to ask for food and unwittingly entered that *chauka*.³⁴ The *Vaishnavites*, in the true style of orthodoxy, showed their anger³⁵ and Nanak had to tell them,

'Perversity of the soul is like a woman
of low caste,

Lack of compassion is like a butcher woman;

The desire to find fault with others
is like a scavenger woman,

The sin of wrath is like an
utter outcaste;

What use is to draw a line
around your kitchen,

If four such vices keep your company ?³⁶

And if they were really keen on purity,

'Make your discipline the practice of truth,
 Make the square you draw round your kitchen
 The practice of virtue;
 Make the ceremonial cleansing of your body
 The meditation of Holy Name.
 Saith Nanak : They alone
 shall be deemed good and pure
 That walk not in the way of sin'.³⁷

At Hardwar, as at Kurukshetra earlier, Nanak drew the attention of the people gathered at that place in great numbers to himself with seemingly an innocent act, but which really amounted to a challenge to one of the age-old practices. He quietly walked into the waters of the Ganges and instead of throwing water towards the east, as others were doing, put his hands together to form a cup and began to throw water towards the west. Almost all those who saw him doing that gathered around him to enquire of him the reason of that unusual behaviour. He replied that he was trying to send water to his fields at Talwandi, so that they might remain green and not dry up.³⁸ Obviously when he made that reply, he meant to hammer into their head the futility of the practice of trying to propitiate the Sun god for the salvation of one's ancestors by throwing water towards the east, and by implication and extension the hollowness of most of the religious rituals, observances and practices.

What Nanak had done so far was a prelude to what he had to say once he had attracted an audience. He made a frontal attack on another ritual—taking the rosary and counting its beads. He told those around him, "when ye take rosaries in your hands, and sit down counting your beads, ye never think of God, but allow your minds to wander, thinking of the worldly objects. Your rosaries are, therefore, only for show, and your counting of beads is only hypocrisy".³⁹

It appears, Nanak stayed at Hardwar quite for some time and his presence there started attracting attention. That was not only

because he held assemblies attended by "considerable people and various sectarians" but also because of his gentle manners and persuasive and humorous style. His attack on "polytheism, idol and stone worship" and the advocacy of "monotheism"⁴⁰ would be apparently so inoffensive as not to make even the most orthodox desire his removal from Hardwar. On the other hand, some of them would hear him and then press him "to return to his allegiance to the orthodox Hindu religion".⁴¹

CHAPTER IX

TEACHING THE HOLY

The large audience, and the sympathetic hearing that Guru Nanak received from congregations addressed by him at Hardwar¹ encouraged him to extend his tour further east and, thus begin the second stage of his first *udasi*.² His success at Hardwar also encouraged him to be still more challenging in future to orthodoxy, as it expressed itself through excessive adherence to formalism. He now chose to wear a dress which combined the garments of Hindu *sants* and Muslim *faqirs* and, thus, proclaim his denunciation of the institutionalized tradition among the holy, because it separated the Muslims and the Hindus. "He put on a mango-coloured jacket, over which he threw a white *safa* or sheet. On his head, he carried the hat of a Mussalman *qalandar*, while he wore a necklace of bones and imprinted a saffron mark on his forehead."³

The first place that Nanak and Mardana went to on leaving Hardwar was Panipat, the headquarters of Sheikh Sharaf, a Sufi saint.⁴ A disciple of the Shaikh, Tatihari⁵ by name, noticed Nanak's headdress and took him for a Persian *darvesh*⁶ and saluted him with the Muslim 'Salam Alaikam' (the peace of God on you). Nanak did not respond to this with the usual 'Wa alaikam aslam' (and on you also be the peace) but said 'Salaam Alekh' (salutation to the Invisible).⁷ That answer both surprised and impressed Tatihari and he hastened to inform his master, Shaikh Sharaf, of the *darvesh* who had taken the liberty of making such a meaningful pun upon "the Muhammadan salutation."⁸ That brought Shaikh Sharaf to Nanak's presence.⁹ A dialogue ensued and when the Shaikh left, he was thoroughly impressed by Nanak's profundity.¹⁰

Guru Nanak passed through Delhi, on his way from Panipat to Bindraban. In the metropolis, it appears, his peculiar attire attracted the superstitious who insisted on Nanak "hungry for God" and "caring for naught besides" to bring a royal elephant, which had just died, to life.¹¹ The reply that they got was :

'It is He who destroyeth and destroying re-animateth
Nanak, there is none but the one God'.¹²

Soon after leaving Delhi when Nanak and Mardana reached Bindraban, they noticed the performance and the ecstasy of *Krishan-Leela* :

~~The disciples play, the gurus dance,
Shake their feet, and roll their heads,
Dust flieth and falleth on their hair,
The audience seeing it laugh and go home.
For the sake of food the performers beat time
And dash themselves on the ground'.¹³~~

But that did not impress Guru Nanak for their ecstasy was more a "mental recreation" and completely devoid of "spiritual contents" and in their participation in the *Krishan-Leela*, they had completely forgotten the Lord.¹⁴ During his short stay there he did not fail to hammer the point into the minds of the enthusiasts of *Krishan-Leela* :

'Fearless is the Formless One, whose name is true,
And whose creation is the whole world.
The worshippers on whom God bestoweth kindness worship
Him;
Pleasant is the night for those who long for Him in their
hearts
By the Guru's instruction to the disciples this knowledge is
obtained.

The kind One saveth those on whom He looketh with favour.

Oil-presses, spinning-wheels, handmills, potter's wheels,

Plates, whirlwinds, many and endless

Tops, churning-staves, thrashing frames,

Birds tumble and take no breath.

Men put animals on stakes and swing them round.

O Nanak, the tumblers are innumerable and endless.

In the same way men bound in entanglements are swung round.

Everyone danceth according to his own acts—

They who dance and laugh shall weep on their departure.

They cannot fly or obtain supernatural powers.

Leaping and dancing are mental recreations,

Nanak, they who have the fear of God in their heads have also love'.¹⁶

From Bindrabān, Nanak and Mardana made their way to Gorakhmata.¹⁶ On the way, Mardana drew Nanak's attention to an ostentatious Shaikh in the process of being shampooed by others. The sight confirmed Nanak's belief with which he had begun the *udasi* that no true Hindu or Muslim was to be found. Even Shaikh Wajid, recognized as a saint, was completely oblivious of his obligation to the Lord.¹⁷

At Gorakhmata, Nanak had to contend with the *sikhs*. Impressed by the earnestness on the face of Nanak, they invited him to "become a *Jogi*, and adopt the dress of our order". Nanak's reply was that he had already discovered himself and what could they offer him when, unlike them, he already knew Him and the extent of His power :

'Thou fillest sea and land, the nether and upper regions; it is Thou Thyself who art contained in everything.

My heart is the scales, my understanding the weight, Thy service the weighman I employ,

I weigh the Lord in my heart, and thus I fix my attention.

Thou Thyself art the tongue of the balance, the weight, and
the scales; Thou Thyself understandest,

Thou Thyself beholdest, Thou Thyself understandest,
Thou Thyself art the dealer *with Thee*.¹⁹

To him the *Jogis* were as much lost in the externals as other sectarians
he had come across so far and he had to tell them,

'Religion consisteth not in a patched coat, or in a *Jogi's* staff,
or in ashes smeared over the body;

Religion consisteth not in earrings worn, or a shaven head, or
the blowing of horns

×

×

×

Religion consisteth not in wandering to tombs or places of
cremation, or sitting in attitudes of contemplation.²⁰

Leaving Gorakhmata, Nanak and Mardana reached Benares, 'the
headquarters of the Hindu religion'.²¹ The Sikh tradition has
preserved a long discussion that Nanak had with Pandit Chatur
Das, then the Chief Brahmin of the City. The discussion centred
on the three externals of the Vaishnava Sect—Saligram, a necklace
of sweet basil (*Ocimum sanctum*) beads and the rosary. Nanak
pointed out the worthlessness of wearing the Saligram and the sweet
basil when he said :

Brahmin propitiate the Saligram
(stone-God) :

By chaste conduct, not by telling
thy beads.

Repeat ever the Name of God.

This is thy raft to cross life's
unfathomable ocean,

Nanak, slave of slaves, supplicateth, O Merciful
One, have mercy'.²⁹

Then the Guru described to the Brahmin the God, as he understood Him and the efficacy of remembering and comprehending His omnipotence :

'It is the one God who created Brahma ;

It is the one God who created our understanding ;

It is from the one God the mountains and the ages of the world
emanated ;

It is the one God who bestoweth knowledge.

×

×

×

He created the world with ease : in the three worlds there is
one Lord of Light'.³⁰

It appears that while at Benares, Nanak heard of Kabir and became keen on visiting the aged *bhagat*, then staying at Pusa. Nanak and Mardana went there and though the Sikh tradition put Nanak and Kabir remaining "together for seven days"³¹ only, in all probability the two were together for a much longer period.³² Nanak had for once at least met the man after his heart and the number of Kabir's saying in the *Adi Granth* indicate the great affinity between the two in their thinking. That some have erroneously regarded Kabir as Nanak's Guru is another indication of the same thing.

CHAPTER X

RESISTING TEMPTATIONS

When Guru Nanak left Pusa and moved farther east, he started the third stage of his first *udasi*. That stage of the *udasi* was easily the most hazardous part of his tour. He had now to encounter robbers and *thugs*, bewitching beauties and worldly temptations. But what was more painful was that he noticed occasional dejection in Mardana, and that sometimes led him to falter in his devotion to Nanak.

From Pusa, they moved towards Bengal. Passing through Baij Nath, Bhagalpur and Sahib Ganj, they reached Raj Mahal, where they were the guests of Raja Ram Dev Babu.¹ They seem to have stayed there quite for some time, and also at another place going by the name of Malda² in Bengal. While at the last-mentioned place, Nanak appears to have resolved to go to Kamrup,³ a part of Assam, though he and Mardana must have been told that the route they would be required to take was as dangerous as the place they wanted to go to.

Nanak and Mardana travelled through Murshidabad, Kishannagar, Shahzadpur, Siraganj, Keshganj, Manakganj, Devipur, Dhaka, Dhanpur, Balvakund, Gauripur and Kankia Dev⁴ before entering Kamrup. In that journey through a dangerous track, they were attacked by a party of *thugs* who candidly disclosed that they wanted to rob the two.⁵ But when Nanak and Mardana convinced them that they were faqirs and had nothing with them, they apologized saying that they adored God and His men.⁶ Any man other than Nanak would have escaped a dangerous situation by

accepting the apology of the thugs and let them go, but he was of a different stuff. He courageously told them that they should be ashamed of their calling. Did they not realize that :

'Covetousness is a dog; falsehood, a sweeper;
food obtained by deceit, carrion !

Slander of others is merely others' filth in one's mouth;
and the fire of anger is a pariah'.⁷

How could such a conduct of life please God or even His men ? He urged them to take to some honest means of livelihood, such as agriculture⁸ and, thus be on their way to Him.

'They who eat the fruit of their labours and
bestow a little in charity.

O Nanak, they alone recognize true way'.⁹

On his way to Kamrup, Nanak nearly lost Mardana. That was at Dhanpur.¹⁰ When out in a village, Mardana was enchanted by a married woman and it was with some difficulty that Nanak saved him.¹¹ To the woman, Nanak said :

'The virtuous wife enjoyeth her husband;
why doth the bad one bewail ?

If she become virtuous then she shall, too,
go to enjoy her husband'.¹²

And

'If a woman become virtuous and turn her heart into a
thread,

She shall string the spouse's heart thereon like a priceless
gem.'

Little could have Nanak known that God would soon test him also of the strength of his convictions and see whether or not he could resist the temptation when himself subjected to the guiles of an

enchantress. On entering Kamrup, Nanak and Mardana found themselves in a country whose women were notorious for their skill in magic¹⁴ and were rather loose in their marital ties. They were ruled by a queen, Nurshah,¹⁵ who took it into her head to have sway over Nanak.¹⁶

Nurshah had, perhaps, heard of Nanak from "her women" who had earlier tried charms on the Guru.¹⁷ They had danced and sung before him, beating their drums in voluptuous music, but had soon found that they were trying to enchant one who felt,

"The impulses, of my heart are my cymbals and *madiras*.

The world is my drum; this is the music that playeth for me.

×

×

×

Nanak, I am a sacrifice unto the Name;

The world is blind in the opinion of those who know the Lord.¹⁸

The "women" had felt insulted and hurried to the queen, desiring her to try her superior charms on him. She did her best but was rebutted with a bluntness which Nanak had not shown even to "her women". Nanak told Nurshah that she was a *kuchajji*—an evil woman who must have been often troubled with a bad conscience and sighed to herself :

"I am a worthless woman, in me are faults; how can I go to my spouse ?

My spouse's wives are better than one another, O my life who careth for me ?

I do not possess their virtues; to whom can I attribute blame ?

×

×

×

Every night is for the virtuous woman; may I, though unchaste, obtain a night also !¹⁹

He then went on to advise her to lead a virtuous life by developing faith in and love for god by ceasing to be proud of her riches, and also to give up vices like avarice and vanity. Nanak told Nurshah that if she were to follow his advice, she would still get not only the bliss of a married life but also the happiness resulting from communion with Him :

'O silly woman, why art thou proud ?

Why enjoyed thou not the love of God in thine own home ?

The Spouse is near; O foolish woman, why searchest thou abroad ?

Put the collyrium of God's fear into thine eyes and wear the decoration of love.

Thou shalt then be known as a happy and devoted wife if you love the Bridegroom.

What shall a silly woman do if she please not her spouse ?²⁰

Nanak escaped Nurshah only to be tested by Kaljug.²¹ Kaljug offered²² the Guru the wealth of the world if he agreed to abandon his mission.²³ The Guru's reaction was :

'Though the outer wall of thy palace
be made of pearls,

Though it be studded with gems,

Though the inner walls be smeared
with musk

And fragrant with sandal and
aloes-wood;

Commingle with sweet saffron's smell;

If these thy mind bewitch,

Beware, man, lest thou forget,

And remember not the Name of God.

God unremembered, life runs to waste;
 I have asked my Guru,
 And he has convinced me,
 There is no other place than God.

Though thy floor be a mosaic of diamonds and rubies.
 And there be on the floor a couch
 adorned with blood-red stones.

And though on the couch there reclineth
 A maiden bedecked with jewels,
 Her limbs aflame with passion,
 Even so, man, beware, lest thou forget
 And remember not the Name of God.

Though thou art adept in *siddhis*,
 Endowed with occult powers,
 And powers to acquire wealth;
 Though thou canst change thy shape,
 At will be seen or unseen;
 Though men revere and adore thee,
 Even so, man, beware, lest thou forget
 And remember not the Name of God.

Though higher than kings among men,
 thou art an emperor,
 Seated on the imperial throne,
 Guarded by disciplined armies;
 Though thy writ run the wide world over,
 Nanak, it passeth like the wind,
 Beware, man, lest thou forget
 And remember not the Name of God.²⁴

While moving about in Assam, Nanak had more of unpleasant than pleasant experiences but he bore them with fortitude :

‘When I remain silent, they say I have no understanding in my heart;

When I speak, they say I chatter too much;
 When I sit, they say, I have spread my pallet to stay;
 When I go away, they say I have thrown dust on my head;
 When I bow down, they say I perform my devotions through
 fear;

I can do nothing by which I may spend my time in peace.

Both here and hereafter may the Creator preserve Nanak's
 honour'.²⁵

And he never gave up telling the Assamese :

'Death is forgotten amid eating and drinking,
 laughter and sleep.

By forgetting the Lord, man hath ruined himself and rendered
 life accursed; he is not to tarry here.

O man, ponder on the one Name,
 And thou shalt go to thy home with honour.

What do they who worship Thee give Thee ?
 Nay, they cease not to beg of Thee.

Thou conferest gifts on all creatures;
 Thou art the life within their lives.

The pious who meditate on God receive nectar;
 it is they who are pure.

Day and night repeat the Name, O mortal, that
 thine impurities may be washed away !

As is the season so the comfort of the body,
 and the body itself.

O Nanak, that season is agreeable in which God's name is
 repeated; but what is any season without the Name'.²⁶

CHAPTER XI

SINGING HIS MOST ECSTATIC SONG

After Guru Nanak and Mardana had had enough of Assam, Nanak thought of returning to the Punjab. With a view to seeing places he had not visited while coming East, he adopted a different route on the return journey. According to Macauliffe, "The Guru returned by the great river Brahmaputra, and then made a coasting voyage to Puri on the Bay of Bengal where Vishnu or Krishna, under the name of Jagannath, lord of the world, is specially worshipped."¹ Here he raised his voice against the gorgeous nature of the *arti* practised in the temple every evening.² Instead of "accepting the high priest's invitation to adore the idol, he raised his eyes to heaven",³ and sang⁴ one of his most ecstatic songs in adoration of the Lord :

'The firmament is Thy salver,
The sun and the moon Thy lamps;
The galaxy of stars are as pearls scattered,
The woods of sandal are Thine incense.
The breezes blow Thy royal fan;
The flowers of the forests
Lie as offering at Thy feet.
What wonderful worship with lamps in this
O Thou destroyer of fear !
Unstruck music is the sound of
Thy temple drums.
Thousands are Thine eyes,
And yet Thou hast no eyes;
Thousands are Thy shapes,

And yet Thou hast no shape;
 Thousands are Thy pure feet,
 And yet Thou hast not one foot.
 Thousands are Thy noses,
 And yet Thou hast no nose.
 All this is Thy play and bewitches me.
 In every heart there is light :
 That light art Thou.
 By the Light that is of God Himself
 Is every soul illumined :
 But this divine Light becomes manifest
 Only by the Guru's teachings.
 What is pleasing to Thee, O Lord
 Is the best *arti* : worship with the lamps.
 O Lord, my mind yearns for Thy Lotus feet,
 As the honey-bee for the nectar of the flowers.
 Night and day Lord, I am athirst for Thee,
 Give water of Thy mercy to Nanak :
 He is like the *sarang* : the hawk-cuckoo that drinks only rain
 drops—
 So that he may dwell ever in the peace of Thy Name'.⁵

During his stay at Puri, Nanak also spoke against the efficacy of the *Padamasna* in winning Him. He exposed the claim of the Brahman "who kept his eyes and nose closed" and claimed that "in that state he with his mental eyes saw the secrets of the world."⁶ Nanak hid the Brahman's *lota* while he was in the *asna* and when the Brahman, on opening his eyes, could not find the *lota*, he twitted him on "his want of omniscience":⁷

"Thou closest thy nose with thy thumb and the first two fingers,
 and sayest that thou seest the three worlds; ●

But thou seest not what is behind thee, this is a thing of
 wonder'.⁸

From Jagannath Puri, Nanak and Mardana moved towards central India. Passing through Khurd, Sauragarh, Sabhagpur

and crossing the Kartik hills, he travelled south of the Vindhya Mountains.⁹ While there, Mardana fell into the hands of Kauda—the cannibal. The latter was about to roast Mardana in oil to make a dainty dish when Guru Nanak “appeared on the scene, and on his appearance the oil cooled down”.¹⁰ This so impressed the man-eater that he not only stopped prosecuting his immediate design but also “became a true votary of the Lord”.¹¹ This experience so terrified Mardana that he did not leave the company of the Guru during the rest of their journey to Sultanpur.

Passing through Jubulpore, Chittarkut, Rima, Channe, Panna, Bhopal, Sagar, Chanderi, Bharatpur, Dhaulpur, Jind, Kaithal and Malerkotla, Nanak and Mardana ultimately reached Sultanpur after a lapse of more than four years.¹² Nanak’s appearance in the city where he had spent thirteen years and where he was so well-known caused a stir possibly because he discarded at Sultanpur his peculiar dress and took to an “ordinary secular costume”.¹³ “The Nawab paid him a visit” and “other friends and followers of the Guru” started coming to see him in order to hear the account of his travels.¹⁴

The news that Nanak had given up his *qalandar’s* dress soon reached Nanak’s parents through Mardana when the latter went on a short visit to Talwandi to see his own family there. This news encouraged them to send a message to Nanak to come to Talwandi, little knowing that Nanak had not yet ended his first *udasi*. No sooner was Mardana back at Sultanpur than, Nanak asked him to get ready for a march to Pakpattan to visit the shrine of Shaikh Farid.¹⁵

Sheikh Brahm,¹⁶ the then occupant of Farid’s *gaddi*, welcomed Nanak at Pakpattan with a fling on his secular dress :

‘Either seek for high position or for God,
Put not thy feet on two boats lest thy property founder’.

Nanak retorted :

‘Put thy feet on two boats and thy property also on them;

One boat may sink, but the other shall cross over.

For me there is no water, no boat, no wreck, and no loss.

Nanak, the True One is my property and wealth, and He is naturally everywhere contained'.¹⁷

From this mild encounter, Nanak and Brahm moved on to discuss questions like the nature of life, soul and its ultimate destiny, the grace of God and many other subjects in which an incumbent of a Sufi centre and a mystic would be naturally interested.¹⁸ It seems that in the course of the discussion which lasted many days, they discovered that there was much on which they agreed, but there were a number of things on which they had also great differences. The discussion, attended by large congregations, brought Nanak in the limelight in the 'Brahm District', enabling him to make "several converts" in that district.¹⁹

From Pakpattan, Nanak and Mardana went to Bushair in the Himalayas. They did not find the place particularly hospitable and they had to face many hardships there.²⁰ What helped them to face the rigours was the feeling that they were performing God's mission in the same spirit as the best of demigods, *Jogis* (ascetics), *Jatis* celibates and others of that sort had shown in serving Him :

'*Jogis* and *Jatis* go their own way, and don ochre-coloured garbs;

For Thy sake, O my Lord, the *derweshes* are imbued with love.

Thy names are various, Thy forms are various, the number of Thy merits cannot be told;

Men leaving houses and homes, palaces, elephants and horses go abroad;

Priests, prophets, holy and sincere men leave the world to obtain salvation.

They abandon good living, rest, happiness, and dainties; they doff clothes, and wear skins.

Imbued with Thy name they in anguish and pain become *derweshes* at Thy gate.

They don skins, carry begging-bowls, staves, and wear hair-tufts, sacrificial threads, and torn clothes'.²¹

Nanak's hardships paid at least one dividend. Jhanda, a carpenter, got attracted towards him and became his disciple. He later tried to communicate the Guru's message in the hill areas of the Punjab.

The hardship on the hills tired Mardana so much that he became insistent on the Guru's returning to Talwandi at least once to see his ageing parents. Perhaps because by now, Nanak had not seen Kalu and Tripta for a long time, he agreed and together with Mardana directed his steps to Talwandi.

And so ended what is called Nanak's first *udasi*.

CHAPTER XII

SILENCING THE HYPOCRITE

In March 1506, the Guru set out on what is called his second *udasi*.¹ That was only three months after completing the first one. In this tour, "he wore wooden sandals, took a (walking-) stick in his hand, twisted a rope round his head (to serve) as a turban, and on his forehead put a patch and a streak".² Accompanied again by Mardana, he decided to travel south.³

Guru Nanak and Mardana's first big halt was at Sirsa. It was a leisurely march and, in all probability, it was full of discourses with people in the area where he was to leave his greatest impress later. Passing through Jaito, Bhatinda, Malwa, and Bhatnair, he reached Sirsa⁴ "in about one year and four months".⁵

At Sirsa, the Guru stayed for "a good many days"⁶ and "had ample occasion to have religious discourses with Khawaja Abdul Shakur, Baha-ul-Haq, Jalal-ud-Din and other well-known faqirs".⁷

Guru Nanak's discourse with the then successor of Pir Mukhudum Baha-ud-Din Quereshi has been preserved in all its vividness by posterity. Perhaps this is because of being characteristically Nanakian. Nanak, having convinced himself that Mukhudum Baha-ud-Din's successor "had an extravagant idea of his own spiritual and temporal importance"⁸ and was otherwise a hypocrite, boldly uttered the following :

"The heart which relinquisheth God's praises and magnification
and attacheth itself to a skeleton,

Receiveth a hundred reproaches by day and a thousand by night'.⁹

It took some time for Nanak to bring the Pir to promise a proper conduct in future but once that happened the Pir's transformation was complete. He showed his gratitude by asking Nanak to stay at his headquarters and exchange the hardship of travel for the happiness of a permanent abode.¹⁰ He did not realize that for Nanak nothing except the 'Merciful One' was permanent and the world not quite the thing to be made a 'resting place' :

'Rest, sit at home, there is trouble in ever travelling,
A place of rest is recognized when men dwell there permanently.

What manner of resting-place is the world ?

Tie up the practice of sincerity as thy travelling expenses, and remain attached to the Name.

Jogis sit in devotional postures, *mullas* dwell at places of rest; Pandits read books, *sidhs* sit in the palaces of gods;

Demigods, *sidhs*, heavenly musicians, *munis*, saints, *shaikhs*, *pirs* and commanders.

Have gone, stage by stage, and others too are departing.

Emperors, kings, princes, nobles have marched away.

Man must depart in a moment or two; O my heart, understand that thou too must go.

This is told in hymns, yet few are they who understand this fact,

Nanak humbly asserteth, God is contained in sea and land, in the upper and lower regions.

He is unseen, inscrutable, omnipotent, the kind Creator.

The Merciful alone is permanent; the whole world besides is transitory.

Call Him permanent on whose head no destiny is recorded.

The heavens and the earths shall pass away; He the one God alone, is permanent.

By day the sun travelleth, by night the moon; hundreds of thousands of stars pass away.

The one God alone is our resting-place, Nanak saith verily'.¹¹

From Sirsa, Guru Nanak along with Mardana went to Bikaner. There, he saw the Jain mendicants of the Dhundia Sect.¹² Their apparently extreme renunciation which took the form of adopting dirty personal appearance did not impress Nanak :

'They give not their deceased *relations* lamps or perform their last rites, or place anywhere barley rolls or leaves for them.

The sixty-eight places of pilgrimage grant them no access; the Brahmans will not eat their food.

They are ever filthy day and night; they have no sacrificial marks on their foreheads.

They ever sit close as if they were at a wake, and they enter no assembly.

They hold cups in their hands; they have brooms by their sides; they walk in single file.

They are not *Jogis*, nor *Jangams*, nor *qazis* nor mullas.

God hath ruined them; they go about despised; their words are like curses.

God killeth and restoreth animals to life; none else may preserve them.

The Jains make not gifts or perform ablutions; dust lighteth on their plucked heads.

From water gems arose when Meru was made the churning-staff.

The gods appointed the sixty-eight places of pilgrimage, and holy days were fixed accordingly by their orders.

After ablution, the Muhammadans pray; after ablution the Hindus worship; the wise ever bathe.

The dead and the living are purified when water is poured on their heads.

Nanak they who pluck their heads are devils; these things please them not.

When it raineth there is happiness; animals then perform their functions.

When it raineth, there is corn, sugar-cane, and cotton, the clothing of all.¹³

It was only natural that when people for whom Nanak had such a poor opinion objected to Nanak's travelling "in the rainy season, when insects are abroad and there is a danger of killing them under foot"¹⁴ Nanak retorted :

'Nanak, if it rain in Savan, four species of *animals* have pleasure—

Serpents, deer, fish and sensualists who have women in their homes.

Nanak, if it rain in Savan, there are four categories of animals which feel discomfort—

Cows' calves, the poor, travellers, and servants'.¹⁵

From Bikaner, Guru Nanak and Mardana proceeded through Marwar, Jaisalmir and Jodhpur to Ajmer where he visited the shrine of Pir Qutub-ud-Din. He did not feel convinced of the genuineness of the priests in charge of the shrine. On the other hand, he got the impression :

'By speaking falsehood they satisfy the people,

By such satisfaction no good can be gained,

They waste their lives in hypocrisy (and) shall be bound and beaten at the door of Yama

O Nanak, he who has got a perfect *guru*, practises righteousness himself and points out righteousness to others'.¹⁶

Nanak courageously pointed out the irony of the then existing magnificent building at Ajmer at a place where Pir Qutub-ud-Din

had passed his days in a hut of hay significantly called by him as *dhai din ka jhaupara*. In giving the name to his modest abode Qutub-ud-Din had only underlined the transitory character of earthly life but his spiritual descendants had forgotten that important belief of the founder. While looking at the great building still described as *dhai din ka jhaupara*, Nanak could not help remarking :

‘Those who know that they are to depart, why should they lay such extensive and lasting foundations ?

Those who do not think of their departure, consider themselves alone competent to accomplish worldly affairs’.¹⁷

Nanak made no secret of his feelings and that disturbed the apparent serenity of the incumbents of the shrine. They tried to test the itinerant Nanak by asking what they should do to be true to the founder of their order. What they got back in reply impressed them. Nanak had told them that :

‘The lust is the devil, wrath is forbidden, the world is unreal.

The truth is for a *dervesh*, justice for monarchs, and mercy behoves a *faqir*.

A traveller must think of his goal. The faithless indulge in amatory songs. *Pirs* must be kind.

Magic is practised by the low, *faqirs* must be contented and, if not contented, they are hypocrites’.¹⁸

From Ajmer the Guru proceeded to Pushkar Raj from where he travelled through Nasirabad, Devgarh, Lodipur, Daranagri, Abu Hills, Pattan, Aidar, Ahmad Nagar, Banswara, Jaura, Mahdpur, Ujjain, Indore, Hushangabad, Narsinghpur, Balaghat, Nagpur, Seuni, Rainkot, Akola, Amrauli, Basant, Hangoli, Bonda, Bider, Baldana, Malapur, Hyderabad, Fatehbad, Rangar, Kelas, Eindank, Golkanda and reached Ganpur.¹⁹

Guru Nanak observed at Ganpur that people looked upon Ganesh, the reputed son of Shiva with an elephant’s head, as the dominant god. They hung his “pictures on their necks and

worshipped him as the Creator and the Almighty".²⁰ The Guru tried to convince them of their folly but achieved only a limited success.

Leaving Ganpur, Nanak and Mardana journeyed southwards and passing through Arkat, Srirangapatam, Jaujaur, Trichinopoly, Setbandrameshwar reached Cape Comorin.²¹

It seems that from Cape Comorin he took a boat for Ceylon but before reaching his destination chanced to drop in on an island²² which, according to the Sikh tradition was then "governed by an inhuman tyrant".²³ The tyrant, the tradition further says thought of putting Nanak and his companions to death for trespassing upon his island²⁴ but then the Guru fell into a trance and sang the following :

'He to whom the Lord is compassionate and merciful, will do the Master's work.

That worshipper whom God causeth to abide by His order, will worship Him.

By obeying His order man is acceptable, and shall then reach his Master's court.

He shall act as pleaseth his Master, and obtain the fruit his heart desireth,

And he shall be clothed with a robe of honour in God's Court'.²⁵

If the Sikh tradition is to be believed, this impressed the "tyrant" so much that he not only desisted from his intention but prostrated before the Guru and became his follower.²⁶ Perhaps he helped the Guru cross over to Ceylon in safety.

CHAPTER XIII

DESCRIBING THE PALACE OF GOD

On reaching Ceylon, Guru Nanak and Mardana rested in Raja Shivnabh's garden.¹ The Raja, not feeling sure that there was anything extraordinary in the new arrivals,² made some formal enquiries from Nanak. According to the Sikh tradition, he came in person to do so. It is said that Shivnabh asked Nanak whether he was a *Jogi*, a Brahman, or a Gorakhnath,³ and felt impressed by Nanak's reply. Nanak did not directly answer the Raja's question but gave his opinion on what an ideal *Jogi*, a perfect Brahman and a real Gorakh should be. Nanak said :

'The *Jogi* who is associated with the Name and is pure, hath not a particle of uncleanness.

He who keepeth with him the name of the Beloved, which is ever true, hath escaped birth and death.

× × ×

He is a Brahman who hath divine knowledge for his ablution, and God's praises for the leaves of his worship.

There is but One Name, One God, One Light in the three worlds.

× × ×

Above us is the sky, Gorakh is above the sky; His inaccessible form dwelleth there.

By the favour of the Guru, whether I am abroad or at home is the same to me; Nanak hath become such an anchoret.⁴

This reply of Guru Nanak struck Shivnabh as singularly original, indicating rare spiritual depth in the man come to his garden. Nanak's reply to his next query whether Nanak believed in the Hindu way of salvation or the Muslim way of obtaining paradise amazed him completely. Nanak's reply was :

'The True Guru hath solved the problem of the two ways.

It is he who fixeth his mind on the One God, and whose mind wavereth not, can understand it.'⁵

When Nanak continued giving advice on how Shivnabh could make his own life sublime, the Raja felt he was in the presence of a truly great soul. Nanak's advice was that Shivnabh should develop the same restless passion for God as a merchant does for the merchandise that brings him profit.

'Make thy heart a pair of scales, thy tongue its beam,
and weigh thou His inestimable Name

There is but one shop, one merchant above all;
the dealers are many.'⁶

Perhaps what had made the Raja so receptive to the type of advice that Nanak had given him was the fact that he had himself pondered a great deal on God and His way for some time past. The impulse to do so had come from the passionate yearnings for a son to succeed him.⁷

Shivnabh soon invited Nanak to the palace⁸ and the queen began to look after the *faqir* coming from the distant Punjab with the sincerity of a disciple.⁹ She may well have believed that her devotion would bring her the desired boon. One day she was explicit about it and asked the Guru for an amulet.¹⁰ What she got in reply was a couplet of Shaikh Farid :

'Make humility thy amulet, obedience thy enchanted thread
and a sweet tongue thy enamouring charm'.¹¹

As chance would have it, the prayers of Shivnabh and his wife bore fruit and when they did become the proud parents of a son,

their adoration for the Guru increased all the more. The result was that Guru Nanak along with Mardana stayed in Ceylon much longer than he had originally intended.

Guru Nanak utilised his stay of more than two years in Ceylon in composing the *Pransangali*.¹² In this composition, Nanak described the 'silent palace of God, the manner of meditating on Him . . . and the nature of the soul and the body.'¹³ The following are the opening verses of *Pransangali* :

'The Supreme state is altogether a void, all people say;
In the Supreme state there is no rejoicing or mourning;
In the Supreme state there are felt no hopes or desires;
In the Supreme state are seen no castes or caste-marks;
In the Supreme state are no sermons or singing of hymns;
In the Supreme state abideth heavenly meditation;
In the Supreme state are those who know themselves'.¹⁴

As was perhaps natural, the Guru gathered a large following around him in Ceylon by the time he left the island. The most zealous among the adoring followers turned out to be Jhanda Badi (carpenter)¹⁵ who tried to preach with somewhat limited success Guru Nanak's message of the unity of Godhead.

CHAPTER XIV

PREACHING GOD'S IMMANENCE

Having spent two and a half years in Ceylon,¹ Guru Nanak and Mardana started for home. The return journey was along the western coast of India and through Sindh. They travelled through Malabar, Karnatak, Travancore, Cochin, Calicut, Dharwar, Rajapur, Panchbatti, Baroda, Baroach, Surat, the Bay of Kambet, Nimri, Gaijwar and reached Junagarh in 1508.² After staying at Junagarh for about four months,³ Nanak and Mardana, after crossing the Girhar Hills, went to Sudamanpuri.⁴

At Sudamanpuri, the Guru noticed that most of the people had upon their "necks a pendant Shivling or Saligram, each weighing five seers or more."⁵ The Guru pointed out that God "is within yourself" and made a frontal attack on the Shivling practice :

'O ye, the Lord, who is within yourself remains unobserved
by ye (and) ye hang stones on your neck,

O ye infidels ! ye wander in ignorance

Ye are unnecessarily toiling in churning water (for the sake
of butter).

The very stone ye believe to be your lord,
shall drown its votary along with itself

O ye sinful and perfidious,

The stone is not a boat which can carry ye across a river.⁶

From Sudamanpuri, Guru Nanak and Mardana moved to Multan.

Passing through Gomti, Dawarka, Sankhtalai, Mundre, Amarkot, Ahmadpur, Khanpur, Bhawalpur, Shershah they reached the city of saints and *faqirs*.⁷

At Multan, Nanak and Mardana sat on the outskirts of the city, hoping to be invited into the city by one or other of the numerous *faqirs* within the city. But, instead of an invitation, the Guru received a brimful cup of milk "as a token of the fact that the town was already full of *pirs* and *faqirs* just like the cup, and that there was no room for another religious teacher."⁸ Guru Nanak responded by plucking a jasmine flower, laying it on the surface of the milk⁹ and returning the milk to the *pirs*. This was to indicate that there was still room for one more.¹⁰ Obviously Guru Nanak was proclaiming that he had something new to say and was demanding a hearing.

When subsequently the *pirs* allowed Guru Nanak to enter the city, he did not disappoint them. They heard a long discourse between him and the then incumbent of Bahauddin's religious centre. Guru Nanak's "hymns which were, as usual, extemporized on the spot" made the Hindus and Muhammadan *faqirs* give up their pride and arrogance and learn humility.¹¹

After this success at Multan, the Guru and Mardana went to Tulamba where they chanced to visit the house of a certain Sheikh Sajjan. The house was situated out in the country and its owner had built both a temple and a mosque. These were ostensibly for the convenience of Hindu and Muslim travellers but sajjan was a *thug* and his real purpose was to lure travellers into his house in order that he might murder them and so acquire their wealth. His method of despatching his guests was to throw them into a well.¹² Nanak and Mardana were welcomed in the usual way and when night came, he invited them to take rest. The Guru sang a hymn :

'Bronze is bright and shining, but, by rubbing,
its sable blackness appeareth,

Which cannot be removed even by washing a hundred times.

They are friends who travel with me as I go along,
And who are found standing ready whenever their accounts
are called for.

Houses, mansions, palaces painted on all sides,
When hollow within, are *as it were* crumbled and useless.

Hérons arrayed in white dwell at places of pilgrimage;
Yet they rend and devour living things and, therefore,
should not be called white.

My body is like the *simal* tree; men beholding me mistake
me.

Its fruit is useless : such qualities my body possesseth.

I am a blind man carrying a burden, while the mountainous
way is long.

I want eyes which I cannot get; how can I ascend and
traverse the journey ?

Of what avail are services, virtues, and cleverness ?

Nanak, remember the Name, so mayest thou be released from
thy shackles'.¹³

This not only convinced Sajjan of his sins but changed his
entire life. He became Nanak's disciple and subsequently a great
missionary of Nanak's faith.¹⁴

The Guru ended his *udasi* to the south when he travelled
from Multan to Talwandī and "met his relations and his "old
friend Rai Bular who had only a few more days to live". The
Guru helped his old patron to take the inevitable and with a
good cheer by "giving up all concern with this world".¹⁵

CHAPTER XV

TEACHING HUMILITY TO THE LEARNED

Nanak began his third *udasi* in 1514.¹ This *udasi* was towards "the north country"² and lasted about a year.³ As in the earlier *udasis*, in this *udasi* also he was accompanied by Mardana. Perhaps because he was to travel in the cold and hilly areas, for this *udasi* he "wore leather on his feet and on his head, twisted a rope round his body, and on his forehead stamped a saffron *tilak*."⁴

He did not directly go to the north. His initial move was to the Punjab hill States in the Jullundur Doab and the cis-Satluj area. He and Mardana moved to "Kalanaur, Sujampur, Dasuha, Palampur, Kangra, Mandi, Rawalsar, Chamba, Nadaun, Kahlur, Ropar, Joharsar, Sirmur, Mussoorie, Uttar Kashi and Garhwal." From Garhwal they crossed the Shiwalik Hills and having spent some time at Gangotri, or the source of the Ganges, moved to Srinagar.⁵

At Srinagar,⁶ Guru Nanak had to encounter Brahm Das, "then the most eminent of the Kashmiri Pandits".⁷ The initiative was that of Brahm Das. He came to the Guru with an "idol suspended from his neck" and "two loads of Sanskrit books".⁸ Obviously, he wanted to overawe "the Guru with his piety and learning".⁹

No sooner did he arrive in the Guru's presence, than he made an undisguised attack on his dress : "Why wearest thou leather, which is unclean ? Why twistest thou a rope round thy body ? Why hast thou abandoned the observance of thy religion ?"¹⁰ The Guru met the attack by refusing to take note of the questions and

lifted the discussion to a higher plane by observing :

'Beautiful is God; Nanak, all happiness is in His name.

God Himself has created and recognized His creation.

He separated the earth from the sky and spread a canopy over it.

He fixed the heavens without pillars by the utterance of His Word.

Having created the sun and the moon, He infused His light into them.

He fixed the heavens without pillars by the utterance of His Word.

Having created the sun and the moon, He infused His light into them.

He made the wonderful play of night and day,

Pilgrimages, religion, meditation, and bathing on holy days.

None of these is equal to thee, O God;
how can I describe Thee?

Thou sittest on a true throne;
all else are subject to birth and death'.¹¹

After a pause, the Guru continued to say :

'Thou, O God, who didst diffuse truth, art the truest of the true.

Thou sittest in an attitude of contemplation concealed in the lotus of the heart.

Brahma called himself great, but he found not Thy limit.

Thou hast no father no mother. Who begot Thee?

Thou art devoid of form, outline, or caste.

Thou feelst not hunger nor thirst;

Thou art satisfied and satiated.

The great God is contained in Himself, and hath diffused
His word

They who are satisfied with the True One get absorbed in Him.¹²

Brahm Das realized that he was face to face with one whose eccentric dress was deceptive and who had studied and pondered deep in spiritual matters. He would not, however, give in easily and thought of asking a difficult question. He told the Guru that it was easy enough to say that God created the world. But of what did He create it? And what existed before He did it?¹³ Guru's answer was :

Through uncountable ages,

Complete darkness brooded

Over utter vacancy.

There were no worlds, no firmaments.

The Will of the Lord was alone pervasive.

There was neither night nor day,
nor sun nor moon.

But only God in ceaseless trance.

No air and no water,

No utterance, no source of life.

No beginning or ending, no growth or decay,

No continents, no regions under the earth,

No swelling oceans or winding rivers.

The higher, the middle, the lower planes
did not exist.

Eating time did not exist either.

There was neither heaven nor hell,

Since the cycle of birth and death
had not begun,

And so there was no upper region of bliss,
 No middle region of purgation,
 No lowest region of torment.

There were no gods to inhabit
 the highest heavens,
 No Brahma, No Vishnu, no Siva;
 There was the One, the Eternal and
 none besides;

There was neither male nor female,
 Neither shaping nor begetting,
 There was nothing to experience
 Either pleasure or pain.

There were no ascetics and no voluptuaries,
 No monks and no hermits,
 No religious communities of any sort,
 No liturgies, no creeds.
 There was no one to think of anyone.
 Except God to think of Himself.
 God was His own emanation,
 He judges His own worth and
 rejoiced in His own Beauty.

There were not any Vaishnavites, counting
 their basil beads,
 There were no ritual observances or
 pious forbearances;
 Krishna was not, nor were his milkmaids,
 Neither were *tantras* and *mantras*
 Saktis and all their humbug,
 Nor was there any flute-player.

There were no churches, with their creeds and rites,
 There was no *maya* the veil of illusion,
 That makes dark and defiles;
 There were no castes, since there were no births,

There was no predestination to drag us through
 The mud of the worldly attachment and
 death and rebirth
 And the worship of too many gods.

There were no living bodies and souls,
 There was nothing and no one to
 accept or deny the truth :
 The Great Gorakh and Machhindra did not exist
 There was no subject for contemplation,
 No object of knowledge,
 Nothing to trace the genesis of,
 Nothing to sit judgement on.
 There were no divisions of caste or rank,
 no sectarian antagonisms,
 No idols nor temples, nor creeds of
 particular nations,

There were no clashing forms of prayer
 and worship,
 Nor any to worship or pray.

There were no mullas or *qazies* or *hadjis*;
 No Sufis and no disciples of the Sufis,
 No proud kings, nor their subjects,
 No Masters either, nor slaves.
 There did not exist either the cult based on
 adoring worship of Vishnu,
 Nor that based on Siva, the passive male,
 And Sakti, the active female :
 There was neither friendship nor
 sexual appetite;
 God was both creditor and debtor then,
 Such being His pleasure.

There had not been scribed the Vedas,
 Nor the Scriptures of the Semetics.

Nor read a gospel at dawn,
 an epistle at sunset,
 Only the Unspeakable spoke of
 Himself to Himself.
 Only the Unknowable of Himself had
 His knowledge.

When he so willed, He shaped the Universe,
 The firmament He spread without a prop to support it.
 He created the high gods,
 Brahma, Vishnu and Shiva.

And Maya the goddess, the veil of illusion,
 Who maketh Truth dark and increaseth
 worldly attachment.

To some, to a chosen few, the Guru
 revealeth the Lord's Word.
 The Lord creates and He watcheth
 His creation;
 He made the heavenly bodies,
 Our Universe in the endless space,
 Above, below and around it.

And out of the unmanifested,
 Unmovable ground of
 His Being,
 To us and in us, He made
 Himself manifest.
 None knoweth the Lord's beginning
 Nor His end'.¹⁴

According to Sikh chroniclers, this sermon produced an effect on Brahm Das but not enough to make him shed his pride.¹⁵ He appears to have recognized Nanak's supremacy but continued to treat fellow Brahmins with the contempt born out of his superior scholarship. Nanak joined the Brahmins in driving home to Brahm Das the virtues of modesty. One day, when Brahm Das came to

him, Nanak advised him to take a *guru*. The latter enquired where was one to be found. Nanak bade him go to a certain house where he would find four *faqirs* who would suggest to him a true *guru*. Brahm Das went to them, and "they, after some delay, pointed to a temple in which they said he should find his *guru*."¹⁶ The Pandit proceeded thither but only noticed a woman in red guarding the temple.¹⁷ Brahm Das came to the *faqirs* full of rage¹⁸ but they silenced him by saying that the woman in the temple was truly the *guru* he had sought for a long time. She was *maya*,¹⁹ or worldly love.

The remark of the four *faqirs* went home. Pandit Brahm Das threw away the two loads of books, came to Nanak and promised to be "so humble" as to look upon himself as "the dust of the earth". He actually burst into tears.²⁰ The Guru took advantage of the psychological crisis in the Pandit to hammer into him the efficacy of revering God's name :

**'Indar wept after his thousandfold punishment.
Paras Ram wept on his return home;
King Ajai wept after eating what he had obtained at alms;
Such is the punishment meted out in God's court.
Rama wept when he was exiled from his kingdom,
And separated from Sita and Lachhman,
Rawan, who took away Sita with the beat of drum
Wept when he had lost Lanka.**

**The Pandavs though their master had been with them
Became slaves and wept;
Janameja wept when he went astray—
For one offence he was deemed a sinner—
Shaikhs, disciples and *pirs* weep
for fear of suffering at the last moment;
Kings wept when their ears were torn,
•And they went to beg alms from door to door;
The miser wept at his departure from the wealth he
had amassed;
The Pandit wept when he had lost his learning;**

The young girl who hath no husband weepeth—

Nanak, the whole world is in misery.

He who revereth the Name is victorious;

No other act is of any avail.²¹

Guru Nanak's stay at Srinagar was a success and he now penetrated the Himalayas, and scaled numerous lofty peaks until he arrived at Mount Sumer.²² There, he met many renowned *sidhs*.²³

Nanak joined the *sidhs* in praising God and then remarked :

'I offer my prayer to Him who is the true and infinite One.

I will cut off my head and lay it before Him;

I will place before Him my soul and body.

Nanak, by meeting a holy man, the True One is found and honour is easily obtained.

Is the True and Pure One obtained by wandering ?

There is no salvation without the True Word'.²⁴

That aroused the curiosity of the *sidhs* and they asked :

Who art thou ? What is thy name ?

What is thy sect and what is thy object ?

Speak the truth; this is what we urge;

we are a sacrifice to saintly men.

Where is thy seat, where dwellest thou, O youth ?

Whence hast thou come, and wither goest thou ?

"Hear, O Nanak", said the *sidhs*, "What are thy tenets ?"²⁵

Nanak replied :

'I dwell in God who hath His seat in every heart;

I act according to the will of the True Guru.

I came in the course of nature, and according to God's
order shall I depart, Nanak is ever subject to His will.

To be fixed in God is my prayerful attitude;
such knowledge have I obtained from the Guru.

If one understand the Guru's instruction and know oneself,
then he being true shall be absorbed in the True One'.²⁶

But what intrigued the *sidhs* was how could one do all that
without completely renouncing the world ? A *sidh* called Charpat
asked Nanak :

'The world is an ocean, and is said to be difficult to cross;
how shall man traverse it ?

Saith Charpat, "O Adhut, give a true reply".²⁷

Nanak explained :

'As a lotus in the water remaineth dry,
as also a waterfowl in the stream,

So by meditating on the Word and repeating God's
Name, shalt thou be unaffected by the world.

Nanak is a slave to those who remain apart from the world,
in whose heart the One God abideth,
who live without desire in the midst of desires,

And who see and show to others the inaccessible and
incomprehensible God'.²⁸

The *sidhs* liked his discourse and exclaimed with approval 'All
hail', thereby conceding that worldly life and devotion to the
Almighty could go together. Nanak took advantage of that
psychological moment and with a view to underlining the obligation
of the *sidhs*, as leaders of thought to the world, he described the then
state of affairs in the world with the obvious intention of pointing

out to the *sidhs* that in feeling proud of their renouncing it, they were forgetting the obligation:

'This age is like a drawn sword,
the kings are butchers;
Goodness hath taken wing and flown.
In the dark night of falsehood,
I espy not the moon of Truth anywhere.
I grope after Truth and am bewildered.
I see no path in the darkness;
It is the obstinacy with which Man
Clings to his petty selfhood.
That causeth this anguish
Nanak asketh; where is the path of salvation'.²⁹

CHAPTER XVI

CHALLENGING FORMALISM ABROAD

Nanak stayed at Talwandi for fifteen months after completing his third *udasi* before beginning his "fourth journey" in the middle of February 1518,¹ along with Mardana. This time Nanak had decided to go west to Muslim countries, particularly Arabia.²

Nanak began his fourth travel by moving in the north-western direction.³ His first big halt was at Hasan Abdal "which was then a great centre of Muhammadan religious enthusiasm."⁴

From the story that the Sikh tradition associates with Nanak's stay at Hasan Abdal, it is clear that he and Mardana had, more or less, an uncomfortable stay at that place. It is said that at the time the two went to Hasan Abdal, there lived "on a hillock a bigoted and selfish priest known as Baba Wali of Qandhar. The Guru and his minstrel needed water for their evening repast, and it could only be obtained from the Wali. Mardana told him that he and Guru Nanak had arrived, and he advised him to see the Guru who was a great saint of God. Baba Wali, who claimed holiness only for himself, became offended on hearing the Guru's praises, and refused the required water. He said that in case Mardana's master was such a holy man, he ought to provide him with water himself. When that reply was communicated to the Guru, he sent Mardana back to the Wali that he himself was a very poor creature of God, and laid no claims to be a saint. The Wali paid no heed to what he had communicated, but persisted in his refusal to spare some water for the Guru and his minstrel. The Guru was then compelled to bore a hole in the ground near

the place where he was staying, and a stream of water immediately issued forth. Upon this, the Wali's well dried up, there being only a limited supply of water in the locality. The Wali's rage naturally mounted, and it is said that he hurled a large boulder upon the Guru's unoffending head. The Guru, on seeing the descending boulder, raised his right arm to protect himself. It is related that no sooner did the palm of his hand come into contact with the boulder than its descent was stopped. The impression of the palm of the Guru's hand was left on the descending mass, which is now known as 'Panja Sahib' and is held in great reverence by the Sikhs".⁵

It was characteristic of the courageous Nanak that the experience did not dishearten him. Instead of returning he continued the journey, though he cut short his stay at Hasan Abdal. The Guru and Mardana travelled farther north-west and reached "Gorakh-Hatri, a quarter of the city of Peshawar on the frontier of the Punjab where there is an ancient temple of Gorakhnath."⁶ This temple was in the custody of *jogis* who had already heard of the moral and spiritual influence that Nanak had begun to command among various religious orders. With a view to testing the depth of the Guru's command of the religious beliefs of the times, they welcomed⁷ Nanak to the temple and put him the following questions :⁸

'What callest thou that gate at which thou sittest?

Who can see the gate within it ?

×

×

×

How shall we cross the ocean ?

How shall we be dead while alive⁹ ?'

This is how Nanak answered the questions :

'Sorrow is the gate, wrath the porter, hope and anxiety its folding-doors,

Mammon is a moat, domestic life its water; man bideth by taking his seat on truth.

How many names hast Thou, O God ! Their limit cannot be known; there is none equal to Thee.

The *sidhs* discovered that Nanak differed fundamentally with their beliefs but on the whole proved quite sporting. Perhaps that was because of the gentle manner in which Nanak had attacked their beliefs and put forth his own. This encouraged even the wavering Mardana to look forward to a successful visit to Mecca.

In his journey from Peshawar onwards, Nanak put on "the blue dress of a Muhammadan pilgrim, took a *faqir's* staff in his hand and a collection of his hymns under his arm."¹³ He also carried "with him in the style of a Musalman devotee a cup for his ablutions and a carpet whereon to pray". And "whenever an opportunity offered itself, he shouted the Muhammadan call to prayer like any orthodox follower of the Arabian Prophet."¹⁴ It is obvious that Nanak had no intention of giving any unnecessary offence to the Muslim practice of going on a *Haj* and the feeling of piety and devotion that accompanied it. But when he reached Mecca, he found himself challenging, perhaps inadvertently, a Muslim formalism considered sacrosanct.

The Guru had reached the mosque in Mecca "weary and footsore" and while the other "pilgrims engaged in their devotion", he laid to rest earlier than usual and, perhaps, without realizing what he was doing, he slept with "his feet towards the *Kaaba*".¹⁵

This brought on Nanak the wrath of one Jivan, a *qazi* of Indian origin.¹⁶ The latter on noticing Nanak's irreverence kicked Nanak and enquired rudely, "why hast thou, O sinner, turned thy feet in the direction of God's house ?"¹⁷ The Guru took the rebuke calmly, but replied that as far as he was concerned he saw the *Kaaba* in every direction and suggested that the *qazi* might drag his feet in the direction which the latter felt was away from God.¹⁸ That reply so impressed the *qazi* that he immediately went to the head priest, Pir Patalia,¹⁹ who came and enquired of Nanak which country he came from and on being told that it was Hindustan, the *pir* further asked which of the two religions of that country, Hinduism or Islam, was superior in his eyes.²⁰

According to Bhai Gurdas,
Baba (Nanak) answered : 'Without good deeds both lead only
to suffering.

Neither Hindus nor Muslims find refuse in (God's) court.

The safflower's pigment is not fast; it runs off when washed
in water.

People are zealous of one another, but Ram and Rahim
are one.

The world has taken the devil's path'.²¹

But how did Nanak explain the composition of matter, the nature
of the God he adored, how was He to be found, and in what con-
sisted the essence of religion, enquired the *Pit*. The Guru explained :

'Know that, according to the Mussalmans, everything is
produced from air, fire, water and earth.

But the pure God created the world out of five
elements.

However high a man may leap, he shall fall back on the earth
again

Even though a bird fly, it cannot compete in endurance with
the torrent and the wind which move by God's will.

How great shall I call God ? To whom shall I go to inquire
regarding Him ?

He is the greatest of the great, and great is
His world; men depart in their pride.

I have consulted the four Vedas, but these writings
find not God's limits.

I have consulted the nine regions of the earth; one
improveth upon what the other said.

Having turned my heart into a boat, I have searched
in every sea;

I have dwelt by rivers and streams, and bathed at the
sixty-eight places of pilgrimage.

I have lived among the forests and glades of the
three worlds and eaten bitter and sweet;

I have seen the seven nether regions and heavens
upon heavens,

And I, Nanak, say man shall be true to his faith
if he fear God and do good works'.²²

That excited the curiosity of the *Pir*. He asked Nanak what he would do to obtain Him. The Guru replied that what could he do except pray to Him, and explained that he was already doing that in all humility. He said his daily prayer to Him was :

'I make one supplication before Thee; lend Thine ear,
O Creator !

O God, Thou art great and merciful, Thou art the
faultless Cherisher.

The world is a perishable abode; O my heart, know
this as truth !

Azrail (Gabriel) seizeth me by the hair of my head;
yet thou knowest it not, O my heart !

There shall be no wife, no son, no father, no brother,
no one to take my hand.

There shall be no one to stop my falling at last
when my fate cometh.

I have passed my nights and days in vanity, and my
thoughts have been evil.

I have never done a good act—this is my condition.

I am unfortunate, I am also miserly and negligent,
I see not, and I fear not.

Nanak saith, I am Thy slave, and the dust of the
feet of Thy servants'.²³

That impressed the high priest of Mecca and feeling that the longer Nanak stayed at Mecca the greater were the chances of the spiritually inclined *faqir* from Hindustan to come nearer Islam, he encouraged Nanak not only to stay for some time at the Muslim headquarters

but express himself freely. Nanak stayed²⁴ but noticed the same insistence on empty forms as he had earlier noticed at the Hindu centres in India. He could not help singing one day to some *Hajis* :

‘Thy fasting and worship shall be acceptable
 When thou, O man, keepest watch over the ten
 apertures of thy body, hatest the world,
 Chastenest thy mind, restrainest thy sight, and
 fleest worldly desires and wranglings :
 Everyday of the month, offer thy love to the Lord;
 thus shalt thou be recognized as pure and gentle.
 Keep the fast of meditation, and let the renunciation
 of pleasure be thy dance;
 Keep watch over thy heart, so shalt thou be a really
 learned man;
 Abandon delights, ease, evil speaking, mental anxiety
 and vexation;
 Treasure kindness in thy heart, and renounce the
 devices of infidelity.
 Extinguish the fire of lust in thy heart, and thus
 become cool.
 Saith Nanak, thus practise fasting, and thy faith
 shall be perfect’.²⁵

By the time Nanak chose to leave Mecca, he seemed to have already impressed a good number of thinking visitors to the holy city which attracted, then as always, Muslims from all over the world.²⁶ The result was that when Nanak and Mardana reached Medina, the former had to engage with a good number of “Muhammadian priests in argument”²⁷ and when later stayed at Baghdad on his way home “became very popular and numerous people began to assemble round him.”²⁸

While at Baghdad, it seems, Nanak heard of Baber planning a big attack on the Lodis in India. It was characteristic of the

courageous Nanak that this did not prompt him to prolong his stay abroad. On the other hand, he chose to make a hurried return to the Punjab. Accompanied by the ageing Mardana, he passed through Halb Bakr, Tehran and Isphan in Persia; Konkan, Tashkhand, Khojand, Bukhara and Samarkand Khanates in Central Asia; and Takht Suleman, Mazar and Kabul in Afghanistan before reaching the Khyber Pass. From there he came to Jamrud, Peshawar and Naushera and passing through the Attock, Rawalpindi, Gujrat and Sialkot Districts reached Eminabad in April 1521.²⁹

CHAPTER XVII

UNDERGOING HIS MOST POIGNANT EXPERIENCE

Guru Nanak and Mardana had not yet finished their fourth *udasi* and had not reached home when they underwent one of the most poignant experiences of their lives. This was during their stop at Eminabad¹ when the Guru appears to have decided to stay for some time before making the final hop to Talwandi. Perhaps he had taken that decision on the earnest insistence of Lalo who had remained a consistent admirer of the Guru ever since he had first paid a visit to Eminabad two decades earlier.

During the years that had elapsed between Nanak's last stay at Eminabad and now, the local Pathan chief² had further increased his tyranny with very disastrous results. To Nanak, it appeared

'Modesty and religion have vanished; falsehood marcheth in the van, O Lalo.

The occupation of the Qazis and the Brahmins is gone; the devil readeth the marriage service, O Lalo.

Mussalman women read the Quran, and in suffering call upon God, O Lalo.

Hindu women, whether of high or low caste, meet the same fate as they, O Lalo.

They sing the psalm of murder, O Nanak, and smear themselves with the saffron of blood.

Nanak singeth the praises of the Lord in the city of corpses, and uttereth this commonplace—

He who made men assigned them different positions; He sitteth apart alone and watcheth them.³

When Nanak shared these thoughts with Lalo,⁴ the latter asked the Guru what he meant by saying that God had assigned different positions to different men,⁵ the Guru explained.

'God can cause lions, hawks, kestrels, and falcons to eat grass. And the animals which eat grass He can cause to eat meat—such a custom can be established :

He can cause hills to appear in rivers, and unfathomable rivers in the sandy desert.

He can appoint a worm to sovereignty, and reduce an army to ashes.

What wonder would it be if God caused to live without breath all the animals which live by breathing.

Nanak, as it pleaseth the True One, so He giveth us sustenance."⁶

This faith in the Almighty enabled the Guru to go with equanimity through the havoc which overtook Eminabad soon after. Baber marched from Kabul, and

'There was a contest between the Mughals and the Pathans; The sword was wielded in the battle.

One side aimed and discharged their guns, the other threw elephants into the battle and charged with them."⁷

The unexpected resistance at Eminabad after an easy march from Kabul provoked Baber to unbecoming anger and

'He burned houses, mansions, and palaces; he cut princes to pieces, and had them rolled in dust."⁸

The result was that

'Desecration and desolation followed
in the footsteps

Of the Great Moghal, Baber.

Now, none in Hindustan could
eat his supper in peace.

For the Muslim, the hour of prayer
was past,

For the Hindu, the time of worship
was gone'.⁹

Baber ordered his "soldiers to take and dishonour" the women of Eminabad.¹⁰ The latter did so, not sparing even Muslim women.

'There were the wives of Hindus, of Turks, of Bhattis, and
Rajputs

The robes of some were torn from head to foot; the dwellings
of others were their places of cremation'.¹¹

and

'The tresses that adorned these lovely heads,
And were parted with vermilion,
Have been shorn with cruel shears :
Dust has been thrown on their shaven heads.
They lived in ease in palaces,
Now they must beg by the roadside.
Having no place for their shelter.

×

×

×

When these whose heads are shorn
were married
Fair indeed seemed their bridegrooms
beside them.
They were brought home in palanquins
carved with ivory.
Pitchers of water were waved over
their heads
In ceremonial welcome.
Ornate fans waving above them glittered.

At the first entry into the new home
 Each bride was offered a gift of a lakh
 of rupees
 Another lakh when each stood up to take
 her post in her new home;
 Shredded coconuts and raisins were
 among the delicious fruits,
 Served to them at their tables.
 These beauties lent charm to the couches
 they reclined on.
 Now they are dragged away, with ropes
 round their necks;
 Their necklaces are snapped and
 their pearls scattered.
 Their beauty and wealth were
 once their greatest assets,
 Their beauty and wealth are
 their greatest enemies now'.¹²

The massacre effected by Baber's army resulted in almost the total ruin of the City of Eminabad, and Nanak could not help observing :

'Where are those sports, those stables, and those horses ?
 Where are those bugles and clarions ?

Where are those who buckled on their swords and were mighty
 in battle ? Where are those scarlet uniforms ?

Where are those mirrors and fair faces ? We see them no
 longer here.

×

×

×

Where are those houses, those mansions and those palaces ?
 Where are those beautiful seraglios ?

Where are those easy couches and those women a sight of
whom banished sleep ?

Where is that betel, those betel-sellers, and those fair ones ?
They have vanished'.¹³

On occupying Eminabad, Baber ordered a large-scale arrest of the leading residents not sparing even the "holy". Among those so hauled up and placed under the charge of Mir Khan were Nanak and Mardana.¹⁴ Nanak bore the undeserved ordeal with faith in God that cheered others :

'No one can kill him, O kind One, whom Thou preservest.

How can Thy praises be counted ? Thou savest countless
beings.

Preserve me, O my Beloved, preserve me ! I am Thy slave.

My true Lord pervadeth the sea and the land,
the nether and the upper regions.

Thou didst preserve Sain, Kabir, and
Trilochan who loved Thy name.

Thou didst preserve Ravidas, the cobbler,
who is counted among the saints.

Nanak, who is without honour or family,
uttereth supplication

Extricate him, O Lord, from the ocean of the world,
and make him Thine own'.¹⁵

When some one suggested that Nanak and others could escape their ordeal by embracing Islam, the Guru raised his voice against the proposal with great courage on the plea that

'There are hundreds of thousands of Muhammads,
but only one God

The Unseen is true and without anxiety

Many Muhammads stand in His court

So numberless are they that they cannot be counted.

He sends prophets to the world.

Whenever He pleaseth He hath them arrested and brought
before Him'.¹⁶

He declared that :

'Thy slave Nanak hath ascertained
That God alone is pure and all else impure'.¹⁷

and proclaimed his unfaltering devotion to Him :

'I have sold myself in the shop for God's word;
where He placed me, there am I placed.

× × ×

If Thou mayest drink I will fetch Thee water, O Lord;
if Thou mayest eat I will grind corn for Thee.

I will fan Thee, I will shampoo Thy limbs, and continue to
repeat Thy name.

Saith Nanak, ungrateful is Thy slave; if Thou mayest
pardon him, it will be to Thy glory.

In the beginning, in every age, Lord of Mercy,
without Thee salvation is not obtained'.¹⁸

For Nanak and his fellow prisoners the exacting rigours imposed
by Mir Khan were over sooner than expected. Baber heard of
Shah Beg's incursions into his Afghan kingdom, released the prisoners
at Eminabad, vacated the town and marched back to Kabul¹⁹.

Nanak came out of the prison with great contempt for the
Lodis who called themselves the overlords of Hindustan but had
done nothing to save Eminabad from Baber. That, while expressing
his contempt for them, he should have even expressed wonder at
God's way in allowing Baber's massacre at Eminabad, is a measure
of the intensity of Nanak's anger with the Lodis :

'Though Khurasan has been shielded by Thee,

Though terror has struck at the heart of Hindustan,
 Thou, O Creator of all things,
 Takest to Thyself no blames;
 Thou hast sent Yama disguised
 as the great Moghul, Baber.
 Terrible was the slaughter,
 Loud were the cries of the lamenters.
 Did this not awaken pity in Thee,
 O Lord ?
 Thou art part and parcel of all things equally,
 O Creator :
 Thou must feel for all men and all nations.
 If a strong man attacketh another
 who is equally strong :
 Where is the grief in this, or
 whose is the grievance ?
 But when a fierce tiger preys on the
 helpless cattle,
 The herdsman must answer for it.
 A kingdom that was a jewel
 Was wasted by the (Lodi) dogs,
 No one will mourn their passing'.²⁰

Baber's departure from Eminabad was followed by heart-rending "crying and weeping" of those who had lost their near and dear ones,²¹ and by a scramble for the building material for the houses and the unclaimed belongings by those who were in undue haste to rehabilitate themselves. Nanak felt it obligatory to stay at Eminabad for some time at least to console the former and chastise the latter. In doing this, he reminded the people of Eminabad of the transitory character of man's life in world and futility of shedding tears for those already dead. He exhorted that instead they better plan for honest and virtuous life in the new Eminabad ;

'As herdsmen stay for a short time in the pasture-ground,
 so do men stay in this world,
 Men by the exercise of falsehood build houses for themselves

Awake, awake ye sleepers; lo ! the soul the dealer departeth.

If ye are to remain here for ever, then build houses,

Thy body shall fall and the soul depart,

if anyone desire to know the truth.

Why criest thou for others ? Alas ! alas !

God is and shall be.

Ye weep for others, but who will weep for you ?

Ye worry for worldly occupations, my brethren,

and practise falsehood.

The dead hear not at all; ye only cry to be heard of others.

×

×

×

If anyone knows for certain, that he can take

something at the time of his departure,

Then let him with open eyes amass wealth—know and

consider this.

Do thy dealing : gain thy object; be not sorry hereafter.

Thou shalt be known as a true dealer if thou takest any

profit with thee.

Sow the seed of truth in the soil of honesty;

in that way practise tillage.

Forsake vice, practise virtue, so shalt thou obtain

the Real thing'.²²

CHAPTER XVIII

REBUKING THE WEALTHY

Guru Nanak's imprisonment at Eminabad and his subsequent work among the unfortunate residents of that city brought him instant fame all over the Land of the Five Rivers. The result was that Daulat Khan Lodi sent him an urgent message to come to Lahore. This was natural. Daulat Khan had been, by then, the Governor of the Lahore *Suba* for almost two decades¹ and was keen on getting a first-hand information from his old *modi* of Baber's sack of Eminabad,

Daulat Khan extended to Guru Nanak a royal hospitality when the latter arrived at Lahore. That royal reception, combined with Nanak's reputation as a great and courageous *faqir*, attracted not only a large but also an influential audience. One Duni Chand who enjoyed great power and prestige in the Lahore City as a financier,² came under the spell of Nanak immediately.

It was characteristic of Nanak that he dealt with the millionaire Duni Chand in the same way as he would deal with his common admirers. The Guru's behaviour at the *shradh* of Duni Chand's father underlined this attitude of Nanak.

Duni Chand's father had died soon after he had declared Nanak as his Guru and so naturally invited him to the *shradh*, oblivious of the fact that Nanak might not like his ostentation.

For two days, Nanak watched Duni Chand feed scores of Brahmins while numerous flags fluttered over his palatial residence.

When the gorgeous ceremony was over, the Guru enquired of Duni Chand why he had put on the flag at that sad occasion.³ Duni Chand replied that each flag he had displayed at his residence denoted a lakh of rupees that he owned.⁴ In making that answer, he seemed to be suggesting that the public exhibition of his wealth helped people to know what percentage of his fortune he was spending on the salvation of his father's soul. Nanak who had ridiculed empty ceremonials at Hardwar, Kurukshetra and the distant Mecca did not like that answer. He expressed his displeasure in the following words :

'False are the kings; false are their subjects,
false is the whole world.

False are mansions, false are palaces, and false
are they who dwell therein.

False is gold, false is silver, false is he who
weareth them;

False is the body, false are the article of
clothing, false is peerless beauty;

False are husbands, false are wives; all pine
away and become dust.

Man who is false loveth what is false, and
forgetteth the Creator.

Then with whom contact friendship ? The whole
world passeth away.

False are the sweets, false is honey, in falsehood
shiploads are drowned.

Nanak humbly asserteth—Except Thee, O God,
everything is out and out false !⁵

The Guru's indifference to a disciple's status while dealing with him added to Nanak's reputation and his congregations started

increasing rapidly. Many began looking at him as "a man of God" and those who "visited him went away pleased".⁶ The hymns sung by him began to get publicized all over Lahore and the adjoining *subahs* and "universal" popularity⁷ soon attended him. Perhaps what also contributed to his popularity was the optimistic note in his message, a natural consequence of his absolute faith in God and in himself :

'Falsehood (shall) end; Nanak truth at last prevaieth.'⁸

Guru Nanak's popularity forced even those who had earlier looked upon him with cynicism⁹ to observe Nanak more closely. One such was an official dignitary, a *karoria*,¹⁰ who soon became a great admirer of the Guru.

This influential *karoria* marked his final conversion to the belief in Guru's greatness by rendering a service which proved a turning-point in Nanak's life. Perhaps realizing that now that people visited Nanak even from outside the Lahore *Subah*, the Guru residing in the metropolis of that province was becoming a liability both for the Guru and his disciples, he "in honour of the Guru, founded a village, which he called Kartarpur, on the margin of the Ravi . . . which he dedicated to the Guru."¹¹ Soon after, *karoria* insisted that Guru Nanak should shift his headquarters to Kartarpur¹² and the Guru did so gladly.

When fifty-two years old, Guru Nanak thus shifted to Kartarpur late in 1521, he saw the prospect of consolidating the work done by him in the two decades since he discovered the truth on the banks of the *Bein* at Sultanpur. He also thought of giving a practical demonstration of one of the things that he had advocated with enthusiasm; viz. how to live pure among the impurities of the world.¹³ That his parents were ageing rapidly and his sons were moving in undesirable direction,¹⁴ much to the distress of the lonely Sulakhani at Talwandi, must have been, at the best, only marginal considerations in his now deciding to finally "put off his weird costume" and dress himself as an ordinary householder of the day".¹⁵

CHAPTER XIX

RAISING HIS HEADQUARTERS

After shifting to Kartarpur, Guru Nanak soon busied himself in raising a headquarters and found the work so absorbing that he did not leave the place for the next seven years.¹ That was natural. He was not planning to build up ordinary headquarters but those imbued with community feeling born out of love and adoration for God.²

In very many ways, those seven years proved to be the most important period of Guru Nanak's life. By the three things that he successfully accomplished during that period, *viz.* to live the life of a householder like his followers, to build up Kartarpur as a "community centre" radiating his philosophy, and to compose four of his most important *banis*, he laid the foundation of a new way of life. It is these that more than anything else subsequently gave birth to the Sikh Church.

Guru Nanak began his stay at Kartarpur by publicly demonstrating his determination to harmonize the secular life of a householder with complete devotion to the Almighty. Giving up "his weird costume,"³ he donned the "worldly garment"⁴ and within a few months of arrival at Kartarpur and the surrounding lands, gifted by Karoria, he not only invited a number of admirers to come and make Kartarpur their home but also prevailed upon his ageing parents to shift from Talwandi and live with him. When Sulakhani and their two grown-up sons also joined him and began to live in the same house in which he lived, Guru Nanak's *grahisth* was complete. There could be no mistaking now that his opposition

to complete renunciation of life was not confined to the airy plane of argument and discussion but meant to be taken seriously.

As if that was not enough, Guru Nanak did not divide the entire land in the village among his followers, but reserved a few acres for himself also to undertake agriculture in the same way as others. He insisted that Sri Chand and Lakhmi Chand should get up early in the morning, yoke the bullocks to their ploughs and till the fields. At times, he would personally go with them in spite of his age. His wife would milk the cows, stir out the butter from the *lassi* (buttermilk) and cook for the family. To his old father, Kalu, and his old mother, Tripta, Nanak's transformation must have looked complete, setting at rest their apprehensions that Nanak would never give up his wandering life.

After some devout followers had come and settled at Kartarpur, Nanak began to hold daily congregations and "teaching all to live in the world and work, while at the same time thinking of God always and praying to receive nothing but His grace".⁵ Out of those discourses were to be born the four long compositions of Guru Nanak. Every *sloka* constituting *Var Malhar*, *Var Majh*, *Var Asa* and the *Japji* must have been composed, thought over, sung and played on the *rabab* in congregations, before they were set in an artistic literary pattern as we know them today.

Var Malhar was the first to have, thus, come to its final form.⁶ It started with a description of the descent of man to the earth and then painted him "in nature"⁷ before relating his fall under the twin influence of *maya* and *haumain* (egoism). The fallen man, badly misled, became the cause of almost all the conflicts in the world. It was in the world's interest that he should be set on the right path. But that would not happen till a true *guru* taught him the "unity of Godhead".⁸

The *Var* took its final form in about six months and when finished became a sublime composition with a "systematic structure of beauty, vastness of imaginative flight and devotional praise of the Lord",⁹ besides propounding a theory of virtue to guide the disciples.¹⁰

The Guru did not wait for long to begin his next composition, *Var Majh*. This new *Var* dilated on the same subject—unity of Godhead—but in a different way. The presentation here was less concrete than in the preceding *Var*¹¹ and spelt out what defects in a man's character misled him. It detailed what happen to one fallen under the influence of *maya* and *haumain* and how, while behaving as "a self-conceited" and "puffed up man", he would become totally "careless of virtues".¹²

The *Var Majh* in its finished form, as intended by Guru Nanak, was complementary in thought and content to the *Var Malhar*. Conflict between the negative and the positive forces in the *Var Malhar* became the 'Play of the Lord' in which truth and falsehood struggled for supremacy over each other.¹³ Mankind was shown to suffer in this play for falling a prey to falsehood and continuing to suffer till a *guru* appeared as the hero to liberate it.¹⁴ Guru Nanak made this *Var* an extremely dramatic piece. He made the conflict between good and bad to continue right up to the twelfth chapter.¹⁵

That the conflict became more and more complicated and reached a climax before the *guru* came into a man's life, guided him out of 'ignorance',¹⁶ underlined the role that the concept of a *guru* began to assume in Nanak's religious thought. It was further underlined when the appearance of a *guru* was described in the *Var* dependent on the grace of God.¹⁷

The two *Vars* and their *Slokas* produced a tremendous impact on Guru Nanak's disciples at Kártarpur and his daily congregations became a favourite feature of life there. When the seasoned Mardana would sign them to the tune of his sweet rebeck, the listeners would undergo a soul-elevating experience.

The daily congregation was deeply disturbed when one evening Mardana fell ill and Guru Nanak saw that the light would soon go out of his life-long companion. In token of his great affection for Mardana, he asked him if he would like to be buried and have

a tomb erected which would "make thee famous in the world."¹⁸ Mardana, by now completely soaked in Nanak's philosophy replied, "when my soul hath been separated from its bodily tomb, why shut it up in a stone-tomb".¹⁹ That certainly pleased the Guru for he decided, "Since thou (Mardana) knowest God and art, therefore, a Brahman, we shall dispose of thy body by throwing it in the River Ravi and letting it go with the stream." When the following morning "at a watch before day", Mardana passed away,²⁰ Guru Nanak personally participated in making Mardana's body flow down the Ravi.²¹

Guru Nanak made good Mardana's loss by prevailing upon the latter's son, Shahzada, to take his father's place,²² but while doing that he enjoined upon Shahzada a strict code of conduct as the minstrel of the Guru. Shahzada was told to shun intoxicants and what went with it—bad company, covetousness and worldly love :

'The barmaid is misery, wine is lust; man is the drink.

The cup filled with worldly love is wrath, and it
is served by pride.

The company is false and covetous and is ruined by
the excess of drink'.²³

Shahzada was told that what was expected of him was that,

'Instead of such wine make thy good conduct the yeast,
truth thy molasses, God's name thy wine.

Make merits thy cakes, good conduct thy clarified
butter, and modesty thy meat to eat.

Such things, O Nanak, are obtained by the Guru's
favour; by partaking of them, sin departs'.²⁴

Soon after installing Shahzada as the minstrel, Guru Nanak started composing the *Var Asa*, his third *Var*, and "the best representative of all the aspects of his genius".²⁵ In this *Var*, he expounded the nature of the Supreme Reality, matter and *jiva*, and their relationship with the Supreme Being. While doing so, he dilated upon

the "Laws of God as they are operative in nature" and emphasized that men must look upon these laws as "justice of the Lord"²⁶ and bow before them cheerfully.

The *Var* propounded the thesis that when ego guided the activities of men, they became selfish and "ruin the nation" because once the rot "begins the whole nation becomes bankrupt spiritually, morally and politically."²⁷ The egoistic behaviour of the various classes produced "religious conflicts, class conflicts, economic conflicts and political conflicts"²⁸ causing tension "between the orthodox and the unorthodox, the strong and the weak, the more advanced section of the society and the less advanced section of the society."²⁹

The state of affairs, the *Var* emphasized, could be overcome only by all individuals becoming true *sevaks* imbued with the spirit of service. They must, in fact, develop this spirit to the same extent as the true "servants of God".³⁰

Var Asa had, thus, discovered not only the laws of "degeneration of a nation" but also showed the path by which a people could "regenerate itself".³¹ Little wonder, that this *Var* soon became the most popular *Var* at Kartarpur.

From the *Asa di Var* to the *Japji* was to be only a step but before Nanak could begin it, his mother and father passed away "within a few months of each other". Tripta died in October 1522 and Kalu in February 1523.³² This delayed Nanak's beginning the most important composition of his life, but otherwise Nanak bore the loss with such calm fortitude as became an example on sad occasions for the residents of the rapidly growing Kartarpur.

Nanak's fourth long composition was "an essay on the infinite Truth".³³ He believed that men would never be able to comprehend that Truth in its entirety but its physical and moral aspects might be comprehended by them to some extent. The *Japji* was meant to help them to do so. The *Japji* emphasized that God's most important aspect was Truth and, therefore, Truth and His

Truthfulness became the central theme of the *Japji*, though His other attributes were not ignored.⁸⁴

The *Japji* summed up Nanak's religious philosophy that he sought to propagate not only among the residents of Kartarpur but also among disciples elsewhere also. Its key words, *sach* (truth), *hukam* (command), *gowai* (singing the Lord's praises), *sunnai* (hearing His praise), *mannai* (meditation), *panch* (the five), *asankh* (myriads), *anant* (limitless), *amol* (priceless), *khand* (stages of spiritual progress), *surat* (consciousness), *mat* (wisdom), *man* (mind), *budh* (intellect), and *data* (merciful)⁸⁵ reflected the fundamentals of Nanak's beliefs.

In composing the *Japji*, Nanak put in all the artistry that he could gather from his armoury of intellect. He combined most artistically *sutra* brevity, variety of metres, union of music, rhythm and rhyme, expressiveness of plain language and aesthetic taste with his philosophical thoughts⁸⁶ to make it, when later incorporated in the *Granth Sahib*, the "epitome of the philosophy and beauty" of that *Granth*.⁸⁷

The four compositions of Nanak—the *Var Malhar*, the *Var Majh*, the *Var Asa* and the *Japji* combined with his *grahisthi* life and his activities as the *Guru* by 1528 gave a distinct pattern of life to those who had chosen to reside at Kartarpur. This pattern consisted of threefold activity⁸⁸ to which all the residents of Kartarpur had to conform. In the first place, under the *Guru*'s watchful eye, they would offer a regular, disciplined devotion to the Almighty. They would be required to do this not only as individuals but also in their corporate capacity.⁸⁹ They were required, like the *Guru*, to arise early in the morning and devote the 'ambrosial hour' to meditation upon the divine Name.⁹⁰ They would then participate in the morning *kirtan* conducted by the minstrel in the presence of the *Guru*. The attendance at this *kirtan* would be compulsory for all.

The *kirtan* would be followed by regular instructions imparted by the *Guru* to constitute the second pattern in Kartarpur life.⁴¹ Such instructions would occasionally be given to individual followers

but more often they were given to the regular gathering of the disciples. In these instructions, the Guru would emphasize the greatness of God, His gracious self-revelation when truth and virtue decayed and the paramount necessity of meditation on the divine Name.⁴² The Guru would necessarily also expose as essentially futile the adherence to external forms. He would do this sometimes by means of gentle irony but at other times by direct denial of their efficacy. He also admonished very often those who placed their confidence in the status conferred by caste or by wealth and roundly condemned anyone who descended to religious hypocrisy.⁴³

The third feature of the Kartarpur pattern of life would be the regular daily labour.⁴⁴ Guru Nanak had by now completely rejected asceticism, and as a necessary corollary to the disciplined worldliness that he preached, insisted that each of his disciples should live on what he had himself laboured to earn.⁴⁵ The Guru and his family themselves acted thus and so none at Kartarpur would be allowed to become an exception.

CHAPTER XX

FOUNDING THE SIKH CHURCH

By 1529, Guru Nanak and his headquarters were known far and wide. He enjoyed wide popularity but, perhaps because of that, was subjected to severe criticism by the various orders of *Jogis* in the Punjab.¹ They did so as such out of jealousy on seeing the success of a man who was much a late entrant in the spiritual field as due to the fact that it was difficult for them to understand how a *grahisthi* could lay claims to leading a religious life.

The ascetic order of *Jogis* had been exercising influence in northern India quite for some time past.² Deriving their inspiration from the Patanjali school of philosophy, they were founded into an order by Gorakhnath.³ They were later consolidated into a well-knit brotherhood by eighty-four *Sidhs* who were supposed to be endowed with supernatural powers. In Guru Nanak's times, they were divided into many orders but all acknowledged Gorakhnath and the eighty-four *Sidhs* as their preceptors.⁴

The spiritual exercises of the *Sidhs*, often descending to the propitiation of the 'lower spirits',⁵ produced a spectacular effect on the unsophisticated population of medieval India in increasing the number of their followers. Their outer form added to the effect. They had a long cut in each lobe of their ears, in which they wore large thick rings of various materials—wood, glass, silver, gold, etc.—which were called *mudra*. They rubbed ashes on their bodies, shaved their heads clean, blew a horn and carried a staff and a begging-bowl, or a begging-pouch, called *jholi*. They greeted all by the salutation of '*Adesh, Adesh* to Gorakhnath, *Adesh* to 84

Sidhs' and generally lived outside habitations, visited places of pilgrimage, travelled to distant lands, and used all sorts of intoxicants, and smoked opium.⁶

The *Sidhs* also attacked Nanak by way of retaliation for he would not mince matters at his headquarters in criticizing their practices. For example, while addressing his daily-increasing congregations, he once said,

'Yog consists not in the *khintha* (a monk's surplice);
 Yog consists not in the *danda* (staff);
 Yog consists not in the ashes;
 Yog lieth not in clean shaving,
 Yog lieth not in the blowing of a horn,
 Yog cannot be obtained by mere talk :

×

×

×

Yog consists not in living in the cremation-grounds;
 Yog consists not in closing the eyes;
 Yog lieth not in wandering abroad:
 Nor doth it lie in bathing in holy waters'.⁷

On another occasion, he implied a very severe criticism of the practices of the *Yogi* orders, when he sang to the tune of Shahzada's *rabab*,

'Wake up thy Gorakh, O man who protecteth go (earth)
 and delay not in so doing.

Controlling the mind by the Lord's Word is the horn,
 which shall so sound, that all shall listen;

The alms of the Lord's Name are thus
 received in the beggar's-bag.

He hath given water, the air thou breathest,
 and the sun and the moon as lamps;

In life and in death, thou hath the earth, O man.

Forgettest thou these gifts.

Numerous are the *sidhs*, *yogis*, *jangams* and *pirs*;

I shall go to them, if in their company I may sing of the
Lord, and obtain contentment of mind.'⁸

But, his difficulty was that he would not get that in the company of the *Jogis* and so had to think of others :

'In butter, paper perisheth not, nor salt;

In water, lotus wetteth not;

Meet such devotees, saith Nanak

Yama shall then touch thee not'.⁹

On still another occasion, Nanak had this to say to Machhinder, leader of one of the *Yogi* orders :

'Listen, O Machhinder, what Nanak saith;

Control thy cardinal passions, waver not,

Follow such course of *Yog*,

Mayest thou be saved and all thy generations.

Such an ascetic learneth the course,

Absorbeth he, night and day, in stable contemplation.

Obtaineth he the alms of living in love,

in devotion, and in dread of God;

No more wants hath he, contented inestimably he :

In steady and deep contemplation of the Lord he;

In True Name fixeth his mind he.

Nanak speaketh of the ambrosia of the Word,

Listen, O Machhinder, of the *Yogi* garb;

Be detached midst expectations;

Verily, thus mayest thou meet the Lord.

Listen, for Nanak speaketh of the Secret Doctrine,

He admitteth thee in the chain of the
 Master and the disciple
 Giveth thee instruction as cure and as food;
 No more philosophies shall thou need.¹⁰

These and other sermons of Guru Nanak which led to a few conversions from among the *Jogi* orders to his way of thinking created a dent in the *Jogis*. It was only natural under the circumstances that more heat was generated than the usual when Guru Nanak, after a continuous stay of more than seven years at Kartarpur, visited Achal near Batala.¹¹ He set up his own camp there¹² and became the chief attraction of those who had then come to Achal to attend the Shivratri fair.¹³ One Bhangar Nath tried to be clever when he chose to attack what he must have believed to be the weakest link in Nanak's system. Referring to Nanak's secular dress,¹⁴ he posed to Nanak the following question :

'Why hast thou mixed acid in milk ?
 Why hath separated and thou canst now
 have butter by churning it :
 Why hast thou put off the *Udasi's* garb,
 Why hast thou restarted the life of a layman'.¹⁵

Guru Nanak, knowing that Bhangar Nath was being clever and playing to the gallery, paid the mischievous *Jogi* in the same coin :

'Thy mother, O Bhangar Nath, knew not
 how to clean the vessel;
 Want of knowledge hath thus led to the
 putrefaction of thy soul.
 Thou gavest up thy home, and adoptedest asceticism;
 Why shouldst thou be wandering from door to door
 at the houses of the lay people to beg thy food'.¹⁶

That quietened the bully Bhangar Nath and Guru Nanak utilized the occasion to convince the assembled *Jogis* that their ways would

not bring 'emancipation' to them.¹⁷ Apparently addressing Bhangar Nath but as much for the hearing of other *Jogis*, the Guru warmed up and said that the only way by which it could be obtained was to shed off 'the filth of ego'.¹⁸ That was the real aim of asceticism also, but not the type practised by *Jogis*. For *moksha*, Nanak said, he would suggest to the *Jogis* to give up faith in "supernatural powers" and remember that the one miraculous power which could deliver goods was that of the True Name :¹⁹

'May I wear clothes of fire, may I live in
 perpetual snows, may I feed myself on steel,
 May I drink all pains as water, may I drive
 the chariot of earth,
 May I weigh up the universe in the scales,
 may I prove it equal to the weight of a dram,
 May I develop to be so great that universe be insufficient to
 contain me, may I control and drive all,
 May I have all these powers within me,
 to do all these and to order all these being done :
 Great is the Lord and great are His gifts,
 He giveth what he willeth, but
 Him on whom He bestoweth His Grace
 He granteth the honour of the True Name'.²⁰

A long discourse followed in which Guru Nanak explained to the *Jogis* the limitations of asceticism in leading a really spiritual life.²¹ While still apparently addressing Bhangar Nath, Guru Nanak expounded his philosophy to all those who had gathered to see Nanak's encounter with the proud *Jogi* :

'Abide in steadiness, O Yogi ! this is thy course.
 May the One Lord look on thee once,
 He shall grant thee love and satiate thee with the Divine
 Word.
 Thou wanderest about begging food and raiment;

Evil of hunger consumeth thee and paineth thee.

By Guru's instructions, thou mayest yet obtain the path of
devotion.

Five cardinal evils drive the cart of the body.

God's powers alone might save thy honour.

The axle of thy cart shall break, the cart shall tumble down,

The substance, aged and scattered, shall be lost in the
wilderness of the worldliness.

Meditate, O *yogi*, on the Guru's word,

Be uniform in pain and in pleasure,

Be sorry only for thy separation from the Lord;

Make the Name Divine thy food;

meditate on it under the Guru's instruction;

Stability thou shalt attain by abiding in the Name.

Tie up the cloth of stability, freed from
bonds thou shalt be,

Thy passions and thy anger shall vanish
under the Guru's instruction.

Let thy shelter be at the feet of the Lord—

Guru be the rings worn by thy mind :

By devotion to God, saith Nanak,
thou shalt find salvation'.²⁴

Guru Nanak was very keen on weaning away the superstitious people from the hypnotic spell of the *Jogis*. That on returning from Achal Batala, Guru Nanak composed the *Sidh Gost* is a proof of that keenness. In this composition—rightly regarded as supplementary to the *Japji*,²³ Guru Nanak described the *Nirgun* God as distinct from His *Sargun* Self described in the *Japji*.²⁴

Guru Nanak's opposition to asceticism was a logical corollary to what he was aiming at as a religious teacher. It was the salvation of the entire community as distinct from the salvation of individuals.²⁵ A careful analysis of *Sidh Gost* reveals that he did not think very

highly of those who were out for individual salvation. He wanted the spiritual uplift of the entire community and wanted his followers to become *gurmukhs* (guru-oriented) as distinct from *manmukhs* (mind-oriented).²⁶

One of the many great traits of Guru Nanak as a man was his broadmindedness. This enabled him not to stand on false pride in his attitude to one good practice among the *Sidhs* and adopt it in his system. This was the institution of *langar*.²⁷ It appears that soon after his return from Achal Batala, he made it a regular pattern of Kartarpur life. All those who would now come to see him would partake of the food prepared in a common kitchen daily as long as they stayed at the headquarters. On special occasions, the entire Kartarpur would also arrange a big *langar* to emphasize their brotherhood and collective obligation to the Guru.

The success of the *langar* as an institution seemed to have given Nanak great delight and pleasure. That was reflected in the choice of his next composition—the *Oankar*. In this—a 54-stanza poem²⁸—Guru Nanak dilated on “the concept of joy”, while describing “the nature of God and creation, and their relationship”.²⁹ This poem was full of “pictorial beauty (each stanza is a complete picture) and profound thought”. Its “short racy metre and easy language” combined with “its witty lines” to make it a poem “perfect” in its “structure” and the “development of the subject”.³⁰

No sooner did Nanak finish the *Oankar*, than he started composing the *Patti*. Perhaps what suggested this poem was that for some time past, he had been busy converting the *nagric* script into something simple and more in keeping with the vocal sound of the people of the Punjab³¹ who constituted the overwhelming majority of those who attended his congregations. He wove this poem round the alphabet that was to constitute his new script but it was much more than an exercise in acrostics. It dealt with “Brahma manifested, or God as the Name” and put forth the basic beliefs which later became the fundamentals of the Sikh philosophy.³²

The great heights to which Nanak could go as a poet was clearly revealed in this poem. In "just 35 stanzas" of this poem, he summed up the "entire philosophy of India", while propounding a new one for his followers.³³ Perhaps because he could not give "long *alankars* and pictures" in a short poem, he made much use of symbolic language but did it so beautifully as to make *Patti Asa* a poem of "a finished artist" who made a very effective use of alliteration.³⁴

The two poems—The *Dakhni Oankar* and the *Asa Patti*—between themselves awakened Guru Nanak's followers to the mystery of nature, the laws of life and *karma*, as it determined the extent of pain and pleasure experienced by an individual.³⁵ They also started explaining to the Guru's followers the laws which governed creation, maintenance and final destruction and gave them the ideals which they were to pursue. The two poems also suggested the best way of achieving these ideals.³⁶

The two poems also suggested a new attitude towards the Almighty. This was to be one of wonder³⁷ rather than one of awe and was subsequently to distinguish the Sikh view of the Lord from that of others.

From the *Oankar* and the *Patti* to his next composition the *Thith* was only a step. If the first two were woven around alphabets, the *Thith* was written around 'numbers'.³⁸ In this poem, the Guru raised his voice against the "futile method of knowing the reality" and showed "the true method" of doing so.³⁹ In this poem, according to Guru Nanak, he manifested himself in various stages and to know Him, it was indispensable to have a spiritual Guru.⁴⁰

The rapidity with which Guru Nanak had composed these beautiful *banis* between 1529 and 1535 was indicative of the great response that his teachings were evoking among his followers. There was something attractive in his "meditation of the divine presence" while "refusing to renounce his family or his worldly occupations".⁴¹ More and more of those interested in spiritual pursuits came and

settled at Kartarpur to deplete the ranks of the *Jogis* and other similar denominations within half a decade of his visit to Achal Batala.⁴³

During those years, Guru Nanak appeared to his followers "a deeply devout believer absorbed in the manifestation of the divine presence, but refusing to renounce his family or his worldly occupation." This combination of piety and practical activity which Guru Nanak manifested in his own life was transmitted to his followers, and those of them who had chosen to live at the Guru's headquarters bore the Kartarpur discipline with good cheer.⁴³ To them he appeared as a *guru*, gentle and yet capable of sternness, a *guru* of humour and mild irony which could, nevertheless, reprimand and, if necessary, denounce, a *guru* who experienced the inexpressible and who yet maintained an essential practical participation in the everyday affairs of his community and the world beyond it.⁴⁴

Guru Nanak was now a revered teacher, giving expression to his experiences in simple and direct hymns of superb poetic quality with numerous disciples living with him at his headquarters and many more coming to him for occasional *darshan* or audience with him.⁴⁵ Among those who thus arrived were his old admirers like Lalo of Eminabad, Sajjan of Tolumba and many others who had played the host to Nanak and Mardana during his four *udasis*.

Their visits led to an important consequence : germination of a regular church with headquarters and subordinate branches. Perhaps on the direction of their preceptor, when men like Lalo, Sajjan and others went back to their habitations, they formed *sangats* or holy assemblies, in which life was sought to be run on the Kartarpur pattern.⁴⁶ In these *sangats*, the founders propagated Guru Nanak's views, sang his verses and meditated on the Name, besides running free kitchens (*langars*).⁴⁷ As was only natural in those *sangats*, the 'founders' enjoyed an honoured place and were distinguished from the others with the epithet of *Bhaiji*, or the 'Revered Brother', when the others were called the 'Sikh' or the *shashyas*.⁴⁸

Sitting on a cot (*manji*), the Revered Brother, like the Guru at Kartarpur, would preside over daily congregations and instruct the Sikhs in their spiritual, religious, social and moral duties.⁴⁹ And when those Sikhs took to service, in the spirit of humble and sincere servants of humanity, they brought honour both to *Bhaiji* and the Guru.

During the lifetime of Guru Nanak, the number of Sikhs was not large but they made up for their small numbers by their zeal and sincerity, by their piety and love, by their sacrifice and by their service of others.⁵⁰ Their *sangats* were soon begun to be looked upon as assemblies of pious and spiritual enthusiasts, of truthful and mutually confiding seekers after Truth, and of humble and sincere servants of humanity.

CHAPTER XXI

THE LAST JOURNEY

In 1535, Guru Nanak entered the last phase of his life. Now in his late sixties, he was a venerable old man presiding over a growing church with headquarters at Kartarpur, and *sangats* far and near.

The daily routine at Kartarpur¹ had continued to follow the same pattern as in the twenties, though slight changes were only natural. Three hours before day-break, people bathed and recited their prayers, and until late after sunrise continued their morning service of the *Asa di Var*. This was followed by the recitation of the *Japji*, and then the Guru answered questions on them till about 9-30. The morning devotion would end with the *arti*—the same ecstatic song that he had composed at Puri years ago—and then the morning congregation would be over.² Those coming from outside would then get ready for the breakfast; others would go home and thence to work in their fields or to attend to any other occupation that they pursued at Kartarpur.³ The Guru himself, with a staff in hand would occasionally go to look after his own farm not only because it supplied sustenance to his own family but also because its earnings contributed substantially to the running of the *langar*.⁴

There was held a congregation once again in evening followed by a community singing.⁵ After the recitation of the *rahiras* at sunset, the visitors had their dinner together, followed again by more devotional songs. At about 10 p. m., they sang the *kirtan Sohila* before they dispersed.⁶

The philosophy of life that the Guru taught was that of living in the world and earning one's livelihood honestly while "thinking of God always and praying for nothing but His grace".⁷ The Guru expected his followers to pursue a life of Truth and "to drop meaningless outer forms and complications".⁸ He wanted them also to give up the pride of caste and to seek refuge in Name only.⁹

He would often criticize, in his characteristic style which stimulated thought processes rather than hurt long-cherished susceptibilities, both Hindu and Muslim practices, thus showing clearly his bold approach as a religious teacher.

The Guru was a rapid success, and "attracted men as light gathers moths".¹⁰ Apart from his teachings, this was so because "his strong personal attractiveness, his persuasive words and simplicity which came straight out of his all-embracing love went straight to the hearts of all his hearers."¹¹ The result was that on meeting him "the people were gladdened and began singing the Song of Silence, which is not written on paper, but on the hearts of his disciples".¹² He was endowed with another endearing quality. He was the very essence of humility though "always so quietly firm on the truth".¹³ He never claimed any extraordinary greatness for himself, in spite of his vast influence, and considered himself a mere man among men, mortal and sinful as they were, though conscious of his union with the Almighty.¹⁴

This humility of the Guru encouraged many a follower to come to him with their personal, even *mundane*, problems. The Sikh tradition tells us a story, among others, of his being approached one day by "a man in very straightened domestic circumstances who had a daughter to marry".¹⁵ The man appealed to the Guru to assist him in procuring gifts from Lahore for her. The Guru told him to give him a list of the articles that he required. The man did so and the Guru dispatched one of his most favourite attendants, Bhagirath, to Lahore to fulfil the disciple's wish though he realized that he and Bhagirath would face great inconvenience in taking up that matter without sufficient prior notice.¹⁶

Still another trait that the Guru had and which he did not give up even in his old age, though now surrounded with adoring disciples, was that of hammering a point into someone's head without hurting him. A story, perhaps apocryphal, but extremely significant of this trait in Nanak is preserved in Sikh tradition. It is said that one day a fanatical Brahmin approached him for alms. The Guru who was taking his breakfast invited the Brahmin to join him. The Brahmin said that he would not accept food of that type. He would only eat what he had cooked himself. He would first dig up the earth to a depth of a cubit so that all impurity on the surface might be removed, and then make a cooking-square into which none but himself would enter. He would then dig further up to a span, and make a fire-place on which he would put fire-wood which he had washed, so that no insect might be burnt along with it. As the Guru had not attended to such formalities, the Brahmin had spurned his food. The Guru took the rebuff calmly and instead of making any comments gave the Brahmin uncooked viands for preparing his meal himself. The Brahmin went out and began to dig the earth, but wherever he did the digging he only turned up bones, which according to him, were a greater abomination than the cooked food the Guru had offered him. He continued digging all day, but with the same result. At last overcome by hunger, he went and threw himself at the Guru's feet, and asked for the cooked food he had rejected previously.¹⁷ The Guru did not remind him of his earlier refusal but when the Brahmin had eaten his fill, politely sang to him¹⁸ the following hymns :

'Cooking-places of gold, vessels of gold,
 Lines of silver far extended,
 Ganges water, firewood of the *kranta* tree,
 Eating boiled rice-milk—
 O my soul, these things are of no account
 Until thou art saturated with the true Name.
 Hadst thou the eighteen *Puranas* with thee,
 Couldst thou recite the four Veds,

Didst thou bathe on holy days and give alms
 according to men's caste
 Didst thou fast and perform religious ceremonies
 day and night ;
 Wert thou a *qazi*, a *mulla* or a *shaikh*,
 A *jogi*, a *jangam*, didst thou wear an ochre-
 coloured dress,
 Or didst thou perform the duties of a householder
 Without knowing God, Death would bind and
 take all away
 The duties of all creatures are recorded on their
 foreheads ;
 They shall be judged according to their acts.
 Foolish and ignorant man issue orders—
 Nanak, the True One hath storehouses of praises'.¹⁹

Guru Nanak was now begun to be noticed even by heads of other religious orders who would not otherwise accept his religious philosophy. Some of them would not even hesitate now to get his blessings. One such head was no less a man than the descendant of Pir Baha-ud-Din of Multan. He, the incumbent of the great Sufi *gaddi*, was extremely old and requested the Guru to pray for his "journey to the next world".²⁰ Recognizing the innate goodness in Baha-ud-Din's descendant and the good life he had led, Nanak had no hesitation on doing so. He did so with the observation :

'He who filleth the sack shall load it on himself;
 the will of God is over all;
 Nanak, they who have acted honestly shall depart
 with bright faces'.²¹

Soon after, when Nanak learnt of the sad demise of the Sufi after his return to Multan, Guru Nanak remembered his own old age²² and one day sent a wave of gloom over the adoring followers by singing :

'Wealth, youth and flowers are guests only for four days;
 They wither and fade like the leaves of the water-lily.

Enjoy God's love, O dear one, in the freshness of youth
 Few are thy days; thou art wearied and the
 vesture of thy body hath grown old.
 My merry friends have gone to sleep in the grave.
 I too shall (soon) depart . . . '23

The Guru did not like the look of broken-hearted disciples. Some time later, he had this to say to them :

'O fair one, why not attentively listen to this message ?
 Thou must go to thy father-in-law's :
 thou mayest not dwell for ever in thy father's house.
 Nanak, know that she who also sleepeth in the father's
 house, is robbed at an untimely season.
 She hath lost her bundle of merits and departed
 with a load of demerits'.²⁴

People certainly could not say that of Nanak. He had lived a life full of sincere devotion and striven not for the somewhat limited objective of personal salvation but for that of the entire humanity. He had insisted on a path, he sincerely believed, which would lead to that collective salvation and set up the new church—the Sikh Panth—with headquarters at Kartarpur and twenty-four *manjis* to propagate it.²⁵

But what would become of the infant church that he had set up when he would not be alive to guide it in person. Now that he realized that he may not live long, the question assumed urgency. This was all the more so, because Sri Chand, who was likely to inherit all the devotion that Guru Nanak's disciples were giving to the Guru, was not following the path enjoined upon by him.

Sri Chand, by now in his mid-forties,²⁶ had been given to other worldliness quite for some time past. He had refused to marry and had made no secret of the fact that he loved the garb of ascetics. Lately, he had started moving with the *Jogis* and had occasionally expressed his doubts of Nanak's way of life at Kartarpur.

The Guru, under the circumstances, took a decision which went a long way in the perpetuation of the church he had founded. That was to nominate one of his disciples who would guide the infant society which he had established. He thought of bestowing the guruship on either one or the other of the two of his most devoted disciples—Lehna²⁷ and Bura.²⁸

Lehna belonged to a village called Khadur,²⁹ the majority of whose residents were devoted to goddess Durga. Born in 1504,³⁰ when he grew to manhood, Lehna himself became a great devotee of Durga and every year “led the village assembly on a pilgrimage to the famous temple of Jawala Mukhi in the Kangra District” and “pay homage to the goddess of the flame in that temple”.³¹ Sometimes in the beginning of the 1530s, he seemed to have got tired of the empty formality of Durga worship and began to feel disturbed. In that state, one night he heard one Jodha “repeating Guru Nanak’s jappi”³² which touched the chords of his heart and made him very keen on meeting Nanak.³³

In 1532,³⁴ while returning from Jawala Mukhi, he parted company with his fellow-pilgrims and made his way to the “holy colony” at Kartarpur.³⁵ The strange way in which he chanced to meet the Guru³⁶ was enough to make him a complete devotee of his.

It is said that when he reached the outskirts of Kartarpur, he requested an old man to guide him to the celebrated Guru Nanak. The old man told Lehna to follow him. This he did but without dismounting from the horse on which he had travelled to Kartarpur.³⁷ When the two reached Nanak’s place, the old man asked Lehna to dismount, tether the horse to a peg nearby, while he himself entered the house. When Lehna walked in, he was dumbfounded to see the old man welcoming him. The old man himself was Nanak.³⁸

It was a lesson in humility that went home and became the keynote of the future life of Lehna. He employed it in his devoted

service to Nanak³⁹ and in this respect soon beat almost everyone else in the Kartarpur circle. Many apocryphal stories told of his obeying even the apparently ridiculous commands of the Guru are a proof of the devotion with which he served the Master. One of the stories would illustrate the point. It is said that once when he and many others were out on a walk with the Guru, they "found a funeral pyre . . . with four lighted lamps around it". The corpse was stinking in spite of being covered carefully with a sheet of cloth. The Guru said, "Let whoever wisheth to accompany me, eat of this". The other Sikhs quailed at the dreadful proposal, but Lehna remained steadfast in this faith in the Guru. Without much ado, he folded his hands and asked the Guru if he should begin to eat the corpse from the side of the head or from that of the feet.⁴⁰

The only other of the Guru Nanak's disciples, who he felt, could be nominated as his successor was Bura. He was only two years junior to Lehna in age⁴¹ but had joined the Guru's rank soon after the Guru had set up his headquarters at Kartarpur.⁴²

Bura belonged to a village in the vicinity of Kartarpur and was inclined to religious speculations when still in his teens. It is said that the Guru after noticing that Bura had regularly attended his religious discourses early in the morning for many days at a stretch detained him to enquire what prompted him to do so when still so young. The young boy said, "Sir, one day my mother bade me to light the fire. When I placed the fuel in the fire-place, I observed that the small sticks caught fire and burnt themselves out before the big ones. From that time, I have been afraid of early death. It is doubtful whether I shall live to be old, and so I attend thy religious gatherings."⁴³ The Guru felt that the young Bura was speaking like an old man and could not help singing :

'In the briny unfathomable ocean, the fish did not
recognize the net.

Why did the very clever and beautiful fish have so
much confidence ?

It was caught through its own doings;
death cannot be averted,
O my brethren; know that in like manner death
hangeth over your heads.
Man is like the fish upon which the net falleth unawares.
The whole world is bound by death;
without the Guru, death cannot be averted.
They who are imbued with the True One,
and have abandoned the worthless mammon are saved.
I am a sacrifice up to those who are found true
at the gate of the True One.
Death is like the hawk among the birds,
or the huntsman with the noose in his hands.
They whom the Guru preserved have been saved;
all others have been entrapped by the bait.
They who possess not God's name shall be rejected;
no one will assist them.
God is the truest of the true, and
His place is the truest of the true.
They who obey the True One meditate on
Him in their hearts.
Even the perverse who obtain divine knowledge under the
Guru's instructions are rendered pure.
Make supplication to the true Guru to write thee with the
Friend.
When the man meeteth the Friend he obtaineth happiness and
the myrmidons of death poison themselves.
I abide in the Name, and the Name abideth in my heart.
By the Guru's instructions, light shineth, and man continueth
to love the True One.
Death entereth not where the soul's light is blended with
God's.

Thou, O God, art the Friend; thou art wise; it is Thou who unitest men with Thee.

Under the Guru's instruction, O man, praise Him who hath no end or limit.

Death entereth not where there is the incomparable word of the Guru

By God's order all sentient beings were produced;
By God's order they perform their functions;

By God's order they are in the power of death; by
God's order they are absorbed in the True One,

Nanak, what pleaseth God shall happen; there is nothing whatever in the power of His creatures.⁴⁴

It is difficult to say whether Bura understood the full import of Nanak's poem then but some parts of it must have impressed him. For, if that were not so, he would not have once again come to the Guru when he was grown up a little older and just passed through a painful experience to ask for "the way of emancipation".⁴⁵ This is how Bura is believed to have himself related the experience and its impact on him to the Guru: "A few days ago, some powerful Pathans forcibly cut and carried away our crops, ripe as well, as unripe, and we were all helpless. It then struck me, O master that if we could not save our crops, ripe and unripe, from those Pathans, who can possibly save us, when the all-powerful hand of Death seizes us, whether old or young. O Great Master, I have come unto thee. Pray, show me the way of emancipation from the hands of Death".⁴⁶ Guru Nanak's reply was simple, "It is God Almighty alone who can be the support of all ... O Bura, serve God so that God may save thee".⁴⁷ On Bura, these words had an effect which was magical.⁴⁸ He took a sudden decision to become a full time disciple of the Guru and spend the rest of his life at Kartarpur.

Guru Nanak did not make up his mind as to which of the two—Lehna or Bura—he should nominate as his successor, even after he

had made up his mind to leave behind someone undisputably as the Guru in his place.⁴⁹ Perhaps there was no need for such a thing till he was very near his end. But all the same, he knew that it was not far away and started composing his last *baani*, a mystic poem⁵⁰ entitled the *Bara Maha* (the twelve months of the year).⁵¹

Philosophically, this poem told the hearers of the ways of God and the relations between God and nature, besides emphasizing the need to have the right Guru in regaining the balance of the soul and attaining union with Him.⁵²

The *Bara Maha* was in the nature of a calendar with a graph of descent and ascent and the corresponding loss of *ananda* (joy) from the soul and the gain obtained from the ascent.⁵³ The descent of a man was due to the influence of *maya* and his ascent depended on the intensity of love and devotion for the Lord. The joy of the soul was lost after birth and so it could not be happy in material joys of the world— beauty, *mundane* knowledge or even the supernatural powers of *ridhis* and *sidhis*. The blossoming of the soul, the poem asserted, could come only in its union with Him.⁵⁴

It was a great poem with a lyrical note which seemed to reach the very "ears of the Lord".⁵⁵ And when it would be sung, after being finally composed, to the tune of Shahzada's *rabab*, it would almost take Guru Nanak's congregation to the bosom of the Lord. The poem reflected the intensity of the Guru himself to be there. He must have prayed for it while still composing the *Bara Maha*.

Sometimes in the last week of August 1539, he felt that his prayers had been heard. On 2nd September, he announced his choice of the man who would succeed him as the Guru of his Sikhs.⁵⁶

The manner of Guru Nanak making the announcement was indicative of the great faith he had reposed in the two disciples— Lehna and Bura. He called the former *Angad*, part of his own self, and the latter *Budha*, the wise. Instead of himself performing the ceremony appointing Angad as the Guru, he asked Budha to lay before Angad five *paisas* and a coconut as offering.⁵⁷ When

the ceremony was over he bowed before the next Guru in complete approval of how Budha had performed the ceremony⁵⁸ and showed great joy when Budha ordered singing and festivity for the next five days to honour the new Guru.

As the festivity mounted from one stage of ecstasy to another between 2nd and 7th September, 1539,⁵⁹ Guru Nanak lay down to shuffle off his mortal coil not in anguish but joyfully with the firm conviction that he would soon merge in God, the Universal Self. It is said that on one of these five days, he insisted on being taken out to be laid under one acacia-tree,⁶⁰ within the enclosure of the headquarters. Perhaps he was then remembering Talwandi and the forest around his ancestral village where then he might have imagined that the *van*-trees were flowering, the tall grass was in full bloom and the bumble bees were humming.⁶¹

If for a moment, while under the tree whose shade he had demanded, he felt that it was a poor substitute for the possible loveliness of Talwandi and its surroundings, he felt obliged to remember how good the Kartarpur headquarters had proved for him during the last eighteen years. The place had proved so useful to him not only in his preaching the mission enjoined on him by the Almighty enthusiastically but also in attracting sincere and devoted followers from among whom he could discover a man to succeed him and, thus, ensure the continuance of his work.

As soon as the celebrations were over, he called Guru Angad and assured him that his spirit would always remain with him. Then he summoned Budha and asked him to make arrangements for his last appearance before the Kartarpur congregation.

A few hours later, there was the large disciplined Kartarpur community, standing around a raised platform with Guru Nanak lying on a cot and singing to the tune of Shahzada's *rabab* :

In the house in which God's praise is sung and
He is meditated on,

Sing the *Sohila* and remember the Creator,

Sing the *Sohila* of my fearless Lord; I am a sacrifice unto that
song of joy by which everlasting comfort is obtained

Ever and ever living things are watched over;
the Giver regardeth their wants.

When even Thy gifts cannot be appraised, who can appraise
the Giver ?

The year and the auspicious time for marriage (*i.e.* death)
are recorded; O relations, meet and pour oil on me, the
bride.

O my friend, pray for me that I may meet my Lord.

The message is ever sent to every house; such invitations
are ever issued.

Remember the caller; Nanak the day is approaching.⁶²

In fact the day had come. By the time, the song was over, the soul of Guru Nanak had already flown to His Beloved. There was a momentary silence and then someone in the congregation said that a great guru had passed away and someone else came out with a spontaneous observation that a real *pir* was no more. And even more than being the founder of the Sikh Church, that is what Guru Nanak has remained for posterity :

Nanak Shah Faqir.
Hindu ka Guru
Mussalman ka Pir.

NOTES
AND
BIBLIORGAPHY

NOTES

CHAPTER I

1. A. L. Basham, *The Wonder that was India* (London, 1954), p. 242.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 243.
3. The length of Krata (Satyug), Treta, Dvapar and Kalyug are respectively 4800, 3600, 2400 and 1200 years of the gods, each of which equal 360 human years. *Ibid.*, p. 321.
4. *Ibid.*, p. 243.
5. A. L. Srivastava, *Medieval Indian Culture* (Agra, 1964), p. 53.
6. Tara Chand, *Influence of Islam on Indian Culture* (Allahabad, 1936), p. 1.
7. R. C. Majumdar, 'Evolution of religio-philosophical Culture in India' in *The Cultural Heritage of India*, Vol. III (Calcutta, n.d.), p. 8.
8. Also called *asuras* and *rakshas*. See A. L. Basham, *op. cit.*, p. 318.
9. *Ibid.*, p. 302.
10. *Ibid.*, p. 320.
11. *Loc. cit.*
12. *Ibid.*, pp. 320-321.

13. Ibid., p. 321.
14. Ibid., p. 322.
15. Ibid., p. 240.
16. Ibid., p. 241.
17. Ibid., p. 244.
18. Loc. cit.
19. Ibid., p. 243.
20. For details of the sophistication that had been acquired, see Ibid., pp. 244-245.
21. Ibid., p. 246.
22. Ibid., p. 243.
23. Ibid., p. 244. Consequent upon the entry of 'Munis' into the Hindu Church, it had really become a Brahmanical-Muni order now. It was the Munis who now played a more active part in developing and popularizing 'Hindu' beliefs.
24. R. C. Majumdar, *op. cit.*, Vol. III, p. 25.
25. For the history of the various sects, see Ibid., pp. 26-33 and for their beliefs, see A. L. Basham, *op. cit.*, pp. 300-313.
26. Tara Chand, *op. cit.*, p. 86.
27. Loc. cit.
28. Loc. cit.
29. A. C. Banerjee, *Anglo-Sikh Relations* (Calcutta, 1949), p. xxvii.
30. Saiva Saints in the South who propagated the Bhakti Marg.
31. Vaisnava Saints in the South who advocated the Bhakti Marg.

32. Tara Chand, *op. cit.*, p. 86.
33. *Ibid.*, p. 87.
34. A. L. Srivastava, *op. cit.*, p. 54.
35. For a brief life-sketch of Jaidev, see *Selections from the Sacred Writings of the Sikhs* (London, 1960), p. 240.
36. For a brief reference to Trilochan (1269-1336), Namdev (1269-1344) and Parmanand (not known) and Sadhana (late thirteenth century), see A. C. Banerjee, *Anglo-Sikh Relations* (Calcutta, 1949), pp. xxxii-xxxiii.
37. A. L. Srivastava, *op. cit.*, p. 56. Scholars differ on whether he was really the sixth. Some say he was the sixteenth and the others twenty-second in apostolic succession to Ramanuja. See Tara Chand, *op. cit.*, p. 143.
38. Tara Chand, *op. cit.*, p. 143.
39. A. L. Srivastava, *op. cit.*, p. 56.
40. For views on the origin of Sufism and its relations with Indian "surroundings", see *Dictionary of Islam* (London, 1896), p. 583, Col. iii, iv, p. 584, Col. i and Tara Chand, *op. cit.*, pp. 67-83.
41. Srivastava, *op. cit.*, p. 75.
42. R. C. Majumdar, 'Religion and Philosophy' in *The Struggle for Empire* (Bombay, 1957), p. 467.
43. M. Ikram, *Chashma-i-kausar*, p. 69, cited by B. S. Nijjar, *Punjab under the Sultan* (Jullundur, 1968), p. 138.
44. B. S. Nijjar, *op. cit.*, p. 138.
45. R. C. Majumdar, *op. cit.*, p. 467.
46. An English translation of the *Khasaf-al-Mahajab* was published in London in 1936.

47. Tara Chand, *op. cit.*, p. 144.
48. R. C. Majumdar, *op. cit.*, p. 467.
49. *Loc. cit.*
50. For a brief life-sketch of the saint, see A. L. Srivastava, *op. cit.*, pp. 81-82.
51. *Loc. cit.*
52. R. C. Majumdar, *op. cit.*, in *The Struggle for Empire*, p. 468.
53. For a brief life-sketch, see A. L. Srivastava, *op. cit.*, p. 86.
54. For a discussion on the differences between the Suhrawardi order and Chishti order of the Sufis, and also for the history of the former, see *ibid.*, pp. 88-89.
55. *Ibid.*, p. 76.
56. *Loc. cit.*
57. Tara Chand, *op. cit.*, p. 80.
58. A. L. Srivastava, *op. cit.*, p. 86.
59. *Loc. cit.*
60. *Ibid.*, p. 60.
61. *Ibid.*, p. 79.
62. For a brief life-sketch, see *ibid.*, pp. 82-84.
63. *Ibid.*, pp. 87-88.
64. K. A. Nizami, *Some Aspects of Religion and Politics in India* (Aligarh, 1961), pp. 178-179.
65. A. L. Srivastava, *op. cit.*, p. 76.
66. *Cf. Ibid.*, p. 78.

67. A. L. Srivastava, *op. cit.*, p. 56.
68. *Ibid.*, p. 56.
69. Tara Chand, *op. cit.*, p. 145.
70. There is a controversy over the year in which Ramanand died. Bhandarker puts it in 1411; some Sanskrit commentaries place it in 1448 and Farquhar, in 1470. After a detailed discussion, Tara Chand accepts Farquhar's date. See Tara Chand, *op. cit.*, pp. 143-144.
71. *Ibid.*, p. 145.
72. *Loc. cit.*
73. For a brief life-sketch of Pipa (1408-1468), see *Selections from the Sacred Writings of the Sikhs* (London, 1960).
74. For a brief sketch of Ravidas (fifteenth century), see Tara Chand, *op. cit.*, pp. 179-181.
75. For a brief sketch of Dhanna (fifteenth century), see *Selections from the Sacred Writings of the Sikhs*.
76. For a brief life-sketch of Sain (1390-1440) see *ibid.*
77. 'Kabir's was the first attempt to reconcile Hinduism and Islam'. Tara Chand, *op. cit.*, p. 165.
78. A. C. Banerjee, *Anglo-Sikh Relations* (Calcutta, 1949), pp. xxviii.
79. There is a controversy about the year in which Kabir was born. According to Macauliffe and Bhandarkar, he was born in 1390, but Wolcott puts his birth in 1440. There is a near agreement on the year in which he died. It was 1518, See Tara Chand, *op. cit.*, p. 146.
80. A. L. Srivastava, *op. cit.*, p. 57.
81. Kabir, *Bijak Ramaini*, p. 77, quoted in Tara Chand, *op. cit.*, p. 147.

82. Tara Chand, *op. cit.*, p. 148.
83. *Ibid.*, p. 163.
84. A. L. Srivastava, *op. cit.*, p. 57.
85. Tara Chand, *op. cit.*, p. 163.
86. A. L. Srivastava, *op. cit.*, p. 58.
87. Tara Chand, *op. cit.*, p. 149.
88. A. L. Srivastava, *op. cit.*, p. 58.
89. *Loc. cit.*
90. Tara Chand, *op. cit.*, p. 154.
91. Better known as a great commentator of Shaikh Shahab-ud-din Suhrawardi's teachings, *ibid.*, p. 71.
92. A thirteenth-century Sufi saint.
93. "Kabir gives several accounts of how the universe came into existence. Some of these accounts are based on Hindu cosmogonies, others are apparently taken from Islam". Tara Chand *op. cit.*, pp. 155-157.
94. *Ibid.*, pp. 163-164.
95. *Ibid.*, p. 150.
96. Yugalaand, *Kabir Sahib Ki Sakhi : Madhya Ka Anga*, quoted in Tara Chand, *op. cit.*, p. 150.
97. A. L. Srivastava, *op. cit.*, p. 58.
98. Tara Chand, *op. cit.*, p. 165.

CHAPTER II

1. *Miharban Janam-sakhi (Pothis Sach-khand)*, edited by Kirpal Singh and Shamsheer Singh Ashok, and published under the title *Janam-sakhi Sri Guru Nanak Dev Ji*, Amritsar 1962, Sakhi 4, p. 9 f. n.
2. J. C. Archer, *The Sikhs* (Princeton, 1946), p. 65; cf. Vir Singh *Sri Guru Nanak Chamatkar*, Part I, p. 35.

Ik Talwandi nam giran si, Si tan Lahoron 20-25 koh di
vith te par paasa pasita te rade jahe banan de vichale si.
Es basti nun pindi bhatian de Rae Bhoeh ne wasaya si apne
nam te 'talwandi Rae Bhoeh'

3. *Ibid.*, p. 35. Bhai Vir Singh gives the number of villages, thus obtained, as ten.
4. *Loc. cit.* Bhai Vir Singh says that Rae Bhoeh made this village as the headquarters of the *tappa* under him. Perhaps Vir Singh means *jagir*, when he uses the word *tappa*.

(Is than nun usne) apni tape di Rajdhani thapiya.

5. J. C. Archer, *op. cit.*, p. 6.
6. Bhai Vir Singh, *op. cit.*, p. 35. Bhai Vir Singh suggests that Rae Bhoeh actually gave Shiv Ram a job to tempt him to settle in Talwandi.

ina dasa pindan de hisab kitab, zamin de lein dein di Kardari
utte (Rae Bhoeh ne) Gode pind de rehn wale Ram Narain
de bete Shiv Ram Bedi nun thap ke Talwandi vich hi vasa
liya.

7. *Puratan Janam Sakhi* (ed.), Vir Singh (5th edition, Amritsar 1959), p. 7 (to be hereinafter referred to as JS Pur); Bhai Vir Singh, *Sri Guru Nanak Chamatkar*, Part I, p. 35. In the *Puratan Janam Sakhi*, Rao Bular is called Rao Bular Dev. Vir Singh suggests that he got the ten villages in *jagir* for becoming a Mussalman. Bhatti is really a Hindu sub-caste and there is every possibility of Vir Singh being right. This is what Vir Singh says in *Sri Guru Nanak Chamatkar* :

Bhatti asal vich Bhatt pad ton hai, Bhatt asal vich ohi japde han jinhan nun, Rai Kehnde han. Eh kavi te kirtaniye lok Hindu samein vich hoye han, Kashmir de bat te ih bhatt iko gal sahi dindi hai. Rao Bhoee Mussalman ho gaya, is nun. Sharkepur de pargne vich das ku pind jagir mile . . .

8. For names, see *Bala JS* (Lahore n. d.) 'Sakhi 25', p. 84.
9. J. C. Archer, *op. cit.*, p. 66.
10. Rao Bular succeeded his father, Rao Bhoee to the ownership of the ten villages on the latter's death in about 1461. This is according to *Khalsa Tawarikh*. See Bhai Vir Singh, *Sri Guru Nanak Chamatkar*, Part I, p. 35 f. n.
11. Mehta Kalu was born A. D. 1440 and died A. D. 1522 at the age of eighty-two. See Kahan Singh, *Mahan Kosh* (Patiala, 1960), p. 243.
12. The *Khalsa Tawarikh* says that Rai Bular made Kalu take the same place as was earlier held by Shiv Ram. Kalu must have been more than twenty-one years old then. Perhaps Maharban describes the earlier life of Kalu when he writes:

Dus Rahe ki bharan par kirt hoti, che rut baram mah kheti karta
 tor sauda bepar kuch na karta kheti be karta.

JS Meh, 'Sakhi 8', p. 22.

13. Bawa Chajju Singh, *The Ten Gurus and their Teachings* (Lahore, 1903), p. 1.
14. Some manuscripts of *Puratan Janam Sakhi* give her the name of Tipro or Tipra, See *JS Meh*, 'Sakhi No. 4', p. 9. f.n.
15. *Bala Janamsakhi*, p. 36 cited by W. H. Mcleod, *Guru Nanak and the Sikh Religion* (Oxford, 1968), p. 103.
16. Meharban Janam-sakhi, 'Sakhi 4', p. 9.
17. Bawa Chajju Singh, *op. cit.*, p. 1.
18. Nanaki would mean a girl born at her maternal grandparents' place. Nanke in Panjabi means the place of one's maternal grandparents.
19. Opinion is divided on whether Guru Nanak was born in Baisakh or Kartik. Except *Bala's Janamsakhi*, all others, viz. *Puratan*, *Meharban* and *Bhai Mani Singh Janamsakhis* put it in Vaisakh. See *JS Meh*, 'Sakhi 4', p. 9., and footnote 6 on that page :

Janam sakhi Bhai Bala te Guru Nanak Parkash Karta
 Bhai Santokh Singh de kathan anuser Guru Nanak
 Sahib da avatar kattak sudi 15 sambat 1526 nu hoye.
 Puratan Janam-sakhi te janam-sakhi Bhai Mani Singh
 te Mehama Parkash vich Guru Nanak Sahib da janam
 Vaisakh Sudi, 3, likhia hai par an Sikh jagat vich parsidh
 katak Puran mashi hi hai.

20. That Guru Nanak was born at Talwandi is not universally agreed. Meharban, for example, puts his birth at his maternal grandfather's house in Chahlawala : *JS Meh*, 'Sakhi 4' p. 11.

Janam sathan Guru Babe Nanak Ji ka Chahlawala.

21. There is disagreement about the hour of the night at which Nanak was born. The *Puratan Janam Sakhi* puts it at a quarter of the night before dawn, and Meharban agrees with it. *Bala's Janam Sakhi* disagrees ;

Puratan Janamsakhi, 'Sakhi 1', p. 1 f.

'Pehr rat rahnde ko ...'

Meharban Janamsakhi, 'Sakhi 4', p. 9:

'Pehr rat pichhli ratin ko amrit vela'

Bala Janamsakhi, 'Sakhi 1', p. 5:

'Ik ghari ute adhi rat biti ...'

22. *Janam Sakhi Bhai Bala*, 'Sakhi 2', p. 5.

Dai akhiya ... mere hathan vich kai Balak janme per
ijeha Balak istran koi nahi janmeian ... is balak di meinu
vaddi herangi lag rai hei.

23. Chajju Singh, *op. cit.*, p. 3.

24. Kartar Singh, *Guru Nanak*, p. 24.

25. *Janam Sakhi Meharban*, 'Sakhi 4', p. 10.

'Jad navan dina ka hua tab naun karan hua'.

26. According to Bhai Mani Singh, Kalu showed still greater
liberality at the brahm bhoj held on the first birth anniver-
sary of Nanak. *JS Mani Singh*, (Lahore, n. d.) 39 :

"... baba brahm bhoj kia"

CHAPTER III

1. For obvious reason *Janamsakhis* have loaded the five years of Nanak's life with supernatural incidents. The most sombre account is that of Bhai Mani Singh, but even he coloured it in the light of the future greatness of the Guru. See Bhai Mani Singh, *Janam Sakhi*, pp. 38-39 :

Jo koi Balke ko bulave tan balka has ke mukh lage aur
Jo bhangude mein dale tan pranam ko rok ke samadh
lag rahe aur jo mata dudh piyave to has kar dudh pive
aur balak pichhli rat jage ... Jab Baba ... bethna sikhea
(tab) chaukdi mar kar bethe aur prana ke bich Vahiguru
ka jap kare aur jab dedh bars ka hua tan bolan sikhia.
So jan bole tan Vahiguru bole aur jan do bars ka hua
tan khalovan sikhia ar motian ke saman dandia niklian.
jan khede tan devtian aur avataram kian pritma ke sath
khalia kare.

Bhai Mani Singh's *Janamsakhi* like the *Puratan* and *Bala Janamsakhi* make no mention of Nanak's *mundan* ceremony but Meharban states that Nanak underwent it at the age of three. See *Meharban Janam Sakhi*, 'Sakhi 4', p. 11 and f.n. on that page. The text reads as follows :

Jab tin bars ka bhaya tab bhaban hua

2. Bawa Chajju Singh, *The Ten Gurus and their Teachings* (Lahore, 1903), p. 6.
3. J. D. Cunningham. *A History of the Sikhs* (London, 1849), p. 41. f.n.
4. The *Ster-ool-Mutakhrin*, i. 110 cited in *ibid.*, p. 41.

5. J. C. Archer, *The Sikhs* (Princeton, 1946), p. 68.
6. Sowa Ram Singh, *The Divine Master*, p. 20.
7. Duncan Grenless 'Guru Nanak—the World Saviour', *The Sikh Review*, November 1956, p. 7.
8. Khazan Singh.
9. Khazan Singh, *op. cit.*, p. 56.
10. J. C. Archer, *op. cit.*, p. 69.
11. Sewaram Singh, *op. cit.*, p. 20.
12. *Janam Sakhi Bhai Mani Singh*, p. 41; *Bala and Meharban Janamsakhis* put the beginning of Nanak's regular education at seven. See *Janamsakhi Bala*, 'Sakhi 3', p. 7 & *Janamsakhi Meharban*, 'Sakhi 5', p. 11; See f. n. 13 below.
13. Chajju Singh, *op. cit.*, p. 8; cf. *Janam Sakhi Bhai Mani Singh*, p. 41; *Janamsakhi Bala* 'Sakhi 3', p. 7; *Janam Sakhi Meharban*, 'Sakhi 5', p. 11.

Mami Singh :

Jan Baba barsan panjan da hua aur mata pita nein kaha is nun Pandeh de padn payia tan bhale din aur naun chande eitvar aur bhali thith thal shakar da bhar kei aur uppar panj rupei rakh kei aur patti te budhika Babe de hath de kei Pandeh pas lei gaye.

Bala :

Jan Guru Nanak Satan barsan da hoya tan Kalu Pandeh nun akhiya Pandit ji mahurat vekho tan Nanak ru tere pas padn bithavne han. Pandeh akhiya bhala Mehta Ji. tan pandeh patri kadh ke sodh ke akhiya ji aj mahurat bhala hei. Maghar mahina kai sokala pakh hei, panchmin thithi hai, Veer var hai, rohinachhattar hei tan Kalu Kesar, Supari, chawl ate dakhna parsad

gharon lei kar aa gaya te Nanakji nun nal lei aya.
 akhan laga putr Nanak tun pandhe pas beth akhar padh.
 Nanak ji ne akhiya bhala pita ji.

Meharban :

Jab satan barsan ka hua Guru Babe Nanak ji tab Pandhe
 kai Dadai Kalu padne bahaya. Tab Dadai Kalu kahiya
 je 'bachcha Nanak tu pandhe pas pad'.

14. Chajju Singh, *op. cit.*, p. 8.
15. *Loc. cit.*
16. *Ibid.*, p. 11.
17. Bhai Mani Singh depicts Nanak possessing an extremely
 speculative bent of mind at the age of eight. This descrip-
 tion could easily apply to Nanak a little earlier also. *Janam*
Sakhi Bhai Mani Singh, p. 54 :

Phir jab Baba athan barsan ka hoya tan je andar bethe
 tan kai din andar hi samadhi lagi rahe aur jo nadi te
 bahar jai bethe tan uhan hi samadhi lagi rahe ate je
 sadhan mein bethe tan kai din charcha kardia hi bit
 jawan aur Kalu piche parsad aur chatti amrit lai phire so
 Babe Sadhan santan nu khuval chade.

18. The janamsakhis describe both the parents asking the question
 about what Nanak was reading. See *Janam Sakhi Bhai Mani*
Singh, p. 39 and *Bala Janam Sakhi*, 'Sakhi 4', p. 10; also
 see Bhai Vir Singh, *Sri Guru Nanak Chamatkar Part I*, pp.
 37-38.

Mani Singh :

ik din mata aur pita (Nanak) kol aa bethe tan ohna
 puhchhia tun kaun si pothi pada hein tan Babe kaha
 mein Sapt Saloki Gita pada hua tan uhan nei kaha asanu
 vi sunai tan Baba bolia ki suno Sapt Salok Gita ko.

Bala JS :

Ik din mata pita Babe ji de pas aye bothe te aakhan lage
jo putar tun kodi pothi padta hai so menu vi sunao tan
Sri Babe Ji keha pita ji mein Sapt Saloki Gita parda han.

Bhai Vir Singh :

Ik din Guruji ik kagat lai Balkan vich khade san ke
Mehte aa puchhiya, 'Beta jio eh ki lai phirde ho ? 'Aap
ne dasiya, 'Sapt Saloki hai'. Mehta ne puchhiya, 'Vaach
leinde ho te arth vi kar lende ho ?' Aakhan lage, 'han'.

19. The *Adi-Granth*, p. 16. as translated by Macauliffe. See Macauliffe, *The Sikh Religion* (S. Chand reprint), p. 8. for other translations of the same verse, see Gopal Singh, *Sri Guru Granth Sahib; English Version* (Delhi, 1962) Vol. I, pp. 19-20. Manmohan Singh, *Sri Guru Granth Sahib; English and Punjabi Translations* (Amritsar. 1962), Vol. I, pp. 50-51.

The *Adi-Granth*; Sri Rag Mahala I :

Jal mo ghas mas kar mat kagad kar sar.

Bhao kalam kar chit likhari gur puch likh bichar.

Likh nam salah likh likh ant na paravar.

Baba ih lekha likh jan.

Jithe lekha mangiye tithe hoi sachha insan.

20. The *Puratan Janamsakhi*, 'Sakhi No. 4', p. 6; Bala *Janamsakhi*, 'Sakhi No. 7', p. 23; *Meharban Janam Sakhi*, 'Sakhi 8' pp. 22-24. Bhai Mani Singh puts the incident differently, and at slightly maturer age. See *Bhai Mani Singh Janamsakhi*, p. 100 :

Baba barsan yaran ka hua tan eik din Kalu ka vagi jo
gain aur mahian nu charanwad si so rus gaya tan Kalu
kahiya ji mahin ghare khalotian han ar asi tan tuhanun
kuchh akh nahin sakde jo charai liawo tan Babe kahia
ke Sri Krishan nei ghar dian gauan charaian hi hein so
asi vi charai lianwa gei.

21. This gave rise to the popular story of a snake shading Nanak one afternoon.
22. Vir Singh, *Sri Guru Nanak Chamatkar*, Part I, p. 37. Bhai Mani Singh describes the first day with Brij Nath in his *Janamsakhi* on pp. 42-44.

Ik Brij Nath Pandit Talwandi rehnda si us pas Kalu
 Babe nun lei giya tan us Pande kahia tusi kagat te musvani
 aur kania lei avo mein is nu Bairakhari likh devan.....
 tan phir pandeh kahiya tusi Patti likho ar bairakhari
 pado tan Babe kaya tun padia hein jo asanu padaunda
 hein tan Pandit kaiha mein sab kuch hi padia hun tun
 sasa kaho tan Baba bolia/Asa Mohala patti likhi.

23. The *Adi-Granth*, p. 226; Macauliffe, *op. cit.* Vol. I, p. 20; for other translations see Gopal Singh, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 218, and Manmohan Singh, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 748.

The *Adi-Granth*; Gauri Mahala I :

Doojai bhai agian dohela.
 Bin dam ke sauda nahin hat.
 Bin bohith sagar nahin vat.
 Bin gur sewe ghate ghat.
 Tis kau vaho vaho ji vat dikhave.
 Tis kau vaho vaho ji sabad sunave.
 Tis kau vaho vaho ji mel milave.
 Vahho vaho tis kao jiska ih jio.

24. The *Adi-Granth*, p. 471; translation, as done in *Selections from the Sacred Writings of the Sikhs* (London, 1960) p. 92, for alternative translations see Macauliffe, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, pp. 16-17; Gopal Singh, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 464; Manmohan Singh, *op. cit.*, Vol. III, pp. 1554-56.

The *Adi-Granth*; Asa di Var Salok Mahala I :

Daya kapah santokh sut jat gandhi sat vat.

In jateu ji ka hai ta punde ghat.
 Na ih tute na mal lage na ih jale na jai.
 Dhan so manas Nanaka jo gal chale pai.
 Chaukar mul anaya beh chauke paiya.
 Sikha kan chadaian gur Brahmin thia.
 On moa oh jhad paiya vetage gaiya.

25. The *Puratan Janamsakhi* does not make any mention of the incident but Bala and Meharban are agreed on putting it on his tenth birthday. See *Janam Sakhi Bhai Bala*, 'Sakhi 6', p. 20; *Meharban Janamsakhi*, 'Sakhi 7', p. 20.

Baba Jantan Sakhi :

Jan Guru Nanak ji naun barsan da hoya tan Jeneu pavan
 di reet karan vaste Kalu ne purohat Hardyai ko bulaya.
 Subh mahurat dekh kar puroht ji ne sab samigri mangvai
 jo zat bhai Kala ke the sab ke kaha aur brahmin jo wahan
 rahte the sab ko nieta diya. Sab bhai band zati ke aur
 Brahman bhi ikattar hoi ke Sri Guru Babe jee ko janeu
 pawne lage.

Meharban Janam Sakhi :

Jab Guru Nanak ji navan barsan ka hua tab Guru Babe
 Nanak ji ka unet hua.

26. The *Adi-Granth*, p. 471, as translated in Macauliffe, *op. cit.* Vol. I, p. 17; for alternative translation see Gopal Singh, *op. cit.*, Vol II, p. 465 and Manmohan Singh, *op. cit.*, Vol. III, p. 1554-56.

The *Adi-Granth*: Asa di Var, Salok Mahala I :

Lakh Chorain lakh jarian lakh kudian lakh gal.
 Lakh thagian pohnamian ret dias ji nal,
 Tag kapaho katiye Bahman vate aiy.

×

×

×

Hoi purana sutiye bhi phir paiye hor.

27. *The Adi-Granth*, p. 471; translation from Macauliffe, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 17. For alternative translations see Gopal Singh, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 465 and Manmohan Singh, *op. cit.*, Vol. III, pp. 1555.

The Adi-Granth; Asa di Var, Salok Mahala I :

Nai maniye pat upje salahi sach sut.

Dargeh andar paiye tag na tutas put.

28. *The Adi-Granth*, p. 471; translation from Macauliffe, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 18. For alternative translations, see Gopal Singh, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 465 and Manmohan Singh, *op. cit.*, Vol. III, pp. 1555-56.

The Adi-Granth; Asa di Var, Salok Mahala I :

Tag na indri tag na nari.

×

×

×

Tag na pairi tag na hathi.

Tag na jehva tag na akhi.

Vetaga ape vate.

Vat dhage avra ghatte.

Lai bhad kare viaho.

Kadh kagal dase raho.

Sun vekho loka ih vidan.

Man andha nao sujan.

29. We have based our account of the encounter between Guru Nanak and the Pandit at the sacred-thread ceremony on Bhai Vir Singh's *Sri Guru Nanak Chamatkar*, Part I, p. 46. Bhai Vir Singh does not give any authority for his account, but it is not the *Puratan Janamsakhi* for this *Janamsakhi* makes no mention of any such incident. Bhai Mani Singh curiously enough says that the *janeu* was ultimately accepted by Guru Nanak. See *Bhai Mani Singh, Janamsakhi*, pp. 90-97 :

Prohit laga Guru Nanak ji de kan vich gayatri mantar
phukan tan Babe Pandit nun kahia ke tu ap mantar

sikhia hoia hei jo sanun sikhavta hein tan us akhia mein
Pran shastar sab kuch padia hoi hei . . . Kalu akhia
bacha mahan purkh vi jagat di chal kardai aye han tan
Babe kahia jiwon tusadi rijai tan Babe nun *Janau* pua ke
Kalu ghar lei aya.

30. The *Adi-Granth*, p. 226 as translated in Macauliffe, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 20; for other translations see Gopal Singh, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 218 and Manmohan Singh, Vol. II, p. 748.

The *Adi-Granth*; Gauri Mahala I :

Nam bina kion jiwa mai.
Andian japat raho teri sarnai.
Nanak nam rate pat pai.

31. The *Puratan Janamsakhi*, 'Sakhi 6', p. 8. Bhai Mani Singh places the incident later when Nanak was thirteen years old and suggests that Kalu had asked Nanak to take to agriculture for a different reason than we have given and Nanak refused. See *Mani Singh Janamsakhi*, p. 101 :

Jab Baba barsan teran da hoia tan lokan akhia Kalu
tu putar nun kite kirt lai ma tkirt vich is da man parchda
howe tan Kalu akhia Nanak ji sanu lok eih ulambhe
dinde han jo Kalu da putar makhatu hoia hei, tan Babe
akhia oih Kalu ji asan eiti khati khati hei jo sara jagat
varsawei ga te tun vi varsain ga tan Kalu akhia bacha
tun khuan te vahi karwai jo dane ghar aye pawan tan Babe
akhia ke asi vadi vahi karwai hei aur oh esi jami hei jo
sab koi varsai ga.

32. Macauliffe, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 21.
33. *Ibid.*, p. 22.
34. The *Puratan Janamsakhi* puts Nanak's admission to this *madrassa* at the age of nine but *Mani Singh Janamsakhi* says that Nanak was then ten years old. The *Puratan Janamsakhi*, 'Sakhi 3', p. 6; *Mani Singh Janamsakhi*, p. 97.

CHAPTER IV

1. Khazan Singh, *The History And Philosophy Of Sikh Religion* (Lahore, 1914), p. 63.
2. The *Adi-Granth*, p. 349; translation given from M.A. Macauliffe, *The Sikh Religion* (S. Chand) Vol. I, p. 24; for alternative translations see Gopal Singh, *Sri Guru Granth Sahib, English Version* (Delhi, 1962), Vol. II, p. 338 and Manmohan Singh, *Sri Guru Granth Sahib, English And Punjabi Translations* (Amritsar, 1962) Vol. III, p. 1162.

The Adi-Granth; Rag Asa, Mahala I :

Koi na jane tera keta kewad chira.
Sabh surti mil surt kamai.
Sabh kimat mil kimat pai.
Giani dhiani gur gur hai.
Kehan na jai teri til vadiai.

3. The *Adi-Granth*, p. 10 and p. 349; translation as given in *Selections From The Sacred Writings Of The Sikhs* (London, 1960), pp. 53-54; for alternative translations see M.A. Macauliffe, *op. cit.*, p. 25, Gopal Singh, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 338 and Manmohan Singh, *op. cit.*, Vol. III, p. 1163.

Adi-Granth; Rag Asa, Mahala I :

Akha jiwan visre mar jao.

× . × × ×

Khasam visare te kamjat.

4. Macauliffe, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 27.

5. *Mani Singh Janamsakhi*, p. 101 :

. . . je andar jai ke samadh lai kei sawoin tan suta hi
rahe ato je bahar jai tan Sidh asan mar ke betha rahe.

6. Khazan Singh, *op. cit.*, p. 63.

7. *Loc. cit.*

8. *Janamsakhi Bhai Bala*, 'Sakhi 10', p. 30 :

Mehta Kalu ji Haridas nam baid nun sad liyaya .

9. *The Adi-Granth*, p. 991; translation as given in Khazan Singh, *op. cit.* p. 63; for alternative translations, see Gopal Singh, *op. cit.*, Vol. IV, p. 947 and Manmohan Singh, Vol. VI, p. 3247.

Adi-Granth; Maru-Mahala I :

Koi akhe bhutna ko kahe betala.

Koi akhe admi Nanak vechara.

Bhaiya divana sah ka Nanak baorana.

Hao har bin avar na jana.

10. *Puratan Janamsakhi*, 'Sakhi 6', p. 11; translation as given in Khazan Singh, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 64. The provocation for Guru Nanak thus addressing the physician came from the fact that the latter called Nanak mad. See Vir Singh, *Sri Guru Nanak Chamatkar*, Part I, p. 55. *Meharban Janamsakhi*, 'Sakhi 15', p. 45 puts the incident as follows :

Baid aiye ke Nanak ji ke najik betha.

Beth kar Nanak ji ke najik Babeji ki bahan pakdi.

Bahan pakad kar kahiya nadi dekh ke je 'es nu udmadi
jhola hai'.

Puratan Janamsakhi, 'Sakhi 7', p. 11 :

Jah vaid ghar apne meri ahi na leh.

Ham ratte saho apne tu kis daru deh.

11. This is the name given in Bhai Mani Singh's *Gyan Ratnavali* and *Bala Janamsakhi*. The *Puratan Janamsakhi* refers to her but without giving her any name. The *Meharban Janamsakhi* calls her at one place as 'Ghumi Mulo dhi Choni', at another 'Mulo dhi Choni'.
12. The father of Sulakhani is referred to by various *Janamsakhis* as 'Mula a Chona Khatri' (the *Puratan Janamsakhi*, 'Sakhi 3', p. 6), 'Mula, a Chona Khatri, and Patwari of Pakho ki Randhawa' (*Bala Janamsakhi*, 'Sakhi 15', p. 49) and 'Mula a Chona Khatri of Batala and formerly of the village Pakho di Randhawa' (*Meharban Janamsakhi*, 'Sakhi 11', p. 29).
13. Bawa Chajju Singh says that Nanaki was married when she was "no less than twenty years old". Actually, she was twenty-one. Bawa Chajju Singh, *The Ten Gurus and Their Teachings* (Lahore, 1903), p. 23.
14. A different version is given in Bawa Chajju Singh's book, but even in that version prominent role of Rai Bular in bringing about the marriage of Jai Ram and Nanaki is recognized. *Ibid.*, pp. 23-24.
15. That was Baisakhi day (before the change in the Gregorian Calendar in the eighteenth century, the Baisakhi corresponded to 29th March). We have here followed *Meharban Janamsakhi* in fixing the date on which Nanak and Sulakhani were engaged. See *Meharban Janamsakhi*, 'Sakhi 11', p. 29:

Jab pandran solan bars ka hoa Rai Bhoie ki Talwandi
Guru Baba Nanak tha. Tab Guru Babe Nanak ji di
kudmai ai Vatale te, Mule Chone bheji kudmai bedi
di Kalu Vedi de putar nun—Nanak kaun kudmai, Vaisakh
de din kudmai aee Sambat 1542, mah varkhe Vaisakh
vadi pehli ekam ke din.

16. See the above note. This is according to *Meharban Janamsakhi*. Other *Janamsakhis* would put either three or four years earlier or twelve years later, e.g. the *Puratan* would put it when Nanak was twelve and *Bala Janamsakhi* would place it in 1493. The *Puratan Janamsakhi*, 'Sakhi 3', p. 6; *Bala Janamsakhi*, 'Sakhi 15', pp. 49-51.
17. The *Puratan Janamsakhi* and *Janam Sakhi Mani Singh* say that the marriage of Nanak took place when he was still at Talwandi. The *Bala Janamsakhi* and following them *Sri Guru Nanak Parkash* puts it when Nanak was at Sultanpur. See Bhai Vir Singh, *Guru Nanak Chamatkar*, Part I, p. 51 f.n. and *Bala Janamsakhi*, 'Sakhis 13-15', pp. 43-51.

Bhai Vir Singh :

Puratan janam sakhi vich viah ithe (Talwandi) hi hoa likhya hai. Janam Sakhi Bhai Mani Singh Ji vich viah da parsang ithe dita hei... Sri Guru Nanak Parkash ne viah Sultanpur ja ke dita hai.

18. Jai Ram's father.
19. Nanak's maternal grandfather.
20. Nanak's maternal uncle.

CHAPTER V

1. The *Puratan Janamsakhi*, 'Sakhi 6', p. 8.
2. The *Adi-Granth*, 595; as translated in *Selections From The Sacred Writings Of The Sikhs* (London, 1960), p. 95. For other translations see Macauliffe, *The Sikh Religion* (S. Chand), Vol. I, p. 23, Gopal Singh, *Sri Guru Granth Sahib, English Version* (Delhi, 1962), Vol. II, p. 577, and Manmohan Singh, *Sri Guru Granth Sahib, English And Punjabi Translations* (Amritsar, 1962—), Vol. IV, p. 1956 :

Adi-Granth; Rag Sorath, Mahala I :

Han hatt kar arja sach nam kar vath.

Surt soch kar bhand sal tis vich tis no rakh

Vanjaria sio vanj kar lai laha man has.

3. The *Adi-Granth*, p. 595; as translated in *Selections From The Sacred Writings Of The Sikhs*, p. 95. For other translations see Macauliffe, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 23, Gopal Singh, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 577, and Manmohan Singh, *op. cit.*, Vol. IV, p. 1956 :

The *Adi-Granth*; Rag Sorath, Mahala I:

Sun sasat saudagri sat ghore lai chal.

Kharch bonh changiaian mat man janeh kal.

Nirankar kai des jahe ta sukh lahe mahal.

4. *Janamsakhi Bhai Bala*, 'Sakhi 11', p. 31 :

Kalu akhia tun kuchh vanaj kariya kar. Babe kahiya
bhala pita ji tan Kalu kahiya Nanak ji tun vih rupai

lai jao te koj khara sauda kharid lai au je it vari khara sauda kar awain ga tan pher mein tenu bahut rupei dewan ga.

5. Cf. Vir Singh, *Sri Guru Nanak Chamatkar*, Part I, p. 64.
6. M. A. Macauliffe, *The Sikh Religion*, Vol. I, (S. Chand), p. 24.
7. Bawa Chajju Singh, *The Ten Gurus And Their Teachings* (Lahore, 1903), p. 19.
8. Khazan Singh, *History And Philosophy Of The Sikh Religion* (Lahore, 1914), p. 64.
9. *Janamsakhi Bhai Bala*, 'Sakhi 11', p. 33 :
Guru ji ne kaya aap ka nam kia hai. Sant ne kahiya nam hamara Sant Rein hai. Sun kar Nanak ji bade prasan hue.
10. Chajju Singh, *The Ten Gurus And Their Teachings* (Lahore, 1903) p. 19.
11. Khazan Singh, *op. cit.*, p. 64.
12. *Janamsakhi Bhai Bala*, 'Sakhi 11', p. 34 :
Guru Nanak Ji apne ghar gai hi nahin, bahr hi rahe.
13. *Janamsakhi Bhai Bala* has a slightly different version of Bala's behaviour. According to this *Janamsakhi*, Bala on parting with Nanak went to his house and Kalu called him to enquire of his son. See *Janamsakhi Bhai Bala*, 'Sakhi 11' p. 34 :
Kalu nu khabar hui jo Bala apne ghar aye vadia hai te Nanak ji nahin aya tan Kalu nei nafar bhej Bala nun bulaiia.
14. Bawa Chajju Singh, *op. cit.*, p. 20.
15. *Janamsakhi Bhai Bala* says that Kalu gave Nanak four slaps and details them. See *Janamsakhi Bhai Bala*, 'Sakhi 11', p. 35 :

Kalu ne Nanak ji nun doi tamache sajje hath de khabi gal upar mare ate sajji gal te do tamache khabe hath de mafe.

16. Bawa Chajju Singh, *op. cit.*, p. 20.
17. *Ibid.*, p. 17.
18. *Ibid.*, p. 24. Cf. Macauliffe. *op. cit.*, p. 32.
19. Macauliffe, *op. cit.*, p. 32.
20. Bawa Chajju Singh, *op. cit.*, p. 32. We have based ourselves on Bhai Vir Singh and *Bala Janamsakhi*.
21. Vir Singh, *Sri Guru Nanak Chamatkar*, Part I, p. 74; *Janamsakhi Bhai Bala*, 'Sakhi 13', p. 41.

Vir Singh :

Rae Bhoe di Talwandi de tappe da malik Rae Bular betha hai. Ik das kol hai jis ne duron tak ki akhya Rae Ji Jai Ram ji aye japde han. Rae Bular—Bhala hoye koi chauki vicha de. Naukar ne ik sohni chauki dah ditti. Ine nun Jai Ram Das ji aa gae te apo de adab adab adar bhao kar ke beth gai. Rae ji ne hun sehj nal akhya . . . Nanak nal bhala vartao nahin hunda . . . tusi daso tuhade saka dari hoi nun vi hun kuchh chir ho gaya hai . . . tuhada Nanak paron ki khial hai.

Bala JS :

Rae akhiya Kalu Nanak nun Jai Ram pas ghal diinde han ethe tun vi roj khapda hein te Nanak ji vi ranjrehnda hai. Uthe hi kuch kam kar kare ga. Kalu akhiya ji jiwen tuhadi rajai . . .

The *Puratan Janamsakhi* and *Meharban Janamsakhi* give a different version. They suggest that Jai Ram sent a letter (or letters) from Sultanpur asking Kalu to send Nanak to him. The *Puratan Janamsakhi*, 'Sakhi 8', p. 13; *Meharban Janamsakhi* 'Sakhi 24', pp. 72-73 :

The Puratan Janamsakhi :

Jai Ram suniya jo Nanak hairan rehanda hai, kam kaj kuchh nahin karda tab un kitabat likhee jo Nanak tun asan jog mil. Tab ih kitabat Guru Nanak padhi tan akhios 'hovei tan Jai Ram jog milan.'

Meharban Janamsakhi :

Tin (Jai Ram) sun paia je Nanak ji ghar ka kam chodia hai. Oh udas hoi rahia hai. Ghar jio Nanak ji ka tikta nahin. Tab un Jai Ram kaih bhejia, apne nafar hath kitabat likh bheji Dade Kahu no ji main sunia hai ji Nanak ji birakt hoa hai sansar te, Nanak ji kao tusi mere pas bhej deho je Nanak ji ka jio lage ham sath. Nanak ji ka mere sath bahot iklas hai mere sath is ka jio lagega. Teb ek chiri Dada Kalo no Jai Ram bheji je Nanak ji no mere pas bhejna. Ik kitabat Jai Ram Babe Nanak ji kao bheji je ji asade ji bahot chah hai tusade darsan di, tusi asan uppar kirpa kar ke darshan devna, Parmeshwar ke namit asan pas avna.

CHAPTER VI

1. Chajju Singh. *The Ten Gurus And Their Teachings* (Lahore, 1909), p. 26.
2. Left Talwandi early in the morning of 3 Maghar 1544 and reached Sultanpur late in the evening of 7 Maghar 1544 (1487). See Bawa Chajju Singh, *The Ten Gurus And Their Teachings* (Lahore, 1903), p. 27; *Bala Janamsakhi*, 'Sakhi 13', pp. 41-42. For a description of the way Nanak travelled, see *Janamsakhi Meharban*, 'Sakhi 24', p. 74 :

Guru baba Nanak ji ghode aswar hoa, Sultanpur kaun chale. Majal dar majal chalte chalte Baba Nanak ji Sultanpur aye.

3. *Bala Janamsakhi*, 'Sakhi 13', pp. 42.
4. *Ibid.*
5. This was on 14 Maghar 1544, i.e. a week after Nanak had arrived at Sultanpur. See *Bala Janamsakhi* 'Sakhi 13', p. 43. For a description of the first meeting between Daulat Khan and Nanak as it follows see *Bhai Mani Singh Janamsakhi*, pp. 106-107 :

Jai Ram Babe nun lei ke Daulat Khan nun jai milya
tan Daulat Khan bahut parsan hoya aur kahiya eh
bhala dianat dar nazr awta hei tan te tusi sada kam uthao
tan Babe kahiya asi tusada kam nahin uthawnte kiun jo
tusi Raje lok ho ar vichar nahin karde ar lokan dian
chuglian bahut sundei ho tan khan akhia hei Nanak
tere utte asi chuglian na sunna gei tan ik Dev Dutt

Khan da divan hai si ate Brahman da Sikh si so us nun sad kei akhia ki mere ghar da kam is nun saup dio tan Babe akhiya ki mein hor kam nahin lenda par jeda Jai Ram nein modikhana leiya hei mein us dei nal kam karan ga, tan Jai Ram Babe nun ghar lei gaya ar modikhane da kagat likhwa kei lei aya, ar jitnia jinsan hei san so sab hawalei kitian ate wate vi man te lei ke chataki tikar sab hawale kite.

6. M. A. Macauliffe, *The Sikh Religion* (S. Chand), p. 33, Teja Singh Ganda Singh, *A Short History Of The Sikhs*, (Orient Longman, 1950), p. 4.
7. I. B. Banerjee, *Evolution Of The Khalsa* (Calcutta, 1963), p. 67.
8. It was on 14 Maghar 1544 (1487). See f.n. 5 above.
9. Bawa Chajju Singh, *op. cit.*, p. 31.
10. Loc. cit. cf. *Meharban Janamsakhi*, 'Sakhi 24', p. 75 :

... pichhliyan Talwandi kiya lokan nu khabar hoyee je Nanak ji jado hee wadhiya he, chalo asi rojgar kar awe. Tab jehe farak da koi howe tehi tehi tehl tis nu mile. Sab koi sadka Babe Ji da bafarat roti khan.
11. Khazan Singh, *History And Philosophy Of The Sikh Religion* (Lahore, 1914), p. 65.
12. *Janamsakhi Bala*, 'Sakhi 14', p. 44 :

Jo koi sawali sawal aee kate Baba Nanak ji turt hi pura kar deve. Kapde vale nun Baba ji kapda deve. Rasd vale nun rasd deve. Rok vale nun Baba rok vi deve, badi bhir laggi rahe dukan de uppar ate jo modikhanion Nawab de hukam nal kise nun mile tan panj ser di jagha sadhe panj ser os nun Baba Nanak ji tol deve.
13. Bawa Chajju Singh, *op. cit.*, p. 36.
14. *Ibid*, p. 37; also see the next note.

15. *Bhai Mani Singh Janamsakhi*, p. 107 :

Diwan...kahia...Nanak faqiran nun sab mal lutaunda
 hei so tusi akho tan os de nal leikha kiche tan khan
 akhiya tusi Jai Ram nun vich bahal ke lekha karo tan
 divan nei Jai Ram ate Babe nun sad bhejia.

16. Khazan Singh, *op. cit.*, p. 66.
17. Khushwant Singh, *A History Of The Sikhs*, Vol. I, (Princeton, 1963), p. 30.
18. Macauliffe, *op. cit.*, Vol., p. 33.
19. Khazan Singh, *op. cit.*, p. 67.
20. Macauliffe, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 34.
21. *Ibid.*, p. 35.
22. Bawa Chajju Singh, *op. cit.*, p. 38. The examination was carried out by Jado Rai, the man who was in the forefront of the campaign. His grudge was that, unlike others in the service of Daulat Khan, Nanak would not occasionally bribe him and be on his right side. See *Janamsakhi Bhai Bala*, 'Sakhi 15', p. 55 :

Nawab ne kahiya Jado Rai ko bulao tan Jado Rai ko admi bulawne gaya tan Jado Rai ne aa salam kita tan Nawab nei hukam diya jo Jado Rai Nanak se tum hisab lewo tan Jado Rai ne kahia bhala Nawab salamat bahut dinan da hisab hai, dekhie kis di taraf bahut kuch nikalda hai, amdan kharch dekh lijie barang bar lok Nawab ko kehnde se Nanak modi lutanwda hai aur paise faqiran nun denda hei. Ih bat Nawab di sun kar Jado Rai di bhi man bhandi baat hoi ke Nanak hamare ko bhi nahin kuch deta tha, ih sun kar Jado Rai ne kahiya abe Nanak jo paise tumhari taraf nikse ge to uthne tab deun ga jab tere se lai laun ga ar pher modikhane par baithne bhi nan panwe ga. Hamare

ko tu ne kabhi rishwat nahi di—pher ik sthan par baith gai, panch din hisab hota rahiya.

23. *Janamsakhi Bhai Bala*, 'Sakhi 15', p. 55 :

Kai adawnian Jado Rai ne paian par Parmeshwar nal ate sach nal koi bat pesh nahin jandi par jo rupaiya Nawab de gharon milya si so sab likhwa leeta. Pichhe jo rupaiya Nawab de ghar pauncha so bi likha dita tau tin sau ikki rupee Nanak ji de vadhe nikle tan Jado Rai sharminda ho kar baith giya. . .

24. *Janamsakhi Bhai Bala*, 'Sakhi 15', p. 55 :

Nawab ne kahiya are Bhawani Das khajanchi Nanak ke paise jo awande hein so abhi ada karo aur tin hazar rupaiye hor dewo tan Bhawani Das ne tin sai ikki rupaiye pichhle ditte ate tin hazar rupaiya Guru ji nun hor ditta.

CHAPTER VII

1. Khazan Singh puts the start of Guru Nanak's first *udasi* in February 1499 and puts this experience some time earlier. How much earlier is not specifically told by the author. Teja Singh and Ganda Singh puts it in "1496, when Nanak was 27 years old". Indu Bhushan Banerjee puts this "somewhere near the year 1495". There are others who put it much later, e.g. Duncan Greenless puts it on 20 August 1507. See Khazan Singh, *The History And Philosophy Of Sikh Religion* (Lahore 1914), p. 69; Teja Singh & Ganda Singh, *A Short History Of The Sikhs*, Vol. I (Bombay), p. 5; Indu Bhushan Banerjee, *Evolution Of The Khalsa*, Vol. I (Calcutta, 1963), p. 77; Duncan Greenless, p. xxxiii.
2. Meharban has tried an insight into the Nanak's state of mind on the eve of his going to the rivulet for the most momentous decision of his life. See *Meharban Janamsakhi*, 'Sakhi 26', p. 80 :

Tab Guru Baba Nanak nagar Sultanpur baitha tha aur jad Daulat Khan Lodi ka chakar hoa modi apne ki tehl hawalei hoi tab har din je Sarkar ka kharch hoi si likhda jai. Aur je din likhe kharch se rat betha jode tab Guru Baba Nanak betha tha kharch kagaz upron jion betha joda tha tiun rat ka samein ar chirag jalde hein aur Guru Baba Nanak jiun betha lekha jorda hai tiun Guru Babe Nanak ji ka man biraqat hoi gaya oh kagaz hatho sat baitha lagga man kaun samjhavne.

3. The *Puratan* and *Bala Janamsakhis* say that Nanak reappeared

after three days. That is generally accepted. Bhai Mani Singh, however, says that Nanak came out on the eighth day. See the *Puratan Janamsakhi*, 'Sakhi 10', p. 16; *Bala Janamsakhi*, 'Sakhi 17', p. 63; *Mani Singh Janamsakhi*, p. 117.

The puratan Janamsakhi :

Guru Nanak ke tain tisre din usi ghat aan nikaliya.

Bala Janamsakhi :

Tin din (de bad) Nanak bahar nikaliya.

Janamsakhi Mani Singh :

Sabhe lage afoos karan tan athvein din Baba pher use hi ghaton niklia.

4. Khazan Singh, *The History And Philosophy Of The Sikh Religion* (Lahore, 1914), Vol. I, p. 67. *Mani Singh Janamsakhi*, p. 117.

ar vich (athan dina vich) hi Nirankar nal Sodar di gost kar aya.

5. The *Janamsakhis*, in their natural adoration, say that God's men on His asking themselves came and took Nanak to the Almighty's presence. See *Meharban Janamsakhi*, 'Sakhi 28', p. 88 :

Niranjan Nirankar kahya ji, 'Re jaho jaikar tum Nanak kaun mere pas lei awo' Tab Nanak ji kann aye kar Karta Purkh ke lok lei gaye, lijaye jaha Karta Purkh tha oha hi lijay khada kiya.

6. The *Adi-Granth*, p. 1, as translated in *Selections From The Sacred Writings Of The Sikhs* (London, 1960), p. 28; for alternative translations see M. A. Macauliffe, *The Sikh Religion*, (S. Chand), Vol. I, p. 35; Gopal Singh, *Sri Guru Granth Sahib, English Version* (Delhi, 1962), Vol. I, p. 1; Manmohan Singh, *Sri Guru Granth Sahib, English and Punjabi Translations*, (Amritsar, 1962), Vol. I, p. 1.

The *Adi-Granth* :

Ik Onkar, Sat Nam Karta purkh, Nirbhao, Nirvair,
Akai Murat, Ajuni sai bhang, Gur parsad.

7. The *Adi-Granth*, p. 1 as translated in *Selections From The Sacred Writings Of The Sikhs*, p. 20. For alternative translations, see Macauliffe, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 35.

The *Adi-Granth* :

Ad sach, jugad sach.
Hei bhi sach,
Nanak hosi bhi sach.

8. The *Puratan Janamsakhi*, 'Sakhi 10', p. 15, translation of the *Slok*, as given in E. Trumpp, *The Adi-Granth* (London, 1877) pp. xi-xii :

Puratan Janamsakhi :

Nanak jis uppar teri nazar,
Tis uppar meri nadar.
Jis uppar tera karam,
Tis uppar mera karam.
Mera naon Par Brahm Parmesar,
Ar tera naon—Guru Parmesar.

9. I. B. Banerjee, *Evolution Of The Khalsa*, (Calcutta, 1963), Vol. I, p. 70.
10. Khushwant Singh, *A History Of The Sikhs* (Princeton University Press, 1963), Vol. I, p. 31.
11. I. B. Banerjee, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 70.
12. Loc. cit.
13. Cf. Khazan Singh, *The History And Philosophy Of The Sikh Religion* (Lahore, 1914), Vol. I, p. 67.
14. *Ibid.*, p. 68.
15. *Ibid.*, p. 67.

16. The *Adi-Granth*, p. 991, as translated in Macauliffe, *op. cit.*, Vol. 1, p. 38. For alternative translations, see Gopal Singh, Vol. IV, p. 947 and Manmohan Singh, Vol. VI, p. 3247 :

The *Adi-Granth*; Mahala I :

Bhaia divana sah ka Nanak baurana.
 Hao har bin avar na jana.
 Tau dewana janiye ja bhai dewana hoi.
 Eki sahib bahra duja avar na jano koi.
 Tau dewana janiye ja eka kar kamai.
 Hukam pachane khasm ka duji avar sianap kai.
 Tau dewana janiye ja sahib dhare piar.
 Manda janc ap kao avar bhala sansar.

17. Khazan Singh, *op. cit.*, pp. 68-69.
 18. *Ibid.*, p. 69.
 19. *Ibid.*, p. 69.
 20. Indu Bhushan Banerjee, *op. cit.*, p. 73.
 21. According to *Bhai Mani Singh's Janamsakhi*, Guru Nanak made this utterance as soon as he reappeared. The *Puratan Janamsakhi* puts his doing so the following day. The *Meharban Janamsakhi* describes it as an utterance in one of the congregations in reply to a query from one of the members of the audience, obviously some time after he had begun his preaching career at Sultanpur. *Janamsakhi Mani Singh*, p. 117; the *Puratan Janamsakhi*, 'Sakhi 11', p. 16, *Janamsakhi Meharban*, 'Sakhi 29', p. 92.

Janamsakhi Mani Singh :

tab Baba Vain ton bahr aya ar eho kehnda hei nan koi
 Hindu hei nan Musalman hei.

Puratan Janamsakhi :

tab ik din gujar gia. tab agle din bak khala hoia (*i.e.*
 bolia) jo, 'na ko Hindu hai, na ko Mussalman hoi'.

Janamsakhi Meharban :

tab lok jahan laga kehne, 'Nanak, age tu kichh hor tha ab tu hor hoa. Hub kichh hor laga akhan. ik hinduan da rah hai, ik Mussalmanan da rah hai, par tu kehde rah vich hai?' tab Guru baba Nanak ji kiha je, 'Na koi Hindu hai na koi Mussalman hai, mein kis de rah vich hovan? Mein khuda de rah howan. Khudai na Hindu na Mussalman hai, mein jiha se Khuda de rah hein.'

22. Indu Bhushan Banerjee, *op. cit.*, p. 71.
23. Indu Bhushan Banerjee, *op. cit.*, p. 73. According to the Puratan Janamsakhi, the first reaction of the Nawab on hearing the complaint was that of regret. He felt sorry that his 'wazir' should have become a *faqir*. See *The Puratan Janamsakhi*, 'Sakhi 11', pp. 16-17 :

Lokan jai kar khan jog kahiya jo Baba Nanak akhda hai jo na ko Hindu hai na ko Mussalman hai...tab khan kiha Nanak meri Kambakhti hai jo tuhe jiha wazir faqir hovei.

24. The *Adi-Granth*, p. 141, as translated in Macauliffe, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 38. For alternative translations see Gopal Singh, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 132 and Manmohan Singh, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 468.

The *Adi-Granth*; Var Majh ki, Mahala I :

Mussalman kahavan msukal ja hoi tan Mussalman kahave.
Aval aul din kar mitha maskal mana mal musave.
Hoi Muslim din mohane marn jiwana ka bharm chokave.
Rab ki rajai manne sir upar karta manne ap gavave.

25. The *Adi-Granth*, pp. 140-141, as translated in *Selections From The Sacred Writings Of The Sikhs*, p. 77. For alternative translations, see Macauliffe, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 38; Gopal Singh, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 131, and Manmohan Singh, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 466.

The *Adi-Granth*; Var Majh Ki, Mahala I :

Miln' mla'it' sidak' mastak' hup' halal' Quran.
 Saran' sunnat' sil' seja' t'ho' Mussalman.
 Karni' Khab' sach' pir' kalma' Musalman' s'vaj.
 Tasbr' sa' tis' bhias' Nanak' rukh' jag'.

26. The *Adi-Granth*, pp. 140-141; as translated in *Selections From The Sacred Writings Of The Sikhs* p. 77; for alternative translations, see Macauliffe, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 39, Gopal Singh, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 131, and Manmohan Singh, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 467.

The *Adi-Granth*; Var Majh Ki, Mahala I :

Panj' nivaja' vakhat' panj' panja' panje' naon.
 Pahela' sach' halal' doi' teeja' khair' khudai.
 Chauthi' niyat' ras' man' panjvi' sifat' sanai.
 Karni' kalma' akh' kai' ta' Mussalman' sadai.

27. The *Puratan-Janamsakhi*, 'Sakhi-11', p. 18, as translated in Macauliffe, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 40.

Puratan Janamsakhi :

Mussalman' musavai' ap.
 Sidak' saburi' kalma' pak.
 Khadi' na' chede' padi' na' khai.
 Nanak' so' Mussalman' bhist' kao' jai.

28. The *Adi-Granth*, pp. 721-722, as translated in Macauliffe, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 42. For alternative translations see Gopal Singh, *op. cit.*, Vol. III, p. 691 and Manmohan Singh, *op. cit.*, Vol. IV, p. 2355.

The *Adi-Granth*; Tilang Mahala I :

Hao' kurbane' jao' miharvana' haon' kurbane' jao.
 Haon' kurbane' jao' tinan' ke' lain' jo' tera' nao.
 Lain' jo' tera' nao' tinan' ke' haon' sad' kurbane' jao.

**Kaia rangan je thiye piare paiye nao majith.
Rangan wala je range sahib aisa rang na dith.
Jin ke chole ratde piare kant tina ke pas.
Dhood tina ki je milai ji kaho Nanak ki ardas.**

CHAPTER VIII

1. Khazan Singh, *History And Philosophy Of The Sikh Religion* (Lahore 1914), p. 69.
2. It appears that on the eve of Guru Nanak's departure from Sultanpur, his father-in-law, Mula, and his mother-in-law, Chando Rani, created a scene. See *Bala Janamsakhi*. 'Sakhi 18', p. 68 :

(Jadon) Nanak nikal khara hoya tan Chando ate Mula apni dhi nu chhad sake nahin, ate Nanki te Jai Ram de vas nah ate iha salah hoi bhala Sri Chand mere (Nanki) pas rai ate bhabi nun ate Lakmi Das nun tusi lai jao. Chando Rani jiun Guru Nanak nun ditha tiun kadki jiun bijli kadki hai, akhan lagi sun to ve Nanak is gal nun viah karda sain jo tabar vadai ke chhad chalion.

3. Sewaram Singh, *The Divine Master* (Lahore, 1930), p. 77
4. Khazan Singh, *op. cit.*, p. 69.
5. *Ibid*, p. 70.
6. Shalok Varan ta ik vadikh (*Granth*).
7. *Bala Janamsakhi* does not give any indication of the route followed by Guru Nanak and Mardana from Sultanpur to Eminabad. In fact, it gives the impression that they went straight to Eminabad and without halting anywhere on the way, taking seven days to do so. *Bala Janamsakhi* 'Sakhi 23', p. 78.

8. Khazan Singh, *op. cit.*, p. 70.
9. *Ibid.*, p. 70
10. For the story of the Sikh tradition, see *Bala Janamsakhi*, 'Sakhi 23', pp. 78-81, Vir Singh, *Sri Guru Nanak Chamatkar Part I*, pp. 109-116; for an English rendering M. A. Macauliffe, *The Sikh Religion*, Vol. I, (S. Chand), pp. 42-43.
11. Macauliffe, *The Sikh Religion*, Vol. I (S. Chand), p. 44.
12. *Ibid.*, pp. 44-45.
13. Khazan Singh, *op. cit.*, p. 74.
14. *Ibid.*, pp. 74-76.
15. *Ibid.*, p. 76.
16. *Ibid.*, p. 73.
17. *Bala Janamsakhi*, 'Sakhi 25', p. 86, as translated in Khazan Singh, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, pp. 73-74. For an alternative translations see Sewaram Singh, *op. cit.*, pp. 82-83.

Bala Janamsakhi :

hik furmaish akhiye, je mane sanin,
 jis te jor na chaliye, kar jor dhianin.
 esa satgur, Rai ji, kise hath na awe,
 sai kar kamavni, jo tis ko bhawe.
 hikamat hukam na chaliye, koi kar dekhe,
 sheikh, musaikh sidh, sadh laiai lekhe.
 das avatari aya, jag hukam chalaya,
 ant kal dharti pai, kujh hath na aya
 vade vade mahan bali, jodhe ar sure,
 kaho Nanak, sabh dekhiya, sabh dharti dhure.

18. Macauliffe. *op. cit.*, p. 45.
19. *Bala Janamsakhi*; 'Sakhi 25,' p. 84, as translated in Khazan Singh, *op. cit.*, pp. 72-73; for an alternative translations see

27. The *Adi-Granth*, p. 1290, as translated by Macauliffe, Vol. I, p. 49; for alternative translations, see Gopal Singh, *op. cit.* Vol. IV, p. 1231 :

The *Adi-Granth*; Var Malhar Ki :

Mas Purant mas katabin chauh jug mas kamana
Jaj kaj viaha suhve othe mas samana.

28. Khazan Singh, *op. cit.*, p. 77.
29. In all probability the priest who was most voluble was the head priest Nanu Chand. See f. n. 24 above.
30. The *Adi-Granth*, p. 1290, as translated by Macauliffe, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 49; for alternative translations, see Gopal Singh, *op. cit.*, Vol. IV, p. 1231.

The *Adi-Granth*; Var Malhar Ki :

Ap na bujhe lok bujhae pande khara siana.
Pande tun jane hi nahin kithon mas upanna.
Tohio ann kamad kapahan tohiho tribhavan ganna.
Tao akhe haun baho bidh hachha toae bahut bikara.
Ete ras chhod hove sanniasi Nanak kahe vichara.

31. The *Adi-Granth*, p. 1289, as translated in Macauliffe, *op. cit.*, p. 48; for alternative translations, see Gopal Singh, *op. cit.*, Vol. IV, p. 1231 :

The *Adi-Granth*; Var Malhar Ki :

Mas mas kar murakh jhagre gian dhian nahin janen.
Kaun mas kaun sag kahave kis mehn pap kamanen.

32. Macauliffe, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 50.
33. *Ibid.*, p. 50.
34. Khazan Singh, *op. cit.*, p. 77.
35. *Ibid.*, p. 78.

36. The *Adi-Granth*, p. 91, as translated in *Selections From The Sacred Writings of the Sikhs* (London, 1960), p. 76; for alternative translations, see Gopal Singh, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 82, and Manmohan Singh, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 305.

The *Adi-Granth*; Sri Rag Salok, Mahala I :

Kubudh dumni kodaya kasain,
Parninda ghat chuhari muthi krodh chandal.
Kari kadhi kia thiae jan chare baithian nal.

37. The *Adi-Granth*, p. 91 as translated in *Selections From The Sacred Writings Of The Sikhs*, p. 76; for alternative translations, see Gopal Singh, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 82 and Manmohan Singh, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 305.

The *Adi-Granth*; Sri Rag Salok, Mahala I :

Sach sanjam karni karan nayan naun japeii.
Nanak agge uttam set ji papan pad nan dehi.

38. Macauliffe, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 50.
39. *Ibid.*, p. 51.
40. Khazan Singh, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 77.
41. Macauliffe, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 52.

CHAPTER IX

1. It is said that Guru Nanak was so effective in his discourses at Hardwar that the Raja of Garhwal, who met him at that place, invited him to his State. According to Khazan Singh, Guru Nanak could not then accept the invitation due to "important business . . . elsewhere". Khazan Singh, *The History And Philosophy Of Sikh Religion* (Lahore 1914), p. 77.
2. Bhai Vir Singh says that the first *udasi* should be taken to have begun when Guru Nanak and Mardana left Sultanpur. The *Puratan Janamsakhi* begins the first *udasi* from Delhi onwards. We feel the first *udasi* did begin no sooner than the Guru and his companion left Sultanpur. From Delhi (we put it Hardwar), there began the second stage of the *udasi*. Bhai Vir Singh, *Sri Guru Nanak Chamatkar*, Part I, p. 162.
3. Macauliffe, *The Sikh Religion* (S. Chand), Vol. I, p. 58. Macauliffe says that Guru Nanak took to this dress while leaving Bindraban for Gorakhnath. May be Macauliffe is, thereby suggesting that Guru Nanak started the second stage of the *udasi* at that place. The *Puratan Janamsakhi* gives the changed dress in greater details. The *Puratan Janamsakhi*, 'Sakhi 16', p. 25 :

Ik bastar amboa, ik bastar chitta ik pair juti ik pair khauns.
gal khapni, sar topi kalandari, mala hadan ki; mathe tilak
kesar ka.

4. Macauliffe, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 52.

5. The *Puratan Janamsakhi* calls him Tatihar. According to Bhai Vir Singh, his real name was Shaikh Tahir. The *Puratan Janamsakhi*, 'Sakhi 14', p. 22; Bhai Vir Singh, *op. cit.*, p. 153.

Is deen de mutlashi da naon Shaikh Tahir si jis da parsid nam janta vich 'Shaikh Tatihari' pai giya si.

6. Macauliffe, *op. cit.*, p. 53.

7. Loc. cit.

8. Loc. cit.

9. Here we have followed *Nanak Parkash* and Macauliffe. Khazan Singh puts the meeting between Guru Nanak and Shaikh Tatihari at Karnal, and while the Guru was on his way to Hardwar. Khazan Singh says that Bahram of Panipat had then come to meet Tatihari at Karnal. Obviously, Khazan Singh believes that Tatihari was an incumbent of an independent Sufi centre at Karnal and not a disciple of Shaikh Bahram. Khazan Singh, *op. cit.*, p. 77.

10. Macauliffe, *op. cit.*; Vol. I., p. 56.

11. In the *Meharban Janamsakhi*, there is no mention of Guru Nanak being either asked to bring the royal elephant to life or of his really doing so. The *Puratan Janamsakhi*, *Bhai Mani Singh Janamsakhi*, and following them, Bhai Vir Singh relates how the nervous elephant-keepers requested the Guru to give life to the elephant and how the Guru did it. Bhai Mani Singh gives the details of Mardana, acting under the orders of the Guru, sprinkling water on the elephant and the latter coming to life. See *Meharban Janamsakhi* 'Sakhi 38', p. 115; the *Puratan Janamsakhi*, 'Sakhi 15', p. 24; Bhai Vir Singh, *op. cit.*, Part I, p. 157; *Bhai Mani Singh Janamsakhi*, p. 164.

Bhai Mani Singh :

tab Baba ji uhan siun ramte ramte Dilli jai prapat bhaya . . .
Mardana dega pani da chidkhis ta nhatji uth, khada hua ate

sab mahavat ai charni lage . . . hathi pher mar gaya . . .
Mardane pher pani paya ar hathi uth khada . . .

12. The *Puratan Janamsakhi*, 'Sakhi 15', p. 25, as translated by Macauliffe, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 56.

The *Puratan Janamsakhi*¹²

mare joewalei soi.

Nanak ekas bin avar na koi.

13. The *Adi-Granth*, p. 465, as translated by Macauliffe, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 57; for alternative translations, see Gopal Singh, *Sri Guru Granth Sahib, English Version* (Delhi 1962), Vol. II, p. 459 and Manmohan Singh, *Sri Guru Granth Sahib, English And Punjabi Translation* (Amritsar, 1962—), Vol. III, pp. 1533-34.

The *Adi-Granth*; Asa di Var, Salok Mahala I :

Vain chele nachan gur.

Paer halain pheran Sir.

Ud ud rava jhate pai.

Vekhe lok hasai ghar jai

Roffan karan puredi rai.

Ap pachad dharti nai . . .

14. Macauliffe, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 58.

15. The *Adi-Granth*, p. 455, as translated in Macauliffe, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 57-58; for alternative translations, see Gopal Singh, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 459 and Manmohan Singh, *op. cit.*, Vol. III, p. 1534.

The *Adi Granth*; Asa di Var, Salok Mahala I :

Nir bhau Nirankar sach nam.

Ja ka kia sagal jahan.

Sewak sewe karām jhadao.

Bhinni raen jinhan man chau.

Sikhi sikhia gur veechar.

Nadri karam leghae par.

Kolu charkha chakki chak,
 Thal varole bahut anant.
 Latu madhanjan angaha.
 Pankhi bhaondian lein na saha.
 Sue chahar bhavaiye jant.
 Nanak bhaondian ganat na ant.
 Bandhan bandh bhav soe.
 Paiye kirat nache sabh koe.
 Nach nach hase chale so roi.
 Ud na jahi sikh na hoe.
 Nachan kudan man ko chao.
 Nanak jin man bhao tinhan man bhao.

16. Situated about twenty miles north of Pilibhit in the present Uttar Pradesh. It is now called Nanakmata in memory of the Guru's visit there. Macauliffe, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 59, and f. n. 1 on that page.
17. For details see *Ibid.*, p. 58.
18. *Ibid.*, p. 60.
19. The *Adi-Granth*, pp. 730-31, as translated in Macauliffe. *op. cit.*, Vol. I, pp. 59-60; for alternative translations, see Gopal Singh, *op. cit.*, Vol. III, p. 699 and Manmohan Singh, *op. cit.*, Vol. V, pp 2383-84 :

The *Adi-Granth*; Suhi Mahala I :

Tun jal thal mahial bhar bhur leenan
 tun ape sarab samana
 Man taraji chit tula teri sev saraf kamavan.
 Ghat he bhitar so saho toli in bidh chit rahavan.
 Ape kanda tol taraji ape tolan hara.
 Ape dekhe ape bujhe ape hai vanjara.

20. The *Adi-Granth*, p. 730, as translated in Macauliffe, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 60; for alternative translations, see Gopal Singh, *op. cit.*, Vol. III, p. 699, and Manmohan Singh, *op. cit.*, Vol. V,

p. 2382 :

The *Adi-Granth*; Rag Suhi :

Jog na khinta jog na daende
 jog na bhasam chadaiye.
 Jog na mundi mund mundaye
 jog na singin vaiye.

×

×

×

Jog no bahar madi masani
 jog na tadi laiye.

21. Bhai Vir Singh, *Sri Guru Nanak Chamatkar*, Part I, p. 178.
22. The *Adi-Granth*, p. 1171, as translated in *Selections From The Sacred Writings Of The Sikhs* (London, 1960), pp. 114-115; for alternative translations see Macauliffe, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 61 and Gopal Singh, *op. cit.*, Vol. IV, p. 1121.

The *Adi-Granth*; Rag Basant, Mahala I :

Saligram bip puj manvoh
 sukrit tulsi mata.
 Ram nam jap beda bandho
 daia karoh daiala.
 Kahe kalra sincho
 janam gavavoh,
 Kichi dhaig dival
 Kahe garch lavoh.

23. Macauliffe, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 62.
24. The *Adi-Granth*, p. 1171, as translated by Macauliffe, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 62; for alternative translations, see Gopal Singh *op. cit.*, Vol. IV, p. 1121 :

The *Adi-Granth*; Rag Basant, Mahala I :

Kar har hat mal tind provoh tis bhitari man jovoh.
 Amrit sincho bharih kiare tau mali ke hovoh.

25. Macauliffe, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 62.
26. The *Adi-Granth*, p. 1171, as translated in Macauliffe, *op. cit.*, p. 62; for alternative translations, see Gopal Singh, *op. cit.*, Vol. IV, p. 1121 :

The *Adi-Granth*; Rag Basant, Mahala I :

Kam karodh doi karoh basole godho dharti bhai.
Jio godho tio tum sukh pavoh kirat na metia jai.

27. In the *Adi-Granth*, these sloks are described as Dakhni Onkar. The word Dakhni has evoked some conjectures about where, why and whom did Guru Nanak address the sloks. See Bhai Vir Singh, *Guru Nanak Chamatkar*, Part I, p. 179 f.n.s :

Bani da nam dasda hai ke Sanskrit boli de akharan dware kisi Pandit prati Updesh hai. Kaiyan da khial hai ki Narbada nadi kinare Oankar da mandir hai Jithe pujarian ne Onkar nu Shivling di murti de ke puja parchari hai. Ithe Panda mundian nu padasda ke teke pate nibhanda dekh ke Satgur ne mat diti ke nirguna te atman rup Parmatman nun pathran di lajya wali surat na dayo . . .

Doctor Charan Singh Ji Bani Biore (1902) vich ik vichar dasde han, jis da bhav ih he ki bani da naon Oankar hai te dakhni pad is gal da suchak hai ki Ram kali Dakhani bhant di hai jivan balawal te vadhane ad naf dakhni pad rag suchna lai aye hai.

28. Macauliffe, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 62.
29. The *Adi-Granth*, p. 1171 as translated in Macauliffe, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 62; for alternative translations, see Gopal Singh, *op. cit.*, Vol. IV, p. 1121 :

The *Adi-Granth*; Rag Basant, Mahala I :

Bagle te phun hanla howe jo tu kareh daiala;
Pranvat Nanak dasan daia karoh daiala.

30. The *Adi-Granth*, pp. 929-930, as translated in Macauliffe, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 64; for alternative translations, see Gopal Singh, *op. cit.*, Vol. III, p. 885 and Manmohan Singh, *op. cit.*, Vol. IV, pp. 3030-3031 :

The *Adi-Granth*; Ram Kali, Mahala I :

Onkar brahma utpat.
 Onkar kia jin chit.
 Onkar sail jug bhae.
 Onkar bed nirmae.

×

×

×

Sabh jag sehaj upaia
 teen bhavan ik joti.

31. Khazan Singh, *op. cit.*, p. 82.
32. The *Meharban Janamsakhi* refers to the meeting of Nanak and Kabir at Pusa but does not mention how long they remained together. The *Meharban Janamsakhi*, 'Sakhi 52', pp. 154-156.

CHAPTER XI

1. Khazan Singh, *History And Philosophy Of The Sikh Religion* (Lahore, 1914), pp. 84-85.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 85.
3. It is mentioned as Karu (in the *Bala*) and Kaoru (in the *Puratan Janamsakhis*), but it is generally agreed that Kamrup of Assam is referred to.
4. Khazan Singh, *op. cit.*, p. 85.
5. *Loc. cit.*
6. Bhai Vir Singh, *Sri Guru Nanak Chamatkar*, pp. 199-200.
7. The *Adi-Granth*, p. 15, translated in Macauliffe, *The Sikh Religion* (S. Chand), Vol. I, p. 71; for alternative translations, see Gopal Singh, *Sri Guru Granth Sahib : English Version* (Delhi, 1962), Vol. I, p. 19, and Manmohan Singh, *Sri Guru Granth Sahib : English And Panjabi Translation* (Amritsar, 1962—) Vol. I, p. 48.

The *Adi-Granth*; Sri Rag, Mahala I.

Lob kutta kud chuhra thag khadha murdar.
Parninda parmal mukh sudhi agan krodh chandal.

8. The *Puratan Janamsakhi*, 'Sakhi 22', p. 33.
9. The *Adi-Granth*, p. 1245, as translated in Macauliffe, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 72; for alternative translations see Gopal Singh, Vol. IV, p. 1191.

The *Adi-Granth*; Rag Sarang, Mahala I :

Ghal khai kichh hathon dehih.
Nanak raha pachhane sei.

10. Khazan Singh, *op. cit.*, Vol. I., p. 85.
11. Cf. *Ibid.*, p. 86.
12. The *Adi-Granth*, p. 557, as translated in Macauliffe, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 73; for alternative translations, see Gopal Singh, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 545, and Manmohan Singh, *op. cit.*, Vol. IV, pp. 1832-33;

The *Adi-Granth*; Vadhans, Mahala I :

Gunvanti saho raviah nirgun kuke kai.
Jegunvanti thi rahe te bhi saho ravan jai.

13. The *Adi-Granth*, p. 557, as translated in Macauliffe, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 63; for alternative translations, see Gopal Singh, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 545 and Manmohan Singh, *op. cit.*, Vol. IV, p. 1833.

The *Adi-Granth*; Vadhans, Mahala I :

Karni kaman je thiye je man dhaga hoe.
Manak mul na paiye lijae chit paroe.

14. Macauliffe, *op. cit.*, p. 73.
15. Indu Bhushan Banerjee calls her Nur Shahi and the head of conjurers, rather than a queen. See Indu Bhushan Banerjee, *Evolution Of The Khalsa* (Calcutta, 1963), p. 81.
16. Macauliffe, *op. cit.*, p. 73.
17. The *Puratan Janamsakhi*, 'Sakhi 23', p. 35.
18. The *Adi-Granth*, p. 349, as translated in Macauliffe, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 75; for alternative translations, see Gopal Singh, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 339 and Manmohan Singh, *op. cit.*, Vol. III,

Ta sohagan janiye lagi ja saho dhare piaro.
Iani bali kia kare ja dhan kant na bhave.

21. Scholars have tried to interpret this Kalyug, who met Nanak, differently. According to some, he was the fourth 'age' of Hindu Cosmogony—Kal Yug. The 'age' had come to see Nanak's "assuming human form" to frighten the Guru. Some others say that he was a *panda* with Kalyug as a nickname. See Indu Bhushan Banerjee, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 81; Vir Singh, *Sri Guru Nanak Chamatkar*, p. 289. f.n. :

Vir Singh :

Ina pandian vich ik Dhatri namen panda si
jis da parsid nam Kaljug (si).

22. There is a difference of opinion on where Kaljug met Guru Nanak. We have followed the *Puratan Janamsakhi* in placing the meeting in Assam, after the Nur Shah incident, but others put it at Jagannath. See Bhai Vir Singh, *Sri Guru Nanak Chamatkar*, Part I, p. 290. f.n. :

Guru Nanak Parkash te Tawarikh khala Kaljug da
milna Jagannath vich dasde han. Hor lekhak koi pehlon
te koi magron. Puratan Janam Sakhi ne Kamrup des ton
tur ke agle ban vich hoi sakhi dasi hai.

23. The *Janamsakhi Mani Singh*, p. 193. According to *Bhai Mani Singh*, the dialogue between Guru Nanak and Kalyug began as follows :

Babe puchia tun kaun hein ar nagan kium kar aya hein
tan us ne kiah ki mein Kaljug han ar apna saroop dikhavan
aya han.

24. The *Adi-Granth*, p. 14, as translated in *Selections From The Sacred Writings Of The Sikhs* (London, 1960), p. 65-66; for alternative translations, see Macauliffe, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, pp. 79-80, Gopal Singh, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 18 and Manmohan Singh,

op. cit., Vol. I, pp. 44-45.

The *Adi-Granth*; Sri Rag, Mahala I :

Moti ta mandar usre ratni ta hohe jadao.
 Kastoore kungoo agar chandan leep ave chao.
 Mat dekh bhula veesre tera chit na ave nao.
 Har bin, jio jal bal jao.
 Maen anna gur puchh dekhia avar nahin thaon.
 Dharti te hire lal jaldi palagh lal jadao.
 Mohni mukh mani sohe kare rang pasao.
 Mat dekh bhula veesre tera chit na ave nao.
 Sidh hovan sidh lai ridh akhan ao.
 Gupt pargat hoe baisa lok rakhe bhao.
 Mat dekh bhula veesre tera chit na ave nao.
 Sultan hova mel laskar takht rakha pao.
 Hukam hasal kari baitha Nanaka sabh vao.
 Mat dekh bhula veesre tera chit na ave nao.

25. The *Puratan Janamsakhi*, 'Sakhi 26', p. 40; also found in Bhai Banno ji *di bid* of the *Granth*, as translated in Macauliffe, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 80.

The *Puratan Janamsakhi* :

Chup karan ta akhiae it ghat nahin mat.
 Je bola ta akhiye bad bad kare bahot.
 Je bahe raba ta akhiae baitha sathar ghat
 Je kar nivan ta akhiae darda kare bhagat.
 Kai gali na mevni jithe kadha jhat.
 Ethe othe Nanaka karta rakhe pat.

26. The *Adi-Granth*; p. 1254, as translated in Macauliffe, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 81; for alternative translations, see Gopal Singh, *op. cit.*, Vol. IV, p. 1129.

The *Adi-Granth*; Rag Malar, Mahala I :

Khana peena hasna sauna sauna visar gia hai marna.
 Khasam visar khoari kinni dhrig jiwan nahin rahena.

Prani eko nam dhiavo.

Apni pat seti ghar javoh.

Tudno seveh tujh kia deveh manghe leveh raheh nahin.

Tu data jian sabhna ka jian andar jio tuhi.

Gurmukh dhiaveh so amrit paveh sei suche hoi.

Ahnis nam japo re prani maele hache hohi.

Jehi rut kaia sukh teha teho jehi dehi.

Nanak rut suhavi sai bin nave rut kehi.

CHAPTER XI

1. M.A. Macauliffe, *The Sikh Religion* (S. Chand), Vol. I, pp. 81-82.
2. Bhai Vir Singh, *Sri Guru Nanak Chamatkar*, Part I, p. 303.
3. Macauliffe, *op. cit.*, p. 82.
4. The *Mani Singh Janamsakhi*, p. 190 :

Sab pandei arti kar kei Babe pas aye bethe ar uhna kahia tusi jatri aye ho ar asan Maharaj di arti kiti hai ar tusan kiun nahin kiti tan Babe kahia ke ek Iswar ki arti hai ar ek jiy ki arti hei jo ham hamesha sunte ar dekhte hein so aur ham kesi arti karein tan pandian kahia ke tusi :kaun si arti suni hei tan Babe shabd akhia.

5. The *Adi-Granth*, p. 663, as translated in *Selections From The Sacred Writings Of The Sikhs* (London, 1960), pp. 61-62; for alternative translations, see Macauliffe, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, pp. 82-83; Gopal Singh, *Sri Guru Granth Sahib : English Translation* (Delhi, 1962), Vol. III, p. 638 and Manmohan Singh, *Sri Guru Granth Sahib : English And Panjabi Translation* (Amritsar, 1962), Vol. IV, pp. 2174-75 :

The *Adi-Granth*; Rag Dhansari, Mahala I :

Gagan meh thal rav chand deepak bane tarika
mandal janak moti,

Dhoop malianlo pavan chavro kare sagal
banrai phul ant joti.

Kaisi arti hoë bhavkhandna teri arti.

Anhate sabad vajant bheri.
 Sahes tav nein nan nain hai tohi kao.
 Sahes moorat nanan ek tohi.
 Sahes pad bimal nanan ek pad gandh bin
 Sahes tav gandh iv chalat mohi.
 Sabh meh jot jot hai soe.
 Tis kae chanan sabh meh chanan hoe.
 Gur sakhi jot pargat hoe.
 Jo tis bhave so aarti hoe.
 Har charan kamal makrand lobhit mano andino
 mohi ahi piasa.
 Kirpa jal dehe Nanak sarang kao hoi ja
 tere nam vasa.

6. Macauliffe, *op. cit.*, p. 84.

7. *Ibid.*, p. 84.

8. The *Adi-Granth*, p. 663, as translated in Macauliffe, *op. cit.*, p. 84; for alternative translations, see Gopal Singh, *op. cit.*, Vol. III, p. 637 and Manmohan Singh, *op. cit.*, Vol IV, p. 2137.

The *Adi-Granth*; Rag Dhansari Mahala I :

Ant seti nak pakdeh soojhate tin lo.
 Magar pache kach na sujhe ih padam alo.

9. Khazan Singh, *op. cit.*, p. 89.

10. Mani Singh gives a slightly different version. See The *Janamsakhi Mani Singh*, p. 196 :

Jad Mardane nun tel vich laga pavan tan Mardane
 akhia Baba sanun te an marvaio tan Babe akhia
 Mardanein tun sat nam akh ke kadhai vich hath pae
 so jis vele Mardane sat nam akh ke kadhai vich hath
 paya tan kadaha tel da tapeiya hoia thanda hoi gaya.

11. Khazan Singh, *op. cit.*, p. 89.

12. Loc. cit.
13. Macauliffe, *op. cit.*, p. 84.
14. Khazan Singh, *op. cit.*, p. 89.
15. The *Mani Singh Janamsakhi*, p. 445 :

Babe kahiya Mardaniya Pattan asan jawana hei . . .
for the full quotation see the next note.

16. According to the *Mani Singh Janamsakhi*, Guru Nanak had earlier met Sheikh Brahm in Assam. If that were to be accepted, then Nanak must have been invited by Brahm to visit him in Pakpattan on return to the Punjab. Ibid :

Babe kahiya Mardaniya Patan asan ne jawna hei kiun
ke Sheikh Brahm nu updesh kita si, so dekhan us nu
updesh chit hai ki visar giya hai.

17. The *Puratan Janamsakhi*, 'Sakhi 28', p. 41, as translated in Macauliffe, *op. cit.*, pp. 84-85.

The *Puratan Janamsakhi* ;

Ake ta lod mukadmi ake te Allah lod.
Doho bedi na lat dhar mat vanjoh vakhar bod.
Dohi bedi lat dharo dohi vakhar chad.
Koi bedi dub si koi langhe par.
Na pani na bedian, na dubai na jai.
Nanak vakhar sach dhan sehjo rahia samai.

18. For the detailed dialogue that took place between Guru Nanak and Sheikh Brahm see Macauliffe, *op. cit.*, pp. 85-92.
19. Ibid., p. 93.
20. Loc. cit.
21. The *Adi-Granth*, p. 358, as translated in Macauliffe, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, pp. 93-94; for alternative translations, see Gopal Singh, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 349 and Manmohan

Singh, *op. cit.*, Vol. III, pp. 1194-95 :

The Adi-Granth; Rag Asa, Mahala I :

Jogi jati jugat meh rahete kar kar bhagve
bhekh bhae.

Tao karan sahiba rang ratte.

Tere nam aneka roop ananta kahen na jahi
tere gun kete.

Dar ghar mahela hasti ghode chhod vilait des gae.

Pir pekambar salik sadik chhodi dunian thai pae.

Sad sahij sukh ras kas tajiyele kapad chhod
chamad liye.

Dukhiae dardvand dar tere nam rate darves bhae.

Khaldi khapri lakadi chamdi sikha sut dhoti kini.

CHAPTER XII

1. Khazan Singh, *History And Philosophy Of The Sikh Religion* (Lahore, 1914), p. 89.
2. *The Puratan Janamsakhi*, 'Sakhi 42', p. 78.

Puratan Janamsakhi :

 dutia udasi kiti Deccan ki. Ahar tali bhar ret ki karo.
 tandon peri khadawan kath kian, hath asa, sir rase
 palette bahan jangan rase palette, tika bindli ka.

3. *The Puratan Janamsakhi*, 'Sakhi 42', p. 78 see note 2 above.
4. Vir Singh, *Sri Guru Nanak Chamatkar*, Part II, p. 28 :
 Sultanpuron tur ke Satluj par hoi; Dharamkot,
 Bhatind, Bhatne ad hunde hoi Sarsa apde.
5. Khazan Singh, *op. cit.*, pp 89-90.
6. According to *Tawarikh Khalsa*, Guru Nanak stayed at Sirsa for four months and eleven days. Vir Singh, *op. cit.*, Part II, p. 35 and f. n.

 Char mahine, giarah din ethe rahe (f. n. *Tawarikh Khalsa* vich likhia hei ke Sarse de Bhatan di vahi vich ih gal likhi hoi si).

7. Sirsa was then a big religious centre. *Ibid.*, p. 29 :

 ithe (Sarse) Fakiran da jamghata vasda hai. Khwaja Abdul Shakar sab to vada pir, Bahawal Haq, Shah Nawaz, Farid-ud-Din, Jai Lal, Jalal Din, Lal Mati te hor kai sadh faqir rehnde san, eh lok Hinduan wangun

tap karde san, chile katde san, kai jantar mantar,
dhage, tawit, de ke lokan par apni pawitartai tap te
pujnik hon da parbhav paunde san.

8. M. A. Macauliffe, *The Sikh Religion* (S. Chand), Vol. I, p. 153.
9. The *Adi-Granth*, p. 790, as translated in Macauliffe, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, pp. 153-154; for alternative translations, see Gopal Singh, *Sri Guru Granth Sahib; English Version* (Delhi, 1962), Vol. III, p. 751 and Manmohan Singh, *Sri Guru Granth Sahib; English and Panjabi Translation* (Amritsar, 1962), *op. cit.*, Vol. V, p. 2576.

The *Adi-Granth*; Rag Suhi :

Sao ulameh dine ke rati milan sahans.
Sifat salahān chad ke karangi laga hans.

10. Macauliffe, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 153.
11. The *Adi-Granth*, p. 64, as translated in Macauliffe, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, pp. 153-154; for alternative translations, see Gopal Singh, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 60 and Manmohan Singh, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, pp. 217-219.

The *Adi-Granth*; Sri Rag Mahala I :

Mukam kar ghar baisna nit chalne ki dhokh.
Mukam ta par janiye ja rahe nihchal lok.
Dunian kais mukam.
Kar sidak karni kharach badho lag raho nam.
Jogi ta asan kar bahe mulla bahe mukam.
Pandit vakhane pothian sidh bahe devsthan.
Sur sidh gan gandharab mun jan sekh pir safar.
Dar kuch kucha kar gae avr bhi chalanhar
Sultan khan malook umre gae kar kar kooch.
Ghadi mohit ki chalna dil samjhe tun bhi pahooch.
Sabdaha mahe vakhaniye virla ta boojhe koe.
Nanak vakhane benti jal thal mahihal soe.

Allaha alakh agam kadar karanhar karim.
 Sabh duni avan javni mukam ek Rahim.
 Mukam tisno akhiye jis sis ha hovae lekh.
 Asman dharti chalsi mukam ohi ek.
 Din rav chale nis sas chale tarika lakh paloo
 Mukam ohi ek hai Nanaka sach bogoe.

12. Khazan Singh, *op. cit.*, p. 90.
13. The *Adi-Granth*, pp. 149-150, as translated in Macauliffe, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 151; for alternative translations, see Gopal Singh, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, 141 and Manmohan Singh, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 499-500.

The *Adi-Granth*; Var Majh ki, Salok Mahala I :

Ona pind na patl kirya na diwa
 mac kithao pahi.

Ath Sath tirath den na dhoi
 Brahman ann na khahi.

Sada kuchil rabe din rati
 mathe tikka nahi.

Jhandi pae bahen nit marne
 dar diban na jahi.

Lakki kase bathi phuman
 aggo pichho jahi.

Na oe jogi na oe jangam
 na oe kaji mulla.

Dae vigoe phirhe vigute
 phita vate galla.

Jia mar jiwale soe
 awar na koi rakhe.

Danbo te isnanho vanjhe
 bhas pal si kotho.

Pani vicho ratan upanne
 mer kia madhani.

Ath sath tirath devi thapo
 purbi jagge bani;

Nai nivaja nate puja
 navan sada sujani.
 Moian jivdian gat hove
 Jan sir paiye pani.
 Nanak sir khothe saitani
 ena gal na bhani.
 Vothe hoiye hoi bilawal
 jian jagat samani.
 Vothe ann kamad kapaha
 Sabse parda hove.

14. Macauliffe, *op. cit.*, p. 151.
15. The *Adi-Granth* p. 1279, as translated in Macauliffe, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 152; for alternative translations, see Gopal Singh, *op. cit.*, Vol. IV, P. 1220.

The *Adi-Granth*: Var Malhar, Mahala I :

Nanak savan je vase chauh umaha hoe.
 Nagan mirgan machian rasian ghar dhan hoe.
 Nanak savan je vase chauh vichora hoe.
 Gai putta nirdhan panthi chakar hoe.

16. Khazan Singh, *op. cit.*, p. 90 :

Bole kud patiave loe.
 Lok patine kachu na hoe.
 Pakhand kar janam gavae.
 Jam dar badhe chotan khoe.
 Nanak jin gur pura paia.
 Sach kamave sach dikhae.

17. Khazan Singh, *op. cit.*, p. 91 :

Jinan chalan janian
 so kion kare bithar.
 Chalan sar janani
 kai sayaranhar.

18. Loc. cit.

Nafas shaitan gussa haram kach dunian
 Sach darvesh adal badshaha fazal faqira.
 Mazal musafra gazal kafra mihar pira.
 Sehr kidan faqiri saburi na saburi ta makar.

19. Khazan Singh, *op. cit.*, p. 92.

20. Loc. cit.

21. Loc. cit.

22. Vir Singh, *op. cit.*, Part II, p. 38 :

Jadon Sri Guru ji Sangia dip nun gai han tan kise
 tapoo vich ya kinare de lage kise chote jai pani ghire
 barete vich puje.

23. The *Puratan Janamsakhi*, 'Sakhi 44', pp. 81-82.

tadon Samunder ki bareiti ke adh vich bhakh bilayat ne
 uha rakash admi bhakhda tha Dhanasari des ka, tahan Baba
 jai pargia.....tab rakash aya.

24. Khazan Singh, *op. cit.*, p. 93.25. The *Adi-Granth*, p. 471 as translated in Macauliffe, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 153; for alternative translations, see Gopal Singh, Vol. II, p. 465 and Manmohan Singh, Vol. III, p. 1556 :The *Adi-Granth*; Asa di Var :

Sahib hoe dial kirpa kare
 ta sai kar karaesi.
 So sewak sewa kare
 jisno hukam manaesi
 Hukam maniye hove parvan
 ta khasme ka mahel paesi.
 Khasme bhawe so kare.
 mano chindia so phal paesi.
 Ta dargeh paida jaesi.

26. Macauliffe, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 153.

CHAPTER XIII

1. According to *Janamsakhis*, the garden of Shivnabh's palatial house was completely withered when Guru Nanak and Mardana had arrived there. But on their arrival, it blossomed and became green. The *Puratan Janamsakhi* 'Sakhi 47', p. 86; The *Janamsakhi Mani Singh*, pp. 202-203.

Puratan :

(Guru Nanak) Singla Deep, Shivnabh Raje kei gaya, raje ke bagh basera kiya, samundar ke par tab Raje Shivnabh ka nau lakha bagh suka paya tha so hariya hoya.

Mani Singh :

Mardane nun sath lei kar Baba ji Shivnabh Raje de bagh jai uttre tan bag jo suka hoya si so Babe di charan dhud paundian hi hara hoi aya.

2. According to Sikh traditional accounts, Shivnabh tried to test the spiritual depths of Nanak, first by sending to him beautiful damsels who danced before the Guru and tried to tempt him with their charms. The Guru wrapt in his thoughts, neither spoke to them nor noticed them.
3. The *Puratan Janamsakhi*, 'Sakhi 47', p. 87 : The *Bala Janamsakhi*, 'Sakhi 109', p. 407 :

Puratan :

. . . Raja Shivnabh . . . aye ke laga puchan, akhios, 'Gosain tera nam kiya hei, kavan jat hei, tum Jogi ho ? . . . ji

tum Brahman ho ? . . . ji tum khatri ho ? . . . ji tum Gorakh
nath ho ? . . .'

Bala :

Raje kia Gosain ji ap ka nam kia hai aur jat kia hai ji tan
Sri Babeji shabd uchariya. . . . tab Raje kiha ji tum jogi
ho . . . tum Brahman ho . . . Gosain ji tu khatri hein.

4. The *Adi-Granth*, p. 992, as translated in Macauliffe, *The Sikh Religion* (S. Chand), Vol. I, p. 155; for alternative translations, see Gopal Singh, *Sri Guru Granth Sahib; English Version* (Delhi 1962), Vol. IV, p. 948 and Manmohan Singh, *Sri Guru Granth Sahib; English and Punjabi Translation* (Amritsar, 1962—), Vol. VI, pp. 3251-3253 :

The *Adi-Granth*; Maru, Mahala I :

Jogi jugat nam nirmail
ta kai mael na rati.
Pritam nath sada sach sange
Janam maran gat biti.

× × ×

Brahman brahm gian isnani
har gun puje jati.
Eko nam ek narain
tribhavan eka joti.

× × ×

Upar gagan gagan par Gorakh
ta ka agam guru pun vasi.
Gurbachni bahar ghar eko,
Nanak bhaia udasi.

5. The *Adi-Granth*, p. 992, as translated in Macauliffe, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 155; for alternative translations, see Gopal Singh, *op. cit.*, Vol. IV, p. 948 and Manmohan Singh, *op. cit.*.

Vol. VI, p. 3252 :

The *Adi-Granth*; Maru, Mahala I :

Dove sire satguru nibede
 so bujhe jis ek livlagi
 jio rahe nibhrati.
 Sabad vasae bharam chokae
 sada sewak din rati.

6. The *Adi-Granth*, p. 992, as translated in Macauliffe, *op. cit.* Vol. I, p. 155; for alternative translations see Gopal Singh, *op. cit.*, Vol. IV, p. 948 and Manmohan Singh, *op. cit.*, Vol. VI, p. 3252 :

The *Adi-Granth*; Maru, Mahala I.

Jihva dandi ih ghat chhaba
 tolo nam ajachi
 Eko hat saho sabhna
 sir vanjare ik bhati.

7. Khazan Singh, *History And Philosophy Of The Sikh Religion* (Lahore, 1914), pp. 92-93.
8. According to *Bala Janamsakhi*, *Guru Nanak Parkash* and *Guru Nanak Suriude*, the Guru did not accept the invitation and insisted on Shivnabh's building a *dharamsala*. It is to this *dharamsala* and not the palace that Nanak ultimately moved from the garden. See Vir Singh, *Sri Guru Nanak Chamatkar*, Part II, p. 70 f. n.

Paira Mokha vali sakhi (*i.e.* Bala Janam sakhi) vich likhiaya hei ke Guru Babe ne Raje de kahn par us de ghar jana nahin maniya. jadon us dher jor kita tan akhia ke dharamsala banwao. iho bachan Guru Nanak Parkash, Gur Nanak Suriude te hor sakhian vich hein.

9. Those who contend that Nanak went to the palace and those who insist that Nanak went to the *dharamsala* are agreed on Shivnabh's and his wife's attending on Nanak

as only disciples would do. See the *Puratan Janamsakhi*, 'Sakhi 47', p. 88, Vir Singh, *op. cit.*, p. 71 :

Puratan :

tab Rani Chander Kala, ate Raja Shivnabh hath jod
khade hoi, lage benti karan jo 'Ji Parsad da hukam
hove'.

Vir Singh :

Babe adar nal (Shivnabh Guru Nanak ji nu) darmsala
lei aya. Rani Chander Kala te sare parwar nei prem
bharis apa varan vala daivi te ilahi satkar kita.

10. Khazan Singh, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 92. According to Bhai Mani Singh, Guru Nanak conceded the Rani's request by immediately turning the daughter of Shivnabh into a son. *Bhai Mani Singh Janamsakhi*, p. 207 :

Rani Babe de charna te dig padi ar kahia ke hei
Maharaj do bars hoi han tan mere ghar beti Janami si
ar mein Raje nun darde mariyanih kahia kei Pandit
kehnde han jo tusan char varesh Putar de mukh nahin
lagna so doi bars rahndeij han tan te mere man badi
chinta hei ar sant chinta mitavan jog hein tan bachan
hoya...is ladke ko is tal mein ishuan karwai, so jab
us nei beti ke bastr uttare tan us de sab ang ladhian
kei darisht aye.

11. See *Salok Farid* in the *Adi-Granth*, p. 1384. We have given the translation of the *Salok*, as given in Khazan Singh, p. 193 (Khazan Singh is wrong in saying that this is *Guru Nanak's Salok*) :

The *Adi-Granth*; *Salok Farid*, *Salok 127* :

Nivan so akhar khavan gun

jihba manian mant.

Eh trae bhaine ves kar

tan vas avi kant.

12. The composition is no longer extant at the moment.
13. Macauliffe, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 156.
14. The *Puratan Janamsakhi*, 'Sakhi 47', p. 82 and Appendix 3, p. 118, as translated in Macauliffe, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 156 :

Unman sun sun sabh kahiye.
 Unman hirak sog nahin rahiye.
 Unman as andesha nahin biapat.
 Unman varn chihan nahin japat.
 Unman kathe kirat nahin bani.
 Unman raheta sun dhiani.
 Unman apna ap na janian.

15. The *Puratan Janamsakhi* describes Jhanda Badi's hospitality to Guru Nanak when the latter once went to him. See the *Puratan Janamsakhi*, 'Sakhi 48', p. 890 :

(Baba Nanak) ekas Badi ke rat rahe, un sewa bhau
 bahut kita, manji dahei ditios, Baba rat suta.

CHAPTER XIV

1. Khazan Singh, *History And Philosophy Of The Sikh Religion* (Lahore, 1914), p. 92.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 93.
3. *Loc. cit.*
4. *Loc. cit.*
5. *Loc. cit.*
6. *Ibid.*, pp. 93-94.

Ghar main thakur nadar na avai.
Gal mon pahan lai latkavai,
Bharmen bhula sakat phirta,
Jis pahan ko thakur katha,
Uh pahan lai usko dubta,
Gunahgar lun harami,
Pahan navna pargami.

7. *Ibid.*, p. 94.
8. *Loc. cit.*
9. W. H. Mcleod, *Guru Nanak And The Sikh Religion* (Oxford, 1968). p. 35.
10. *Ibid.*, p. 94.
11. Khazan Singh, *op. cit.*, p. 94.
12. *The Bala Janamsakhi*, 'Sakhi 67', p. 295 :

Sheikh Sajjan...ne apne ghar raste upar banai hoi san.
ik thakur dwara ate ik masit us ne kar chaddi si te

koi Hindu jawe tan thakur thaor deve je Mussalman jawe tan masjid vich thaor deve, je raj pawe tan andhar jagha deve, jan oh saun tan phai de ke mar deve, pher khuwe vich chae sute, jan din chade tan hath vich tasbi phad ke, asa leike musala pae bahe.

13. The *Adi Granth*, p. 729 as translated in Macauliffe, *The Sikh Religion*, (S. Chand) Vol. I, p. 46; for alternative translations, see Gopal Singh, *Sri Guru Granth Sahib : English Version*, (Delhi, 1962), Vol. III, p. 697; Manmohan Singh, *Sri Guru Granth Sahib : English and Punjabi Translation*, (Amritsar, 1962) Vol. V, pp. 2377-78 and Sewa Ram Singh, *The Divine Master* (Lahore, 1930), pp. 92-94.

The *Adi-Granth*; Rag Suhi, Mahala I :

Ujjal kaiha chiklana ghotam kalri mas.
 Dhotian jooth na utrai je sao dhova tis.
 Sajjan sei nal main chaldian nal chalan.
 Jithe lekha mangiye tithe khade dasan.
 Kothe mandap madian paso chitviaha.
 Dhathian kam na avani vicho sakhnian.
 Bagga bagge kapde tirath manjh vasan.
 Ghut ghut jia khavne bagge na kahian.
 Simal rukh sarir main main jan dekh bhulan.
 Se phal kam na avani te gun main tan han.
 Andhle bhar uthaia dugar vat bahut.
 Akhi lodi na laha haun chad langha it.
 Chakrian changiaian avar sianap kit.
 Nanak nam samal tun badha chuthe jit.

14. Macauliffe, *The Sikh Religion* (S. Chand).

15. Khazan Singh, *op. cit.*, p. 95.

CHAPTER XV

1. Khazan Singh, *History And Philosophy Of The Sikh Religion* (Lahore, 1914), p. 95.

2. The *Puratan Janamsakhi*, 'Sakhi 49', p. 90 :

tritia udasi (vich Guru Nanak) uttar khand ki udasi
karan lage.

3. The *Meharban Janamsakhi*, 'Sakhi 117', p. 384 :

tab Guru Baba...uttar ki dharti Sumer kaon chaliya.

4. The *Puratan Janamsakhi*, 'Sakhi 49', p. 90 :

...ate pairi chamda, ate sir chamda, sari deh lapetias
ate mathe tikka kesar ka.

5. Khazan Singh, *op. cit.*, p. 51 cf. Vir Singh, *Sri Guru Nanak Chamatkar*, Part II, p. 126, note :

Japda hei kei Sri Guru Ji Jammu de raste Kashmir gai
han.

6. According to Bhai Mani Singh, the reputation of Guru Nanak had travelled ahead of him to Srinagar and when he reached that place he was welcomed by many Pandits. See *Janamsakhi Bhai Mani Singh*, p. 240 :

Baba ji ramte ramte Kashmir kau jai parapat bhai
tan sun ke uthe Kashmir de Pandit aye ikathe hoi.

7. Macauliffe, *The Sikh Religion* (S. Chand), Vol. I, p. 163. According to Vir Singh, Brahm Das met Guru Nanak by

the side of the Martand Lake in the neighbourhood of Kashmir. See Vir Singh, *op. cit.*, Part II, p. 126, note :

Kashmir vich khoj kardian ih . . . patta laga si ki Brahm Das Bij Bihade da vasi si jo martand chashme te satguran nu milya. Chashme de talao vichkar thada si jithe satguran nal vichar hoi, thada hun thatha piya pani vich disda hai.

8. *Ibid.*, p. 112 :

Pandit Brahm Das ji aa gaye . . . gal lama chola hai, sir pila dupatta bada hei te chatti upper thakran di pathar murti latak rahi hei magar do uth aa rahe han, jina par athara puran te hor pustak lade hoi han.

9. Macauliffe, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 163.

10. *Loc. cit.*

11. The *Adi Granth*, p. 1279, as translated in Macauliffe, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, pp. 163-164; for alternative translations, see Gopal Singh, *Sri Guru Granth Sahib : English Version*, (Delhi, 1962) Vol. IV, p. 1220 :

The *Adi Granth*; Var Mathar ki :

Rooro thakur Nanka sabh sukh sachh nam.

Apine ap saj ap pachania.

Ambar dhart vichod chandoa tania.

Vin thaman gagan rahae sabad nisanja.

Suraj Chand upae jot samania.

Kie rat dinant choj vidania.

Tirath dharm vichar navan purbania.

Tudh sar avar na boe ki akh vakhanja.

Sachai takhat nivas hor avan jania.

12. The *Adi-Granth*, p. 1279, as translated in Macauliffe, *op. cit.*, p. 164; for alternative translations, see Gopal

Singh, *op. cit.*, Vol. IV, p. 1220 :

The *Adi-Granth*, Var Malhar ki :

Tu Sacha sachiar jin sach vartaia.
 Baitha tadi lai kaval chapaja.
 Brahme vada kahae ant na paia.
 Na tis bap na mai kin tu jaja.
 Na tis roop na rekh varn sabaia.
 Na tis bhukh piar rajja dhaia.
 Gur meh ap samoe sabad vartaia.
 Sache hi patiae sach samaia.

13. Macauliffe, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 164.

14. The *Adi-Granth*, pp. 1035-36, as translated in *Selections from the Sacred Writings of the Sikhs* (London, 1960), pp. 103-106; for alternative translations, see Macauliffe, *op. cit.*, pp. 165-67, Gopal Singh, *op. cit.* Vol. IV, pp. 988-989 and Manmohan Singh, *op. cit.*, Vol. VI, pp. 3396-3399 :

The *Adi-Granth*; Maru, Mahala I :

Arbab narbad dhundookara.
 Dharn na gagna hukam apara.
 Na din rain na chand na suraj
 sun samadh lagaida.
 Khani na bani paun na pani.
 Opat khapat na avan jani.
 Khand patal sapat nahin sagar
 nadi na nir vahaida.
 Na tad surg mach pajaja.
 Dojak bhisht nahin khai kala.
 Nark surg nahin jaman marna
 na ko ai na jaida.
 Brahma bisn mahes na koi.
 Avar na disc eko soi.
 Nar purkh nahin jat na janma
 na ko dukh sukh paida.

Na tad jati sati banvasi
 Na tad sidh sakhik sukh vasi.
 Jogi jangam bhekh na koi.
 na ko nath kahaida.
 Jap tap sanjam na brat pooja.
 Na ko akh vakhanai dooja.
 Ape ap upai vigse ape kimat paida.
 Na such sanjam tulsī mala.
 Gopi kan na gau goala.
 Tant mat pakhand na koi
 na ko vans vajaida.
 Karm dharm nahin maia makhi.
 Jat janam nahin dise akhi.
 Mamta jal kal nahin mathai
 na ko kise dhiaida.
 Nind bind nahin jio na jindo.
 Na tad Gorakh na Machindo.
 Na tad gian dhian kul opat
 na ko ganat ganaida.
 Varan bhekh nahin brahmin khatri.
 Deo na deohara gau gaitri.
 Hom jag nahin tirath navan
 na ko puja laida.
 Na ko mulla na ko kaji.
 Na ko seikh msaik haji.
 Raiat rao na haume dunian
 na ko kahin kahaida.
 Bhao na bhagti na siv sakti.
 Sajjan mit bind nahin rakti.
 Ape saho ape vanjara
 Sache eho bhaida.
 Bed kateb na simrat sasat.
 Path Puran udai nahin asat.
 Kaheta bakta ap agochar
 ape alkh lakhaida.
 Ja tis bhana ta jagat upaia.
 Bajh kala adan rahaia.

Brahma bisan mahes upai
 Maya moh vadhaida.
 Virle kau gur sabad sunaia.
 Kar kar dekhe hukam sabaiia.
 Khand Brehmand patal arambhe
 gupto pargati aida.
 Ta ka ant na jane koi.

15. The *Puratan Janamsakhi*, 'Sakhi 49', p. 93 :

tab Brahm Das Pandit aye pairce paya, gal te pathar
 sut paya, naun dharik hoa. Sewa laga karan, par man
 te basna jewas nahin jo sewa kare so sas bhar sehj subhae
 kare; . . .

16. *Ibid.* :

. . . guru Babe ek din akhia jo "jahe guru kar", tab Pandit
 akhia, "Ji kaun Guru karan ?" tadon Guru Babe
 akhia jo "jahe udian vich ik kotha hai tithe char faqir
 bethe hen, oh tenu dasan ge" tab uthon Brahm Das
 chaliya jai pairce pauna kahia, tab ik ghari sustai ke
 unha . . . kahia "us mandir vich tera guru hai".

17. According to *Puratan Janamsakhi*, the 'lady in the red' in
 the temple gave shoe-beating to Brahm Das. See *ibid.* :

tab Pandit aye, ae taslim kitos. tab age suhe Bastr
 pehde istri khadi thi. tab lai kar pai jar bure hal mariya.

18. The *Puratan Janamsakhi*, says, Brahmin came to the *faqirs*
 'weeping', *Ibid.* :

tab ronda ronda (Brahm Das fakiran kol) aya. . . tab
 us apni haqiqat akh sunai.

19. *Ibid.* :

Tab uni (fakiran) akhia 'Bhai Ji ! oh maya si, jis di
 tun basna karda tha, uhi tera guru thi'.

20. For a slightly different account, see *ibid* :

tab aye (Brahm Das) Guru Babe di pairee paya, dowein
uth Purana de sut pae. Guru, guru, laga japan, sangti
di charan rein hoa.

21. The *Adi-Granth*, pp. 953-54, as translated in Macauliffe,
op. cit., Vol. I, pp. 168-169; for alternative translations,
see Gopal Singh, *op. cit.*, Vol. III, p. 911 and Manmohan
Singh, *op. cit.*, Vol. VI, pp. 3124-25 :

The *Adi-Granth*; Rag Ramkali, Salok Mahala I :

Sahansar dan de Indar roaia.
Parsram rove ghar aia.
Ajai so rovai bhikia khai.
Aisi dargeh mile sajai.
Rove Ram nikala bhaja.
Sita Lakhman vichad gaia.
Rove Daihsar lok gavai.
Jin Sita adi dauroo vai.
Rove Pandev bhae majoor.
Gin kai soami rahit hadoor.
Rove Janmeja khoe gaiya.
Eki karan papi bhaja.
Rove Seikh Masaikh Pir.
Ant kal mat lage bhid.
Rove raje kann padai.
Ghar ghar mageh bhikia jai.
Rove kirpan sanche dhan jai.
Pandit rove gain gavai.
Bali rove nahin bhatar.
Nanak dukhia sab sansar.
Manne naon soi jin jai.
Auri karam na lekhe lai.

22. All the *Janamsakhis* are agreed that Guru Nanak went to
Sumer, which Bhai Vir Singh identifies with the Kailash
Mountains. The *Janamsakhis* are, however, not agreed on
the route followed by the Guru for going there. See Bhai

Vir Singh, *op. cit.*, Part II, p. 128; *Janamsakhi, Mani Singh* pp. 279-280 and the *Meharban Janamsakhi*, 'Sakhi 117', p. 384 f. n.

Vir Singh :

Apni tisri udasi vich Sri Sat Guru dev Ji Kashmir aad uttar de deshian vich hunde hoi Kailash apde jis nun Sumer vi samjia te akhiya janda hai ithe hi Mansrover hei. Simle de parbatan ton Mansrover tak te horna rastian val di bade kathan pahar han par vason dur tak hai, Guru Babe de jan de nishan jagha jagha milde han.

JS. Mani Singh :

Baba aur Mardana . . . bahutian parbatan ton langh kar kagh bhusund pas Sumer parbat te jai pahunchei.

JS. Meharban f.n. :

Janamsakhi Bhai Bala de kathan unsar Sri Guru Nanak Dev Ji Himachal Pardesh dian parbat ghatian-Sir dhar parbat, Una parbat, Silka parbat, Kuna parbat te Mina parbat thin hundei hoi Sumer parbat utte gai san.

23. Some Janamsakhis give very many names of those Sidhs who were not Guru Nanak's contemporaries. Perhaps the heads of the different orders are hinted at. May be they bore the names of the founders. Janamsakhis disagree on whether, Nanak met them at Sumer or while on his way to the place. See *Meharban Janamsakhi*, 'Sakhi 117', pp. 384-385 and f. n. on p. 385.

Janamsakhi Meharban :

Sumer ke upar (Babaji jadon) chade tab Guru Baba Nanak dekhe tan age Sidh bethe han—Sri Gorakhnath, Machhandar Nath, Isar Nath, Charpat Nath, Barangnath Ghoda Choli, Bal gundai, Bharatri, Gopi Chand sare sidh bethe han tab

Guru Baba Nanak uhan jai pargtei, Sumer upar jai chade,
Sidhan ko ades kia, aghe te Sidhon namaskar kia, jab upar
jai chade tab Sidhan sath gosht kinin.

f. n.

Janamsakhi Baja de kathan unsar . . . Sidh una Guruji
nun Sirdhar parbat tonhi milne suru ho gai san par Bhai
Gurdas ji, Varan Gyan Ratnavali di athaivin paudi vich
Guru ji Sidh Sumer parbat par jana hi likhde han.

24. The *Adi-Granth*, p. 938, as translated in Macauliffe, *op. cit.*,
Vol. 1, p. 171; for alternative translations, see Gopal Singh,
op. cit., Vol. III, p. 984 and Manmohan Singh, *op. cit.*,
Vol. VI, p. 3062 :

The *Adi-Granth*; Ramkali, Mahala I Sidh Gost :

Tis age rehras hamari sach aapar aparo.
Mastak kat dhari tis age tan man age deo.
Nanak sant mile sach paiye sahej bhai jas leo.
Kai bhaviye sach sucha hoi.
Sach sabad bin mukt na koi.

25. The *Adi-Granth*, p. 938, as translated in Macauliffe, *op. cit.*,
Vol. I, p. 170; for alternative translations see Gopal Singh,
op. cit., Vol. III, p. 984 and Manmohan Singh, *op. cit.*, Vol.
VI, pp. 3062-3063 :

The *Adi-Granth*; Ramkali Mahala I Sidh Gost :

Kavan tum kia naon tumara
kaun marg kaun soao.
Sach kaho ardas hamari
hao sant jane bal jao.
Keh baiso keh rahiye bale
keh avo keh jaho.
Nanak bole sun bairagi
kia tumara raho.

26. The *Adi-Granth*, p. 938, as translated in Macauliffe, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, 171; for alternative translations, see Gopal Singh, *op. cit.*, Vol. III, p. 984 and Manmohan Singh, Vol. VI, p. 3063 :

The *Adi-Granth*; Ramkali Mahala I, Sidh Gost :

Ghat ghat-bais nirantar rahiye
 chaleh satgur bhae.
 Saheje ai hukam sidhai
 Nanak sada rajai.
 Asan baisan thir Narain aisi gurmut pai.
 Gurmukh bujhe ap pachane sachai sach samai.

27. The *Adi-Granth*, p. 938 as translated in Macauliffe, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 171; alternative translations, see Gopal Singh, *op. cit.*, Vol. III, p. 984 and Manmohan Singh, *op. cit.*, Vol. VI, p. 3063 :

The *Adi-Granth*; Ramkali Mahala I, Sidh Gost :

Dunian sagar dutar kahiye
 kion kar paiye paro.
 Charpat bole audhoo Nanak
 deh sachu bicharo.

28. The *Adi-Granth*, p. 938, as translated in Macauliffe, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 171; for alternative translations, see Gopal Singh, *op. cit.*, Vol. III, p. 984 and Manmohan Singh, *op. cit.*, Vol. VI, p. 3064 :

The *Adi-Granth*; Ramkali, Mahala I, Sidh Gost :

Jaise jal meh kamal niralam
 murgai naisane.
 Surt sabd bhav sagar tariye
 Nanak nam vakhane.
 Raheh ikant eko man vasia
 asa mahe niraso.
 Agam agochar dekh dikhai
 Nanak ta ka daso.

29. The *Adi-Granth*, p. 145, as translated in *Selections From The Sacred Writings Of The Sikhs*, p. 82; for alternative translations, see Macauliffe, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 170; Gopal Singh, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 145 and Manmohan Singh, *op. cit.* Vol. I, p. 483.

The *Adi-Granth*; Rag Majh, Var Salok Mahala I :

Kal Kati raje kassai dbaram pankh kar udria.

Kood amavas sach chandrma deesai nahin

keh chadiah.

Hau bhal vikunni hoi.

Adhere rah na koi.

Vich haume kar dukh roi.

Kauh Nanak kin bidh gat hoi.

CHAPTER XVI

1. Khazan Singh says that Guru Nanak began his fourth udasi on 9 Phagan Samvat 1574 which would be some date in February 1518. *History And The Philosophy Of The Sikh Religion* (Lahore 1914), p. 98.
2. In our account of Guru Nanak's itinerary to Mecca in the text, we have found it difficult to accept *Tawarikh Khalsa* and Bhai Vir Singh's suggestion that Guru Nanak went to Arabia by sea and came back by land. See Vir Singh, *Sri Guru Nanak Chamatkar*, Part II, p. 149 and p. 155 :

p. 149 :

Chanthi udasi . . . te Mecca ja nickle. Patta lagda hei ke gaye samundar raste, hain te aye Madina, Bagdad, Iran ad de vich di khushki de raste han.

p. 155 :

Tawarikh Khalsa mujab Sri Guru Ji jahaz de raste Jade paunche jo Arab di pachmi bandarga hei, ithe Hava di kabar ton purab val dera kita.

3. According to Bhai Vir Singh who says that Guru Nanak went to Arabia by sea, Guru Nanak took the 'ship' from Karachi by following a somewhat inexplicable route from Talwandi to Karachi, viz., Kata, Rohtas, Qila Bal gundain, Ismail Khan, "Sind des" where he met a Hajji with whom he left for Karachi. See *ibid.*, pp. 151-153 :

Talwandi ton Sri Guru ji Katas aa nikle, Vaisakhi da mela ithe kitta hai . . . ithon tur ke Rohtas aye . . . ithon tur ke kai

than hundeī . . . Ismail Khan ja nikle . . . ithon tur ke anek thain hunde hoi Sindh desh vich ja paunche. ithe ik tikane Mecca jan vale Hajji ikathe ho rahe se uthe ik hajji milya.

4. M. A. Macauliffe, *The Sikh Religion* (S. Chand), Vol. I, pp. 171-172.
5. *Ibid.*, p. 172.
6. *Loc. cit.*, *Janamsakhi* and other accounts are not agreed on putting Guru Nanak's visit to 'Gorakh hatri' in his fourth udasi (some put it in 'fifth') but all are agreed on the visit to the place which they locate in the neighbourhood of Peshawar, then as for a long time later, a part of India. See *Mani Singh Janamsakhi*, p. 242; *Puratan Janamsakhi*, 'Sakhi 52', pp. 104-105 and Bhai Vir Singh, *op. cit.*, p. 149 :

Mani Singh Janamsakhi :

Baba ji Peshaur ko aye tan othe ek jogi da mat hai si so tahan Babaji jai uttre . . .

Puratan Janamsakhi :

Udasi Panjwin Baba Gorakh hatri gaya.

Vir Singh :

Panjvi udasi likhi tan hei par patta Gorakh hatri tak da hi ditte hei. Japda hei ki ih दौरा swadesh vich te sarhad tak da hi si.

7. *Mani Singh Janamsakhi*, p. 242 :

Baba ji Peshawar ko aye tan othe ek jogi da mat hai si so tahan Babaji jai utre tan jion lokan nei suniya ke Baba Nanak ji ethe aye han tan jitne pir ar faqir hai sab Baba ji de darshan waste aye.

8. *Janamsakhi Mani Singh* gives slightly different account of the questions and answers that we have given in the text.

Janamsakhi Mani Singh, p. 242 :

..ar jogi ne Baba pason puchiya ke Parmeshwar di prapti
kestran howe tan Babe kahia ke apana andar hi sodhe
sepmata words kiun jo sab kise no andron hi labha hei.

9. The *Adi-Granth*, p. 877 as translated in Macauliffe, *op. cit.*
Vol. I, p. 173 ; for alternative translations see Gopal Singh,
Sri Guru Granth Sahib; English Version (Delhi, 1962), Vol. III,
p. 834 and Manmohan Singh, *Sri Guru Granth Sahib; English
And Punjabi Translation* (Amritsar, 1962—), Vol. VI, p. 2854.

The *Adi-Granth*; Rag Sorath, Mahala I :

Jit dar vaseh khavan dar kahiye
dara bhitari dar kavan lahe.

× × ×

Kin bid sagar tariye.
Jivatia neh mariye.

10. The *Adi-Granth*, p. 877 as translated in Macauliffe, *op. cit.*,
Vol. I, p. 173 ; for alternative translations, see Gopal Singh,
op. cit., Vol. III, p. 834 and Manmohan Singh, *op. cit.*, Vol. VI,
p. 2854.

The *Adi-Granth*; Rag Ramkali, Mahala I :

Dukh darvaja roho rakhwala
asa andesa doi pat jade.
Maya jal khai pani ghar badhiya.
sat kai asan purukh rahe.
Kinte nama ant na jania
tum sar nahin avar hare.
Ucha nahin kahena man meh rahena
ape jane ap kare.
Jab asa andesa tab hi kio kar ek kahe.
Asa bhitari rahe nirasa tau Nanak ek mile.
In bidh sagar tariye.
Jivatian io mariye.

14. Macauliffe, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 174.
15. *Ibid.*, p. 175.
16. Bhai Gurdas, Mani Singh and Vir Singh call the man who felt angry at Guru's 'irreverance' Jivan but *Puratan Janam Sakhi* give his name as Rukun-ud-din. See Bhai Gurdas, Par I, paudi 32; *Mani Singh Janamsakhi*, p. 354; Vir Singh *op. cit.*, p. 155; *Puratan Janamsakhi*, 'Sakhi 51', p. 100.

Bhai Gurdas :

Jiwan mari lat di kehra sutta kufar kufari.
Lattan val khudai de kiyun kar paiya hoye baigari.

Mani Singh :

Mecca de mehrab val kadam kar kei Babe bi khab kita
hoya si tan Jiwan jhadoo kash aya aur Babe nun lat marios
aur kahiya hei kafar tu Mecca di jarat nun aya . . . tun is
taraf mehrab di val kadam kliun kite hein.

Bhai Vir Singh :

ik admi . . . Jiwan Shah name japda hei ke Hindi si jo . . .
Mecce Shariff tehl kariya karda si . . . pichli ratin fazar di
namaz ton pahlon safai karan karwan di sewa is ne apne
sir chai hoi si . . . ajjad jivan sewa karda karda pachmi pase
val aya tan ki dekhda hei ki ik admin suta piya hei te per
us da Mehrab val han. Us nu gusa char gaya te aa ke lat
marios te bolia—tu kaun hein jo khuda val per kar ke suta
paya hein.

Puratan Janamsakhi :

tab peshi ki namaj ka vakhat hoia tab kaji Rukn din namaz
karan aya.

17. The note above and Macauliffe, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 175.
18. *Mani Singh Janamsakhi*, 'Sakhi 51', p. 90 :
. . .tan Babe kahiya ke jidar khudai da ghar nahin udhar hi
mere kadam kar devo.

19. *Puratan Janamsakhi*, 'Sakhi 51', p. 103.

... tab (Jiwan) jai Pir Patalia pas kehos : 'jo Nanak darvesh aya hei' tab Patalia pir didar dekhan nu aya, aye salam payos, dast panja lei kar beth gaya.

20. Macauliffe, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 176.

21. Bhai Gurdas, Var I, pauri 33, as translated in W. H. Mcleod *Guru Nanak And The Sikh Religion* (Oxford, 1968), p. 123.

Bhai Gurdas :

Baba akhe hajjian shubh amlan bajhon dono roi.
Hindu Mussalman doi dargah andar lehna na dhoi.
Kacha rang kasumbh da pani dhote thir na rahoi.
Karan bakhili ap vich Ram Rahim Kathai Khaloi.
Rahi saitani dunia goi.

22. In Banno's Granth as translated in Macauliffe, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, pp. 178-179.

23. The *Adi-Granth*, p. 721 as translated in Macauliffe, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, pp. 178-179 ; for alternative translations see Gopal Singh, *op. cit.*, Vol. III, p. 691 and Manmohan Singh, Vol. IV, pp. 2353-54 :

The *Adi-Granth*; Rag Tilang, Mahala I :

Yak arj guftam pes to dar gos kun Kartar.
Haka Kabir Karim tu beaib parvadgar
Dunian mukame phani tehnik dil dani.
Mam sar mue Ajrail girfateh dil hech ndani.
Jan pisr padar biradran kas nes dastangir.
Akhir biaftam kas na dard chun savad takbir.
Sab roj gastan dar hava kar dem badi khial.
Gahe na neki kar kardam mam een chini ahwal.
Badbakhat hamcho bakhil gaphil benajar bedak.
Nanak bagoid jan tura tere chakran pakhak.

24. According to *Bala Janamsakhi*, Guru Nanak then stayed at Mecca for one year. See *Bala Janamsakhi* 'Sakhi 37', p. 188 :

tab Baba Nanak Mecca vich bars ik riha.

25. *Puratan Janamsakhi*, 'Sakhi 51', p. 102 (and f. n. on its page 103) as translated in Macauliffe, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 176.

Puratan Janamsakhi, Raj Tilang, Mahala I.

Roja bandgi kabool.

Das doare chin marda hoi raho ranjool.

Mar manua drist badho daud talab dalil.

Tis din sio rang rakho pak mard asil.

Surt ka tun raki roja nirt tajoh chao.

Atme kau nigab rakho sati tun ulmao.

Taj Soad sahej bekar rasna andes man dalgir.

Mihar le man men rakho kufur taj takbir.

Kam lehar bujhai man te hoi thrur.

Naho Nanak rakh roja sidak rahi mamur.

26. According to Bhai Vir Singh, apart from visitors from other parts of the world, many prominent 'Hindustani' *Sheikhs* and *faqirs* were also on their *haj* to Mecca when Guru Nanak visited that place. The Guru had many discussions with them during his stay at Mecca. See *Puratan Janamsakhi*, 'Sakhi 51', p. 103 f. n.

Jadon Guru Nanak dev ji Mecca puje han tad Ucch da
pir Makhudum, Pattan da Sheikh Ibrahim, te Dastgir
aur ik do hor Hindustani faqir uthe san ar uhna di uthe
guruji nal gost hoi hei.

27. Macauliffe, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 179.

28. Khazan Singh, *op. cit.*, p. 99. Bhai Gurdas mentioned Guru Nanak's visit to Baghdad. During World War I, some Sikh scholars discovered an inscription at Baghdad which was immediately looked upon as a conclusive evidence of Nanak's visit to that city. Most scholars on Sikh history have been

accepting that evidence as authentic and referring to it in support of Nanak's visit to Baghdad but W. H. Mcleod has challenged that reading of the inscription in his publication, *Guru Nanak And The Sikh Religion*. See W. H. Mcleod, *op. cit.*, pp. 227-233.

29. Khazan Singh, *op. cit.*, p. 101.

CHAPTER XVII

1. We have followed the later name of the place. During Guru Nanak's time, it was called Saidpur Sandialji. Vir Singh, *Sri Guru Nanak Chamatkar*, Part II, p. 205 and f. n. on p. 212.

p. 205 :

Sri Guru Nanak Dev ji pher Eminabad aye, is thaon da tadon naon Saidpur Sandiali si.

p. 212 f. n. :

Saidpur da pahila nam Puratan janamsakhi vich Saidpur Sandiali likhia hai. Baber di katal de bad naon iho rahia. 1597 S. vich Humayun nas gaya te Sher Shah . . . ne bi is nagri nun vasaya te navin taran bana ke Shergarh naun rakhiya. Akbar de samei ik hakam nei is da naun Eminabad rakhia.

2. Bhai Vir Singh uses 'Pathans' while referring to the 'rulers' of Eminabad then. See *ibid.*, p. 205 :

Pathan itho de hakim te malik san.

3. The *Adi-Granth*, p. 722 as translated in M. A. Macauliffe, *The Sikh Religion* (S. Chand), Vol. I, pp. 109-119; for alternative translations, see *Selections From The Sacred Writings Of The Sikhs* (London, 1960), pp 96-97; Gopal Singh, *Sri Guru Granth Sahib: English Version*, (Delhi, 1962), Vol III, pp. 722-23 and Manmohan Singh, *Sri Guru Granth Sahib, English and Punjabi Translation* (Amritsar, 1962-), Vol IV, p. 2358.

The *Adi-Granth*; Tilang, Mahala I.

Saram dharam doi chap khalote
 kud phhre pardhan ve Lalo.
 Kajian bahmnan ki gal thaki
 agad pade saitan ve Lalo.
 Musalmanian padeh kateban
 kast meh kareh khudai ve Lalo.
 Jat sanati hor Hindwianian
 eh bhi lekhe lai ve Lalo.
 Khun ke sohile gaviye Nanak
 rat ka kungu pai ve Lalo.
 Sahib ke gun Nanak gavai
 Maspuri vich akh masola.
 Jin upai rang ravai
 baitha vekhe vakh ikela.

4. Macauliffe, *op. cit.*, p. 109.
5. *Ibid.*, p. 110.
6. The *Adi-Granth*, p. 144, as translated in Macauliffe, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 110; for alternative translations, see Gopal Singh, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 136 and Manmohan Singh, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 479.

The *Adi-Granth* ; Var Majh Ki, Salok Mahala I :

Siha baja charga kuhia
 ena khavale gha.
 Gha khan tina mas khavale
 ih chalaeh rah.
 Nadia vich tibbe dekhale
 thali kare asgah.
 Kida thap de patshahi
 laskar kare soaha.
 Jete ji jiwe lai saha
 Jiwale ta ke asaha

Nanak jio jio sache bhave
tio tio de giraha.

7. The *Adi-Granth*, p. 418 as translated in Macauliffe, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 115; for alternative translations, see Gopal Singh, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 415 and Manmohan Singh, *op. cit.*, Vol. III, p. 1386.

The *Adi-Granth* ; Asa Mahala I :

Mughal pathana bhai ladai
ran me tegh vagai
Oni tupki tan chalai
oni hast chidai.

8. The *Adi-Granth*, p. 418, as translated in Macauliffe, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 115; for alternative translations, see Gopal Singh, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 415 and Manmohan Singh, *op. cit.*, Vol. III, p. 1385.

The *Adi-Granth* ; Asa Mahala I :

Than mukam jale bij mandar
muchh muchh koir rulaiya.

9. The *Adi-Granth*, p. 417 as translated in Macauliffe, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 115, for alternative translations, see *Selections From The Sacred Writings Of The Sikhs*, p. 88, Gopal Singh, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 415 and Manmohan Singh, Vol. III, p. 1384.

The *Adi-Granth*; Asa, Mahala I :

Babarvani phir gai
koir na roti khai.
Ikna vakhat khoaiye
ikna puja jai.

10. Macauliffe, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 112.
11. The *Adi-Granth*, p. 418 as translated in Macauliffe, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 112; for alternative translations, see Gopal Singh,

13. The *Adi-Granth*, p. 417 as translated in Macauliffe, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 115; for alternative translations, see Gopal Singh, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, pp. 414-415 and Manmohan Singh, *op. cit.*, Vol. III, pp. 1384-85 :

Kaha sokhel tabela ghode
kaha bheri sehnai.

Kaha so tegband gaderad
kaha so lal kavai.

Kaha so arsia moh banke
aithe diseh nahin.

× × ×

Kaha so ghar dar mandap mahela
kaha so bank sarai

Kaha so sej sokhali kaman
jis vekh nid na pai.

Kaha so pak tamboli harma hoia chai mai.

14. Macauliffe, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 111.
15. *Ibid.*, pp. 113-114.
16. *Bala Janamsakhi*, 'Sakhi 108', p. 401, as translated by Macauliffe, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 121; for an alternative translation, see Sewaram Singh, *The Divine Master* (Lahore, 1931), pp. 172-173.

Bala Janamsakhi :

Lakh Mohammad ek khudai
Khalak sachā beparvah.
Kai Mohammad khade darbar.
Par na pave beshumar.
Rasool Rasal duniya me aiya.
Jab chahia tab pakd mangaiya.

17. *Ibid.*

Bala Janamsakhi :

Io Sahi kia hai Nanak bande
Pak Khudai aur sabh gande.

18. *The Adi-Granth*, p. 991 as translated in Macauliffe, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 111; for alternative translations, see Gopal Singh, *op. cit.*, Vol. IV, pp. 946-47 and Manmohan Singh, *op. cit.*, Vol. VI, pp. 3246-47.

The Adi-Granth; Rag Maru, Mahala I :

Gur ki bachni hat bikana
jit laiya tit laga.

×	×	×
Piye ta pani ani mira		
khai ta pisan jao.		
Pakha pheri pair malova		
japat raha tera nao		
Loon harami Nanak lala		
bakhseh tud vadiyai.		
Ad jugad daiya pat data		
tud vin mukt na pai.		

19. Cf. K. S. Lal, *Twilight Of The Sultanate* (Bombay, 1963), p. 221.
20. *The Adi-Granth*, p. 360 as translated in *Selections From The Sacred Writings Of The Sikhs*, pp. 86-87; for alternative translations, see Macauliffe, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 119; Gopal Singh, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 351 and Manmohan Singh, *op. cit.*, Vol. III, pp. 1200-01.

The Adi-Granth; Asa, Mahala I :

Khurasan khasmana kia Hindustan draiya.
Apai dos na dei karta jam kar Mughal chadaiya.
Eti mar pai kurlane tain ki dard na aiya.
Karta tun sabhna ka soi.
Je sakata sakte kao mare ta man ros na hoi.
Sakta sih mare pai vage khasme sa pурсai.
Ratan vigad vigoe kutti moia sar na kai.

21. Macauliffe, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 117.

22. The *Adi-Granth*, p. 418 as translated in Macauliffe, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 118; for alternative translations, see Gopal Singh, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 416 and Maamohan Singh, *op. cit.*, Vol. III, pp. 1387-88.

The *Adi-Granth*; Asa Kafi, Mahala I :

Jaisi goil goili taise sansara.
 Kud kamaveh admi bandheh ghar bara.
 Jagoh jagoh sutio chalia vanjara.
 Nit nit ghar bandhiye je rahena hoi.
 Pind pave jio chalsi je jane koi.
 Ohi ohi kia karho hai hosi soi.
 Tum rovehge os nu tum kao kaun roi.
 Dhanda pito bhaio tum kud kamavo.
 Ohna sunai kathi tum lok sunavo.

×

×

×

Je chalda lai chalia kich sampe nale.
 Ta dhan sancho dekh kai bujho bichare.
 Vanaj karoh makhsud laiho mat pachhotavoh
 Augun chodho gun karho aise tat parvaho.
 Dharam bhum sat bij kar aisi kirs kamavho.

CHAPTER XVIII

1. Daulat Khan had become the Lodi Governor of Lahore in 1500, succeeding Sa'id Khan Sherwani. See W. H. Mcleod, *Guru Nanak And The Sikh Religion* (Oxford, 1968), p. 109.
2. According to M. A. Macauliffe, Lahore *Subah* was farmed out to Duni Chand. That is highly improbable. Macauliffe, *The Sikh Religion* (S. Chand), p. 129.
3. *Ibid.*, p. 130.
4. *Loc. cit.*
5. The *Adi-Granth*, p. 468, as translated in Macauliffe, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, pp. 130-131; for alternative translations, see Gopal Singh, *Sri Guru Granth Sahib: English Version* (Delhi, 1962), Vol. II, p. 460 and Manmohan Singh, *Sri Guru Granth Sahib: English And Punjabi Translation* (Amritsar, 1962-) Vol. III, p. 1543-44.

The *Adi-Granth*; Asa di Var, Salok Mahala I :

- 1 Kud raja kud parja kud sabh sansar.
Kud mandap kud madi kud baisanhar.
Kud soina kud rupa kud painanhar.
Kud kaia kud kapad kud rup apar.
Kud main kud bibi khap hoe khar.
Kud kude nihon lagga visraia Kartar.
Kis nal kiche dosti sab jag chalanhar.
Kud mitha kud makhion kud dobe pur.
Nanak vakhane benti tudh bajh kudo kud.

6. Macauliffe, *op. cit.*, p. 130.
7. *Loc. cit.*
8. The *Adi-Granth*, p. 953 as translated in Macauliffe, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 131; for alternative translations, see Gopal Singh, *op. cit.*, Vol. III, p. 910 and Manmohan Singh, *op. cit.*, Vol. VI, p. 3123.

The *Adi-Granth*; Rag Ramkali, Mahala I :

Kud nikhute Nanka odak sach rahi.

9. One official (called *Karoria* in Sikh tradition) was particularly cynical in his attitude towards Guru Nanak initially. This is clear from the well-known legend that he had decided two or three times, before becoming a disciple of Nanak, to harm the Guru but was thwarted by one accident or the other every time.
10. *Janamsakhi Mani Singh*, p. 341 :
 ih karoria padshah da koka ... ar padshah di walon us
 Pargnei (jis vich bad vich Kartarpur vasiya) da thanedar
 si.
11. Macauliffe, *op. cit.*, p. 132. According to *Mani Singh Janamsakhi*, Karoria gave the land and requested the Guru to build up a habitation there. See *Bhai Mani Singh Janamsakhi* p. 341 :

...us (Karoria) akhia garib nawaz mein iho hi mangna
 han ki tusada ithe he niwas howe ar eithe mein zamin
 dinda han so tusi apne nam da chak banh lawo.

12. According to *Meharban Janamsakhi*, it was the Guru who suggested to Karoria to build up a habitation at Kartarpur. According to this *Janamsakhi* that was when the Guru had already settled on 'the banks of Ravi' (obviously a different place than Kartarpur). It was here that Karoria had met

the Guru for the first time. See *Meharban Janamsakhi*, 'Sakhi 153', p. 516-18.

Tab (Lahore chad ke) Ravi de banne Guruji aai ke tik gaya . . . tab un (Karoria) Guru Babe pas arj kia ji, ' . . . haon tera murid han, kichh mere tain inam da hukam mile'. Tab Babe kahia ji, 'Tu kich inam mangda hain so asade kam nahin'. Tab Guru Babe munh te na akhia ji 'Chak banh' par un chak badha . . . unhi sabhe sutar banai chhade. Othe Guru Babe Nanak ji tikao kita, chak da naon 'Kartarpur' kar rakhia.

13. Soon after coming to Kartarpur, the Guru called his parents and his two sons to Kartarpur. See *Mani Singh Janamsakhi*, pp. 342-43 :

Babe akhia hei Bala tun jai kar Sri Chand nun ar Lakshmi Das nun ithe lei auo, Mardane nun akhia ki tu apne tabbar nun ithe lei ao . . . so dowein Bala ate Mardana jai kar Pita Kalu ate Mata Tripta dei charna tei matha tekia . . . tan pher Kalu othon tyar hoi kei turia . . . so pher sabhe ral kei Babe nu . . . aa mile tan Baba ji nei Kalu ate mata age matha tekia.

14. Sri Chand, now a young man of twenty-five, was taking to asceticism, and his younger brother, Lakshmi Chand, to worldly pursuits in a way so as to completely forget the Almighty.
15. *Mani Singh, Janamsakhi*, p. 398:

Baba Kartarpur nu aya . . . udasi da bhekh sab uttaria aur sansarian da bhekh pehria.

CHAPTER XIX

1. Sohan Singh Seetal, *Guru Nanak*, (Ludhiana, 1968), p. 112.
2. Sewaram Singh, *The Divine Master* (Lahore, 1931), p. 174.
3. Duncan Greenless, *The Gospel Of Granth Sahib* (Madras, 1960), p. lii.
4. M. A. Macauliffe, *The Sikh Religion* (S. Chand), Vol. I, p. 180; Bhai Gurdas, Var I, Paudi 38; Vir Singh, *Sri Guru Nanak Chamatkar*, Part II, p. 223 :

Bhai Gurdas :

Baba aya Kartarpur
bhek udasi sagal utara
Pehar sansari kapde
manji beth ke avtara.

Vir Singh :

• Guru ji ne . . . faqiri bana . . . lah dita si. Is ton magron
pher koi pehrava nahin dharia si jo Hindu Mussalman
nun rah paon vaste acharaj kautkan vala dharia se.
Hun Satgur ji ne sadharan sidhe sansari kapde paihne
se. Is kautak da ih arth si ki faqiri bhes dhar ke uttar
den da bharam vi tut jave.

5. Duncan Greenless, *op. cit.*, p. liii.
6. Taran Singh, *Guru Nanak As A Poet* (Panjab University unpublished Ph.D. thesis), p. 117.

7. *Ibid.*, p. 100.
8. *Loc. cit.*
9. *Ibid.*, p. 117.
10. *Ibid.*, p. 110.
11. *Loc. cit.*
12. *Ibid.*, pp. 100-101.
13. *Ibid.*, p. 121.
14. *Ibid.*, pp. 121-122.
15. *Ibid.*, p. 121.
16. *Ibid.*, pp. 121-122.
17. *Ibid.*, p. 122.
18. Macauliffe, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 181.
19. *Loc. cit.*
20. Macauliffe, *op. cit.*, p. 182. Khazan Singh places the death of Mardana not at Kartarpur but a place in Central Asia called Khurrum. According to him, round about 1527, Guru Nanak went on another tour and as usual Mardana went with him. This tour which was in the north-west extended right into Central Asia. When the two were at Khurrum, Mardana suddenly fell ill and passed away. Khazan Singh, *History And Philosophy Of Sikh Religion* (Lahore, 1914), p.103.
21. Macauliffe, *op. cit.*, p. 182. *Bala Janamsakhi* says that Guru Nanak cremated Mardana and took Bala's help in doing so. See *Bala Janamsakhi*, 'Sakhi 156', pp. 564-565 :

Sri Guru Nanak ji kahia Bhai Bala hun Mardane hun
sadiye . . . tan lakdian kathian kitian khume dian tan ik
chadar Guru ji apni lai te ik chadar meri lai tan Mardane

di chadder tisri. tinar da khapan sita te Mardane nun
ishnan karvai ke achhi taran nal Mardane da saskar kita.
Sri Guru ji apni hathin Mardane di deh jalai.

22. Macauliffe, *op. cit.*, p. 182.
23. The *Adi-Granth*, p. 553, as translated in Macauliffe, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 182; for alternative translations see Gopal Singh, *Sri Guru Granth Sahib: English Version* (Delhi, 1962) Vol. II, p. 541; Manmohan Singh, *Sri Guru Granth Sahib: English And Punjabi Translation* (Amritsar 1962—), Vol. IV, p. 1818-19.

The Adi-Granth; Bihagre ki Var :

Kal khalvali kam mad manua pivanhar.
Karodh katori mohi bhari pilava ahankar.
Majlis kude lab ki pi pi hoi khuar.

24. The *Adi-Granth*, p. 553 as translated in Macauliffe, *op. cit.*, for alternative translations, see Gopal Singh, *op. cit.* Vol. II, p. 541, Manmohan Singh, *op. cit.*, Vol. IV, 1818-1819 :

The Adi-Granth; Bihagre ki Var :

Karni lahan sat gud sach ara kar sar.
Gun mande kar sil ghio saram mas ahar.
Gurmukh paiye Nanka khadhe jahe bikar.

25. Taran Singh, *op. cit.*, p. 127.
26. *Ibid.*, p. 128.
27. *Loc. cit.*
28. *Loc. cit.*
29. *Loc. cit.*
30. *Loc. cit.*
31. *Loc. cit.*

32. Khazan Singh, *op. cit.*, p. 103.
33. Taran Singh, *op. cit.*, p. 102.
34. Loc. cit.
35. Loc. cit.
36. Loc. cit.
37. *Ibid.*, p. 101.
38. W. H. Mcleod, *Guru Nanak And The Sikh Religion* (Oxford, 1968), p. 230.
39. Loc. cit.
40. Loc. cit.
41. Loc. cit.
42. Loc. cit.
43. Loc. cit.
44. *Ibid.*, p. 231.
45. Loc. cit.

CHAPTER XX

1. W. H. Mcleod, *Guru Nanak And The Sikh Religion* (Oxford, 1968), p. 230.
2. Sewaram Singh, *The Divine Master* (Lahore, 1931), p. 181.
3. Loc. cit.
4. Loc. cit.
5. Loc. cit.
6. *Ibid.*, p. 182.
7. The *Adi-Granth*, p. 730 as translated in Sewaram Singh, *op. cit.*, p. 184; for alternative translations, see Gopal Singh, *Sri Guru Granth Sahib: English Version* (Delhi, 1962), Vol. III, p. 699 and Manmohan Singh, *Sri Guru Granth Sahib: English And Punjabi Translation* (Amritsar, 1962—), Vol. V, p. 2382.

The *Adi-Granth*; Rag Suhi, Mahala I :

Jog nan khinta jog nan dande
Jog nan bhasm chadaiye.
Jog nan mundi mund mudaiye
Jog nan singin vaiye.

×

×

×

Gali jog nan hoi.

×

×

×

Jog nan bahir madi masani
 Jog nan tadi laiye.
 Jog nan des disantar bhaviye
 Jog nan tirath naiye.

8. The *Adi-Granth*, p. 877, as translated in Sewaram Singh, *op. cit.*, p. 186; for alternative translation, see Gopal Singh, *op. cit.*, Vol. III, pp. 834-35 and Manmohan Singh, *op. cit.*, Vol. VI, pp. 2855-56.

The *Adi-Granth*; Rag Ramkali, Mahala I :

Baba Gorakh jage.
 Gorakh so jin goi tithali
 karte bar na lage.
 Surt sabad sakhi meri singin
 baje lok sune.
 Pat jholi mangan kai tai
 bhikhia nam pade.
 Pani pran pavan bandh rakhe
 chand suraj mukh diye.
 Marn jivan kao dharti dini
 ete gun visre.
 Sidh sadhik ar jogi jangam
 pir pur^s bauhtere.
 Je tin mila ta kirat akhan
 ta man sev kare.

9. The *Adi-Granth*, p. 877 as translated in Sewaram Singh, *op. cit.*, pp. 186-87, for alternative translations, see Gopal Singh, *op. cit.*, Vol. III, p. 835 and Manmohan Singh, Vol. VI, p. 2856.

The *Adi-Granth*; Rag Ramkali, Mahala I :

Kagad lun rahe ghrith sange
 pani kamal rahe.
 Aise bhagat mileh jan Nanak
 tin jam kia kare.

10. The *Adi-Granth*, pp. 877-78, as translated in Sewaram Singh, *op. cit.*, pp. 188-189; for alternative translations, see Gopal Singh, *op. cit.*, Vol. III, p. 835 and Manmohan Singh, *op. cit.*, Vol. VI, pp. 2856-57.

The *Adi-Granth*; Rag Ramkali, Mahala I :

Sun Machhindra Nanak bole.
 Vas gat panch kare neh dole.
 Aisi jugat jog kao pale.
 Ap tare sagle kul tare.
 So audhoot aisi mat pave.
 Aihanas sun samadh samave.
 Bhikhia bhai bhagat bhai chale.
 Hove so tript santokh amule.
 Dhian rup hoi asan pave.
 Sach nam tadi chit lave.
 Nanak bole amrit bani.
 Sun Machhindra audhu nisani.
 Asa mahi niras valae.
 Nihchao Nanak karte pae.
 Pranyat Nanak agam sunae.
 Gur chele ki sandh milae.
 Dikhia daru bhojan khae.
 Chi darshan ki sojhi pae.

11. We have followed Bhai Gurdas in putting Guru Nanak's visit to Achal Batala at this stage and not *Puratan Janamsakhi*. See Vir Singh, *Sri Guru Nanak Chamatkar*, Part II, p. 221, note :

Puratan Janamsakhi ne panjvin udasi da sirnavan de ke kish disha di ih hai, pata nahin dita. Phir is vich Babe da Gorakh Hatri jana keval dasia hai, horthi jana kithe nahin dasia Gorakh Hatri te Sidhan nal baihas te Ramkali Vali Sidh Gost dassi hai; par Bhai Gurdasji Kartarpur ton uth ke Achal Vatale jana dasde han te Achal Vatale vich Ram Kali Vali Sidh Gost hoi dasde han....

12. *Ibid.*, p. 224 :

Guru ji ne (Achal Vatale paunch ke) kuch purab val uprle
pase ik uche tikane te dera kita.

13. *Ibid.*, p. 223.

14. It appears that there had been some prior understanding between Bhangar Nath and other jogis to ask Guru Nanak embarrassing questions. See *ibid.*, p. 226 :

Hun ohna (Jogion) ne Guru ji nun tane mihne nal lokan
vich lajiavan karan di jugat sochi. Pehlon aonde sar jad
asan la kei beth gae tan prashan kita ki 'atit avastha dharan
karke phir sansari riti kion tori'.

15. Bhai Gurdas, Var I, paudi 40, as translated in Sewaram Singh,
op. cit., p. 195.

Gurdas :

Puchhe jogi Bhangar Nath,
tohi dudh vich kion kanji pai.
Phitia chata dudh da,
ridkia makhan hath na aai.
Bhekh utar udas da,
vat kion sansari rit chalai.

16. Bhai Gurdas, Var I, paudi 40, as translated in Sewaram Singh,
op. cit., p. 195.

Gurdas :

Nanak akhe Bhangar Nath,
teri maon kuchajji aai.
Bhanda dhoi nan jation,
bhai kuchaje phul sadai.
Hoi atit grist taj,
phir uhon ke ghar mangan jai.

17. Sewaram Singh, *op. cit.*, p. 196.

18. Loc. cit.
19. *Ibid.*, p. 197.
20. *The Adi-Granth*, p. 147, as translated in Sewaram Singh, *op. cit.*, p. 197; for alternative translations, see Gopal Singh, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 138 and Manmohan Singh, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, pp. 488-490.

The Adi-Granth; Var Majh Ki :

Pehra agan hive ghar badha
 bhojan sar karai.
 Sagle dukh pani kar pivai
 dharti hak chalai.
 Dhar taraji ambar toli
 piche tank chadai.
 Evad vadha mava nahin
 sabse nath chalai.
 Eta tan hove man andar
 kari bhi akh karai.
 Jewad sahib tewad dati
 de de kare rajai.
 Nanak nadar kare jis upar
 sach nam vadiyai.

21. For a detailed account see Bhai Gurdas, Var I, paudies 39-43 and *Mani Singh Janamsakhi*, p. 405-443.
22. *The Adi-Granth*, p. 879, as translated in Sewaram Singh, *op. cit.*, pp. 199-200; for alternative translations, see Gopal Singh, *op. cit.*, Vol. III, p. 837 and Manmohan Singh, *op. cit.*, Vol. VI, pp. 2862-64.

The Adi-Granth; Rag Ramkali Mahala I :

Jog jugat sehaj ghar vase.
 Ek drist eko keh dekhia
 bhikhia bhai sabad triptase.

~~Chhadan~~ bhojan magat bhage.

Khudia dust jale dukh age.

×

×

×

Gurmat bhagat pave jan koi

×

×

×

Panch bail gadia deh dhari.

Ram kala nibhe pat sari.

Dhar tuti gado sir bhar.

Lakri bikhar jari manjh bhar.

Gur ka sabad vichar jogi.

Dukh sukh sam karna sog biogi.

Bhugat nam gur sabad bichari.

Asthir kandh jape nirankari.

Sehaj jagota bandhan te chhuta.

Kam karodh gur sabdi luta.

Man meh mundra har gur sarna.

Nanak ram bhagat jan tarna.

23. Taran Singh, *Guru Nanak As A Poet* (Panjab University, unpublished Ph.D. thesis), p. 99.
24. *Ibid.*, p. 100.
25. *Ibid.*, p. 110.
26. According to Sewaram Singh, a *Gurmukh* would be a man with an illuminated soul by virtue of being a saintly disciple of the Guru. A *Manmukh* would be an evil person opposed to all that the Guru would teach. Sewaram Singh, *op. cit.*, p. 284.
27. Taran Singh, *op. cit.*, p. 111.
28. *Ibid.*, p. 137.
29. *Loc. cit.*
30. *Ibid.*, p. 142.

31. Khazan Singh, *History And Philosophy Of The Sikh Religion* (Lahore, 1914), p. 107.
32. Taran Singh, *op. cit.*, p. 133.
33. *Ibid.*, p. 134.
34. *Ibid.*, p. 133.
35. *Loc. cit.*
36. *Loc. cit.*
37. *Loc. cit.*
38. *Ibid.*, p. 138.
39. *Ibid.*, p. 146.
40. *Loc. cit.*
41. W. H. Mcleod, *op. cit.*, p. 231.
42. Khazan Singh, *op. cit.*, p. 108.
43. W. H. Mcleod, *op. cit.*, p. 232.
44. *Ibid.*, p. 231.
45. *Loc. cit.*
46. For a description of life in *sangats*, see Sewaram Singh, *op. cit.*, p. 287.
47. *Ibid.*, p. 285.
48. *Loc. cit.*
49. *Loc. cit.*
50. *Loc. cit.*

CHAPTER XXI

1. For two good summaries of the daily routine at Kartarpur during this period see *Mani Singh Janamsakhi*, p. 398 and Vir Singh, *Sri Guru Nanak Chamatkar*, Part II, p. 308 :

Mani Singh :

Sandhia wele sodar gavan ar amrit wele jap padan ar sava pehar din chadhe arti gavan ar arti sun ke deg parshad varte ar ik deg sodar sunke varte; so jo jo sadh sangat ave othe ikathi hundi jave ate ath pehar gian gosht charcha hundi rahe.

Vir Singh :

Dere di nitdi kiria ih si : amrit vele premi Asa di Var gaonde si. Sanjh nun Asa Rag vich Sodar da uchar hunda si; dono vele parshad sare langar vich chhakde si te kai Sikh langar di sewa karde si, kai khetan vich.

2. Sewaram Singh, *The Divine Master* (Lahore, 1931), p. 231; M. A. Macauliffe, *The Sikh Religion* (S. Chand), Vol. I, p. 135.
3. Sewaram Singh, *op. cit.*, p. 213.
4. Loc. cit.
5. Macauliffe, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 135.
6. Sewaram Singh, *op. cit.*, p. 213.
7. Duncan Greenless, *The Gospel Of Guru Granth Sahib* (Madras, 1960), p. liii.

8. Loc. cit.
9. Loc. cit.
10. Puran Singh, *The Book Of Ten Masters* (Lahore, 1926), p. 131.
11. Duncan Greenless, *op. cit.*, p. liii.
12. Puran Singh, *op. cit.*, p. 131.
13. Duncan Greenless, *op. cit.*, p. liv.
14. Loc. cit.
15. Macauliffe, *op. cit.*, p. 145.
16. Cf. Loc. cit.
17. *Ibid.*, p. 132.
18. Loc. cit.
19. *The Adi-Granth*, p. 1169 as translated in Macauliffe, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 133; for an alternative translation, see Gopal Singh, *Sri Guru Granth Sahib: English Version* (Delhi, 1962), Vol. II, pp. 1118-1119.

The Adi-Granth; Rag Basant, Mahala I :

Soene ka chauka kanchan koar.
 Rupe kia karan bahot bisthar.
 Ganga ka udar karante ki ag.
 Garda khana dudh sio gad.
 Re man lekhe kabhu na pai.
 Jam na bhije sach nai.
 Das ath likhe hove pas.
 Chare bed mukhagar path.
 Purbi naveh varna ki dat.
 Varat nem kare din rat.

Kaji mullah hove seikh.
 Jogi jangam bhagve bhekh.
 Ko girhi karma ki sandh.
 Bin bujhe sabh Khadias bandh.
 Jete ji likhi sir kar.
 Karni upar hoveg sar.
 Hukam kareh murakh gavar.
 Nanak sache ke siphit bhandar.

20. Macauliffe, *op. cit.*, pp. 186-187.
 21. *Puratan Janamsakhi*, 'Sakhi 55', p. 109, as translated in Macauliffe, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 187.

Puratan Janamsakhi :

Jo bharia so lads, sabhna hukam rajai.
 Nanak te mukh ujle, challe hak kamai.

22. Loc. cit.
 23. *The Adi-Granth*, p. 23, as translated in Macauliffe, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 187; for alternative translations, see Gopal Singh, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 26 and Manmohan Singh, *Sri Guru Granth Sahib : English And Punjabi Translation* (Amritsar, 1962) Vol. I, p. 77.

The Adi-Granth; Sri Rag, Mahala I :

Dhan joban ar phulda nathiade din char.
 Paban kero pat jio dhal dhul jumanhar.
 Rang man lai piaria ja joban naohula.
 Din thodre thakke bhaia purana chola.
 Sajjan mere rangle jai sute jiran.
 Hambhi vanjha dumni rova jhini ban.

24. *The Adi-Granth*, p. 23, as translated in Macauliffe, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 187; for alternative translations, see Gopal Singh, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 26 and Manmohan Singh, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, pp. 77-78 :

The *Adi-Granth*; Rag Mahala I :

Ki na sunai goriye apan kanni soi.
 Laggi aveh sahare nit na peiye hoi.
 Nanak suti peiye jan virti san.
 Guna gavai ganthdi avgan chali banh.

25. Sewaram Singh, *op. cit.*, p. 213.
26. Sri Chand was born in 1494. He led a very long but celibate life, dying at the age of one hundred and eighteen years. Sohan Singh Seetal, *Guru Nanak* (Ludhiana, 1968), p. 129.
27. Later Guru Angad.
28. Later famous as Bhai Budha.
29. *Mani Singh Janamsakhi*, pp. 398-399. According to Vir Singh, Lehna originally belonged to Matte di Sarai in Ferozepur District but later he shifted to Khadur. For that fact and why Lehna did so, see Vir Singh, *Sri Guru Nanak Chamatkar*, Part II, p. 298.
30. Indu Bhushan Banerjee, *Evolution Of The Khalsa*, Vol. I, (Calcutta, 1963), p. 104.
31. Sewaram Singh, *op. cit.*, p. 218.
32. Macauliffe, *op. cit.*, p. 183.
33. *Bala Janamsakhi*, 'Sakhi 140', p. 95; Cf. Bhai Vir Singh, *op. cit.*, pp. 295 & 296.

Bala :

Oh Bhalla Khatri tehan de mahalle rahenda si tan ik din
 oh Jap Sahib pardha si tan Lehne ne usnun puchhia Bhai ji
 eh shabad bani kis di akhi hoi hai tan usne kaha Bhai ji
 eh bani Sri Guru Nanak tape di hai; jan ih suni tan Lehne
 ke man main basj ki jisdi ih bani hai usnu Guru kariye.

Vir Singh :

Ik admi naha ke baitha Japji Sahib da path kar riha si; bhog pa ke is ne Asa Rag vich ik do shabad gaven. Ghungruan vala sajjan, jis da naon Lehna si is de path nu sun ke magan hunda gia. Us nun oh soad aiya jo kade Devi dian bhetan gaondian nahin si aiya . . . vartalap de magron aap ne pakk dhar lai ki Devi val jandian Kartarpur ho ke darshan kar ke jana hai.

34. Sohan Singh Seetal, *op. cit.*, p. 129.
35. Sewaram Singh, *op. cit.*, p. 213.
36. Mani Singh gives only a slightly different account than the one we have given in the text. See *Mani Singh Janamsakhi*, p. 399.

Mani Singh :

Phir Kartarpur nun aiya ar agge Babaji jis khuh te us avana si othe jai baithe ar Lehna bhi khuh te aiya ar aa kar kahia ki main Guru Nanak ji da darshan karna hai, tan Babe akhia chal asi darshan karaiyenge; tan Babe de sansari kapde pehare hoe se tan te pachhane nahin.

37. Sewaram Singh, *op. cit.*, p. 218.
38. *Mani Singh Janamsakhi*, p. 399 :
- Babaji andar manji te jae baithe . . . Lehna andar aiya ar aye matha tekia.
39. *Mani Singh Janamsakhi*, p. 399 :

Tan phir ath pehar seva tehal karda rahe ate sadh sangat vich katha kirtan sunda rahe ar ap bhi Kirtan kare tan phir Baba ji us upar bahot prasann rahen ar jithe Baba ji baithan othe baithe ar jithe javan othe hi nal jave ar sada tehal kare.

40. Macauliffe, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 184; Cf. *Puratan Janamsakhi*, 'Sakhi 54', p. 184 and Vir Singh, *Sri Guru Nanak Chamatkar*, Part II, p. 310.

Puratan :

... ik chikha jakhi hai, tia ke upar char charag jalde hain ate chadar tani murda sutta paia hai par durgandh bas avandi hai. Tab Babe bachan kita, akhios : 'Koi hai jo is nun bhakhe ?' Tab... (Lehna) bachan lai kar jai khada hoia. Tan akhios 'ji, kis val te moh pai ?' Tab bachan hoia : 'Pairan val muh pavna'. Jab Guru Angad (Lehna) chaddar uthave tan Guru Nanak sutta paia hai.

Vir Singh :

Hukam hoia : 'Khao, nahin te jao'. Lehna ji ne pucchia : 'Kis pase ton chadar utaran' ? Hukam hoia : 'Dakhan pase valon'. Jan Sri Lehne chadar utari tan kadaha parshad pia si.

41. Bura was born in 1506 (7 Kattak Samat 1563). *Gurshabd Baba Ratnakar Mahan Kosh*, () p, 2636.
42. The Sikh tradition puts Bura's meeting with Guru Nanak for the first time he was seven years old. A recent biographer of Budha (*i.e.* Bura) says that it took place when he was about twelve. In all probability, Budha was then fifteen or sixteen. See Mangal Singh, *Jiwan Charittar Budha* (n.p., n.d.).
43. Macauliffe, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, pp. 133-134.
44. The *Adi-Granth*, p. 55 as translated in Macauliffe, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 133; for alternative translations, see Gopal Singh *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 53 and Manmohan Singh, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, pp. 187-188.

The *Adi-Granth*; Sri Rag Mahala I Ashtpadi :

Machhli jai na jania sar khara asgah.

At siani sohani kio kito vesah.

Kite karan pakdi kal na tale sirah.
 Bhai re io sir janho kal.
 Jio machhi tjo mansa pave achinta jal.
 Sab jag baso kal ko bin gur kal aphar.
 Sach rate se ubre dubhida chod vikar.
 Hao tin kai balhiarne dar sache sachiar.
 Sishane jio pankhian jali badhik hath.
 Gur rakhe se ubre hor phathe choge sath.
 Bin nave chon sutieh koi na sangi sath.
 Sacho sacha akhiye sache sacha than.
 Jini sacha mania tin man sach dhian.
 Manmukh suche janieh gurmukh jina gian.
 Satgur age ardas kar sajan dei milai.
 Sajan miliye sukh paiya jamdut muc bikh khai.
 Nave andar hao vasa naon vase man sai.
 Bajh guru gubar hai bin sabdai bujh na pai.
 Gurmati pargas hoi sach rahe liv lai.
 Tithe kal na sanchre joti jot samai.
 Tun hai sajan tun sujan tun ape melanhar.
 Gur sabdi salahiye ant na paravar.
 Tithe kai na apde jithe gur ka sabad apar.
 Hukmi sabhe upjeh hukmi kar kamahe.
 Hukmi kale vas hai hukmi sach samai.
 Nanak jo tis bhave so thiye ina janta vas kich nahin.

45. Sewaram Singh, *op. cit.*, p. 217.

46. *Loc. cit.*

47. *Loc. cit.*

48. *Loc. cit.*

49. According to Bhai Vir Singh, Guru's disciples speculated during this period whether Bura or Lehna would ultimately succeed Nanak as the Guru. In their eyes the claims of both were equally strong. Vir Singh, *Sri Guru Nanak Chamatkar*, Part II, p. 312 :

Sikhan vich . . . khial phuria ki dekhiye Sri Lehna ji te
 Bhai Budha ji vichon kis par mihar hundi hai. Bura

jan Budha ji jiv shreni vichon uche uth ke uche gae prem uche darje de Sikh manne jande san : is lai inhan val nazar paindi si. Lehna ji prem tar vich prote Sikh san, Bura ji vich seva atut si. Budha ji bade uche Sikh se par Lehna ji di uchai ohnan nalon bi uchi si.

50. Duncan Greenless, *The Gospel Of The Guru Granth Sahib*, p. iv.
51. According to *Shabdarth Gurbani Trust*, Guru Nanak wrote *Bara Maha* "at the time of his death". This statement should not be taken too literally. It may, however, be accepted to suggest that Guru Nanak composed it in 1539, i.e., the year in which Guru Nanak passed away. See *Shabdarth Gurbani Trust* (Lahore, 1945), p. 1107.
52. Taran Singh, *Guru Nanak As A Poet* (Panjab University Unpublished Ph.D. thesis) p. 144.
53. *Ibid.*, p. 143.
54. *Loc. cit.*
55. *Loc. cit.*
56. Duncan Greenless, *op. cit.*, p. lvi; Sohan Singh Seetal, *op. cit.*, p. 128.
57. According to Bhai Vir Singh, Guru Nanak himself put five paisas and coconut before his nominee as the next Guru but asked Budha to put on the *tilak* on the forehead of Angad to finally anoint him as the next Guru. Vir Singh *op. cit.*, Part II, pp. 314-315 :

Apni jagho te Sri Lehna ji nun baitb jan da hukam de ke Sri Guru ji ne panj paise ik nariyal agge rakh ke te parkarma karke matha tekia... Lehne ton Guru Angad nam bakhshia. Pher Satguru ne Bhai Budhe nun kiha : "... tun Guru Angad de mastak te guriyai da tilak deh". Budhe ne bade prem vich uthke tilak ditte.

58. The ceremony ended with Nanak bowing before the next Guru. See *Puratan Janamsakhi*, 'Sakhi 56', p 110; *Bhai Mani Singh Janamsakhi*, p. 508 :

Puratan :

Tado . . . Baba ji Guru Angad ji . . . ke pairi paia.

Mani Singh :

Tan phir Baba ji ne . . . (Guru Angad) ke matha tekia.

59. Duncan Greenless, *op. cit.*
60. According to *Puratan Janamsakhi*, Guru Nanak himself went and lay under the *acacia* tree and then the tree blossomed suddenly. *Puratan Janamsakhi*, 'Sakhi 57', p. 111 :

Tadon Guru Baba sarih tale jai baitha. Sarih sukka khada tha, so haria hoā.

61. Teja Singh, Ganda Singh, *A Short History Of The Sikhs* (Bomday, 1950), p. 17.
62. The *Adi-Granth*, p. 157 as translated in Macauliffe, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 190; for alternative translations, see Gopal Singh, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 150 and Manmohan Singh, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 526.

The *Adi-Granth*; Rag Gauri Purbi Dipki, Mahala I :

Jai ghar kirat akhiye karte ka hoi bicharo.
 Tit ghar gavoh sohila sivro sirjanharo.
 Tum gavoh mere nirbhao ka sohila.
 Hao vari jao jit sohile sada sukh hoi.
 Nit nit jiade samalian dekhega devanhar.
 Fere dane kimat na pave tis date kavan sumar.
 Sambat saha likhja mil kar pavoh tel.
 Deho sajan asisdian jio hove sahib sio mel.
 Ghar ghar iho pahocha sadre nit pavan.
 Sadanhara simriye Nanak se dih avan.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

PRIMARY SOURCES :

A. Nanak-bani and Translations

The Adi-Granth

Gopal Singh, *Sri Guru Granth Sahib: English Version* (Delhi, 1962), 4 Vols.

Manmohan Singh, *Sri Guru Granth Sahib : English and Punjabi Translation*. (Amritsar, 1962)

Rattan Singh Jaggi, *Guru Nanak Bani* (Patiala, 1968).

Trilochan Singh* and others, *Selections From The Sacred Writings Of The Sikhs*. (London, 1960)

B. Janamsakhis

Bala Janamsakhi (Lahore, n.d.).

Mani Singh Janamsakhi : Gyan Ratnavali (Lahore, n. d.).

Meharban Janamsakhi, ed. Kirpal Singh (Amritsar, 1962).

Puratan Janamsakhi, ed. Vir Singh (Amritsar, 1948)

Var Bhai Gurdas, ed. Hazara Singh and Vir Singh. 6th ed. (Amritsar, 1951).

SECONDARY SOURCES :

A. Biographies

Daljit Singh, *Guru Nanak*, Lahore, 1943.

Kartar Singh *Life Of Guru Nanak Dev*, Ludhiana, 1958.

Narain Singh, *Guru Nanak Re-interpreted*, Amritsar, 1965.

Sewaram Singh Thapar, *Sri Guru Nanak Dev*, Rawalpindi, 1904.

Sewaram Singh Thapar, *The Divine Master*, Lahore, 1930.

Kala Singh Bedi, *Guru Nanak Darshan*, New Delhi, 1965.

Kala Singh Bedi, *Guru Nanak Nirankari*, New Delhi, 1966.

Santokh Singh, *Nanak Parkash*, edited Vir Singh, Vols. 2-4 of the bigger book called *Nanak Parkash and Suraj Parkash* (13 Vols.), Amritsar, 1927-35.

Vir Singh, *Sri Guru Nanak Chamatkar*, Amritsar, 1955-1960, 2 Vols.

B. History (Sikh)

Banerjee, I. B., *Evolution Of The Khalsa*, Vol. i, Calcutta, 1936.

Bingley, A. H., *Sikhs*, Simla, 1899.

Chajju Singh, *The Ten Gurus And Their Teachings*, Lahore, 1903.

Court, Henry, *History Of The Sikhs*, Lahore, 1888 (Eng. trans. of Sardha Ram's *Sikhan De Raj Di Vitthia*).

Cunningham, J. D., *A History Of The Sikhs*, London, 1849.

Ganda Singh, *Contemporary Sources Of Sikh History (1469-1708)*, Calcutta, 1962.

Ganda Singh, (ed.) *Early European Accounts Of The Sikhs*, Calcutta, 1962.

Ganda Singh, (trans.) *Nanak Panthis, Or The Sikhs And Sikhism Of The 17th Century*, Eng. trans. with original Persian text of a chapter from Muhsin Fani, *Dabistani-i-Mazahib* Madras, 1939.

Harbans Singh, *The Heritage Of The Sikhs*, Bombay, 1964.

Khazan Singh, *History and Philosophy Of Sikhism*, Lahore, 1914.

Khushwant Singh, *A History Of The Sikhs*, Vol. I, Princeton and London, 1963.

- Khushwant Singh, *The Sikhs*, London, 1953.
- Latif, Muhammad, *History Of The Punjab*, Calcutta, 1891.
- Macauliffe, M. A., *The Sikh Religion*, Oxford, 1909.
- M'Gregor, W. L., *The History Of Sikhs*, London 1846.
- Malcolm, John, *Sketch Of The Sikhs*, London, 1812.
- Narang, Gokul Chand, *The Transformation Of Sikhism*, Lahore, 1912.
- Parry, R. E., *The Sikhs Of The Punjab*, London, 1921.
- Payne, C. H., *A Short History Of The Sikhs*, London, 1915.
- Prinsep, H. T., *Origin Of The Sikh Power In The Punjab And The Political Life Of Maharaja Ranjeet Singh*, Calcutta, 1834.
- Ross, David, *The Land Of The Five Rivers And Sindh*, London, 1883.
- Sardul Singh Caveeshar, *The Sikh Studies*, Lahore, 1937.
- Scott, G. B., *Religion And Short History Of The Sikhs, 1469-1930*, London, 1930.
- Steinbuch, H., *The Punjab*, London, 1845.
- Temple, R. C., *The Legends Of The Punjab*, Bombay and London, 1884-6.
- Thornton, T. H., *History Of The Punjab*, London, 1846.
- Anon, *The History Of The Sikhs*, Calcutta, 1846.

C. History (Ancient India & Culture)

- Barthwal, A., *The Religions Of India*, London, 1882.
- Basham, A. L., *The Wonder That Was India*, London, 1954.
- Bhandarkar, R. G., *Vaisnavism, Saivism And Minor Religious Systems*, Strasburg, 1913.
- Briggs, G. W., *The Chamars*, Calcutta, 1920.
- Briggs, G. W., *Gorakhnath And The Kanphata Yogis*, Calcutta, 1938.

- Brown, John P., *The Darvishes, or Oriental Spiritualism* (ed. H. A. Rose), London, 1927.
- Carpenter, J. E., *Theism in Medieval India*, London, 1921.
- Dasgupta, Surendranath, *Yoga As Philosophy And Religion*, London, 1924.
- Dasgupta, Surendranath, *An Introduction To Tantric Buddhism*, Calcutta, 1958.
- De Bary, Wm T., et al. (Compiler), *Sources Of Indian Tradition* New York, 1958.
- Dowson, John, *A Classical Dictionary Of Hindu Mythology*, Ec., London, 1961.
- Eliade Mercea, *Yoga: Immortality And Freedom*, London, 1958.
- Hopkins, E. W., *The Religions Of India*, London, 1896.
- Keith, A. Barriedale, *The Religion And Philosophy Of The Vedas and Upanishads*, Cambridge, Mass., 1925.
- Macdonell, A. A., *Vedic Mythology*, Stuttgart, 1907.
- Macnicol, Nicol, *Indian Theism From The Vedic To The Muhammadan Period*, London, 1915.
- Mahipati, *Nectar from Indian Saints*, Eng. trans. of Mahipati's Marathi *Bhaktalilamrit* by Justin E. Abbot, N. R. Godbole, and J. F. Edwards, Poona, 1935.
- Mahipati, *Stories Of Indian Saints*, Eng. trans. of Mahipati *Bhaktavijaya* by Justin E. Abbot, and N. R. Godbole, Poona, 1933.
- Monier-Williams, M., *Brahmanism And Hinduism*, London, 1891.
- Oman, J. C., *The Mystics, Ascetics, And Saints Of India*, London, 1903.
- Pritam Singh, *Saints And Sages Of India*, New Delhi, 1948.
- Sen, Kshitimohan, *Medieval Mysticism Of India*, London, 1935.

D. History (Muslim)

- Abdul Halim, *History Of The Lodi Sultan*, Dacca, 1961.
- Abu'l Fazl, *Ain-i-Akbari*, Vol. ii, Eng. trans. H. S. Jarrett, Calcutta, 1891.
- Abu'l Fazl, *Akbarnama*, Vol. i, Eng. trans. H. Beveridge, Calcutta, 1897-1903.
- Arberry, A. J., *Sufism*, London, 1950.
- Aziz Ahmed, *Studies In Islamic Culture In Indian Environment*, Oxford, 1964.
- Badauni, *Muntakhab al-Tawarikh*, Vol. i, Eng. trans. G. A. S. Ranking, Calcutta, 1898.
- Beveridge, A. S., *The Babur-nama in English*, London, 1921.
- Briggs, John (trans.), *History Of The Rise Of The Mahomedan Power in India till the year A. D. 1612 (Firishṭa)*, London, 1829.
- Briggs, John, *The Siyar-ul-Mutakhirin* (Ghulam Hussain Khan), London, 1832.
- Elliot, H. M., and Dowson, J., *The History Of India As Told By Its Own Historians*, Vol. iii, iv and v. London 1871-73.
- Hodivala, S. H., *Studies In Indo-Muslim History*, Bombay, 1939 and 1957.
- Ikram, S. M. (ed. Ainslie T. Embree), *Muslim Civilization In India*, New York, 1964.
- Khaliq Ahmed Nizami, *The Life And Times Of Shaikh Faridu'd din Ganj-i-Shakar*, Aligarh, 1955.
- Lal, K. S., *Twilight Of The Sultanate*, London, 1963.
- Lane-Poole, S., *Babar*, Oxford, 1899.
- Leyden, J., and Erskine, Wm.. (trans), *Memoirs of Zehir-ed-Din Muhammad Baber Emperor of Hindustan*, London, 1826.

- Mohammad Noor Nabi, *Development of Muslim Religious Thought in India from 1200 A.D. to 1450 A.D.*, Aligarh, 1962.
- Mohan Singh Uberio, *Kabir—His Biography*, Lahore, 1934.
- Nicholson, R., *The Mystics Of Islam*, London, 1963.
- Nimatullah, *Nimatullah's History Of The Afghans*, Eng. trans. of Ni'mattullah's *Makhzan-i-Afghani*, Part i, by Nirodbhusan Roy, Santiniketan, 1958.
- Nizamuddin Ahmad, *Tabaqat-i-Akbari*, Eng. trans. by B. De, Calcutta, 1927-40.
- Pandey, A. B., *The First Afghan Empire In India*, Calcutta, 1956.
- Prasad, Ishwari, *The Life And Times Of Humayun*, Calcutta, 1955.
- Qureshi, I. H., *The Administration Of Delhi Sultanate*, Lahore, 1944.
- Rama Krishna, Lajwanti, *Punjabi Sufi Poets*, Calcutta, 1938.
- Rice, Cyprian, *The Persian Sufis*, London, 1964.
- Rizvi, Saiyid Athar Abbas, *Muslim Revivalist Movements in Northern India in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*, Agra, 1965.
- Subhan, J. A., *Sufism: Its Saints and Shrines*, Lukhnow, 1960.
- Tara Chand *Influence Of Islam On Indian Culture*, Allahabad, 1963.
- Titus, Murray T., *Islam in India And Pakistan*, Madras, 1959.
- Tripathi, R. P., *Some Aspects Of Muslim Administration*, Allahabad, 1936.
- Wescott, G. H., *Kabir And The Kabir Panth*, Cawnpur, 1907.
- Williams, L. Rushbrooke, *An Empire Bulder Of The Sixteenth Century*, London, 1918.
- Yahya Ibn Ahmad Sirhindi, *Tarikh-i-Mubarak Shahi*, Eng. trans. K. K. Basu, Baroda, 1932.

Yusaf Hussain, *Glimpses Of Medieval Indian Culture*, London, 1959.

Cambridge History of India, Vols. 3 and 4.

Encyclopaedia of Islam, Leyden and London, 1913-38.

The Cultural Heritage Of India, Vol. iv, The Religions, Calcutta, 1956.

The History And Culture Of The Indian People, Vol. iv, *The Delhi Sultanate*, Bombay, 1960.

E. Religion (Sikh)

Archer, John Clark, *The Sikhs In Relation To Hindus, Moslems Christians and Ahmadiyyas*, Princeton, 1946.

Field, Dorothy, *The Religion Of The Sikhs*, London, 1914.

Gopal Singh, *The Song Of Nanak*, Eng. trans. of Japji, London, 1955.

Greenless, Duncan, *The Gospel Of The Granth Sahib*, Adyar, Madras, 1952.

Gursharn Singh Bedi, *The Psalm Of Life*, Eng. trans. of the Japji, Amritsar, 1952.

Harnam Singh, *The Japji*, Delhi, 1957.

Jiwan Singh, *The Japji*, Amritsar, 1956.

Jogender Singh, *Thus Spake Guru Nanak*, Madras, 1934.

Kapur Singh, *Parasharprasana, Or The Baisakhi Of Guru Gobind Singh*, Jullundur, 1959.

Khushwant Singh, *Japji : The Sikh Prayer*, London, n.d.

Loehlin, C. H., *The Sikhs And Their Book*, Lukhnow, 1946.

Loehlin, C. H., *The Sikhs And Their Scriptures*, Lukhnow, 1958

Muhsin Fani, *Dabistan-i-Mazahib*, Eng. trans. *The Dabistan Or School Of Manners* by David Shea and Anthony Troyes, Paris, 1843.

- Muhsin Fani, *Nanak Panthis Or The Sikhs And Sikhism Of The 17th Century*, Eng. trans. of a portion of the *Debistan-i-Mazahib* by Ganda Singh, Madras, 1939.
- Parkash Singh, *The Sikh Gurus And The Temple Of Bread, 1930*, Amritsar, 1964.
- Puran Singh, *The Book Of The Ten Masters*, London, 1926.
- Ranbir Singh, *Glimpses Of The Divine Masters*, New Delhi, 1965.
- Scott, G. B., *Religion And Short History Of The Sikhs, 1469-1930*, London, 1930.
- Sher Singh Gyani, *Philosophy Of Sikhism*, Lahore, 1944.
- Sohan Singh, *The Seeker's Path*, Bombay, 1959.
- Surinder Singh Kohli, *A Critical Study Of The Adi-Granth*, New Delhi, 1961.
- Surinder Singh Kohli, *Outlines Of Sikh Thought*, New Delhi, 1966.
- Taran Singh, *Guru Nanak As A Poet*, Panjab University, unpublished Ph.D. Thesis.
- Teja Singh, *Growth Of Responsibility In Sikhism*, Bombay, 1948.
- Teja Singh, *The Japji*, Lahore, 1930.
- Teja Singh, *The Sikh Religion*, Kuala Lumpur, 1937.
- Teja Singh, *Sikhism : Its Ideals And Institutions*, Bombay, 1951.
- Thornton, D. M., *Parsi, Jaina And Sikhs*, London, 1898.
- Trumpp, Ernest *The Adi-Granth*, London, 1877.
- Ward, Wm., *Account of the Writings, Religion, and Manners Of The Hindoos*, Vol. iv. 'Account of the Sikhs', pp. 383-406, Serampur, 1811.
- Walkin, Charles, *Observations and Inquiries concerning the Sikhs and their College at Patna, in the East-Indies*, an article reprinted in *Dissertations and Miscellaneous Pieces*

relating to the History and Antiquities, the Arts, Sciences and Literature of Asia by sundry authors, Dublin, 1793.

Wilson, H. H., *A Summary Account Of The Civil And Religious Institutions Of The Sikhs*, JRAS, Vol. ix (1848), pp. 43-59.

Trilochan Singh etc., *Selections From The Sacred Writings Of The Sikhs*, trans. London, 1960.

The Sikh Religion, A Symposim by M. Macauliffe, H. H. Wilson, Fredrick Pincott, John Malcolm and Sardar Kahan Singh, Calcutta, 1958.

Sikhism And Christianity In Punjab, a special issue of *Religion and Society*, Vol. xi, No. 1, March, 1964.

F. Religion (Non-Sikhs)

Barth, A., *The Religions Of India*, London, 1882.

Bhandarkar, R.G. *Vaishnavism, Saivism and Minor Religious Systems*, Strasburg, 1913.

Brown, John P., *The Darvishes, or Oriental Spiritualism* (ed. H. A. Rose), London, 1927.

Dasgupta, Shashibhushan, *An Introduction To Tantric Buddhism*, Calcutta, 1958.

Eliade, Mercea, *Yoga : Immortality And Freedom*, London, 1958.

Hopkins, E. W., *The Religions Of India*, London, 1896.

Keith, A. Berriedale, *The Religion And Philosophy Of The Vedas And Upanishads*, Cambridge, Mass., 1925.

Macdonell, A. A., *Vedic Mythology*, Strasburg, 1897.

Macnicol, Nicol, *Indian Theism From The Vedic To The Muhammadan Period*, London, 1915.

Mohammad Noor Nabi, *Development Of Muslim Religious Thought In India From 1200 A. D. To 1450 A. D.*, Aligarh, 1962.

Monier-Williams, M., *Brahmanism And Hinduism*, London, 1891.

Nicholson, R. A., *The Mystics of Islam*, London, 1963.

Oman, J. C., *The Mystics, Ascetics, And-Saints Of India*, London, 1903.

Pritam Singh, *Saints And Sages Of India*, New Delhi, 1948.

Rama Krishna Lajwanti, *Punjabi Sufi Poets*, Calcutta, 1938.

Rice, Cyprian, *The Persian Sufis*, London, 1964.

Rizvi, Sayid Athar Abbas, *Muslim Revivalist Movements In Northern India In The Sixteenth And Seventeenth Centuries*, Agra, 1965.

Sen, Kshitimohan, *Medieval Mysticism Of India*, London, 1935.

Subhan, J. A., *Sufism : Its Saints And Shrines*, Lukhnow, 1960.

Tara Chand, *Influence Of Islam On Indian Culture*, Allahabad, 1963.

G. Tracts

Pannikar, K. M., *'The Ideals of Sikhism'* (tract), Amritsar, 1924.

Teja Singh, *'Guru Nanak And His Mission'* (tract), Lahore, 1918.

Jodh Singh, *Guru Nanak Simrati Vlahkian*, Patiala 1967, (Punjabi University Guru Nanak Memorial Lectures for 1966-67).

Jodh Singh, *Religion And Religious Life As Conceived by Guru Nanak* (tract), Anandpur Sahib, 1925.

Karam Singh, *Gurparb Nirnay*, Amritsar, 1913.

Karam Singh, *Katak Ki Visakhi*, Amritsar 1913

H. Articles

Cust R. N., *'The Life of Baba Nanak, The Founder Of The*

- Sikh Setc* in *The Indian Antiquary*, iii (1874), pp. 295-300.
- Griffin, Lepel, 'Sikhism and the Sikhs' in *The Great Religions Of The World*, New York, 1901.
- Irfan Habib, "Evidence for Sixteenth-century Agrarian Conditions in the Guru Granth Sahib", in *The Indian Economic And Social History Review*, Vol. i, No. 3, Jan-Mar. 1964, pp. 64-72.
- Singh, G. B., 'Sikh Relics in Eastern Bengal', in *Dacca Review*, Vol. v, Nos. 7 and 8, Oct. and Nov. 1915, pp. 224-32; No. 10, Jan. 1916, pp. 316-22; and Nos. 11 and 12, Feb. and Mar. 1916, pp. 375-8.
- Wilson, H. H. "A Summary Account Of The Civil And Religious Institutions Of The Sikhs," *JRAS*, Vol. ix (1848), pp. 43-59.
- Pincott, F., 'Sikhism', article in T.P. Hughc's *A Dictionary of Islam*, London, 1885.
- Ward, Wm., *Account of the Writings, Religion And Manners Of The Hindus*, Vol. iv, 'Account of the Sikhs', pp. 383-406, Serampore, 1811.
- Ward, Wm., *Special Issue Of Religion And Society*, Vol. xi, No. 1, March, 1964.
- Muhammad Iqbal, *Sikhs*, article in *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, Leydon and London, 1934.
-

SARJIT SINGH BAL

A Ph.D. from London University, Professor Sarjit Singh Bal is a distinguished historian. Before writing : LIFE OF GURU NANAK (1969), he had won the Sahitya Academy Award of Chandigarh for his book : GURU GOBIND SINGH : A BIOGRAPHICAL STUDY, written in collaboration with Professor J. S. Grewal. Since then he has contributed profusely to his field of specialisation of Punjab History.

The Ministry of Education and Culture, Govt. of India, nominated him to the Indian Council of Historical Research in 1978, and renominated in 1982. The Punjab Govt. nominated him to its Education Reforms Commission in 1981, and as its nominee on the Council of Punjab University Textbook Board. The Govt. of India nominated him to the National Commission of Teachers in 1983.

He has taught at the Department of History and Evening College of Panjab University. He became Professor and Head of the Department of Languages, Culture and History in the Punjab Agricultural University, Ludhiana in 1970. He held the dual charges as Head of the Department of History and as Director of Punjab Historical Studies of Punjabi University, Patiala from 1978 to 1982.