LIFE OF GURU NANAK

SARJIT SINGH BAL
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

Sukh 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
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SARJIT SINGH BAL
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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 religious-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". In its developed form, this belief in the transmigration of the soul and the complementary belief in *karma*...
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. 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.

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*. By following any of these three paths, one's self could merge into the Universal Self ultimately and attain salvation.

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.' 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.

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. 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. The basic cycle was the kalpa, a day of Brahma, and 4320 million years long. Within each kalpa were fourteen manvantaras, each containing seventy-one mahayugas which, in turn, were divided into four yugas, Krata, Treta, Dvapar and Kalyug of unequal lengths. Each yuga represented a progressive decline in piety, morality, strength, stature, longevity and happiness. 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.

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 devatas 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.16 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 brahmans, 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.18

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. 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. 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. 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. 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 Shiva, but the actual result was to provoke the extreme sectarian to become dogmatic about the exclusive sectarian deities like Vishnu, Shiv and Shakti. 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 rot 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 figuriners 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. 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. 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 Grace 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."

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 and the
Alvars 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 lingam, 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.

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. 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."

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 Bengal and in the thirteenth century, Trilochan, Namdev and Permanand expounded it in Maharashtra. Sadhana appeared on the scene in Sindh. It was, however, left to Ramananda, "fifth in apostolic succession to Ramanuja" 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. 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.”

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.

Sufism, at once a body of doctrine and a movement, 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’Il who was soon followed by Uswan al Hajwari, better known under his sobriquet of Data Ganj Baksh. Data Ganj Baksh who was the author of several books and was regarded as the founder of the Sufi cult came to India in 1039 and died here in 1072. Through his writings, the best-known of which is Khasaf-al-Makjub, and his saintly life, he left behind a great impact, enabling Abul Faij Rumi, a local born, to carry forward the movement begun by him. 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.

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 1161 and having visited Multan and
Delhi finally settled down at Ajmer, where he lies buried now, while his disciple Bakhtiyar Kaki, a native of Ush, took up his
residence at Delhi. 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. During his
journeys to Bukhara, Baghdad and Jerusalem, he had met Shihab-ud-din Suhrawardi and had become his disciple. On
his return to India, Baha-ud-din Zakariya founded the Suhrawardi Order of the Sufi faith.

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 Khalq, the creator and the created. Their teachings which consisted in looking upon God as the Unity behind all plurality and the Reality behind all phenomenal appearance, 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) 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. 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. They liked to put on tattered clothes and usually wrapped themselves in a patched do-tahi (twin-plied cloth). They practised fasting in order to weaken and control their base desires.

The daily routine of the Sufi heads in their jamait khanas, unlike the Hindu monasteries, usually near the cities, fascinated the poor. The daily life of Nizam-ud-din Auliya 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 jamait 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.

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 Chilla-i-makus from the Hindu practices. In carrying the message of Islam to the Hindus, particularly to those
of the lower castes, they spoke in the language of the people. People would find it difficult to distinguish them from the Hindu sadhus.

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. 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 thraldom of scholastic learning” 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.

When Ramanand died in 1470, he left behind two schools of religious thought, one conservative and the other radical. The first remained true to ancient beliefs and allowed only slight changes in doctrines and rites, the other struck out a more independent path. It is the leaders of the latter school which produced the greater impact; Pipa and Raidas in the present Uttar Pradesh, and Dhanna and Sain 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. And as was only natural for “the first leader of Medieval Reformation for the Hindu-Muslim unity in the sphere of religion”, 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. 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. Endowed with a keen and enquiring mind, he was already familiar with both the Hinduism and Islam when he was "awakened" by Ramanand 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.

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". 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, 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. 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". He showed his utter disregard of the extreme ascetic ways of both Hindu bhagats and Muslim Sufis by leading a simple but all the same a ghrusta 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. 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, 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 Brahmans, but belongs to all who are sincere of heart.

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. Within the framework of the old Hindu cosmogony, he introduced notions of Jilin and Badrudin to explain the origin of the universe and its nine constituent spheres. 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.
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" 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".

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" 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". 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 Sheikhupura District 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 Bhoe after the name of the man who had ‘rebuilt’ it. 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 Bhoe managed to obtain a large number of villages 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.

Rai Bhoe 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.”

To this village, then cut off from the outside world, Rai Bhoe had invited a number of families to settle there permanently. One of the families that was attracted to this village was that of Shiv Ram 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, was extremely liberal towards them.

Shiv Ram and Banarsi 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.

Shiv Ram was one of the very few Bedis, a respected sub-caste of the Hindus, to have accepted Rai Bhoe’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 Bhoe and the two developed mutual admiration for each other.

The close and intimate relationships between Rai Bhoe and Shiv Ram were inherited by their sons. Very likely, this was because Rai Bhoe’s son, Rai Bular, was as liberal as his father and Shiv Ram’s elder son, Mehta Kalu, 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.

Mehta Kalu was “a man of the world” with “parsimonious habits”. His thriftiness enabled him to become “a man of
The brunt of Kalu’s biting tongue had to be borne mostly by his comely wife, Tripta. Daughter of one Rama of Chaliawala 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.” 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. 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. This time the intemperate Kalu had not sent Tripta to her parents. So the son was born at Talwandi.

The future founder of the Sikh religion was born sometimes at about midnight, 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 unique 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, 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'.

Nine days later, at the name giving ceremony, the parsimonious Kalu loosened the strings of his money bags, and there was great rejoicing and feasting. 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 years 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' 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. The Sayyid, not blessed with any child of his own, 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" 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 God himself and his "prattling words" evoked the admiration of many, 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." 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".

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. 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." 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 five 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. 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 'magic script' and for some time at least participating in his
fellow students ‘recitation in group concerts’.” Had this 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.”

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”. 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. 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”. 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, reproached 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.19

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. 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. 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. 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 ‘Ganjara’ 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!’

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

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

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'.

Nanak did not accept the thread and pointed out the hypocritical nature of the ceremony by saying:

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

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 twisteth 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 hus-
bandman, 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.'

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 madrasa that had just come up. This madrasa 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 years 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'dat*, 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 madrasa, he would spend a good deal of his time in the forest in conversation with Sadhus “on divine topics”. 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."

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.

\[x\quad x\quad x\]

He who forgets Thee is a low born’.
Nanak thought of developing qualities which should help him to do away with "entanglements" which hindered his losing himself in the "love of God".

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. 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".

Feeling it necessary to do something to cure the abnormality in the otherwise fourteen-year old healthy-son of his, Kalu first tried an exorcist and then a physician on Nanak. 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'.

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 '?
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, 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 Khatris, he was, at the moment working as a patwari at Batala.

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. 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 Patla 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. Nanaki’s marriage was fixed for 29th March, 1485, and when it took place, Kalu synchronized it with Nanak’s engagement to Sulakhani.

Nanak’s marriage took place on 1st April, 1485, when he was nearly sixteen. It was only natural that Kalu celebrated it in a grand manner. He took a large marriage party consisting of influential Bedis and a number of his fellow villagers. It included Jai Ram and Parmanand, Ram and Kishen, 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, 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. 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.

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.

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. Nanak was further told to take along with him
the family servant, Bala Sandhu, to carry back the purchased
articles.

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 quickened when he was told that they
belonged to Nirvani persuasion. 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” that he had with their leader, Sant Ren.
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.” 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). 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 rest before seeing his father, Bala slipped away to tell Kalu 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. 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.

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
persevere 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 sadhus and the sannyasis.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 religious-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". 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.

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". It pleased him to see all those coming to the modikhana and going away satisfied with "food, clothes and money".

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 "buttered bread" and lived on the "coarsest morsel". 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. The latter ordered an enquiry, 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.
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 grahasthi, which was to become one of the chief commandments of the religious order which he was to found later.

Nanak was nineteen 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. 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.

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. 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.

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". The result rebounded 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. 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".

This enquiry proved a blessing in disguise. Nanak was never suspected of anything dishonourable in future and the Nawab left the motivations 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, 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,

\[
\text{As He was in the beginning: the Truth} \\
\text{So throughout the ages} \\
\text{He ever has been} \\
\text{So even now He is Truth immanent,} \\
\text{So for ever and ever he shall be truthful eternal.}\]

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

\[
\text{Nanak, on whom Thy (favourable) look is, on him is also mine;} \\
\text{on whom thy benevolence is,} \\
\text{on him is also mine.} \\
\text{My name is: The Supreme Brahm, the Supreme Lord; and thy name is: the Guru, the Supreme Lord.}\]

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. They, however, concede that during those three days Nanak had a "mystic experience", and henceforth "felt an irresistible urge within himself, call it divine if you like, to proclaim the truth that he had inwardly realized."
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. 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". He then put on "the garb of a faqir" and became "a public speaker".

Nanak chose to make "a graveyard on the bank of the river" 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".

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." 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. 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" but more so of the Qazi of Sultanpur. 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". This remark could be interpreted to imply an offence to the Muslims, 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". 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 removest 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."

His remarks set the Nawab thinking. Then Nanak turned
THE MOMENTOUS DAY

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'.

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.'

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.'

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.'
In February 1500, 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 Sultanpur 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, ultimately reaching Lahore where they stayed for a few days. There, Nanak delivered some divine sermons. 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. It appears Nanak’s experience of the Lahore citizen was not particularly happy for he described it as follows: ‘Lahore Shaihar qaihar, sawa pahr’.

Nanak and Mardana left Lahore and went to Eminabad. 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 (brahmboj), to which Guru Nanak was also invited but he did not accept the invitation. The Guru made no secret of his refusal to accept the invitation: Bhag Mal's earnings were "unlawful". 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 story 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 amounted on bluntness that Malik Bhago owed his position and riches to "bribery and oppression".

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. 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 Siboke and Sahoke before reaching Sialkot. There, Nanak soon earned some fame by encouraging the city to call off the bluff of a faqir, Hamza Gaus, who forgetting his true calling was blackmailing the city with the threat of a curse.

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. 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 charanarth 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". 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'.

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' 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 Lalu, 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 Bhoé 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 Bhoé 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
FIGHTING SHAMS

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".13

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"26 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.28

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’.  

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. 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”.

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" 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".  

\[\text{54}\]  

\text{LIFE OF GURU NANAK}
CHAPTER IX

TEACHING THE HOLY

The large audience, and the sympathetic hearing that Guru Nanak received from congregations addressed by him at Hardwar encouraged him to extend his tour further east and, thus begin the second stage of his first udasi. 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 safaa 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.”

The first place that Nanak and Mardana went to on leaving Hardwar was Panipat, the headquarters of Sheikh Sharaf, a Sufi saint. A disciple of the Shaikh, Tatihari by name, noticed Nanak’s headdress and took him for a Persian darvesh and saluted him with the Muslim ‘Salam Alaikam’ (the peace of God on you). Nanak did not respond to this with the usual ‘Wa alai kam aslam’ (and on you also be the peace) but said ‘Salaam Alekh’ (salutation to the Invisible). 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.” That brought Shaikh Sharaf to Nanak’s presence. A dialogue ensued and when the Shaikh left, he was thoroughly impressed by Nanak’s profundity.
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 destroys and destroying re-animateeth
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 boats 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.15

From Bindraban, 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 sidhs. 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'.

To him the Jogi 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.'

Leaving Gorakhmata, Nanak and Mardana reached Benares, 'the
headquarters of the Hindu religion'. 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,
Lord have mercy upon us.
It is a waste of effort
To water a field of saltpetre;
A wall made of mud must collapse.

Why plaster it with cement?

The clever Chatur Das, while apparently conceding the correctness of Nanak's doubts, asked: "(If) the Saligram and the necklace of the sweet basil may indeed be useless as the irrigation of barren land, ... tell me by what means the ground may be prepared and God found?" Quick came Nanak's reply:

'Make God the well, string His name for the necklace of water-pots, and yoke thy mind as an ox thereto;

Irrigate with nectar and fill the parterres therewith, thus shalt thou belong to the Gardner.'

But the Pandit was not the one to give in easily. He enquired: (Even if) the soil is irrigated, ... how can it yield a crop until it hath been dug up and prepared for sowing the seed?

Nanak replied:

'Beat both thy lust and anger into a spade, with which dig up the earth, O brother.

The more thou diggest, the happier shalt thou be: such work shall not be effected in vain.'

According to the Sikh tradition, the discussion ended with the Guru's repeating all the forty-four stanzas of Oankar. On hearing them, the Pandit accepted defeat with the remark: 'I am the crane, and thou art the principal swan of God. My understanding is overcome by my senses.' That touched the kindly Nanak and he tried to encourage the downcast Brahmin by praying for the latter:

'If thou, O merciful One, show mercy, a crane shall change into a swan.
Nanak, slave of slaves, supplicateth, O Merciful One, have mercy’.  

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’.  

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” only, in all probability the two were together for a much longer period. 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 Bajj 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 Malda³ 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'.

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 agriculture 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'.

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

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 magic and were rather loose in their marital ties. They were ruled by a queen, Nurshah, who took it into her head to have sway over Nanak.

Nurshah had, perhaps, heard of Nanak from “her women” who had earlier tried charms on the Guru. 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.”

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 enjoyest 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;
Commingling 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.'

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." Here he raised his voice against the gorgeous nature of the arti practised in the temple every evening. Instead of "accepting the high priest's invitation to adore the idol, he raised his eyes to heaven", and sang 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 savang: the hawk-cuckoo that drinks only rain drops—
So that he may dwell ever in the peace of Thy Name.

During his stay at Puri, Nanak also spoke against the efficacy of the Padamansna 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." 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":

"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."

From Jagannath Puri, Nanak and Mardana moved towards central India. Passing through Khurd, Sauragarh, Sabhapur
and crossing the Kartik hills, he travelled south of the Vindhya Mountains. 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”. This so impressed the man-eater that he not only stopped prosecuting his immediate design but also “became a true votary of the Lord”. 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. 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”. “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.

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.

Sheikh Brah, 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 hair­tufts, sacrificial threads, and torn clothes.\footnote{31}

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”.⁵ 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 Sirsa “in about one year and four months”.⁶

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,
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. 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. From Sirsa, Guru Nanak along with Mardana went to Bikaner. There, he saw the Jain mendicants of the Dhundia Sect. 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 Brāhmans 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.18

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’.18

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 behaves a faqir. A traveller must think of his goal. The faithless indulge in amatory songs. Pir 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". 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. It seems that from Cape Comorin he took a boat for Ceylon but before reaching his destination chanced to drop in on an island which, according to the Sikh tradition was then “governed by an inhuman tyrant”. The tyrant, the tradition further says thought of putting Nanak and his companions to death for trespassing upon his island 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’.

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. 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. The Raja, not feeling sure that there was anything extraordinary in the new arrivals, 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, 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.'
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.’

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.’

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.

Shivnabh soon invited Nanak to the palace and the queen began to look after the faqir coming from the distant Punjab with the sincerity of a disciple. 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. 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’.

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 utilized his stay of more than two years in Ceylon in composing the *Pransangali*. 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.' 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.’

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) 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, Guru Nanak and Mardana started for home. The return journey was along the western coast of India and through Sindh. They travelled through Malabar, Karnataka, Travancore, Cochin, Calicut, Dharwar, Rajapur, Panchbatti, Baroda, Baroach, Surat, the Bay of Kambet, Niumri, Gaijwar and reached Junagarh in 1508. After staying at Junagarh for about four months, Nanak and Mardana, after crossing the Girhar Hills, went to Sudamanpuri.

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." 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."

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.
Herons 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
Nanak began his third udasi in 1514. This udasi was towards "the north country" and lasted about a year. 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." 

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, Sujanpur, 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, the source of the Ganges, moved to Srinagar.

At Srinagar, Guru Nanak had to encounter Brahm Das, "then the most eminent of the Kashmiri Pandits." 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." Obviously, he wanted to overawe "the Guru with his piety and learning." 

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?" 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'.

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 feelest 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.\textsuperscript{112}

\begin{quote}
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?\textsuperscript{113} Guru's answer
was:

'\begin{quote}
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,
\hspace{1cm} nor sun nor moon.
But only God in ceaseless trance.
\end{quote}

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,
\end{quote}
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
dead 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 Brahmmins with the contempt born out of his superior
scholarship. Nanak joined the Brahmmins 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." The Pandit proceeded thither but only noticed a woman in red guarding the temple. Brahm Das came to the faqirs full of rage 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, 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. 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 Pandavas 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.\textsuperscript{31}

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.\textsuperscript{32} There, he met many renowned \textit{sidhs}.\textsuperscript{33}

Nanak joined the \textit{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'.\textsuperscript{34}

That aroused the curiosity of the \textit{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 \textit{sidhs}, "What are thy tenets?"\textsuperscript{35}

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 understands the Guru's instruction and know oneself, then he being true shall be absorbed in the True One.28

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".29

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'.29

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'.


CHAP'TER 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, along with Mardana. This time Nanak had decided to go west to Muslim countries, particularly Arabia.

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

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.” 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 welcomed Nanak to the temple and put him the following questions:

“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 alive?

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.
Man ought not to call himself exalted, but dwell in his own thought; what God deemeth proper, He doeth.

As long as there is any desire, so long is there anxiety; how can one who feeleth it speak of the one God?

When man in the midst of desires remaineth free from desire, then, O Nanak, he meeteth the one God.

In this way, shall he cross the ocean,
And thus be dead while alive.¹⁰

That impressed the jogis. Ignoring the attack that Nanak had made on their order in the concluding part of his answer, they invited him "to adopt the style and religion of a jogi".¹¹ The Guru politely declined the offer to be enrolled in the jogi order and while doing so told them that in their fastidiousness for the externals they not only had forgotten the real Gorakh but even the spirit of the founder of their order:

"The Word is my meditation, divine instructions the music of my horn for men to hear;
Honour is my begging-wallet, and uttering the Name my alms.

Gorakh is He who lifted the earth and fashioned it without delay;
Who enclosed water, breath, and life in the body, and make the great lights of the moon and the sun;
Who gave us the earth as our abode, but whose many favours we have forgotten;

Sidhs, strivers, jogis, jangams and pirs are many.
If I obtain the Name from them, I will sing their praises and serve them heartily

Paper and salt dissolve not in clarified butter; the lotus remaineth unaffected by water—

What can death say to them, O Nanak, who meet such saints?"¹²
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." 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." 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*".

This brought on Nanak the wrath of one Jivan, a *qazi* of Indian origin. 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?" 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. That reply so impressed the *qazi* that he immediately went to the head priest, Pir Patalia, 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.
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 jealous of one another, but Ram and Rahim are one.
The world has taken the devil's path." 31

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 consisted the essence of religion, enquired the Plr. 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'.

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'.

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 stayed 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'.

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. The result was that when Nanak and Mardana reached Medina, the former had to engage with a good number of "Muhammadan priests in argument" and when later stayed at Baghdad on his way home "became very popular and numerous people began to assemble round him."

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 Eminabad 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 chief 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 Brahmans 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 paean 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.’
When Nanak shared these thoughts with Lalo, the latter asked the Guru what he meant by saying that God had assigned different positions to different men, the Guru explained.

'God can cause lions, hawks, kestrels, and falcons to eat grass. And the animals which eat grass—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.'

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.'

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.'

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'.

Baber ordered his "soldiers to take and dishonour" the women of Eminabad. 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'.

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.

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. 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.'

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'.

He declared that:

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

and proclaimed his unflinching 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'.

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 Kabul.

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.

Baber's departure from Eminabad was followed by heart-
rending "crying and weeping" of those who had lost their near and
dear ones, 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. Duni Chand replied that each flag he had displayed at his residence denoted a lakh of rupees that he owned. 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!’

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”. The hymns sung by him began to get publicized all over Lahore and the adjoining subahs and “universal” popularity 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 prevaleth.’

Guru Nanak’s popularity forced even those who had earlier looked upon him with cynicism to observe Nanak more closely. One such was an official dignitary, a karoria, 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.” Soon after, karoria insisted that Guru Nanak should shift his headquarters to Kartarpur 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. That his parents were ageing rapidly and his sons were moving in undesirable direction, 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.
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. 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.

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,” he donned the “worldly garment” 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 grahishth 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". 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. It started with a description of the descent of man to the earth and then painted him "in nature" 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".

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

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

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

The two \textit{Vars} and their \textit{Slokas} produced a tremendous impact on Guru Nanak's disciples at Kārtarpur 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" 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." The egoistic behaviour of the various classes produced "religious conflicts, class conflicts, economic conflicts and political conflicts" 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."

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".

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". 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. 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". 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. 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), *govai* (singing the Lord's praises), *sunnai* (hearing His praise), *manai* (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) 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 thoughts to make it, when later incorporated in the *Granth Sahib*, the "epitome of the philosophy and beauty" of that *Granth.

The four compositions of Nanak—the *Var Malhar*, the *Var Majh*, the *Var Asa* and the *Japji* combined with his *grahishthi* 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 activity 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. They were required, like the Guru, to arise early in the morning and devote the 'ambrosial hour' to meditation upon the divine Name. 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. 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. 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.

The third feature of the Kartarpur pattern of life would be the regular daily labour. 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. 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. 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 grahithi 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. Deriving their inspiration from the Patanjali school of philosophy, they were founded into an order by Gorakhnath. 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.

The spiritual exercises of the Sidhs, often descending to the propitiation of the 'lower spirits', 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.  

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'.

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 hast 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. 

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.'

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 circum-
stances 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 there13
and became the chief attraction of those who had then come to
Achal to attend the Shivratri fair.18 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. Apparentiy 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'. 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.

'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.

A long discourse followed in which Guru Nanak explained to the Jogis the limitations of asceticism in leading a really spiritual life. 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).\(^{28}\)

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 poem\(^{28}\)—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 Punjab\(^{31}\) 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.\(^{33}\)
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. 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.

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. 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.

The two poems also suggested a new attitude towards the Almighty. This was to be one of wonder 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'. In this poem, the Guru raised his voice against the "futile method of knowing the reality" and showed "the true method" of doing so. 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.

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". 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. 23

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. 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. 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 Kartarpur 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 artī—the same ecstatic song that he had composed at Puri years ago—and then the morning congregation would be over. 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. 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.

There was held a congregation once again in evening followed by a community singing. 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.
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". The Guru expected his followers to pursue a life of Truth and "to drop meaningless outer forms and complications". He wanted them also to give up the pride of caste and to seek refuge in Name only.

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". 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." 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". He was endowed with another endearing quality. He was the very essence of humility though "always so quietly firm on the truth". 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.

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". 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.
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. The Guru did not remind him of his earlier refusal but when the Brahmin had eaten his fill, politely sang to him 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 Vedas,
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’.

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”. 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’.

Soon after, when Nanak learnt of the sad demise of the Sufi 
after his return to Multan, Guru Nanak remembered his own old 
age and one day sent a wave of gloom over the adoring follower 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...

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.'

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.

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, 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—Lehna and Bura.

Lehna belonged to a village called Khadur, the majority of whose residents were devoted to goddess Durga. Born in 1504, 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”. 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 japji” which touched the chords of his heart and made him very keen on meeting Nanak.

In 1532, while returning from Jawala Mukhi, he parted company with his fellow-pilgrims and made his way to the “holy colony” at Kartarpur. The strange way in which he chanced to meet the Guru 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. 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.

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 Nanak 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.

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 age but had joined the Guru’s rank soon after the Guru had set up his headquarters at Kartarpur.

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.” 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.

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".

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". 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". On Bura, these words had an effect which was magical. 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. 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 poem entitled the *Bara Maha* (the twelve months of the year).

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.

The *Bara Maha* was in the nature of a calendar with a graph of descent and ascent and the corresponding loss of *amanand* (joy) from the soul and the gain obtained from the ascent. 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.

It was a great poem with a lyrical note which seemed to reach the very “ears of the Lord.” 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.

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. When
the ceremony was over he bowed before the next Guru in complete approval of how Budha had performed the ceremony 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, 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, 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.

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.

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

BIBLIOGRAPHY
NOTES

CHAPTER I


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.


8. Also called asuras and rakshas. See A. L. Basham, op. cit., p. 318.


10. Ibid., p. 320.


12. Ibid., pp. 320-321.
13. Ibid., p. 321.
15. Ibid., p. 240.
17. Ibid., p. 244.
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.
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.
27. Loc. cit.
30. Saiva Saints in the South who propagated the Bhakti Marg.
31. Vaisnava Saints in the South who advocated the Bhakti Marg.

33. Ibid., p. 87.


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.


46. An English translation of the *Khasaf-al-Mahajab* was published in London in 1936.
47. Tara Chand, *op. cit.*, p. 144.


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.


54. For a discussion on the differences between the Suhrawardi order and Chisthi order of the Sufis, and also for the history of the former, see ibid., pp. 88-89.

55. Ibid., p. 76.

56. Loc. cit.


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.


66. Cf. Ibid., p. 78.
NOTES


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.


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.


83. Ibid., p. 163.


85. Tara Chand, *op. cit.*, p. 163.


87. Tara Chand, *op. cit.*, p. 149.


89. Loc. cit.


91. Better known as a great commentator of Shaikh Shahab-uddin Suhravardi’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 cosmo-gonies, others are apparently taken from Islam”. Tara Chand *op. cit.*, pp. 155-157.

94. Ibid., pp. 163-164.

95. Ibid., p. 150.


CHAPTER II


   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 Bhoe ne wasaya si apne nam te ‘talwandi Rae Bhoe’

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 Bhoe 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 Bhoe 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 Bhoe 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, Rae Bular is called Rae 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 jande han jinhan nun Rai Khendho han. Eh kavi te kirtaniye lok Hindu samein vich hoye han, Kashmir de bat te in bhatt iko gal sahi dindi hai. Rae Bhoe Mussalman ho gaya, is nun Shalpur de pargao vich dast keu 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. Rae Bular succeeded his father, Rae Bhoe 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, 1969), p. 244.

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:

Dehul Kalu ka tavran par kirti kheti, che mat baro ma kheti kerta hor asuda beopar kuch na karta kheti be karta.

JS Meh, ‘Sakhi 8’, p. 22.

14. Some manuscripts of *Puratan Janam Sakhis* give her the name of Tipro or Tipra, See JS Meh, ‘Sakhi No. 4’, p. 9. f.n.


18. Nanaki would mean a girl born at her maternal grandparents’ place. Nanke in Punjabi 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 sathan Guru Nanak Ji katha karta
   Bhai Santokh Singh de kathar ansar Guru Nanak Sahib da avtar katik svadi 15 sambat 1526 nu hoya.
   Puratan Janam-sakhi te janam-sakhi Bhai Mani Singh te Mehsa Parkash vich Guru Nanak Sahib da janam
   Vaisakh Sudi, 3, likhia hai par am 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;

Dai akhiya... mere hathan vich kai Balak janne par ijhe Balak isticran koi nahi janneian... ia balak di meinu vaddi herangi lag rai hei.

23. Chajju Singh, op. cit., p. 3.


‘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 anniversary 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 sober 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 pranan 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 avatara kian pritma ke sath
khelia kare.

Bhai Mani Singh's Janamsaki 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

4. The Sier-ool-Mutakhirin, i. 110 cited in ibid., p. 41.


12. Janam Sakhi Bhai Mani Singh, p. 41; Bala and Mehrabban Janamsakhis put the beginning of Nanak's regular education at seven. See Janamsakhi Bala, 'Sakhi 3', p. 7 & Janamsakhi Mehrabban, 'Sakhi 5', p. 11; See f. n. 13 below.


Mani Singh:

Jan Baba barsan panjan da hua aur mata pita nein kaha is nun Pandeh de padn payia tan bhole din aur naun chande eitvar aur bhal thith thal shakar da bhar kei aur uppar panj rupei rakhir kei aur bhatta te budhka 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 nu tere pas padn bithavne hain. Pandeh akhiya bhalia Mehta Ji. tan pandeh patri kadh ke sodh ke akhiya ji aj mahurat bhalia hai. Maghar mahima hai sokala pakh hai, panchmin thithi hai, Veer var hai rohinschattar hai tan Kalu Kesar, Supari, chawl ate dakhna parsaad
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 bhalo 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'.

15. Loc. cit.
16. Ibid., p. 11.
17. Bhau 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 kardian 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 
37-38.

Mani Singh :

ik din mata aur pita (Nanak) kol aa bethe tan ohna 
puchhia tun kaun si pothi parda hein tan Babe kaha 
mein Sapt Saloki Gita padta hua tan uhna nei kaha asanu 
vi sunai tan Baba bolia ki suno Sapt Salok Gita ko.
Bala JS:

Ik din mata pita Bābā ji de pas aye bothe te aakhan lage
jo putar tun kēdi pothi padta hai so menu vi sunao tan
Sri Bābā Ji keha pita ji mein Sapt Saloki Gīta 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

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 sacha insan.

20. The Puratan Janamsakhī, ‘Sakhi No. 4’, p. 6; Bala Janaṃ-
sakhī, ‘Sakhi No. 7’, p. 23; Meharban Janam Sakhī, ‘Sakhi 8’
pp. 22-24. Bhai Mani Singh puts the incident differently,
and at slightly maturer age. See Bhai Mani Singh Janamsakhī,
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 gaun charaian hi hein so
asi vi charai lianwa gei.
21. This gave rise to the popular story of a snake shading Nanak one afternoon.


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 pada 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.


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.


The *Adi-Granth*; Asa di Var Salok Mahala I :

Daya kapah santokh sut jat gandhi sat vat.
LIFE OF GURU NANAK

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 Janduji Sakhi:_

Jan Guru Nanak ji naun barsan da hoya tan Jeneu pavan di reet karan vaste Kalu ne purohat Hardeval ko balaya. Sabh mahurat dekh kar puroht ji ne sab samigri mangvai jo zat bhai Kala ko the sab ko kaha aur brahmin jo wahan rahte the sab ko nieta diya. Sab-bhai bhand zati ke aur Brahman bhi ikattar hoi ke Sri Guru Babe jee ko janeu pawne lage.

_Meharban Jahanam Sakhi:_

Jab Guru Nanak ji navan barsan ka hua tab Guru Babe Nanak ji ka unet hua.


_The Adi-Granth: Asa di Var, Salok Mahala I:_

Lakh Chorian lakh jaren lakh kudian lakh gal.
Lakh thagian pehnaman rat dins ji nal,
Tag kapaho katiye Brahman vate aiy.

× × ×

Hoi purana sutiye bhi phir paiya hor.

The *Adi-Granth*; Asa di Var, Salok Mahala I:

Nai maniye pat upje salah sachen sut.
Darges andar paeie tag na tutas put.


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.
Vebagai ape vate.
Vat dhage avra ghatte.
Lai bhadh kare viaho.
Kadh kagal dase raho.
Sun vakho loko 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
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 lukan akhia. Kalu tu putar nun kite kirt lai ma kritt vich is da man parchda howe tan Kalu akhia Nanak ji sanu lok eih ulambhe dinde han jo Kalu da putar makhato hoia hei, tan Babe akhia eih Kalu ji asan eiti khati khati hei jo sara jagat varsawe 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 egi jami hei jo sab koi varsai ga.


33. Ibid., p. 22.

34. The Puratan Janamsakhi puts Nanak’s admission to this madrasa at the age of nine but Mani Singh Janamsakhi says that Nanak was ten years old. The Puratan Janamsakhi, ‘Sakhi 3’, p. 6; Mani Singh Janamsakhi, p. 97.
CHAPTER IV


*The Adi-Granth*; Rag Asa, Mahala I:

Koi na jane tēra kēta kēwad cīra.
Sabh surti mil surt kāmāi.
Sabh kīmat mil kīmat pai.
Gīani dhīani gur gur hāi.
Kehān na jāi tērī tīl vādīāi.


*Adi-Granth*; Rag Asa, Mahala I:

Akha jiwan visre mar jāo.
×   ×   ×
Khasam visare tē kamjāt.

5. *Mani Singh Janamsakh*, p. 101:

   ... je andar jai ke samadh lai koi sawein tan suta hi rahe ate je bahar jai tan Sidh asan mar ke betha rahe.


8. *Janamsakh* *Bhai Bala*, ‘Sakhi 10’, p. 30:

   Mohta Kahu ji Haridas nam baid nun sad liyaya.


   **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.


   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’.
11. This is the name given in Bhai Mani Singh’s Gyan Ratnavali and Bala Janamsakhis. The Puratan Janamsakhi refers to her but without giving her any name. The Meharban Janamsakhi calls her at one place as ‘Ghum 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 Bhoe 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 Janam-sakhi. 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 Chnamakar, 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 hoo likhya hai. Janam Sakhi Bhai Mani Singh Ji vich viah da parsang ithe dita he. ...Sri Guru Nanak Parkash ne viah Sultanpur ja ke dita hai.

18. Jai Ram’s father.


20. Nanak’s maternal uncle.
CHAPTER V


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 laha man has.


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 koi khara sauda kharid hai au je it vari khara sauda kar awain ga tan pher mein tenu bahut rupe jau dewa ga.

9. *Janamsakhii Bhai Bala*, ‘Sakhi 11’, p. 33:
   Guru ji ne kaya aap ka nam kia hai. Sant ne kahiya nam hamara Sant Reina hai. Sun kar Nanak ji bade prasan hue.
12. *Janamsakhii Bhai Bala*, ‘Sakhi 11’, p. 34:
   Guru Nanak Ji apne ghar gai hi nahn, bahr hi rahe.
13. *Janamsakhii Bhai Bala* has a slightly different version of Bala’s behaviour. According to this *Janamsakhii*, Bala on parting with Nanak went to his house and Kalu called him to enquire of his son. See *Janamsakhii Bhai Bala*, ‘Sakhi 11’ p. 34:
   Kalu nu khabar hui jo Bala apne ghar aye vadia hai to Nanak ji nahn aya tan Kalu nei nafar bhej Bala nun bulaia.
15. *Janamsakhii Bhai Bala* says that Kalu gave Nanak four slaps and details them. See *Janamsakhii 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 mare.

17. Ibid., p. 17.
20. Bawa Chajju Singh, *op. cit.*, p. 32. We have based ourselves on Bhai Vir Singh and *Bala Janamsakhi*.

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 hoya koi chauki vicha de. Naukar ne ik sohni chauki dah ditti. Ine nun Jai Ram Das ji aq 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 sake 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 dinde han ethe tun vi roj khapda heinte Nanak ji vi ranjrehunda hai. Utte 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 Janamsakhī:

Jai Ram suniya jo Nanak hairan rehanda hai, kam kaj kuchh nahin karda tab un kitabat likhe jo Nanak tun asan jag mil. Tab iẖ kitabat Guru Nanak padhi tan akhios ‘hovei tan Jai Ram jag milan.’

Mehraban Janamsakhī:

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-ikh bheji Dade Kalu no ji main sunia hai ji Nanak ji birakt hoa hai sansar te, Nanak ji kao tesi 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. Tēb ek chiri Dada Kalo no Jai Ram bheji je Nanak ji no mere pas bhejina. Ik kitabat Jai Ram Babe Nanak ji kao bheji je ji asade ji bahot chab hai tusade darsan di, tesi asan uppar kirpa kar ko darshan devna, Parmeshwar ko namit asan pas avna.

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 Mehraban*, ‘Sakhi 24’, p. 74:

Guru baba Nanak ji ghode aswar hoa, Sultanpur kaun chale. Majal dar majal chalte chahte Baba Nanak ji Sultanpur aye.


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 nahn uthawnte kium jo tusi Raje lok ho ar vichar nahin karde ar lohan dian chuglian bahut sundei ho tan khan akhia hei Nanak tere utte asi chuglian na sunna gei tan ik Dev Dutt
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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 Babu 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.


8. It was on 14 Maghar 1544 (1487). See f.n. 5 above.


   ... pichhliyan Talwandi ki loran nu khabar hoyee je Nanak ji jado hee wadhiya he, chalo asi rojgar kar awe. Tab jehe farak da koi howe tehi tehi tehli tis nu mile. Sab koi sadka Babe Ji da bafarat roti khan.


12. Janamsakhi Baba, ‘Sakhi 14’, p. 44:

   Jo koi sawali sawal see kare 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 lagi rohe dukan de upper ate jo modikhanion Nawab de bukan nal kise nun mile tan panj der di jagha sadhe panj aro saw nun Baba Nanak ji tol deve.


14. Ibid, p. 37; also see the next note.
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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 akiya tusi Jai Ram nun vich bahal ke lekha karo tan divan nei Jai Ram ate Babe nun sad bhejia.


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:

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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 peeh 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


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 Janamsaki*, 'Sakhi 26', p. 80:


3. The *Puratani* and *Bala Janamsakis* 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.


ar vich (athan dina vich) hi Nirankar naal 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 mene paa-kei awo’ Tab Nanak ji kaun aye kar Karta Purkh ke lok loi gaye, lijaye jaha Karta Purkh tha oha hi lijay khada kiya.

The *Adi-Granth*:

Ik Onkar, Sat Nam Kartapurkh, Nirbhao, Nirvair, Akal 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.


*Puratan Janamsakhi*:

Nanak jis uppar teri nazar,
Tis uppar meri nazar,
Jis uppar tera karam,
Tis uppar meri karam.
Mera naon Par Brahm Parmesar,
Ar tera naon—Guru Parmesar.


12. Loc. cit.


14. Ibid., p. 68.

15. Ibid., p. 67.

The *Adi-Granth*; Mahala I:

Bhaia divana sah ka Nanak bantarana.
Hao har bin avar na jana.
Tau dewana janiye ja bhai dewana hoi.
Eki sahib bahra duja avar na jane koi.
Tau dewana janiye ja eka kar kamai.
Hukam pachane khasm ka duji avar sianap kai.
Tau dewana janiye ja sahib dhare piar.
Manda jane ap kao avar bhala sansar.


18. Ibid., p. 69.

19. Ibid., p. 69.


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 Mehurban*, ‘Sakhi 29’, p. 92.

*Janamsakhi Mani Singh*:

tab Baba Vain ton bahr aya ar oho kohuda hei nan koi Hindu hei nan Mussalman hei.

*Puratan Janamsakhi*:

tab ik din gujar gia. tab agle din bak khal hoia (*i.e.* bolia) jo, ‘na ko Hindu hai, na ko Mussalman hoi’. 
Janamsakhi Mehraban:

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.'


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.


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 jiwan ka bharm chokave. Rab ki rajai manne sir upar karta mane ap gavave.

The Adi-Granth: Var Majh Ki, Mahala I:

Mitho Masteidah maatala harahal Qurayn. 20
Saran samnaa silejha yehi Musallain.
Karni Raabe sadh pith kahin harahal aarj.
Tasbraa tla bhaal Nanak rakhe bhi.


The Adi-Granth, "Var Majh Vol. I, Mahala I:

Panj nivaja vakhat panj panja panja naa.
Pahela sach halal doi teejha khair khudai.
Chauthi niyat ras man panjvi sifat sanai.
Karni kalma akh kai ta Mussalman sadai.


Puratan Janamsakhi:

Mussalmane maavai ap.
Sidak saburi kalma pak.
Khadja na chede-padi na khai.
Nanak so Mussalman bhist kao jai.


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.
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Kaia rangan je thiye piare paiye nao majith.
Rangan wala je range sahib aisa rang na dith.
Jin ke chòle ratde piare kant tina ke pas.
Dhood tinan ki je milai ji kaho Nanak ki ardas.
CHAPTER VIII


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.


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.

9. Ibid., p. 70


12. Ibid., pp. 44-45.


14. Ibid., pp. 74-76.

15. Ibid., p. 76.

16. Ibid., p. 73.


*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 laai lekhe.
das avatari aya, jag hukam chalaya,
ant kal dharti pai, kajh hath na aya
vade vade mahan bali, jodhe ar sure,
kaho Nanak, sabh dekhiya, sabh dharti dhure.


19. *Bala Janamsakhi*, ‘Sakhi 25’, p. 84, as translated in Khazan Singh, *op. cit.*, pp. 72-73; for an alternative translations see
Sewaram Singh, op. cit., p. 80.

Bala Janamsakh:

khima hamari mata kahiye, santokh hamara pita,
sat hamara chhach kahita, jin saag maana jita,
sun Bala, guru kita.

Sage log sambhal ke bandhe, so gun kahle kaisa?
bhau bhai sang hamare prem pooot so sacha

di hamari dhiraj bani, aise sang ham racha,
shant hamarei sang saheili, mat hamari cheli,

eh kutamb hamara kahiye sas hamari kheli.

ekankar hamara khawind, jin eh bannat bani.
us ko tyag awar ko lage, Nanak so dukh pai.

21. Ibid., pp. 76-77.
22. Almost all those who have written on the Life of Guru Nanak associate his visit to Kurukshetra with the Solat eclipse day.
24. According to Bala Mani Singh, Guru Nanak invited all the Brahmins to come to him so that he might start a discussion with them. Janamsakh Mani Singh, p. 124:

Babe kahia ke tusin sabe Pandit Kurkhetar de ikathe howo tad main tusade nāl charcha karan tab kurkhetar de Pandit ikathe hoī ațe Nanū Chand jo, bada Pandit si oh vi vich aye bāitha.

25. Macauliffe, says that Nanak actually cooked a deer which a disciple had presented to him. Macauliffe, op. cit., p. 47.


The Adi-Granth: Var Malhar Ki:

Gainda mar hom jag kio devtaan ki bane
Mas chhode bais nak pakde reti mane khane
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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 kātābin chaunj jug mas kāmana
Jaj kaj viaha suhve othe mas samana.


29. In all probability the priest who was most voluble was the head priest Nanu Chand. See f. n. 24 above.


The Adi-Granth; Var Malhar Ki:

Ap na bujhe lok bujaeh pande khara siana.
Pande tun jane hi nahin kithon mas upanna.
Tohio ann kamad kapahun tohiho tribhavan ganna.
Tao akhe haun baho bidh hachha toae bahat 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.


33. Ibid., p. 50.

34. Khazan Singh, op. cit., p. 77.

35. Ibid., p. 78.

The Adi-Granth: Sri Rag Salok, Mahala I:

Kubudh dummi kodaya kasain,
Parininda ghat chuhari muthi krodh chandal.
Kari kadhi kia thiae jan chare baithian nal.


The Adi-Granth; Sri Rag Salok, Mahala I:

Sach sanjam karni karan navan naun japeii.
Nanak agge uttam set ji papan pad nan dehi.


39. Ibid., p. 51.


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.

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 mutlachi da naon Shaikh Tahir si jis da parsid nam janta vich 'Shaikh Tatihari' pai giya si.


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 Tatihar 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.


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-keeper 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 naming 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 ... Mardane dega pani da chidkhia tan, rathi uth, Chadha huat a to*

The Puratan Janamsakhi:

mare jeewalei soi.
Nanak ekas bin avar na koi.


The Adi-Granth; Asa di Var, Salok Mahala I:

Vain chele nachan gur.
Paer halain pheran Sir.
Ud ud rava jhate pai.
Vokhe lok hasai ghar jai
Rosan’karan purch vil.
Ap pechad dhaarti-nal .


The Adi Granth; Asa, dj Var, Salok Mahala I:

Nir bhou Nirankar sach nam.
Ja ka kia sagal jahan.
Sewak sewe karam jhadao.
Bhumi raen jinhari man chau.
Sikh sikhia gur veechar.
Nadri karam leghae par.
Kolu chara  chakki chak,
Thal varoj bhahit anant.
Latu madhanjan angaha.
Pankhi bhaondian lein na saha.
Sue chahar bhavaiye jant.
Nanak bhaondian gaanat na ant.
Bandhan bandh bhave soe.
Paiye kirat nache sabh koe.
Nach nach base chale so roi.
Ud na jahi sikh na hoe.
Nachan kud an man ko chao.
Nanak jin man bhaon tanhan man bhao.


The *Adi-Granth*: Suhil Mahala I:

Tun jai thal mahial bhur bhur keenan
tun asep sarab samana
Man taraji chit tula teri sev saraf kamavan.
Ghat he bhitar so saho toli in bidh chit rahavan.
Ape kanda tol taraji asep tolan hara.
Ape dekhe asep bujhe asep hai vanjara.

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.


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.


The Adi-Granth; Rag Basant, Mahala I:

Kar har hat mal tind provoh tis bhitar man jovoh.
Amrit sincho bharoh kiare tau mali ke hovoh.


The *Adi-Granth*: Rag Basant, Mahala I:

Kam karodhdoi karoh basole godho dharti bhai.
Jio godho tio tum sukh pawoh kirat na metia jai.

27. In the *Adi-Granth*, these sloks are described as Daknhi Onkar. The word Daknhi has evoked some conjectures about where, why and whom did Guru Nanak address the sloks. See Bhai Vir Singh, *Guru Nanak Chainatkar*, Part I, p. 179 fn.:


Doctor Charan Singh Ji Bani Bioe (1902) vich ik vichar dasde han, jis da bhav ih he ki bani da naon Oankar hai te daknhi pad is gal da suchak hai ki Ram kali Daknhi bhant di hai jivan balawal te vadhane ad nai daknhi pad rag suchna lai aye hai.


The *Adi-Granth*: Rag Basant, Mahala I:

Bagle te phum nanola hova je tu karoh daiala:
Pranvat Nanalo dasna daia karoh daiala.

The *Adi-Granth*; Ram Kali, Mahala I:

Onkar brahma utpat.
Onkar kia jin chit.
Onkar sail jug bhae.
Onkar bed nirmae.

\[ \times \quad \times \quad \times \]

Sabh jag sehaj upaia
ten bhavan ik joti.


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


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.


5. Loc. cit.


   The *Adi-Granth*; Sri Rag, Mahala I.

   *Lob kutta kud chuhra thag khadha murdar.*
   *Parninda parmal mukh sudhi agan krodh chandal.*


The *Adi-Granth*; Rag Sarang, Mahala I:

Ghal khai kichh hathon dehih.
Nanak raha pachhane sei.


11. Cf. Ibid., p. 86.


The *Adi-Granth*; Vadhans, Mahala I:

Gunvanti saho ravia nirgun kuke kai.
Jegunvanti thi rahe te bhi saho ravan jai.


The *Adi-Granth*; Vadhans, Mahala I:

Karni kaman je thiy je man dhaga hoe.
Manak mul na paiye lijae chit paroe.


17. The *Puratan Janamsakhi*, ‘Sakhi 23’, p. 35.

p. 1164:

The Adi-Granth; Asa Mahala I:

Tal madire ghat ko ghat.
Dholak dunian vajke vaj.

Nanak nam vitho kurban
Andhi dunian sahib jan.


The Adi-Granth; Rag Suhi, Mahala I:

Manjh kochajji amavan dosde
haun kion saho ravan jao jio.
Ik du ik chadandhian
kaha jae mera naon jio.
Se gun manjh na avani
haun kai ji dos dhareo jio.

Sab rati sohagni
main dohaggan kai rat jio.


The Adi-Granth; Tilang, Mahala I:

Janadiye manda kai kareh.
Aapnade ghar har rango ki na maneh.
Saho nede dhan kamliye bahar kia dhude.
Bhae kian dehe salaian
mainseen bhav ka kar sigaro.
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 Kalyug 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 khalua Kalyug 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 Kalyug han ar apna saroop dikhavan aya han._


The Adi-Granth: Sri Rag, Mahala I:

Motī ta mandar use ratni ta hobo jadão.
Kastoor kungoo agar Chandan keep ave chao.
Mat dekh bhula veesre tera chit na ave nao.
Har bin, jio jai bal jao.
Maen anna gur puchh dekhia avar nahin thao.
Dharti te hire laal jadī palagh laal jadão.
Mohni mukh mani sohe kare rang pasao.
Mat dekh bhula veesre tera chit na ave nao.
Sidh hovān 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.


The Puratan Janamsakhī:

Chup karan ta akhīae it ghat nahin mat.
Je bola ta akhiye bad bad kare bahot.
Je bade rahe ta akhīae baitha sathar ghat
Je kar nīvan ta akhīae darda kare bhagat.
Kai gali na mevni jīthe kadha jhat.
Etho othe Nanakā karta rakhe pat.


The Adi-Granth: Rag Malar, Mahala I:

Khana peena hasna sauna sauna visar gia hai marna.
Khasam visar khoari kinni dhrih jiwan nahin rahena.
Prani eko nam dhiavo.
Apni pat seti ghar javoh.
Tudno sevoh 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


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 sune ar dekhte hein so aur ham kesi arti karein tan pandian kahia ke tusi-kaun si arti suhi tan Babe shabd akhia.


   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 hoê 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.


The Adi-Granth; Rag Dhansari Mahala I:

Ant seti nak pakdeh soojbate tin lo.
Magar pache kach na sujhe ih padam alo.


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.

Babe kahiya Mardaniya Pattan asan jawana hai...
for the full quotation see the next note.

According to the Mani Singh Janamsakhi, Guru Nanak had earlier met Sheikh Brahman in Assam. If that were to be accepted, then Nanak must have been invited by Brahman to visit him in Patampattan on return to the Punjab. Ibid:

Babe kahiya Mardaniya Pattan asan ne jawna hai kiun ke Sheikh Brahman nu updesh kita si, so dekhan us nu updesh chit hai ki visar giya hai.

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 bodan, na dubai na jai.
Nanak vakhar sahe dhan sehje rahia samai.

For the detailed dialogue that took place between Guru Nanak and Sheikh Brahman see Macauliffe, op. cit., pp. 85-92.

Ibid., p. 93.

Loc. cit.

NOTES

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 sahibj 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


2. The *Puratan Janamsakhi*, ‘Sakhi 42’, p. 78.

   *Puratan Janamsakhi*:
   
   dutia udasi kiti Deccan ki. Ahar tali bhar ret ki kare. 
   tandon peri khadawan kath kian, hath asa; sir rase 
   palete bahan jangan rase palete, 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.


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 Shaker sab to vada pir, Bahawal Haq, Shah 
   Nawaz, Farid-ud-Din, Jai Lal, Jaland Din, Lal Mati te 
   hor kai sadh faqir rehnde san, eh lok Hinduan wangu
tap karde san, chile katde san, kai jantar mantar, dhage, tawit, de ke lokan par apni pujni hon da parbhav paunde san.


**The Adi-Granth; Rag Suhi:**

Sao ulameh diner ke rati milan sahans.
Sifat salahan chad ke karangi laga hans.


**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 karne 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 salar.
Dar kuch kucha kar gae avr bhi chalanhar
Sultan khan malook umre gae kar kar kooch.
Ghadi mohit ki chalna dil samjhe tun bhi pahoolch.
Sabdha mahe vakhaniye virla ta boojhe koe.
Nanak vakhane benti jal thal mahimal soe.
Allaha alakh agam kadar karanhar karim.
Sabh duni avan javni mukam ek Rahim.
Mukam tisno akhiya jaia us ha hovae lekh.
Asman dharti chalsi mukam ohi ek.
Din rav chale nis saa chale tarika lakh paloe
Mukam ohi ek hai Nanaka saah bogo.


The Adi-Granth; Var Majh ki, Salok Mahala I:

Ona pind na pati kiryana diwa
mae kithao pahi.
Ath Sath tirath den na dhoi
Brahman aan na khahi.
Sada kusli rahi da 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 kahi mulla.
Dae vigoe phirhe vigute
phita vate galla.
Jia mar jwale soe
awar na koi rakhe.
Danbo te isanho vanjhe
bhas pal si khothe.
Pani vicho ratan upanne
mer kia madhani.
Ath sath tirath devi thapo
purbi jagge bani;


The Adi-Granth: Var Malhar, Mahala I:

Nanak sayan 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.


20. **Loc. cit.**

21. **Loc. cit.**

22. **Vir Singh, *op. cit.*, Part II, p. 38 :**

Jadon Sri Guru ji Sangla dip nun gai han tan kise
tapoo vich ya kinare de lage kise chote jai pani ghire
barete vich puje.

23. **The *Puratan Janamsakhil*, ‘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 pargtia......tab rakash aya.

24. **Khazan Singh, *op. cit.*, p. 93.**


The *Adi-Granth*: Asadi Var :

Sahib hoe dial kirpa kare
ta sai kar karesi.
So sewak sewa kare
jisno hukam manaesi
Hukam maniye hove parvan
ta khasme ka mahel paesi.
Khasme bhave so kare,
mano chindia so phal paesi.
Ta dargeh paida jaesi.

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 lākha 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.


Puratan:

... Raja Shivnabh ... aye ke laga puchan, akhios, 'Gosain tera nam kiya hei, kavan jat hei, tum Jogi ho ? ... }
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tum Brahmān 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 Babēji shabd uchāriya . . . tab Raje kīha ji tum jogi
ho . . . tum Brahmān ho . . . Gosain ji tu khatri hein.

4. The Adī-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
VI, pp. 3251-3253 :

The Adī-Granth; Maru, Mahala I :

Jogi jugat nam nirman

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 bāhar ghar eko,

Nanak bhaiya udasi.

5. The Adī-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.


The Adi-Granth; Maru, Mahala I.

Jihva dandi ih ghat chhaba
tolo nam ajachi
Eko hat saho sabhna
sir vanjare ik bhati.


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 le'aya. Rani Chander Kala te sere parwar nei prem bharia apa varan vala daivi te ilahi satkar kita.


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 rahndei han tan te mere man badi chinta hei ar sant chinta mitavan jog hein tan bachan hoya...is ladke ko is tal mein ishnau karwai, so jab us nei beti ke bastr uttare tan us de sab ang ladkian kei darihnt 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.


   Unman sun sun sabh kahiye.
   Unman hirak sog nahin rahiye.
   Unman as andesba 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 dahej ditios, Baba rat suta.
CHAPTER XIV


2. Ibid., p. 93.

3. Loc. cit.

4. Loc. cit.

5. Loc. cit.

6. Ibid., pp. 93-94.

   Ghar main thakur nazar 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 pargrami.

7. Ibid., p. 94.

8. Loc. cit.


10. Ibid., 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 masit vich thaor deve, je rat 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.


The *Adi-Granth*; Rag Suhi, Mahala I:

Ujjal kaiha chiklana ghotam kari 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 kabian.
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 changiajan avar sianap kit.
Nanak nam samal tun badha chutha jit.


CHAPTER XV


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.


   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.

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 lata khi hai magar do utth aa rahe han, jina par athara puran te hor pustak lade hoi han.


10. Loc. cit.


The Adi Granth; Var Malhar ki:

Rooro thakur Nanka sabh sukh sacho nam.
Apine ap saj ap pachania.
Ambar dhart vichod chandoo tania.
Vin thaman gagan gahan sabad nisania.
Suraj Chand upae jot samania.
Kie rat dinant choj vidania.
Tirath dharm vichar navan purbania.
Tudh sar avar na boe ki akh vakhania.
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


The Adi-Granth: Maru, Mahala I:

Arbab narbad dhundookara.
Dharm 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 paiaja.
Dojak bhisht nahin khai kala.
Nark surg nahin jaman marna
na ko ai na jaida.
Brahma bish mahes na koi.
Avar na dice eko soi.
Nar purkh nahin jat na janma
na ko dukh sukh pada.
Na tad jati sati banvasi
Na tad sidh sakhik sukh vasi.
Jogi jangam bhekha na koi.
   na ko nath kahaida.
Jap tap sanjam na brat pooja.
Na ko akh vakhanai dooja.
Ape ap upaj vigse ape kimat paida.
Na such sanjam tulsi 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 bhekha 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 dunjan
   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 sabai.
Khand Brehmand patai arambhe
gupto pargati aida.
Ta ka ant na jane koi.

15. The Puratan Janamsakhi, 'Sakhi 49', p. 93:

... tab Brahm Das Pandit aye pairee paya, gal te pathar
sut paya, naun dasrik hoa. Sewa laga karan, par man
te basna jwes 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 totha hai tithe char faqir
bethe hen, oh tenu dasan ge" tab uthon Brahm Das
chaliya jai pairee 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'.

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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.


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 bhaia.
> 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 bhaia.
> 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:

Apni tisri udasi vich Sri Sat Guru dev Ji Kashmir aad uttar de deshan 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 kathian pahar han par vason dur tak hai. Guru Babe de jan de nisan 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 deke tan age Sidd bethe han—Sri Gorakhnath, Machhandar Nath, Isar Nath, Charpat Nath, Barangnath Ghoda Choli, Bal gundai, Bharatri, Gopi Chand sare sidhi 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 Bala 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.


The *Adi-Granth*; Ramkali, Mahala I Sidh Gost:

Tis age rehras hamari sach apan aparao.
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.


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.

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 gurmukh pai.
Gurmukh bujhe ap pachane sachai sach samai.


The *Adi-Granth*; Ramkali Mahala I, Sidh Gost:

Dunia nagar dutar kahiye
kion kar paiye paro.
Charpat bole audhoo Nanak
deh sacha bicharo.


The *Adi-Granth*; Ramkali, Mahala I, Sidh Gost:

Jaise jal meh kamal niralam
murgai naisane.
Surt sabd bhav neger tariye
Nanak nam vakhane.
Raheh ikant eko man vasia
asa mahe niraso.
Agam agochar dekh dikhai
Nanak ta ka daso.
NOTES


The *Adi-Granth*, Rag Majh, Var Salok Mahala I:

Kal Kati raje kassai dharam 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:
   Chauthi udasi . . . te Mece ja nickle. Patta lagda he ki gaye samundar rasten 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 pauncha jo Arab di pachmi bandarga he, 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 sa nikle, Vaisakhi da mela ithe kitta hai . . . ithon tur ke Rohtas aye . . . ithon tur ke kai
than hunde . . . Ismail Khan ja nikle . . . ithon tur ke anek thanin hunde hoi Sindh desh vich ja paunche. ithe ik tikane Mecca jan vale Hajji ikathe ho rahe se uthe ik hajji milya.


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 Peshawar 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 ditta hei. Japda hei ki ih daura 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.


The Adi-Granth; Rag Sorath, Mahala I:

Jit dar vaseh khavan dar kahiye
dara bhitar dar kavan lahe.

×     ×

Kin bid sagar tariye.
Jivatia neh mariye.


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 bhitar rahe nirasa tau Nanak ek mile.
In bidh sagar tariye.
Jivatian io mariye.


The *Adi-Granth*: Ramkali, Mahala I:

Surt sabd sakhi meri singi bajai lok sune.
Pat jholi mangan kai tai bhikia nam pade

Gorakkh so jin goi uthali
karte bar na lagai.

Pani pran pavan bandh rakhe Chand Suraj mukh diye.
Marn jiwan kau dharti dini ete gun vişre.
Siddh sadhik ar jogi jangam pir purse bauhtere.
Je tin mila ta kirat akhan ta man sev kare.
Kagat loon rahe ghrit sange pani kamal rahe.
Aise bhagat mileh jan Nanak tin jam kia kare.

13. We have followed *Puratan Janamsakhi* and Macauliffe, in stating that Nanak took to the dress of a hajji at Peshawar while on his way to Mecca. According to *Bala and Mani Singh Janamsakhis*, he took to this dress when he reached the neighbourhood of Mecca. See *Puratan Janamsakhi*, 'Sakhi 51', p. 98, *Bala Janamsakhi*, 'Sakhi 36' p. 131 and *Mani Singh Janamsakhi*, p. 354:

*Bala Janamsakhi*:

.. tab Baba Nanak ji Mecca de najdik ae ke hajjian ka banna nila kiya aur hath mein asa liya ar ke hath me tasbi lei, sir par musala pahriya, bagal vich kitab rakhi, hajji darvesh hoi kar jae Mecca di haj ko hajar pae.

*Mani Singh Janamsakhi*:

Baijanti mala da pehran wala... Mece nun jai parapat hoya ar hath asa ar kachh vich kitab ar kuza te masala Mardana de hath.

15. Ibid., p. 175.

16. Bhai Gurdas, Mani Singh and Vir Singh call the man who felt angry at Guru’s ‘irreverence’ Jivan but *Puratan Janam Sakhi* give his name as Rukun-ud-din. See Bhai Gurdas, Par I, paudi 32; Mani Singh *Janamsakhis*, p. 354; Vir Singh *op. cit.*, p. 155; *Puratan Janamsakhis*, ‘Sakhi 51’, p. 100.

Bhai Gurdas:

Jivan mari lat di kohra 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 Jivan 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 kiliun kite hein.

Bhai Vir Singh:

ik admi... Jivan Shah name japda hei ke Hindi si jo...
Mece Shariff tehli kariya karda si... pichli ratin fazar di namaz ton pahlon safai karan karwan di sewa is ne apne sir chai hoi si... aj jad jivan sewa karda karda pachmi pase val aya tan ki dekhda hei ki ik admin sutta 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 sutta paya hein.

*Puratan Janamsakhis*:

tab peshi ki namaj ka vakhat hoia tab kaji Rukn din namaz karan aya.


18. *Mani Singh Janamsakhis*, ‘Sakhi 51’, p. 90:

...tan Babe kahiya ke jidar khudai da ghar nahin udhar hi mere kadam kar devo.
NOTES


... tab (Jiwan)jai Pir Patalia pas kehos : ‘jo Nanak darvesh aya he’ tab Patalia pir didar dekhan nu aya, aye salam payos, dast panja lei kar beth gaya.


Bhai Gurdas:

Baba akhe hajjian shubh amlan bajhon dono roi.
Hindu Mussalman doi dargah andar lehna na dhoi.
Kacha rang kasambah da pani dhote thir na rahoi.
Karan bakhili ap vich Ram Rahim Kathai Khaloi.
Rahi saitani dunia goi.


The *Adi-Granth*: Rag Tilang, Mahala I;

Yak arj guftam pes to dargos kun Kartar.
Haka Kabir Karim tu beaib parvadgar
Dunian mukame phani tehkik dil dani.
Mam sar mue Ajrail gir fateh dil hech ndani.
Jan piar 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 turâ tere chakran pakhak.
24. According to Bala Janamsakhi, Guru Nanak then stayed at Mecca for one year. See Bala Janamsakhi ‘Sakhi 37’, p. 188:

\[
tab \text{Baba Nanak: Mecca vich bars ik riha.}
\]


\begin{quote}
\textit{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 rakhoo pak mard asil.
Surt ka tun rakh roja nirt tajoh chao.
Atme kau nigab rakhoo sati tun ulmao.
Taj Sead sahej bekar rasna andes man dalgir.
Mihar le man men rakhoo kufur taj takbir.
Kam lehar bujhai man te hoi thrur.
\textit{Kaho Nanak rakh roja sidak rahi mamur.}
\end{quote}

26. According to Bhai Vir Singh, apart from visitors from other parts of the world, many prominent ‘Hindustani’ Sheikhs and \textit{faqirs} were also on their \textit{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.

\begin{quote}
\end{quote}


28. Khazan Singh, \textit{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
NOTES

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.

CHAPTER XVII

1. We have followed the later name of the place. During Guru Nanak's time, it was called Saidpur Sandiali. 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 thao 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 rakhya. 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.

Notes

The Adi-Granth; Tilang, Mahala I.

Saram dharam doi chap khalote
kud phere pardhan ve Lalo.
Kajian bahnman ki gal thaki
agad pade saitan ve Lalo.
Musulmanian padeh kateban
kast meh kareh khudai ve Lalo.
Jat sanati hor Hindwanian
eh bhi lekhe lai ve Lalo.
Khun ke sohile gavie Nanak
rat ka kungu pai ve Lalo.
Sahib ke gun Nanak gavai
Maspuri vich akh masola.
Jin upai rang ravai
baitha vekhe vakh ikela.


5. Ibid., p. 110.


The Adi-Granth; Var Majh Ki, Salok Mahala I:

Siha baja charga kuhia
ena khavale gha.
Gha khan tina mas khavale
ih chalae 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.


The *Adi-Granth*; Asa Mahala I:

Mughal pathana bhai ladai
ran me tegh vagai
Oni tupki tan chalai
oni hast chidai.


The *Adi-Granth*; Asa Mahala I:

Than mukam jale bij mandar
muchh muchh koir rulaiya.


The *Adi-Granth*; Asa, Mahala I:

Babarvani phir gai
koir na roti khai.
Ikna vakhat khoaiye
ikna puja jai.


11. The *Adi-Granth*, p. 418 as translated in Macauliffe, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 112; for alternative translations, see Gopal Singh,

The *Adi-Granth*; Asa, Mahala I:

Ik Hindwani avar Turkani  
Bhatiani Thakurani.  
Ikna peran sir khur pate  
ikna vas masani.


The *Adi-Granth*; Rag Asa, Mahala I:

Jin sir sohin patia  
mangi pai sandhur.  
Se sir kati munian  
gal vich ave dhur.  
Mehla andar hodia  
hun behn na miln hadur.

Jadho sia viahian  
lade sohan pas.  
Hidoli chad aiyan  
dandkhand kite ras.  
Upron pani variye  
jhale jhimkan pas.  
Ik lakh lehn behthian  
lakh lehn khadian.  
Gari chohare khandia  
manan sejdian  
Tin gal silka paiya  
tutan motsaria.  
Dhan joban doi vairi hoe  
jini rakhe rang lai.

Kaha sokhel tabela ghode
taha bheri sehnai.

Kaha so tegband gaderad
taha so lal kavai.

Kaha so arsia moh banke
taithe diseh nahin.

Kaha so ghur dar mandap mahela
taha so bank sarai

Kaha so sej sokhali kaman
jis vekh nid na pai.

Kaha so pak tamboli harma hoia chai mai.


15. Ibid., pp. 113-114.


*Bala Janamsakhi*:

Lakh Mohammad ek khudai
Khalak sacha beparvah.
Kai Mohammad khade darbar.
Par na pave beshumur.
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.

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 vadiai.
Ad jugad daiya pat data
tud vin mukt na pai.


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 pursai.
Ratan vigad vigoe kutti moia sar na kai.


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 rovohge 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 karo mahkshud laiho mat pachhotavoh
Augun chodho gun karho aise tat parvaho.
Dharam bhum sat bij kar aisi kirs kamavho.
CHAPTER XVIII


2. According to M. A. Macauliffe, Lahore Subah was farmed out to Daul Chand. That is highly improbable. Macauliffe, *The Sikh Religion* (S. Chand), p. 129.

3. Ibid., p. 130.

4. Loc. cit.


The Adi-Granth; Asa di Var, Salok Mahala I:

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.

7. Loc. cit.


The *Adi-Granth*; Rag Ramkali, Mahala I:

Kud nikhute Nanka odak sach rahī.

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. *Janamsākhi 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 Janamsākhi*, Karoria gave the land and requested the Guru to build up a habitation there. See Bhai Mani Singh *Janamsākhi* 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 Janamsākhi*, it was the Guru who suggested to Karoria to build up a habitation at Kartarpur. According to this *Janamsākhi* 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

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 raklia.

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 ao, 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


*Bhai Gurdas*:

Baba aya Kartarpur
bhek udasi sagal utara
Pehar sansari kapde
maaji 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.


20. Macauliffe, *op. cit.*, p. 182. Khazan Singh places the death of Mardana not at Kartarpur but a place in Central Asia called Khurram. 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 Khurram, Mardana suddenly fell ill and passed away. Khazan Singh, *History And Philosophy Of Sikh Religion* (Lahore, 1914), p.103.


Sri Guru Nanak ji kahia Bhai Bala hun Mardane aun sadiye... tan lakdian kathian kitian khume dian tan ik chadar Guru ji apni lai te ik chadar meri lai tan Mardane
di chadter tisri. tinan da khapan sita te Mardane nun ishan karvai ke achhi taran nal Mardane da saskar kita. Sri Guru ji apni hathin Mardane di deh jalai.


The *Adi-Granth*: Bihagre ki Var:

Kal khalvali kam mad manua pivanhar.
Karlohh katori mohi bhari pilava ahankar.
Majlis kude lab ki pi pi hoi khuar.


The *Adi-Granth*: Bihagre ki Var:

Karni lahan sat gud sach sra kar sar.
Gun mnde kar sil gho saram mas ahar.
Gurmukh paiye Nanka khadhe jahe bikar.


26. Ibid., p. 128.

27. Loc. cit.


29. Loc. cit.

30. Loc. cit.

NOTES


34. Loc. cit.

35. Loc. cit.

36. Loc. cit.

37 Ibid., p. 101.


40. Loc. cit.

41. Loc. cit.

42. Loc. cit.

43. Loc. cit.

44. Ibid., p. 231.

45. Loc. cit.
CHAPTER XX


3. Loc. cit.

4. Loc. cit.

5. Loc. cit.

6. Ibid., p. 182.


The Adi-Granth: Rag Suhi, Mahala I:

Jog nan khinta jog nan dande
   Jog nan bhagm chadaiye.
Jog nan mundi mund mudaiye
   Jog nan singin vaiye.

Gali jog nan hoi.
NOTES


The *Adi-Granth*; Rag Ramkali, Mahala I:

Baba Gorakh jage.
Gorakh so jin goi uthali
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 jiwan kao dharti dini
ete gun visre.

Sindh sadhik ar jogi jangam
pir purā bauhtere.

Je tin mila ta kirat akhan
ta man sev kare.


The *Adi-Granth*; Rag Ramkali, Mahala I:

Kagad lun rahe ghrit sange
pani kamal rahe.

Aise bhagat mileb jan Nanak
tin jam kia kare.

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 lace.
Nanak bole amrit bani.
Sun Machhindra audhu nisani.
Asa maha niras vale.
Nihchaao Nanak karte pae.
Pranvat Nanak agam sunae.
Gur chele ki sandh milae.
Dikhaa daaru 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 ke ke kish disha di ih hai, pata nahin dita. Phir is vich Babe da Gorakh Hatri jana keval dasia hai, horthe jana kiteh 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’.


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.


Gurdas:

Nanak akhe Bhangar Nath,  
Teri maon kuchajji aai.  
Bhanda dhoi nan jation,  
Bhai kuchajje phul sadai.  
Hoi atit grist taj,  
Phir uhon ke ghar mangan jai.


19. Ibid., p. 197.


The Adi-Granth; Var Majh Ki:

Pehra agan hive ghar badha
bhajan sar karai.
Sagle dukh pani kar piva
dharti hak chalai.
Dhar taraji ambar toli
pichhe temak chadai.
Evad vadha mava nahin
sabse nath chalai.
Eta tan hove man andar
kari bhi akh karai.
Jewad sahib teonaldati
de de kare rajai.
Nanak nazar kare jis upar
sach nam vadiai.

21. For a detailed account see Bhai Gurdas, Var I, pausies 39-43 and Man Singh Janamsakhi, p. 405-443.


The Adi-Granth; Rag Ramkali Mahala I:

Jog jugat sebaj-ghar vese.
Ek drist eko keh dekhia
bhikhia bhai sabad triptase.
Chidaden 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 manj bhar.
Gur ka sabad vichar jogi.
Dukh sukh sam karna sog biogi.
Bhugat nam gur sabad bichari.
Asthir kandh jape nirankari.
Sahaj jagota bandhan te chhuta.
Kam karodh gur sabdi luta.
Man meh mundra har gur sarna.
Nanak ram bhagat jan tarna.


24. Ibid., p. 100.

25. Ibid., p. 110.


28. Ibid., p. 137.

29. Loc. cit.

30. Ibid., p. 142.


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.


44. Ibid., p. 231.

45. Loc. cit.


47. Ibid., p. 285.


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 ikathit 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.


4. Loc. cit.


8. Loc. cit.
17. Ibid., p. 132.

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 bhiuje sach nai.
Das ath likhe hove pas.
Chare bed mukhagar path.
Purbi nameh varna ki dat.
Varat nem kare din rat.
NOTES

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.


Puratan Janamsakhi:

Jo bharia so lads, sabhna hukam rajai.
Nanak te mukh ujle, challe hak kamai.

22. Loc. cit.


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.

The Adi-Granth; Rag Mahala I:

Ki na sunei goriye apan kanni soi.
Laggi aveh sahere nit na peiye hoi.
Nanak suri peiye jan virti san.
Guna gavai ganthdi avgan chali banh.


27. Later Guru Angad.

28. Later famous as Bhai Budha.


Bala:

Oh Bhatta Khatri tehnan de mahalle rahenda si tan ik din
oh Jap Sahib pardha si tan Lehne ne usnun puchhi 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 basi 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 Ase 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 baitha ar Lehna bhi khuh te aiya ar aa kar kahia ki main Guru Nanak ji da darshan karna hai, tan Babe akhia chaal asi darshan karyenge; tan Babe de sansari kapde pehare hoe se tan te pachhane nahin.


38. Mani Singh Janamsakhi, p. 399:

Babaji andar manji te jae baitha... Lehna andar aiya ar aye matha tekia.

39. Mani Singh Janamsakhi, p. 399:

Tan phir ath pehar seva tehali karda rahé 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 baitha ar jithe javan othe hi nal jave ar sada tehali kare.

*Puratan*:

... ik shikha jaldi hai, tia ke upar char charag jalde bain 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 mooh pai?’ Tab bachan hoia: ‘Pairan val muh payna’. Jab Guru Angad (Lehna) chaddar uthave tan Guru Nanak sutta paia hai.

*Vir Singh*:


41. Bura was born in 1506 (7 Kattak Samat 1563). * Gurshabd Baba Rainakar 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, *Jhvan Charittar Budha* (n.p., n.d.).


**The Adi-Granth**: Sri Rag Mahaja I Ashtpadi:

Machhi jai na jania sar khara asgah.

At sani sohani kio kito vesah.
Kite karan pakdi kai nā tale sirah.
Bhai re io sir janho kai.
Jio machhi tio mansa pave achinta jal.
Sab jag baao kal ko bin gur kal apher.
Sach rate se ubre dubhida chod vikar.
Hao tin kai balhiarme dār sache sachiar.
Sīhane jio pankhian jali badhik hath.
Gur ākhe se ubre hor phathe choge sath.
Bin nave chōn 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 mīliye susk paiya jamdut mue bikh khai.
Nave andar hao vasa naon vase man saī.
Bajh gurū gubar hai bin sabdai bujh na pai.
Gurmati pargas hoi sach rahe liv lai.
Tithe kai na sancheh 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 nahnin.

46. Loc. cit.
47. 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 Chamaskar, Part II, p. 312:
   Sikhān vich... khial phuria ki dekhiye Sri Lehna ji te Bhai Budha ji vichon kis par mihar hundi hai. Bura
jan Budhaji jiv shreni vichon uche uth ke uche gae prem uche darje de Sikh manne jande san: is lai inhan val nazar paiadi 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.


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.


53. Ibid., p. 143.

54. Loc. cit.

55. Loc. cit.


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 baith 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. Phir Satguru ne Bhai Budhe nun kiha : “... tun Guru Angad de mastak te guriyai da tilak deh”. Budhe ne bade prem vich uthke tilak ditta.
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 hoa.


The *Adi-Granth*; Rag Gauri Purbi Dipki, Mahala I:

Jai ghar kirate 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.  
Iere dane kimate na pave tis date kavan sumar.  
Sambat saha likhia 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.
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