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THE SIKH RELIGION

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THE SIKH RELIGION

ITS GURUS, SACRED WRITINGS
AND AUTHORS //

BY

MAX ARTHUR MACAULIFFE

ਹੁਟੇ ਆਂਹਾ ਭਰਮ ਭਾ, ਮਨਹਿ ਭਇਓ ਪਰਾਸ਼ਾਮ,
ਕਾਸੀ ਥੇਲੀ ਪਗਾਹ ਤੇ, ਗੁਰੂ ਕੀਲੀ ਬੰਦ ਖਲਾਸ

The egg of superstition hath burst, the
mind is illumined

The Guru hath cut the fetters off the feet
and freed the captive

GURU ARJAN

IN SIX VOLUMES

VOL I

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PREFACE

I BRING from the East what is practically an unknown religion. The Sikhs are distinguished throughout the world as a great military people, but there is little known even to professional scholars regarding their religion. I have often been asked by educated persons in countries which I have visited, and even in India itself, what the Sikh religion was, and whether the Sikhs were Hindus, idolaters or Muhammadans. This ignorance is the result of the difficulty of the Indian dialects in which their sacred writings are contained.

Judaism has its Old Testament, Islam its Quran, Hinduism its Veds, Purans, and Shastars, Buddhism its Tripitaka, the Parsi religion its Zend-avesta, and Confucianism its Analects, its Spring and Autumn, its Ancient Poems and its Book of Changes. The languages in which the holy writings of these religions are enshrined, though all difficult, are for the most part homogeneous, and after preliminary study with tutors can generally be mastered by the aid of grammars and dictionaries, but not so the mediæval Indian dialects in which the sacred writings of the Sikh Gurus and Saints were composed. Hymns are found in Persian, mediæval Prakrit, Hindi, Marathi, old Panjabi, Multani, and several local dialects. In several hymns the Sanskrit and Arabic vocabularies are freely drawn upon.

There were no dictionaries of the Granth Sahib,¹ or sacred book of the Sikhs, when the author commenced his labours. Some have been since published, but each lexicographer has adopted a system of his own which makes it difficult to find the word required, and even when found the interpretation is not always satisfactory. For these reasons it is necessary for the translator of the Sikh sacred writings to reside for long years in India, and work with the assistance of the few gyanis, or professional interpreters of the Sikh canonical writings, who now survive. It would probably be an exaggeration to say that there are ten such men in the world. Of these few or none is capable of giving an English interpretation. They generally construe in tedious paraphrases in their own local dialects. But more than this, there is hardly any one Sikh who is capable of making a correct translation of his sacred writings. A man who is a good Sanskrit scholar will not know Persian and Arabic, and he who knows Persian and Arabic will not know words of Sanskrit derivation. A man who knows Hindi will not know Marathi, a man who knows Marathi will not know Panjabi and Multani, and so on. Moreover, there are words in the Sikh sacred writings which are peculiar to them, and cannot be traced to any known language. As to these one must accept the traditional interpretations. The Granth Sahib thus becomes probably the most difficult work, sacred or profane,

¹ Sahib is an Arabic word meaning lord or master. It is applied by Indians to Europeans and natives of position, but it is particularly used by the Sikhs to denote a thing revered or holy, as 'Darbā Sahib', the holy Sikh Darbār or temple at Amritsar, the Granth Sahib, the sacred book of the Sikhs, &c.

that exists, and hence the general ignorance of its contents

A portion of the Granth Sahib was translated some years since by a German missionary at the expense and under the auspices of the India Office, but his work was highly inaccurate and unidiomatic, and furthermore gave mortal offence to the Sikhs by the *odium theologicum* introduced into it. Whenever he saw an opportunity of defaming the Gurus, the sacred book, and the religion of the Sikhs, he eagerly availed himself of it

One of the main objects of the present work is to endeavour to make some reparation to the Sikhs for the insults which he offered to their Gurus and their religion. There are, however, many other advantages which I am hoping for, and which will probably be understood by the reader

All persons of discrimination acquainted with the Sikhs set a high value on them, but it appears that a knowledge throughout the world of the excellence of their religion would enhance even the present regard with which they are entertained, and that thus my work would be at least of political advantage to them. In the second place, there is now a large number of Sikhs who understand the English language, but who have no time for the study of the compositions of the Gurus, and I thought it would be useful to them, if only from a linguistic point of view, to read a translation in the very simple English in which I have endeavoured to write it. In the third place, the old gyanis or professional interpreters of the Granth Sahib are dying out, and probably in another generation or two their sacred books will, owing to their enormous

difficulty, be practically unintelligible even to otherwise educated Sikhs. In the fourth place, the vernacular itself is rapidly altering and diverging more and more from the general language of the Granth Sahib. Words which men still in the prime of life were accustomed to use in their boyhood have now become obsolete, and new vocables have taken their place. It appears, therefore, that it would on every account be well to fix the translation of the many exceedingly difficult passages scattered broadcast through the Sikh sacred writings. In the fifth place there are local legends now rife which we have been able to gather, but which would otherwise pass into oblivion in a comparatively short period of time.

Time was when it was not allowed to print the sacred book of the Sikhs. As ancient prejudice gave way, it was printed in parts which it was forbidden to unite in one volume lest it, as the embodiment, not only of the wisdom of the Gurus, but of the Gurus themselves, might be treated with disrespect. This prejudice has also vanished, and now the book is openly exposed for sale. There was also a prejudice on the part of Sikhs of the old school against translating the sacred volume, but those who held it forgot the injunction of Guru Arjan to translate it into Indian and foreign languages so that it might spread over the whole world as oil spreads over water.

ਸੇਸਕ੍ਰਿਤ ਅਰ ਭਰਕਨ ਛਾਸਾ
ਇਸ ਮੇ ਲਿਖ ਲੇਖਿ ਹੁਫਿਅਸਾ;
ਸਭ ਕ੍ਰਿਪਾ ਪਸੈ ਇਹ ਪਾਈ
ਲਿਖ ਸਲ ਪਰ ਸੁ ਚਿਕਨਣਾ ਪਾਈ.¹

¹ *Sriy Parkish, Rās III*

There can be no doubt that, were the Gurus and Bhagats now alive, they would be pleased to see their compositions translated into a language like the English spoken by many peoples throughout the continents and islands which extend far and wide over the earth.

Until the year 1893 I was engaged in judicial duties in India. In that year representative Sikh societies, knowing that I appreciated their literature, requested me to resign my appointment and undertake a translation of their sacred works. I acceded to their requests. My first intention was to make only a translation. This occupied my time for several years. It was prepared on what, I believe, is entirely a novel plan. Most translators, when they have completed their renderings, proceed to publish without subjecting their work to native criticism. On this account there are few, if any, translations of Oriental works made in Europe, even by the most eminent scholars, which are accepted by the learned natives of the East. I resolved that mine should be an exception, and accordingly submitted every line of my work to the most searching criticism of learned Sikhs. This was done either by rough printed proofs or typed copies. I also published invitations in Sikh newspapers to all whom it might concern to visit me, inspect, and if necessary correct my translation. This entailed a voluminous correspondence which occupied a great amount of time, and inconveniently protracted my residence in India.

On the conclusion of the examination of my translation, Bhai Sardul Singh, the Gyani¹ of the

¹ The word *gyāni* in Panjabi means a professional interpreter of the *Granth Sāhib*.

Golden Temple, the late Bhai Sant Singh, a very learned Sikh of Kapurthala, and Bhai Prem Singh of Amritsar favoured me with the following —

We, through the agency of learned Sikhs acquainted with English, have carefully perused the translation of the hymns of the Granth Sahib by Mr Macauliffe. The perusal cost us a month and a half of continuous labour. Wherever any of us found what seemed to be an error, we all met, discussed the passages, and either corrected it or allowed Mr Macauliffe's translation to stand. Wherefore we now state that Mr Macauliffe's translation has been fully revised by us, and is thoroughly correct. The greatest care has been taken in making the translation conformable to the religious tenets of the Sikhs. The translation is quite literal, and done according to all grammatical and rhetorical rules.

We now request the Rajas, Maharajas, Sardars, and the learned and accomplished of the Sikh faith to specially read or listen to this translation, if only for once. They will thus become acquainted with Mr Macauliffe's labours, and reap the advantage of the true instruction of their Gurus. They should also render all necessary aid to the translator, because he has resigned a high post under Government and spent untold wealth on this undertaking.

I have received piles of somewhat similar documents from learned and intelligent Sikhs, and seen numerous critical articles in Sikh, English, and foreign newspapers, which give expression to the strong desire felt for the production of a work such as that now offered. Among them I may be allowed to give the following from *The Khalsa*, a Sikh publication —

There can be no denying the fact that the publication of Mr Macauliffe's work will be the introduction of a new era in our history. Our Scriptures, though written in our

own language, have been so much neglected by our people, that it will be no exaggeration if we say that ninety per cent of our co-religionists do not understand them. The Community receiving English education are without any idea of the sublime truths contained in the Granth Sahib. From infancy upwards their minds are moulded in such a way, that it becomes almost impossible for them to talk and write in any other language than English, and we shall not be exaggerating if we say that a great many of them find it difficult even to think in their own mother tongue. This being the case, an English translation of our Scriptures will at once appeal to the ever increasing community of educated men who will be the leaders of thought from the very nature of things. Already prepared by western culture to think and act independently, they will be constitutionally fitted to understand the catholicity of Sikh principles, and will feel a pleasure in spreading Sikh ideas far and wide. Apart from this, a great deal of the misunderstanding that now obtains about the work of our Gurus and Martyrs will be removed, and the thinking public will see with their own eyes the drift of Sikh teachings. The trade of traitors among us who to please our wealthier and more influential neighbours, compromise our beliefs by ascribing to our great men thoughts that they never conceived and deeds that they never did, will languish, the promiscuousness in Sikh ideas will vanish, and Tat (pure) Khalsa will begin to start on a new career.

Not less important will be the result of Sikh teachings on the minds of religious Europe and America. Already the Khalsa has achieved a world-wide renown in the matter of bravery. In the matter of religion, too, the name of the Khalsa will shine resplendently when the glorious deeds of our illustrious ancestors in the moral and religious world are made known far and wide. The translations of Hindu Scriptures by Professors Max Muller, Wilson, Morier Williams, and a host of other eminent writers on Oriental religions have drawn the attention of the whole civilized world to the Hindus and their literature. These transla-

tions have secured for the Hindus the sympathy of hundreds of savants and inquirers after religious truth. What will not the translations of our Scriptures achieve ? Unlike the Scriptures of other creeds, they do not contain love stories or accounts of wars waged for selfish considerations. They contain sublimest truths, the study of which cannot but elevate the reader spiritually, morally, and socially. There is not the least tinge of sectarianism in them. They teach the highest and purest principles that serve to bind man to man and inspire the believer with an ambition to serve his fellow men, to sacrifice all and die for their sake.

The late Sir Baba Khern Singh, K C I E, Member of the Legislative Council, who held a most prominent position among the Sikhs, wrote to me —

It is fortunate for the Sikh nation to have such a kind of friend as you, whose ideas are naturally inclined to their benefit, and they should ever bear you thankfulness and gratitude. I am glad to express my appreciation of your work, and the labour and trouble you have taken upon yourself to accomplish such a voluminous task.

The late Baba Sumer Singh, the Mahant or Sikh Bishop of Patna, where Guru Gobind Singh was born, wrote to me as follows —

I fully appreciate your attempt to keep especial eye on the sense rather than on word-for-word rendering, and wherever the sense has been in danger of being absorbed in the language, suitable foot-notes have been interspersed throughout.

The late Bhai Hazara Singh Gyani, who has published a Dictionary of the Granth Sahib, wrote to me as follows, after seeing specimens of this work —

I have read through the English translation of Japp prepared by Mr Macauliffe. The translator seems to have

taken great care in keeping the rendering in accordance with the *Samparāḍai arāḍis* (traditional interpretations) I wish the undertaking a thorough success, and nothing will give me more pleasure than to see the work brought out of press.

The following is a translation of an address presented to me by the Singh Sabha of Amritsar —

We are informed by very trustworthy gyanis, that you have been studying our sacred books for over twenty years, and that, receiving a good appointment, you have now laboured continually for some years at making an accurate translation of them, that you have revised it seven times, and have now made it as complete as can be done by human effort, and in doing this you have not only spent your valuable time, but also a very large amount of money. Dr. Trumpp's translation is not only generally incorrect, but injurious to our religion, and there was a great want felt for an accurate version when Akal Purukh (the Immortal God) induced you to undertake it and fulfil our desires. It would have been well, had we executed the translation ourselves, but Akal Purukh granted you the credit of the performance. As the holy Guru Teg Bahadur foretold that men would come from beyond the seas to assist the Sikhs, so you have been rendering us mental and bodily assistance, and we now earnestly recommend the members of our faith, who can afford it, to render you all possible aid in publishing your work, and we trust our wishes will be fulfilled. We desire, now that you have become thoroughly acquainted with our customs, our sacred books, and the tenets of our religion, that you fulfil the promise made in your Circular letter to the Sikhs, in which you stated that you would write nothing prejudicial to their religion. In the lives of the Gurus which you are going to write, we desire you to consult the Gur Bilas, the Suraj Parkash, and such other works as have been compiled from ancient writings not corrupted by the Handalis, the followers of Kabir, and the poets who infused foreign

elements into our religion. The Khalsa and the whole Sikh race will be thankful to you for attending to this request. In conclusion we pray Akal Purakh to protect you in every way on your ocean journey, and fulfil your wishes and desires, and that you may be ever a well-wisher and supporter of our sect and our faith. We earnestly hope that your translation of our sacred books will soon be in the library of every true Sikh.¹

Notwithstanding these tributes to the accuracy of my work, to its utility and to my desire to do justice to the sacred writings of the Sikhs, some may possibly be found among them who will differ from the versions I have given. I have met so-called gyanis who could perform *tours de force* with their sacred work, and give different interpretations of almost every line of it. My Sikh readers may rest assured that in this work all rational interpretations have been considered, and only those selected which seemed most suitable to the context and most in harmony with Sikh doctrines. When second and third interpretations seemed possible, they have been appended in the notes.

When my translation was thus completed and approved of by the most learned Sikh priests and scholars, I found that an account of the Sikh Gurus, saints, and authors was absolutely necessary, and indeed of equal, if not greater importance than even a correct interpretation of their writings. The late illustrious scholar, Professor Max Müller, who had Indian literature so greatly at heart, expressed in his latest work, *Auld Lang Syne*, his

¹ I did not intend at first, to publish these extracts, and I regret having to do so now, but some Sikh friends have put pressure on me to adopt this course.

regret that the world knew so little of the Sikh reformers. He wrote —

It is a pity that we possess so little information about the original Sikh reformers. Their sacred book the Granth Sahib exists, nay it has even been translated into English by the late Dr Trumpp. But it turns out now that Dr Trumpp was by no means a trustworthy translator. The language of the Granth is generally called old Panjabi, and it was supposed that a scholar who knew modern Panjabi, might easily learn to understand the language as it was four hundred years ago. But this is not the case. The language of the Granth Sahib is full of local dialectic varieties and forgotten idioms, so much so that it has been said to be without any grammar at all. Mr Macauliffe, who has spent many years among the Sikhs, and has with the help of their priests paid much attention to their Granth Sahib, has given us some most interesting and beautiful specimens of their poetry which form part of their sacred book.

On perusing the current lives and accounts of the Gurus I found them overladen with puerile, heterodox, or repulsive details, and it required further years of study and consultation with learned Sikhs to complete biographies of the founders of their religion, which were not inconsistent with their sacred writings. The orthodox Sikhs who have read the lives of their Gurus in the voluminous Hindi work entitled *Suraj Parkash*, and in the current Panjabi works called *Janamsakhis*, will understand, and, perhaps, be grateful to me for the manner in which I have presented their religion according to the desires and teachings of their Gurus.

To prevent misconception it ought, perhaps, to be here stated that this work is intended to be an exact presentation of the teaching of the Sikh

Gurus and orthodox writers as contained in their sacred books, and is by no means put forth as a portrayal of the debased superstitions and heterodox social customs of Sikhs who have been led astray from their faith by external influences

It must also be stated that the intention of the author has been, in fulfilment of his promise to the Sikhs, to write this work from an orthodox Sikh point of view, without any criticism or expression of opinion of his own. Accordingly, miracles which are accepted by many Sikhs will be found reverently described in this work

A very important question has arisen among the Sikhs as to how my translation of their sacred writings should be presented. The Granth Sahib, as already stated, is to them the embodiment of their Gurus, who are regarded as only one person, the light of the first Guru's soul having been transmitted to each of his successors in turn

ΟΙ δ' ἀντελαμφαν καὶ παρήγγυλαν πρῶτον

The line of the Gurus closed with the tenth, Guru Gobind Singh. He ordered that the Granth should be to his Sikhs as the living Gurus. Accordingly the Granth Sahib is kept in silken coverlets, and when it is removed from place to place is taken on a small couch by Sikhs of good repute. Many of my old orthodox Sikh friends feared that if my translation were printed in the order of the original, it would not receive the same respect and attention in foreign countries as in India, and they accordingly desired that it should be published in some other form. This desire of the most holy and respected Sikhs is a great relief to me, for it

makes it competent to intersperse many of the sacred hymns in the lives of the Gurus, and thus present my work as much as possible in narrative form, which it is hoped will be more acceptable not only to European, but even to Sikh readers themselves

Competent Sikhs have also advised me that when the Guru's instruction on various occasions is on the same subject and of the same tenor, it needs be given only once. For instance, in the Granth Sahib there are four hymns beginning with the words, 'In the first watch of night, my merchant friend'. Two of these hymns are by Guru Nanak, the third by Guru Ram Das, and the fourth by Guru Arjan. The hymns begin in the same manner, are of the same purport, and are only very slightly varied in diction, so the publication of the whole four appears unnecessary

It is intelligible that repetitions should be found in the sacred books of several religions, for the teachings of their prophets were orally addressed to crowds who clustered round them, and repetitions served to impress on the listeners the instruction accorded, but in a printed work, which the reader may peruse and re-peruse at pleasure, repetition does not appear so necessary. Moreover, this work is intended for the European as well as for the Sikh student. It is apprehended that repetition would prove tedious, and deter several even conscientious readers from its perusal

I find, however, that it is impossible for me to meet the wishes of all parties. Europeans will probably think my work too long, and Sikhs may possibly think it too short. As to the latter objec-

tion, I may state that I have followed the advice of the most learned Sikh scholars. They have decided that there is no omission of anything necessary to faith or morals, but that the whole substance of the Sikh sacred writings is here presented, and that if any Sikh shapes his conduct accordingly, he will be in no danger of failing to secure absorption in the Creator or a dwelling in the Creator's heaven.

A few of the advantages of the Sikh religion to the State may be here enumerated. One day as Guru Teg Bahadur was in the top story of his prison, the Emperor Aurangzeb thought he saw him looking towards the south in the direction of the Imperial zenana. He was sent for the next day, and charged with this grave breach of Oriental etiquette and propriety. The Guru replied, 'Emperor Aurangzeb, I was on the top story of my prison but I was not looking at thy private apartments or at thy queens. I was looking in the direction of the Europeans who are coming from beyond the seas to tear down thy pardas and destroy thine empire.' Sikh writers state that these words became the battle-cry of the Sikhs in the assault on the mutineers in Delhi (Delha) in 1857, under General John Nicholson, and that thus the prophecy of the ninth Guru was gloriously fulfilled.

When it was represented to Guru Gobind Singh that a Muhammadan army would eventually come to overpower his Sikhs, he replied, 'What God willeth shall take place. When the army of the Muhammadans cometh, my Sikhs shall strike steel on steel. The Khalsa shall then awake and know the play of battle. Amid the clash of arms the Khalsa

shall be partners in present and future bliss, tranquillity, meditation, and divine knowledge. Then shall the English come, and, joined by the Khalsa, rule as well in the East as in the West. The holy Baba Nanak will bestow all wealth on them. The English shall possess great power and by force of arms take possession of many principalities. The combined armies of the English and the Sikhs shall be very powerful, as long as they rule with united councils. The empire of the British shall vastly increase, and they shall in every way obtain prosperity. Wherever they take their armies they shall conquer and bestow thrones on their vassals. Then in every house shall be wealth, in every house religion, in every house learning, and in every house happiness.

It is such prophecies as these, combined with the monotheism, the absence of superstition and restraint in the matter of food, which have made the Sikhs among the bravest, the most loyal and devoted subjects of the British Crown. As to their bravery and loyalty, the following, written by one of them, is by no means an exaggeration. 'As for the bravery and warlike spirit of the Sikhs, no Cossack, no Turk, no Russian, can measure swords with them. There is one trait very peculiar in them such as must make the enemies of the British fear them. The true blood of loyalty and devotion to their master surges in their veins. A true Sikh will let his body be cut to pieces when fighting for his master. The Sikh considers dying in battle a means of salvation. No superiority of the enemies in number, no shot, no shell can make his heart quail, since his Amrit (baptism) binds him to

fight single-handed against millions. Some people may say that a soldier sells his head for the small wage paid him every month. But the Sikh does not do so—he devotes his head, body, and everything dear to him to preserving the influence of him whom he once makes his master. A Sikh who shows the least sign of reluctance to go, or goes with an expectation of remuneration, when called upon by his benefactor the King-Emperor to fight His Majesty's enemies, no matter how strong they may be, will be condemned by the Gurus.

If there is one superstition more strongly reprobated than another in the Sikh sacred writings, it is pilgrimages to the places deemed sacred by the Hindus. Some of the Sikh States, in ignorance of the teachings of the Gurus, have maintained temples and spiritual arenas at Hardwar and Rikhukesh for the reception of pilgrims. At Hardwar there are held great religious fairs every twelve years at the time when the sun enters the lunar mansion of Aquarius (Kumbh). It is calculated that at least one hundred thousand Sikhs were present at the last great fair at Hardwar. All these pilgrims bathe in the Ganges, while bathing many recklessly yield to the necessities of nature, others drink their excreta with the Ganges water as sacred nourishment, and die of cholera either at the fair or on their homeward journey. The corpses of Sikhs, as well as Hindus, were pulled out of railway carriages after the last twelfth-year fair and poisoned the country. The pest then extended east and west in all directions. Kabul, of course, on the western boundary of India, was soon affected, and the further progress of the disease towards Europe was thus

described by the Paris correspondent of the *Morning Post* —

'Professor Chantemesse, Director-General of the Public Health Department, made a somewhat disquieting statement at to-day's meeting of the Academy of Medicine. He pointed out that the cholera epidemic, which originated in India and spread east and west, had established itself last autumn in four European centres, namely Transcaspia, Transcaucasia, Anatolia, and the banks of the Volga between Astrakhan, Saratoff, and Samara. As the winter cold had merely checked the disease, instead of stamping it out, there was every reason to fear it would continue its progress westward, by way of the Baltic ports, the Black Sea, the Danube, or Constantinople.' According to another account, 'seven thousand deaths from cholera occurred in the Punjab since the second week of April. The disease was originally disseminated by the returning pilgrims from Hardwar.'

Of course there were also many Hindu pilgrims at the Hardwar fair, but let any one consider what a gain it would be to the world if the one hundred thousand Sikhs¹ who attended it possessed such a very elementary knowledge of their religion as to know that their action was reprobated by all their holy Gurus.

It is known to every Sikh that tobacco is forbidden by his religion, but it is not generally known that wine is equally forbidden. After I had quoted the Sikh tenets on this subject in public lectures at Simla, it was taken up by the enlightened Singh Sabha of Patiala, and a resolution in favour of total abstinence was signed by several of the best educated and most influential Sardars of the State.

¹ At my request the Panjāb Government ascertained from the Government of the United Provinces the approximate population of the Sikh pilgrims.

The freedom of women and their emancipation from the tyranny of the parda may be inferred from the manner in which Bhai Budha received Mata¹ Ganga the wife of Guru Arjan, from Guru Amar Das's refusal to receive a rani who had visited him when she was closely veiled, and from Kabir's address to his daughter-in-law

The high moral and enlightened teachings of the Gurus, their prohibition of the heinous crime of infanticide, and other injunctions for the public advantage will be found or understood from the composition of the Gurus and the Bhagats which we give in these volumes

The Hindu practice of the con cremation of widows was forbidden by the Gurus, though this was not generally known at the time of Lord Wilham Bentinck, who had sufficient courage to issue an ordinance against it

The Gurus most powerfully and successfully attacked the caste system and the Hindu belief in impurity and defilement in many necessary and harmless acts of domestic life

It is admitted that a knowledge of the religions of the people of India is a desideratum for the British Officials who administer its affairs and indirectly for the people who are governed by them so that mutual sympathy may be produced It seems, at any rate, politic to place before the Sikh soldiery their Guru's prophecies in favour of the English and the texts of their sacred writings which foster their loyalty

An advantage of a literary or historical nature is

¹ The Sikhs give the title *Māta* or mother to the wives of the Gurus, in the same way as they give the title *Bāba* or father to Guru Nānak.

also anticipated from this work. It is hoped that it will throw some light on the state of society in the Middle Ages and that it will also be useful for the student of comparative theology. Professor Geheimerr Hofrath Merx, of the Heidelberg University, a very distinguished German savant, has recently written to me 'The publication of your work is certainly very desirable. You save in this way materials for the history of religions which, without your help, would probably disappear.'

To sum up some of the moral and political merits of the Sikh religion. It prohibits ido'atry, hypocrisy, caste exclusiveness, the concrementation of widows, the immurement of women, the use of wine and other intoxicants, tobacco-smoking, infanticide, slander, pilgrimages to the sacred rivers and tanks of the Hindus, and it inculcates loyalty, gratitude for all favours received, philanthropy, justice, impartiality, truth, honesty, and all the moral and domestic virtues known to the holiest citizens of any country.

A movement to declare the Sikhs Hindus, in direct opposition to the teaching of the Gurus, is widespread and of long duration. I have only quite recently met in Lahore young men claiming to be descendants of the Gurus, who told me that they were Hindus, and that they could not read the characters in which the sacred books of the Sikhs were written. Whether the object of their tutors and advisers was or was not to make them disloyal, such youths are ignorant of the Sikh religion, and of its prophecies in favour of the English, and contract exclusive social customs and prejudices to the extent of calling us Malechhas, or persons of impure

desires, and inspiring disgust for the customs and habits of Christians

And here let me remark that the recognition of Panjabi as an official or optional official language in the Panjab, instead of the alien Urdu, would be a most powerful means of preserving the Sikh religion. Panjabi is the mother tongue of all natives of the Panjab, be they Sikhs, Hindus, or Muhammadans. If it were recognized as an official or optional official 'language, Sikhs would not have to resort to books written in foreign languages for religious instruction and consolation, and the exalted ethical instruction of the Granth Sahib would be open to all classes of His Majesty's subjects in the Panjab.

After the English occupation of the Panjab the officers sent to administer it were transferred from what were then known as the North-Western Provinces. They took with them Urdu, or what was much the same—a bastard Persian with Urdu inflections—the only Asiatic language they knew, and they found it more convenient to continue to use it than to learn a foreign language which had at the time no status and no literature. The vernacular writers and the officers who brought them were equally ignorant of Panjabi, and so Urdu became the official language of that province. That the officials did not understand the natives, nor the natives the officials, made no difference. The court officials gradually picked up a smattering of Panjabi, and were able to interpret for the Europeans. This state of things was allowed to continue. If the Panjabis remonstrated against neglect of their language their remonstrances were unheeded. Now the Panjab has become more enlightened, the remonstrances

have grown louder, and it remains to be seen whether any Lieutenant-Governor will take the trouble or have the courage to make Panjabi an alternative language for the Panjab, and thus confer a lasting favour not only on the Sikhs, but on all the natives of the Land of the Five Rivers, whose medium of communication it is from their birth. At any rate, there appears nothing to hinder the native states of the Panjab from making Panjabi their official language.

In our time one of the principal agencies for the preservation of the Sikh religion has been the practice of military officers commanding Sikh regiments to send Sikh recruits to receive baptism according to the rites prescribed by Guru Gobind Singh, and endeavour to preserve them in their subsequent career from the contagion of idolatry. The military thus ignoring or despising the restraints imposed by the civil policy of what is called 'religious neutrality', have practically become the main hierophants and guardians of the Sikh religion.

I have been at great pains and expense to obtain details of the lives of the Bhagats, or Indian saints, who preceded the Gurus, and whose writings are incorporated in the Granth Sahib, but I have not been completely successful. I shall be very grateful to any one who can add to my information regarding them.

The hymns of the Bhagats will in some cases be found different from those preserved in the Hindi and Marathi collections of the saints' compositions in other parts of India. They were taken down by Guru Arjan from the lips of wandering minstrels or followers of the saints.

Parallel ideas and expressions to those of the Gurus and the Bhagats may be found in ancient and modern literature, sacred and profane, and could be largely quoted. Only a few such comparisons, which occurred to the author at the time of writing, have been given in the notes to this work. They are intended to show the catholicity of the Gurus' teachings, and they may also occasionally relieve the tedium of perusal.

The writers of the *Janamsakhis* had no maps to guide them and accordingly in some cases assigned to the Gurus, notably Guru Nanak, impossible itineraries. Accordingly efforts have been made in this work to revise the Gurus' travels and render them consistent with scientific Indian geography. Should learned Sikhs, after full consideration at a general council, prepare maps of the Gurus' travels, they will be inserted in any future edition of this work. So also should learned Sikhs consider their own accounts of the Gurus, their own order of the Gurus' hymns, or their own versions of words or phrases in the Gurus' compositions superior to the *gyanis'* and mine, we shall be pleased to receive their suggestions.

H. H. Sir Hira Singh, Malvendar Bahadur, the Raja of Nabha, has at considerable expense caused the thirty-one Indian rags, or musical measures, to which the hymns of the Gurus were composed, to be written out in European musical notation by a professional musician whom he employed for the purpose. The rags were merging into oblivion, and have been collected with much difficulty by Mahant Gaja Singh, the greatest minstrel of the Sikhs. They will be found at the end of the

fifth volume of this work. Though they may sound bizarre to European ears, they will be appreciated by the Sikhs and by many European lovers of art who regret the loss of the music to which the Odes of Pindar and Sappho and the choral exercises of the Greek tragedians were sung.

There are also added pictures of the Gurus as far as ascertainable, of famous Sikh temples, and of some scenes memorable in Sikh history. These pictures have been prepared by Bhai Lal Singh under the auspices of the Honourable Tikka Ripudaman Singh, the young heir to the Nabha gadi.

The expense attendant on the production of this work, which has been the labour of many years and has been completed with the assistance for long periods of a large staff of Sikh scholars and of English and vernacular copyists, has been very considerable, and I am indebted to His Highness the Raja of Nabha, His Highness Sir Rajinder Singh, the late much lamented Maharaja of Patiala, His Highness Raja Ranbir Singh, Raja of Jind, the Tikka Sahib of Nabha, and the late Sardar Ranjit Singh of Chuchrauli for defraying a portion of it. His Highness the Gaekwar of Baroda has promised his patronage after the publication of the work.

Several persons have recommended this work to the patronage of the Indian Government and the Secretary of State for India. The distinguished scholar, Count Angelo de Gubernatis, president of the Roman Congress of Orientalists, thus addressed the Secretary of State for India in a letter dated October 19, 1899 —

Dans l'intérêt de la science, je prends la liberté de vous signaler fort particulièrement à votre attention la pro-

position de M Macauliffe, accueillée avec tant d'intérêt et si chaleureusement recommandée par l'Assemblée Générale du XII^{me} Congrès des Orientalistes, dans sa séance du 8 octobre, pour édition et illustration critique des textes de la religion des Sikhs. Tout ce que l'India Office décidera en faveur de cette noble entreprise ne pourra être que très méritoire. Et à ce titre, j'ose vivement recommander à la protection de l'India Office les intéressantes recherches de M Macauliffe sur les textes canoniques des Sikhs du Panjab.

Count de Gubernatis's letter covered the following proceedings of the Roman Congress —

A propos de la conférence de M Macauliffe, M le Prof L. von Schroeder, Professeur de Sanskrit à l'Université de Vienne, estime qu'il serait très desirable de posséder une traduction des livres sacrés des Sikhs, telle que M Macauliffe en a conçu le plan et préparé l'exécution, traduction dans laquelle se trouverait incorporée et utilisée la tradition orale des Sikhs eux-mêmes qui menace de disparaître rapidement. Il recommande instamment l'entreprise de M Macauliffe à l'appui matériel tant du Gouvernement de l'Inde que des chefs Sikhs. Cet appui a été autrefois généreusement accordé à la tentative méritoire mais insuffisante de Dr Trumpp, il peut seul assurer le succès d'une œuvre aussi considérable et aussi coûteuse.

M Émile Sénart, Membre de l'Institut de France, et Vice-Président de la Société Asiatique à Paris, à son tour, demande à appuyer la proposition faite par M von Schroeder, et prie la réunion de recommander instamment à l'appui, soit du Gouvernement de l'Inde, soit des chefs Sikhs, l'entreprise de M Macauliffe. Il insiste sur l'intérêt spécial que présente dans l'histoire religieuse de l'Inde le développement de la religion des Sikhs, la seule qui y ait pris l'allure militante et guerrière que ne semblaient pas faire prévoir ses débuts. Le plus essentiel de la traduction projetée sera dans cette circonstance, qu'elle préservera d'une perte menaçante la tradition orale et l'interprétation orthodoxe. Nulle part la tradition n'a plus d'importance

que dans une doctrine comme celle-ci, qui est voilée d'un syncrétisme compliqué, et dont l'originalité spéculative n'a pu se dégager que peu à peu

Lord Reay, the President of the Royal Asiatic Society, a nobleman who is never wanting to any benevolent or philanthropic enterprise, strongly recommended my work to the favourable consideration of the Lieutenant-Governor of the Panjab

Mr L. W. Dane (now Sir Louis W. Dane, Lieutenant-Governor of the Panjab) has always adopted a sympathetic attitude towards my labours, and, as far as in him lay, assisted in bringing them to a successful conclusion

And Lord Kitchener of Khartoum, after presiding at my public lecture on 'How the Sikhs became a Militant People', thus expressed himself —

It must be a matter of great satisfaction to Mr Macauliffe that the Amritsar Singh Sabha have accepted his translations as being thoroughly accurate. We may say with confidence that in putting the study of the Sikh sacred writings within our reach Mr Macauliffe has earned the approbation of all who know the great value of the Sikh soldier, the cordial recognition of the rulers of the country, and the gratitude of the chiefs, sardars, and people of the Sikh community—a feeling of gratitude which I feel sure will be much increased when Mr Macauliffe has translated the sacred writings into the ordinary Panjabi of the day, a labour which, I understand, he is about to commence, and which I hope will result in their general dissemination through every Sikh household in the country

For literary assistance I must acknowledge my indebtedness to Sardar Kahn Singh of Nabha, one of the greatest scholars and most distinguished authors among the Sikhs, who by order of the Raja

of Nabha accompanied me to Europe to assist in the publication of this work and in reading the proofs thereof, to Diwan Lila Ram Watan Mal, a subordinate judge in Sind, to the late Bhai Shankar Dayal of Faizabad, to Bhai Hazara Singh and Bhai Sardul Singh of Amritsar, to the late Bhai Ditt Singh of Lahore, to the late Bhai Bhagwan Singh of Patiala, and to many other Sikh scholars for the intelligent assistance they have rendered me.

In my translation from the Sikh sacred writings I freely use the subjunctive mood which is fast disappearing from the English language. The solemn form of the third person singular of the present tense I have employed for obvious reasons. My Sikh readers may easily learn that this form is not now used in conversation or ordinary prose. I have avoided the arbitrary nomenclature invented by European scholars, such as Brahmanism, a word which is not used in India, self for soul or conscience, &c.

The Sikh Gurus were simple men who generally chose colloquial language for the expression of their ideas, and avoided learned words and metaphysical subtleties. Hence in my translation I have endeavoured to use such simple language as I believe was intended by them and the reformers who preceded them. My aim has been to interpret the sacred books of the Sikhs, subject to what I deem a necessary solemnity of form, in the current language of the day, and without any effort to produce new or startling expressions. In my efforts to use simple language, however, I cannot claim complete success. The ideas of the Gurus and particularly their epithets of the Creator cannot always be translated without

unwieldy periphrasis into any Anglo-Saxon words in ordinary use. Somewhat analogous words and expressions may often be found, but they do not convey precisely the meanings intended by the Sikh sacred writers.

Archaisms, though deemed necessary by poets, and though they often contribute to ornateness of style, I have done my utmost to avoid. In this way I hope my book will be more useful to the Sikhs, and assist them in forming an acquaintance with the English tongue.

Indian proper names I have spelled as they are written and pronounced in India at the present time, and not as they were written and pronounced in the Sanskrit age. In this I am but following the practice of all modern languages. Nobody would now call London *Londonium*, or Marseilles *Marsilia*, or Naples *Neapolis*. Nor can I adopt the spelling of Oriental words which has been adopted in this country ostensibly for the use of continental scholars, which causes *sh* to be printed *ś*, *ç*, or *s*, *j*, *g*, *ch*, *k*, &c. Such spelling is repulsive to many persons, and it can hardly be necessary for the Oriental scholars of any country. The different *n*'s, *f*'s, *r*'s, and *s*'s of Indian languages I have found it hopeless to represent, nor would it be useful for my work, for they are often confounded in Sikh literature. The spelling of English words is that accepted by the Clarendon Press.

In the languages and dialects with which we have been dealing there is no short *e* corresponding to the *e* in *bed* and no short *o* corresponding to the *o* in *not*. Whenever, therefore, the vowels *e* and *o* are found in Indian names in this work, they

are always long. *E* is always pronounced as it is in *et* or as the French *é*. *O* is always pronounced as in *note*. The vowel *i* may be long or short. It is always long at the end of an Indian word, and is then pronounced like the English double *e* (*ee*). When it is long in the body of Indian words found in the notes it is marked with a makron, thus *ī*. The vowel *a* may also be either short or long. When long in Indian words in the notes, it is crowned with a makron, thus *ā*. The final *a* in Indian words may be generally considered short, like the *a* in *so/a*. In the text, in order not to distract the reader's attention, diacritical marks are rarely employed.

This being essentially a work on the Sikh religion we have commenced with Guru Nanak, but if the reader desires to follow the historical development of the Sikh reformation, he had better begin with the sixth volume. This was probably the intention of Guru Arjan himself, for otherwise he could not have included in his compilation hymns quite opposed to the principles and tenets of his predecessors.

The author feels that his work suffers from a special disadvantage, because the scholars of Europe and America are hardly in a position to criticize on its merits the translation of hymns composed in dialects which can only be learned in India from the lips of the few exponents of the Sikh faith who now survive. Nor have European and American scholars had an opportunity of perusing the Indian works which form the basis of our lives of the Gurus and of the saints who preceded them. The difficulty and extent of the author's labours cannot therefore be understood.

It is believed that a work of this nature cannot be accomplished again. In any age it could not be done out of India for want of expert assistance. In India, even under the most favourable conditions, and when a student had acquired a knowledge of some Indian languages and dialects, the translation of the sacred books of the Sikhs, and the compilation of the lives of their Gurus and holy men, would be the work of years. No one while in the service of the Indian Government could find leisure to accomplish it, and few Europeans after their retirement from Indian service would care to spend long years and lonely lives in India wrestling with mediæval Indian dialects and submitting to the caprices of gyanis, but even should such martyrs to the cause of science be found, they would not be able to obtain the requisite assistance, because the principal interpreters of the sacred books of the Sikhs will have passed away with this generation, and, owing to want of patronage, there will be none to supply their place. This fact, too, would soon render a Sikh, even if thoroughly acquainted with the English tongue, and possessed of sufficient resource and industry, incapable of producing an authoritative and exhaustive work in our language on his religion.

The preacher of old said that 'of making many books there is no end'. For the last century their publication has increased in geometrical ratio, and prodigious must be the number which find their way into the streets and shops which sell *quicquid chartis amicitur ineptis*. The author fondly hopes that this work, which contains an account of the last great religion of the world

which remains to be exploited, may escape the general fate. At the same time a glance at the shelves of any large library must convince a writer of the vanity of most literary labour, if haply the love of fame is dearer to him than the love of his subject. The blurred and hoary volumes, elaborately illuminated and bound, which no one now ever peruses were often produced at the expense of years of toil—nay, of health and even life itself—and now remain sad monuments of the transitoriness of fame and the frequent fatality of human effort. But there is even a worse fate than this, namely, the obloquy so often meted out to authors instead of the legitimate recompense of lives of strenuous toil devoted to literary or scientific investigation. Even under favourable circumstances the author of an elaborate work of this description, the production of which has occupied several years of his life cannot always hope even for temporary reward in the approbation of those dear to him, those whom he would wish to please, for either their measure of years has grown full or separation and varied interests have dulled the feelings of mutual pleasure which would result from his success.

MAX ARTHUR MACAULIFFE

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INTRODUCTION

CHAPTER I

THE fifteenth century of the Christian era was a period of singular mental and political activity. Both in Europe and India men shook off the torpor of ages, and their minds awoke to the consciousness of intellectual responsibility. For this result, it is true, important preparations had been made in the fourteenth century, when the Christian reformers, Walter Lollard and John Hus, preached and suffered death for their opinions,¹ when the poetical literature of England assumed a tangible form from the genius of Chaucer and Gower, when the Mussulmans in Europe penetrated into Thrace and Hungary, and when, after the overthrow and expulsion of Buddhism from India by the astute and powerful Brahmins, there flourished the great exponents of Indian monotheism, the saint Kabir and the enlightened Ramanand.

But it was reserved for the fifteenth century to bear the full fruits of the mental awakening of the fourteenth. In England the ancient language of Greece began to be studied, a further impulse was given to the reformation of the Christian religion, and villenage disappeared as a political institution. In France the Government was consolidated by the union of the great fiefs to the crown, and the daring monarch Charles VII made his successful expedition against the picturesque capital of Southern Italy. In Germany occurred the birth of Luther, and the revival and development of the invaluable art of printing in movable types.² In Italy there was a marvellous resurrection of the fine arts, and

¹ Lollard and Hus were burned for heresy. Wycliffe would have suffered the same fate, had not a paralytic attack anticipated the executioner.

² Block printing was known in China before the Christian era.

then were born the renowned navigators Columbus and Amerigo Vespucci, the great masters Michael Angelo, Raphael, and Leonardo da Vinci, and the illustrious patron of letters Lorenzo di Medici.

In Spain Ferdinand and Isabella, though they organized the inquisition in their intemperate religious zeal against the Saracens and Jews, were yet conspicuous for a worldly liberality which deserves the acknowledgement of posterity. In Portugal was born Vasco da Gama, who under the enterprising King Emanuel discovered the maritime route by the Cape of Storms to India. The Mussalmans in Europe conquered Turkey and Greece, and seized on the ancient Italian city of Otranto. And in Asia, Tamer extended his victorious arms from Siberia on the north to the Arabian Sea on the south, and from the Ganges on the east to the Hellespont on the west.

There is a wonderful analogy between the spiritual condition of Europe and India during the dark ages. In Europe most religious works were written in Latin, in India they were in Sanskrit. In both continents all learning was in the hands of the priesthood, and this admittedly led to serious abuses. A great cyclic wave of reformation then overspread both continents. During the very period that Luther and Calvin in Europe were warning men of the errors that had crept into Christianity, several Indian saints were denouncing priestcraft, hypocrisy, and idolatry, and with very considerable success. Several of those great men who led the crusade against superstition, founded sects which still survive, but the most numerous and powerful of all is the great Sikh sect founded by Guru Nanak, which already forms a considerable section of the population of the Panjab, and which is scattered in greater or less numbers not only throughout the whole of India but Kabul, Kandahar, China, and Southern Asia.

A cognate cause is frequently assigned for the establishment of new religions, namely, that they appear at periods of great political or social depression, when it becomes necessary for men to have recourse to the superhuman for

guidance and consolation. Then when the hour is darkest some prophet is born, perhaps in a lowly hamlet, to solace the heavy-laden and lift their thoughts to a brighter and happier world. A signal instance has been remarked by historians. Judaea was smarting from the tyranny and cruelty of Herod when he whom the most advanced races of the world call the Messiah was born.

The Gurus too appear to have been of the opinion that God sends a divine guide whenever required by the condition of the age and country. Guru Amar Das, the third Guru, wrote —

When the world is in distress, it heartily prayeth
The True One attentively listeneth and with His kind
disposition granteth consolation
He giveth orders to the Cloud and the rain falleth in
torrents

That is, the Guru comes by God's order and gives abundant instruction to all who may be prepared to receive it.

Indeed several events occurred during the Muhammadan conquests of India in the Middle Ages to force the Hindus to consider life in a serious aspect. Though many of the followers of Vishnu, Shiva, and the other gods of the Hindu dispensation adopted during that period the faith of the Arabian prophet, as the result of force or with a view to worldly advantages, yet others whose minds were powerfully directed to religious speculation sought safety from persecution and death in the loneliness of the desert or the retirement of the forest, and lived single-minded investigators of religious truth as in the primitive golden age of their country.

We shall here give, from the written accounts of Muhammadan historians, some examples of the treatment of Hindus by Muhammadan conquerors of India.

Shahab-ud-Din, King of Ghazni, the virtual founder of the Muhammadan Empire in India (1170-1206), put Prithwi Raja, King of Ajmer and Delhi, to death in cold blood

¹ The *h* is generally silent in such combinations.

He massacred thousands of the inhabitants of Ajmer who had opposed him, reserving the remainder for slavery. After his victory over the King of Banaras the slaughter of the Hindus is described as immense. None were spared except women and children, and the carnage of the men was carried on until as it has been said, the earth grew weary of the monotony¹.

In the *Taj-ul-Ma'asir* by Hasan Nizami-Naishapuri it is stated that when Qutb-ul-Din Aibak (A.D. 1194-1210) conquered Meerath he demolished all the Hindu temples of the city and erected mosques on their sites. In the city of Kool, now called Algorh, he converted Hindu inhabitants to Islam by the sword and beheaded all who adhered to their religion. In the city of Kalnjar he destroyed one hundred and thirteen Hindu temples, built mosques on their sites, massacred over one hundred thousand Hindus, and made slaves of about fifty thousand more. It is said the place became black as pitch with the decomposing bodies of the Hindus. And in the *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri* by Minhaj-ul-Siraj it is stated that when Muhammad Bakhtyar Khilji conquered Bihar he put to the sword about one hundred thousand Brahmans, and burnt a valuable library of ancient Sanskrit works.

Abdulla Wassaf writes in his *Tarriyat-ul-Amsar wa Tarriyat ul Asar* that when Ala-ul-Din Khilji (1295-1316) captured the city of Kambayat at the head of the gulf of Cambay, he killed the adult male Hindu inhabitants for the glory of Islam, set flowing rivers of blood, sent the women of the country, with all their gold, silver, and jewels, to his own home, and made about twenty thousand maidens his private slaves.

Ala-ul-Din once asked his qazi what was the Muhammadan law prescribed for Hindus. The qazi replied, 'Hindus are like the earth, if silver is demanded from them, they ought with the greatest humility to offer gold. And if a Muhammadan desire to spit into a Hindu's mouth, the Hindu should

¹ The *Kimsa-i-Tasdrikh* by Ibn Asir. See also Elphinstone's *History of India*.

open it wide for the purpose. God created Hindus to be slaves of the Muhammadans. The Prophet hath ordained that, if the Hindus do not accept Islam, they should be imprisoned, tortured, and finally put to death, and their property confiscated. At this the monarch smiled and said he had not been waiting for an interpretation of the sacred law. He had already issued an order that Hindus should only possess corn and coarse clothes sufficient to last them for six months.

During the reign of the same monarch men formerly in easy circumstances were reduced to beggary, and their wives obliged to resort to manual labour for their maintenance. In front of the palace were generally seen the corpses of forty or fifty Hindus. Hindus were punished with merciless severity for the most trifling offences. The monarch had his own brother and nephew flayed alive on the mere suspicion of disloyalty. He then had their flesh cooked and forced their children to eat it. What remained after the repast was thrown to the elephants to trample on.

The historian, Ibn Batuta, who visited India in the time of the Emperor Muhammad Bin Tughlak, wrote of him: "Such was his inexorable and unpetuous character that on one occasion when the inhabitants of Delhi revolted against his oppression and wrote him a letter of remonstrance, he ordered them to quit the place for Daulatabad, a city in the Dakhan (Deccan), at a distance of forty days' journey. The order was so literally obeyed that when the Emperor's servants searched the city after the removal, and found a blind man in one of the houses and a bedridden one in another, the bedridden man was projected from a catapult and the blind one dragged by his feet to Daulatabad. But the latter's limbs dropped off on the way, and at the end of the journey only one leg was left, which was duly thrown into the new city, "for the order had been that all should go to this place"" We shall subsequently see how Muhammad bin Tughlak persecuted the Maratha saint Nandev, an account of whose life and writings will be given in this work.

Amir Khusrau writes in his *Tasarrük Alas* or *Khazana-ul-Futuh* that when the Emperor Firoz Shah Tughlak (A.D. 1351-88) took the city of Bhilsa in Bhopal, he destroyed all its Hindu temples, took away their idols, placed them in front of his fort, and had them daily bathed with the blood of a thousand Hindus. Firoz Shah twice plundered the country of Malwa, and took away everything he could find except earthen pots.

Fanshta relates that a Brahman called Budhan, who dwelt in a place called Kayathan or Kataen near Lakhnau (Lucknow), was put to death by Sikandar Khan Lodi for stating that as Islam was true, so also was the Hindu religion. The saint Kabir lived under Sikandar Khan Lodi, and was tortured by him.¹

The Emperor Babar's cruelty to the inhabitants of Saryd-pur we shall find described by Guru Nanak, who was an eye-witness. Both he and his attendant were taken prisoners and obliged to work as slaves.

The Guru thus describes the Muhammadan rulers and the state of India in his time —

This age is a knife, kings are butchers, justice hath taken wings and fled

In this completely dark night of falsehood the moon of truth is never seen to rise

I have become perplexed in my search,

In the darkness I find no way

Devoted to pride, I weep in sorrow,

How shall deliverance be obtained?²

There is a glamour of romance cast round the person of the Emperor Jahangir, partly owing to the poetry of Moore and partly owing to his possession of Nur Jahan, the most beautiful and gifted woman of the East, but Jahangir's memory is entitled to no historical commiseration. His

¹ Fanshta elsewhere describes Sikandar Khan Lodi as just, God-fearing, and religious. He prayed five times a day, bestowed large sums of money on indigent and religious persons, and was, according to the historian, a model of a Muslim prince.

² *Mihz in War*

father Akbar was disposed to free thought in religion, and it was believed that in this he was encouraged by Abul Fazal, the famous Persian historian. Jahangir caused Abul Fazal to be cruelly assassinated. After his accession he compassed the death of Nur Jahan's husband in order to possess her. He tells in his Memoirs how he disposed of robbers. 'I accomplished about this period the suppression of a tribe of robbers, who had long infested the roads about Agra, and whom, getting into my power, I caused to be trampled to death by elephants.'

Sir Thomas Roe, the British Ambassador at his Court, gives the following further information regarding Jahangir's method of dispensing justice. 'A band of one hundred robbers were brought in chains before the Great Mogul. Without any ceremony of trial, he ordered them to be carried away for execution, their chief being ordered to be torn in pieces by dogs. The prisoners were sent for execution to several quarters of the city, and executed in the streets. Close by my house the chief was torn in pieces by twelve dogs, and thirteen of his fellows, having their hands and feet tied together, had their necks cut by a sword, yet not quite through, and their naked and bloody bodies were left to corrupt in the streets.'

'The trials are conducted quickly, and the sentences speedily executed, culprits being hanged, beheaded, impaled, torn by dogs, destroyed by elephants, bitten by serpents, or other devices, according to the nature of the crimes, the executions being generally in the market-place. The governors of provinces and cities administer justice in a similar manner.'

The following gives Jahangir's treatment of harmless lovers. 'Happening to catch a eunuch kissing one of his women whom he had relinquished, he sentenced the lady to be put into the earth, with only her head left above the ground, exposed to the burning rays of the sun, and the eunuch to be cut in pieces before her face.'

Sir Thomas Roe describes how Jahangir vented his displeasure on some of his nobles. 'Some nobles who were

near his person he caused for some offence to be whipped in his presence, receiving 130 stripes with a most terrible instrument of torture, having, at the ends of four cords irons like spur-rowels, so that every stroke made four wounds. When they lay for dead, he commanded the standers-by to spurn them with their feet, and the door-keepers to break their staves upon them. Thus, cruelly mangled and bruised, they were carried away, one of them dying on the spot.

Jahangir's son Khusrav rose in rebellion against him, and it is not a matter for surprise that he found many adherents. After Khusrav's arrest he was brought before his father, with a chain fastened from his left hand to his left foot, according to the laws of Changhez Khan. On the right hand of the Prince stood Hasan Beg, and on his left, Abdulrahim. Khusrav trembled and wept. He was ordered into confinement, but the companions of his rebellion were put to death with cruel torments. Hasan Beg was sewed up in a raw hide of an ox, and Abdulrahim in that of an ass, and both were led about the town on asses, with their faces towards the tail. The ox's hide became so dry and contracted, that before the evening Hasan Beg was suffocated, but the ass's hide being continually moistened with water by the friends of Abdulrahim, he survived the punishment. From the garden of Kamran to the city of Lahore two rows of stakes were fixed in the ground, upon which the other rebels were impaled alive, and the unhappy Khusrav, mounted on an elephant, was conducted between the ranks of these miserable sufferers.

Further on we shall see that Jahangir caused Guru Arjan, the fifth Sikh Guru, to be tortured to death, partly on account of his religion and partly because he had extended to Prince Khusrav a friendly reception and hospitality.

Jahangir's grandson the Emperor Aurangzeb was brought up a very strict Muhammadan. The following, according to the *Mirât-i-Alam* of the historian Bakhtawar Khan, shows how he treated Hindus and their temples for the honour and glory of God and the success of what he considered

the only true religion. 'Hindu writers have been entirely excluded from holding public offices and all the worshipping places of the infidels, and the great temples of these infamous people have been thrown down and destroyed in a manner which excites astonishment at the successful completion of so arduous an undertaking.'

The following is from the *Madrâ-i-Alamgiri*. 'It reached the ears of His Majesty, the Protector of the Faith, that in the provinces of Thatha, Multan, and Banaras, but especially in the latter, foolish Brahmans were in the habit of expounding frivolous books in their schools, and that students, learned Mussalmans as well as Hindus, went there even from long distances, led by a desire to become acquainted with the wicked sciences there taught. The Director of the Faith consequently issued orders to all the governors of provinces to destroy with willing hands the temples and schools of the infidels, and to put an entire stop to the teaching and practice of idolatrous forms of worship. It was subsequently reported to his religious Majesty, leader of the Unstannans, that in obedience to his orders, the Government officers had destroyed the temple of Vishwanath at Banaras. In the thirteenth year of Aurangzeb's reign this justice-loving monarch, the constant enemy of tyrants, commanded the destruction of the Hindu temple of Mathura, and soon that stronghold of falsehood and den of iniquity was levelled with the ground. On its site was laid at great expense the foundation of a vast mosque.'

There arose a sect called Satnamas founded by Jagirvan Das, a native of Awadh (Oude). They appear to have taken many of their doctrines from the Sikhs. Their moral code is thus described. 'It is something like that of all Hindu quietists, and enjoins indifference to the world, its pleasures or its pains, implicit devotion to the spiritual guide, clemency and gentleness, rigid adherence to truth, the discharge of all ordinary, social, or religious obligations, and the hope of final absorption into the one spirit which pervades all things.'

¹ H. H. Wilson, *Religion of the Hindus*.

The Muhammadan historian thus describes this pious sect and their treatment by the Emperor Aurangzeb 'A body of bloody miserable rebels, goldsmiths, carpenters, sweepers, tanners, and other ignoble beings, braggarts and fools of all descriptions became so puffed up with vain-glory, as to cast themselves headlong into the pit of destruction. Aurangzeb sent an army to exterminate and destroy these unbelievers. The heroes of Islam charged with impetuosity and crimsoned their sabres with the blood of these desperate men. The struggle was terrible. At length the Satnamis broke and fled, but were pursued with great slaughter.

'General Khan Jahan Bahadur arrived from Jodhpur bringing with him several cartloads of idols taken from the Hindu temples, which had been razed to the ground. Most of these idols, when not made of gold, silver, brass, or copper, were adorned with precious stones. It was ordered that some of them should be cast away in out-places and the remainder placed beneath the steps of the grand mosque to be trampled under foot. There they lay a long time until not a vestige of them was left.

In 1090 A.H. (A.D. 1680) Prince Muhammad Azam and Khan Jahan Bahadur obtained permission to visit Udaipur. Two other officers at the same time proceeded thither to effect the destruction of the temples of the idolaters, which are described as the wonders of the age, erected by the infidels to the ruin of their souls. Twenty Rajputs had resolved to die for their faith. One of them slew many of his assailants, before receiving his death blow. Another followed and another until all had fallen. Many of the faithful also had been dispatched when the last of these fanatics had gone to hell.

Soon after Aurangzeb himself visited the Rana's lake and ordered all its temples to be levelled with the ground. Hasan Ali Khan then made his appearance with twenty camels taken from the Rana, and reported that the temple near the palace and one hundred and twenty-two more in the neighbouring districts had been

destroyed. He was rewarded by the emperor with the title of Bahadur.

'When Aurangzeb went to Chitaur, still one of the most beautiful of all ancient cities, he caused sixty-three temples there to be demolished. The Rana had now been driven forth from his country and his home, the victorious Ghazis had struck many a blow, and the heroes of Islam had trampled under their chargers' hoofs the land which this reptile of the forest and his predecessors had possessed for a thousand years.'

Aurangzeb's iconoclastic fury knew no bounds or moderation. 'Abu Turab, who had been commissioned by him to effect the destruction of the idol temples of Amber, the ancient capital of Jaspur, reported in person that three-score and six of these edifices had been levelled with the ground.'¹

We shall further on see that it was Aurangzeb who put Guru Teg Bahadur, the ninth Guru of the Sikhs, to death in Delhi. According to the author of the *Dabistan* the emperor ordered the Guru's body to be quartered and the parts thereof to be suspended at the four gates of the city.² Aurangzeb also persecuted Guru Gobind Singh, the tenth and last Guru of the Sikhs, and forced him to fly from the Panjab, and it was a result of the same monarch's tyranny that Guru Gobind Singh's four sons lost their lives and that none of his descendants survived.

Many earnest thinkers and reformers lived under the above and other Muhammadan emperors of India, but they were either executed and none dared record their teachings and their fate, or accounts of them belong to Hindu religious history, and lie beyond the scope of the present work.

¹ On the conduct of the Muhammadan Emperors we have largely availed ourselves of the translations and narratives in Sir Henry Elliot's *History of India*. The original Persian histories are many of them difficult of access, and could not be consulted.

² The Sikh chronicles, as we shall subsequently see, give a different version of the mode of execution of Guru Teg Bahadur.

CHAPTER II

The great Pandits and Brahmans of Hinduism communicated their instructions in Sanskrit, which they deemed the language of the gods. The Gurus thought it would be of more general advantage to present their messages in the dialects of their age. When Guru Amar Das was asked the reason for this, he replied 'Well-water can only irrigate adjacent land, but rain-water the whole world. On this account the Guru hath composed his hymns in the language of the people, and enshrined them in the Gurumukhi characters, so that men and women of all castes and classes may read and understand them.' A Brahman urged 'That religious instruction ought not to be communicated to every one, it being forbidden to instruct Sudars and women in the sacred lore'.¹ The Guru thus oracularly replied —

O father, dispel such doubts
It is God who doeth whatever is done, all who exist shall
be absorbed in Him

The different forms, O God, which appear are ever Thine,
and at the last they shall all be resolved in Thee

He who is absorbed in the Guru's word, shall thoroughly
know Him who made this world

Thine, O Lord, is the word, there is none but Thee,
where is there room for doubt ?²

Guru Nanak spoke of himself as neither continent nor learned, and was in every respect the essence of humility. His advent was heralded by no prophecies, and consequently he was not obliged to make or invent incidents in

¹ It is laid down in the twelfth chapter of the *Institutes of Gautam* that if a Śūdra even hear the Veda his ears must be stopped either with molten lead or wax. If he read the Veda, his tongue must be cut out, and if he possess the Veda his body must be cut in twain.

In the eighteenth slok of the ninth chapter of the *Institutes of Manu* it is laid down that women may not take part in any Vedic rites. Their doing so or having any concern with Vedic texts would be contrary to dharma. Women were therefore deemed as Śūdras and beyond the pale of religion.

² Gauri 51

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his life conformable thereto. He preached against idolatry, caste distinction, and hypocrisy, and gave men a most comprehensive ethical code, but in so doing he never uttered a word which savoured of personal ambition or an arrogation of the attributes of the Creator. He appears to have been on fairly good terms with Muhammadans, but his disregard of caste prejudices and his uncompromising language led him into occasional difficulties with the Hindus, though he was never embroiled in violent scenes. On the whole he was generally beloved during his life, and at his death Hindus and Muhammadans quarrelled as to which sect should perform his obsequies.

The Granth Sahib contains the compositions of Guru Nanak, Guru Angad, Guru Amar Das, Guru Ram Das, Guru Arjan, Guru Teg Bahadur (the ninth Guru), a couplet of Guru Gobind Singh (the tenth Guru), panegyrics of bards who attended on the Gurus or admired their characters, and hymns of mediaeval Indian saints, a list of whom will subsequently be given. The cardinal principle of the Gurus and Bhagats whose writings find place in the sacred books of the Sikhs was the unity of God. This is everywhere inculcated in the Sikh sacred writings with ample and perhaps not unnecessary iteration, considering the forces Sikhism had to contend with in an age of ignorance and superstition.

The hymns of the Gurus and saints are not arranged in the holy volume according to their authors, but according to the thirty-one *rāgs* or musical measures to which they were composed. The first nine Gurus adopted the name Nanak as their *nom de plume* and their compositions are distinguished by Mahallas or *quarters*. The Granth Sahib is likened to a city and the hymns of each Guru to a ward or division of it. Thus the compositions of Guru Nanak are styled Mahalla one, that is the first ward, the compositions of Guru Angad the second ward, and so on. After the hymns of the Gurus are found the hymns of the Bhagats under their several musical measures.

The Granth which passes under the name of Guru

Gobind Singh, contains his Jāpy, the Akal Ustat or praise of the Creator, the Vachitar Natak or Wonderful Drama, in which the Guru gives an account of his parentage, his divine mission, and the battles in which he had been engaged. Then come three abridged translations of the Devi Mahatamya, an episode in the Markandeya Puran, in praise of Durga the goddess of war. Then follow the Gyan Parbodh, or awakening of knowledge, accounts of twenty-four incarnations of the Deity, selected because of their warlike character, the Harare de Shabd quatrains called saasayas, which are religious hymns in praise of God and reprobation of idolatry and hypocrisy, the Shastar Nam Mala, a list of offensive and defensive weapons used in the Guru's time, with special reference to the attributes of the Creator, the Tria Charitar, or tales illustrating the qualities, but principally the deceit of women, the Zafar-nama, containing the tenth Guru's epistle to the Emperor Aurangzeb, and several metrical tales in the Persian language. This Granth was compiled by Bhai Mana Singh after the tenth Guru's death.

There are two great divisions of Sikhs, Sahajdharis and Singhs. The latter are they who accept the baptism inaugurated by Guru Gobind Singh, which will be described in the fifth volume of this work. All other Sikhs are called Sahajdharis. The Singhs, after the time of Guru Gobind Singh, were all warriors, the Sahajdharis those who lived at ease, as the word denotes, and practised trade or agriculture¹. In the Singhs are included the Nirmalas and Nihangs. The Sahajdharis include the Udasis founded by Sri Chand, son of Guru Nanak, the Sewapanthis founded by a water-carrier of Guru Gobind Singh, the Ramraiyas, followers of Ram Rai, son of Guru Har Rai, the Handuhs to be subsequently described, and other sects of minor importance.

The Sikh religion differs as regards the authenticity of

¹ Some say that the Sahajdharis received their name from the promises of certain Sikhs in the time of Guru Gobind Singh, that they would not accept his baptism at the time, but that they would *gradually* do so.

its dogmas from most other great theological systems. Many of the great teachers the world has known have not left a line of their own composition, and we only know what they taught through tradition or second-hand information. If Pythagoras wrote any of his tenets, his writings have not descended to us. We know the teaching of Sokrates only through the writings of Plato and Xenophon. Budha has left no written memorials of his teaching, Kung fu-tse, known to Europeans as Confucius, left no documents in which he detailed the principles of his moral and social system. The Founder of Christianity did not reduce his doctrines to writing, and for them we are obliged to trust to the Gospels according to Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John. The Arabian Prophet did not himself reduce to writing the chapters of the Quran. They were written or compiled by his adherents and followers. But the compositions of the Sikh Gurus are preserved, and we know at first hand what they taught. They employed the vehicle of verse, which is generally unalterable by copyists, and we even become in time familiar with their different styles. No spurious compositions or extraneous dogmas can, therefore, be represented as theirs.

It is not clear, however, that this contributes to the success of the Sikh religion. It appears that the very authenticity of the sacred books of a religion may militate against its general or permanent acceptance. The teachings of which there is no authentic record, are elastic and capable of alteration and modification to suit foreign countries and the aspirations and intellectual conditions of ages long subsequent to those in which they arose. No religion in its entirety is permanently adopted by a foreign country, and no religion when it spontaneously migrates can escape the assimilation of local ideas or superstitions. The followers of all religions are prone to indulge in the luxury of eclecticism. By a universal law they adhere to the dogmas most suitable for themselves, and reject what they deem the least important or the least practicable enjoined by the founders of their faiths.

It is curious that the greatest religious reforms have been effected by the laity. The clergy, apart from their vested interests, are too wedded to ancient systems, and dare not impugn their utility or authority. Pythagoras, who founded a religio-philosophical school and taught the transmigration of souls, was the son of a gem-engraver and not a priest by early training or association. Isaiah, the Hebrew poet, who gave consistency and splendour to Jewish sentiments, was not an ecclesiast by profession. Moses had a brother who was a high priest, but he was not himself designed for the priesthood. Sokrates was a profound thinker and moral guide, but still a member of the laity who had emerged from the schools of the sophists. Budha was a prince brought up without any sacerdotal instruction. He conceived ideas of reform by profound contemplation and introspection. Christ was by trade a carpenter, and was never intended to expound the law or play the part of a Jewish Rabbi. Muhammad of Makka was born an idolater, herded sheep and goats in early life, and appears to have had no religious instruction whatever until he had met the Hanif Waraka, his wife's cousin. The renowned Indian teacher Kabir was a weaver, who was so little of a professional priest that he denounced the Hindu and Muhammadan preachers of his age. And, as we shall see, Guru Nanak was not a priest either by birth or education, but a man who soared to the loftest heights of divine emotionalism, and exalted his mental vision to an ethical ideal beyond the conception of Hindu or Muhammadan.

The illustrious author of the *Vie de Jesus* asks whether great originality will again arise or the world be content to follow the paths opened by the daring creators of ancient ages. Now there is here presented a religion totally unaffected by Semitic or Christian influences. Based on the concept of the unity of God, it rejected Hindu formularies and adopted an independent ethical system, ritual, and standards which were totally opposed to the theological beliefs of Guru Nanak's age and country. As we shall see

hereafter, it would be difficult to point to a religion of greater originality or to a more comprehensive ethical system

CHAPTER III

India contains a population who profess many religions. It would be a great mistake to put them all on the same footing. Some make for loyalty and others for what we may call independence. Some religions appear to require State support, while others have sufficient vitality to dispense with it. The Jewish religion has survived for many centuries without a temporal head and in the face of endless persecutions. Islam has spread in many lands, and does not solicit or require much support from temporal power. Muhammadans only claim the free exercise of their religion, and this is allowed them in India. Many members of other religions, believing that they are direct emanations from heaven, may not suppose that they require State countenance or support, but the student of comparative theology must be allowed to entertain a different opinion.

Our little systems have their day,
They have their day and cease to be

To enumerate a few instances. When Constantine, the Roman Emperor of the West, after his conversion to Christianity, withdrew his support from the ancient religion of his country, it rapidly declined. Then vanished, in the words of Coleridge,

The intelligible forms of ancient poets,
The fair humanities of the old religion,
Its power, its beauty, and its majesty

Budhism flourished in India, its parent home, many centuries ago, but the successors of the renowned Asoka, who were not so spiritual or enlightened as he, allowed their religion to be completely banished from Indian soil, like an exile, to find in foreign lands the repose and accept-

ance it had vainly sought in its own country. The great Emperor Akbar by an eclectic process, evolved what he considered a rational religion from Islam, Hinduism, and Zoroastrianism, but it perished when it received no support but rather opposition from his son Jahangir. The religion of the Cross was banished from its parent home of Judaea and supplanted by the religion of the Crescent. Christianity, however, or the civilization which passes under its name, gained in other countries much more than it lost in its own. Organization and the material forces by which it is maintained have obviously contributed to that result.

The Emperor Akbar's historian, Abul Fazl, very clearly saw the advantage of State support to a religion. He says in his *Ain-i-Akbari*: 'Men of deep insight are of opinion that even spiritual progress among a people would be impossible, unless emanating from the king, in whom the light of God dwells.'

As Buddhism without State support completely lost its hold in India, so it is apprehended that without State support Sikhism will also be lost in the great chaos of Indian religious systems.

The dialects and languages of the Gurus are now largely forgotten. There are no readable or trustworthy commentaries or translations of their compositions in any language, and the Sikhs find it difficult or impossible to understand them. Added to this is the custom of writing the sacred hymns without any separation of words. As there is no separation of words in Sanskrit, the gyanis, or interpreters of the Gurus' hymns, deem it would be a profanation to separate the words of their sacred writings. It cannot be said that the object of the gyanis has been to keep all divine knowledge to themselves, but at any rate the result is, that the Sikh laity have now thrust aside the gyanis and their learning, and are content to dispense with both.

The sequel is a general relapse to Hinduism, which is principally a system of domestic ritual. Hinduism has six philosophical systems, two of which, the Sankhya and Mimamsa, if pushed to their legitimate consequences, are practically

atheistical. The followers of the Hindu god Shrv may curse the followers of the Hindu god Vishnu, and the followers of Vishnu may retaliate on the followers of Shrv. To be deemed an orthodox Hindu it is only necessary to be born in Hinduism and to conform to certain external observances, such as not eating or touching what its followers believe to be unclean, avoiding contact with persons who are deemed of lower caste, cooking food in a particular manner, and not allowing the shadow of strangers to fall on it. The old Levitical Law of Moses and its accessory regulations were sufficiently strict, but Hinduism surpasses all the religions that have ever been invented in a social exclusiveness which professes to be based on divine sanction.

Truly wonderful are the strength and vitality of Hinduism. It is like the boa constrictor of the Indian forests. When a petty enemy appears to worry it, it winds round its opponent, crushes it in its folds, and finally causes it to disappear in its capacious interior. In this way, many centuries ago, Hinduism on its own ground disposed of Buddhism, which was largely a Hindu reformation, in this way, in a prehistoric period, it absorbed the religion of the Scythian invaders of Northern India, in this way it has converted uneducated Islam in India into a semi-paganism, and in this way it is disposing of the reformed and once hopeful religion of Baba Nanak. Hinduism has embraced Sikhism in its folds, the still comparatively young religion is making a vigorous struggle for life, but its ultimate destruction is, it is apprehended, inevitable without State support. Notwithstanding the Sikh Gurus' powerful denunciation of Brahmans, secular Sikhs now rarely do any thing without their assistance. Brahmans help them to be born, help them to wed, help them to die, and help their souls after death to obtain a state of bliss. And Brahmans, with all the deftness of Roman Catholic missionaries in Protestant countries, have partially succeeded in persuading the Sikhs to restore to their niches the images of Devi, the Queen of Heaven, and of the saints and gods of the ancient faith.

CHAPTER IV

A few brief paragraphs, unburdened with detail, on the origin and progress of religion until it received its monotheistic consummation accepted by Guru Nanak appear to be necessary

Status, the Latin poet, expressed his opinion that it was fear which first made gods in the world¹ Miserable and resourceless primitive man felt the inclemency and fury of the elements, and prayed and sacrificed to avert their wrath or to gain their favour But as there were malignant so there were benignant natural agencies which received devout and earnest worship The Sun, which gives light and heat, appears to have been worshipped by all primitive peoples He was, however, distant and non-tangible, but when fire was discovered, long ages after man had appeared on the surface of the earth, it appears to have received the greatest homage from the human race in all parts of the globe By its means men warmed themselves, cooked their food, and smelted metals It was to fire (Agni) the Indians of the Vedic period addressed some of their sublimest hymns, and its discovery and importance led the ancient Greeks to suppose that it must have been stolen from heaven, which had so long been parsimonious of its gifts

As civilisation progressed and the fruits of agriculture were added to the spontaneous gifts of nature, the bounty of the heavens was deemed necessary for man's comfort and sustenance It was then that the sky, under the various names of Dyaus, Zéfë, and Varuna, *Ōṣarā*, was invoked, both in India and Greece, to shed its choicest blessings on crops and men² Other deities arose as prompted or required by human necessities Prithwi, the earth, as the parent of sustenance, logically and necessarily received, as the

¹ 'Primus in orbe deos fecit timor,' *Theb* iii 661

² For long years after the discovery and study of Sanskrit there was no doubt whatever cast on the identity of Varuna with Ouranos Doubts have now arisen in the minds of some persons on account, it is stated, of phonetic difficulties

spouse of the sky, divine honours both in India and Europe.¹ Each deity addressed received all the homage and adoration that poetic fancy could lavish or imagine. His worshippers endeavoured to make him feel that he was the great god who ruled the world and controlled man and nature, and they hoped that by judicious flattery and plenteous sacrifice he would listen to and grant their passionate supplications.

The gods as well as their votaries appear to have lived in friendly contiguity both in India and in Greece. Jupiter had his temple near that of Venus as they are found to-day in the disinterred city of Pompeii. Near Delphi Apollo had exclusive sway even to the extent of relegating Jupiter into a subordinate position. Each province selected in the wide domain of Olympus some deity which it worshipped to the exclusion of all others. In India, though the worship of Shiva, which is associated with knowledge, is different from that of Vishnu, which is associated with devotion, and though the worshippers of both gods frequently quarrelled and addressed each other in injurious language, yet they were united by the common bond of Hinduism, and sometimes celebrated their worship in harmony.²

When man extended his horizon, the sufficiency and omnipotence of the gods ordinarily invoked began to be canvassed. In Greece the minor deities became completely subordinated to Zeus, the great ruler of Olympus. They could do everything but regulate human fate and action. That was reserved for the supreme deity alone.—

‘*Αναστήτω ἅπαντες πᾶσι θεοῖσι κοινὰ
ἐκείνοισι γὰρ πάντα ἔστι πᾶσι Διὶ.*’³

In India a belief in an infinite, immutable, and supreme power was gradually evolved by seers and philosophers.

¹ Tacitus wrote of the ancient Germans—‘*Herthum, ad est terram matrem, colunt eamque intervenire rebus hominum, in-choi populi arbitrantur.*’ *Germania*, cap. 21.

² An idol in a temple, Haridwar, on the outskirts of the Mussafir (Mysore) State contains the conjoint emblems of Vishnu and Shiva.

³ *Aesch. Prom. Vinct.* 49.

ages before the emigration of the Aryans to Europe. Prajapati, who was represented as the father of the gods, the lord of all living creatures, gradually received exceptional human homage. There was also Aditi, who appears under various guises, being, in one passage of the Rig Veda, identified with all the deities, with men, with all that has been and shall be born, and with air and heaven. In this character she corresponded to the Greek Zeus,

*Zeús íeris aúthē, Zeús de γῆ, Zeús ē oúranos,
Zeus rei rē natura χῆρι rānē velpapov,¹*

and to the Latin Jupiter —

Iupiter est quodcunque vides, quocunque movens²

But there appears again to have been even a more exalted concept of a divinity who was inexpressible and who could only be described by a periphrasis. He was bright and beautiful and great. He was One, though the poets called Him by many names

एवमद् विद्या ब्रह्मणा ब्रह्मि

Before there was anything, before there was either death or immortality, before there was any distinction between day and night, there was that One. It breathed breathless by itself. Other than it nothing has since been. Then was darkness, everything in the beginning was hidden in gloom, all was like the ocean, without a light. Then that germ which was covered by the husk, the One, was produced.³

Guru Nanak, as we shall see, gave expansion to this conception of the one God —

¹ Aesch. *Frags.*

² Lucan, *Pharsalia* ix.

³ *Rig Veda* vi. 129. Tacitus indicates one God worshipped under different names by the Germans, and only perceived by the light of faith. 'Deorum nominibus appellant secretum illud quod sola reverentia vident.' It may be here noticed that Tacitus' account of Germany and its people is much more trustworthy than that of Caesar, who was a less philosophical writer. Caesar states that the Germans worshipped the sun, fire, and the moon, and them only.

In the beginning there was indescribable darkness ,
Then was not earth or heaven, naught but God's unequalled
order

Then was not day or night, or moon, or sun , God was
meditating on the void

Then were not continents, or hell, or seven seas, or
rivers, or flowing streams

Nor was there paradise, or a tortoise or nether regions ,
Or the hell or heaven of the Muhammadans, or the De
stroyer Death ,

Or the hell or heaven of the Hindus, or birth or death
nor did any one come or go

Then was not Brahma, Vishnu, or Shuv ,

No one existed but the One God

Then was not female, or male, or caste, or birth , nor did
any one feel pain or pleasure

There was no caste or religious garb, no Brahman or
Khatrin

No home, no sacred feasts, no places of pilgrimage to bathe
in, nor did any one perform worship

There was no love, no service, no Shuv, or Energy of
his ,

Then were not Veda or Muhammadan books, no Smritis,
no Shastars ,

The Imperceptible God was Himself the speaker and
preacher Himself unseen He was everything

When He pleased He created the world ,

Without supports He sustained the sky

He created Brahma, Vishnu, and Shuv, and extended the
love of Mammon

He issued His order and watched over all ¹

For many centuries thinking men in India have rejected
gods and goddesses, and made no secret of their faith in the
sole primal Creator by whatsoever name called

An important question arose how the Supreme Being
should be represented. He could not be seen, but He was
believed to exist. The highest conception that primitive
man could form of Him was that He was in man's own
image subject to the human passions of wrath, jealousy,
revenge, love of praise, and adoration. This conception
is what has been termed anthropomorphism—that is, that

¹ The Indian words in this hymn will subsequently be explained

God is in man's image, or, conversely, that God made man in his own image¹

When man's conception of God extended, and it was admitted that He had created the heavens and the earth, and held control over His boundless creation, it became difficult for the philosopher to imagine Him in human form. Were He such, it would appear to be a limitation of His omnipotence and omnipresence, and, moreover, the belief that God is infinite and governs His infinite creation, but at the same time is not included in it, though possibly intelligible to faith, is not equally so to reason. To overcome this difficulty the belief arose that God is diffused through all matter, and that it is therefore a part of Him. This belief is known as pantheism.

In India pantheism may be said to be the creed of intellectual Hindus, but it cannot be held to be a generally satisfying or useful cult to the world. When a man believes that he is a part of God, and that God, who pervades space, pervades him also, moral obligation must obviously be relaxed. Nor can supplications be satisfactorily addressed to nature, with its elemental forces, even though God be held to reside therein. Pantheism is too cold and too abstract to satisfy the reasonable aspirations of the human soul. And the fact admitted by most philosophers, that men are endowed with free will, must make them pause before they accept the pantheistic philosophy in its entirety. Moreover, to gratify his emotional instinct, man must have access in spirit to a personal God to appeal to in order to grant him favours, to afford him solace in affliction, to love him as a son, and as a kind and merciful friend to take an interest in him when he needs assistance. According to the Sikh Gurus, God was a being to be approached and

¹ The ancient Greeks also believed that God made man in the divine image. Thus Plato—*Ὁς δὲ ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ τὸν αἰῶνα τὸν αἰῶνα θεὸς γέγονε ἄναξ καὶ γένετος πατήρ, ἡγεστὴς τε καὶ ἀφανέστερος ἐν ᾧ μὲλλον ἄνθρωπος ἦτορ τοῦ παλαιότερου ἀνθρώπου ἀνεργασμένος* ('The creative Father seeing that this image of the immortal gods had both motion and life was pleased, and in his delight considered how he might fashion it still more like its prototype'), *Timæus*.

loved as a fond and faithful wife loves her spouse, and human beings were to be regarded with equality as brothers, and not to be considered as divided into castes which were at variance with or de-pused one another

But though the Sikhs believe in a personal God, He is not in man's image. Guru Nanak calls Him, *Nirankar*—that is, without form. Gur Das speaks of Him as formless, without equal, wonderful, and not perceptible by the senses. At the same time all the Gurus believed that He was diffused throughout creation. Guru Nanak wrote, 'Think upon the One who is contained in every thing'. This same belief was again enunciated by Guru Ram Das, 'Thou, O God, art in everything and in all places'. And, according to Guru Gobind Singh, even God and His worshipper, though two, are one, as bubbles which arise in water are again blended with it. This belief, according to the Guru, admitted of no doubt or discussion.¹ It is the error of men in supposing distinct existence, together with the human attributes of passion and spiritual blindness, which produces sin and evil in the world and renders the soul liable to transmigration.

No religious teacher has succeeded in logically dissociating theism from pantheism. In some passages of the Guru's writings pantheism is, as we have seen, distinctly implied, while in other texts matter is made distinct from the Creator, but an emanation from Him. Although anthropomorphic theism is a religion, while pantheism is a philosophy, and anthropomorphic theism is generally held orthodox and pantheism heterodox, yet, on account of the difficulty of describing the Omnipresent and Illuminable in suitable human language, both religion and philosophy are inextricably

¹ Compare *Ἀνθρώπου γε ψυχῇ, ἔσπευ τι αὖτὶς ἰδὲ τῶν ἀνθρώπων, τοῖ θεῶν παρρησίᾳ*, *Xenoph. Memor.*, 'Humanus autem animus decorsus ex divina mente cum alio nullo nisi cum ipso Deo, et hoc est fas dictu, comparari potest, Cicero, *Iner Dign.*

Compare also the expressions attributed to Christ in the Gospel according to St. John, 'I and My Father are One,' 'I am in the Father and the Father in Me,' and again, 'I am in My Father, and ye in Me and I in you.'

blended by sacred as well as profane writers Let us take a few examples —

Doth not the Lord fill heaven and earth ?—JEREMIAH

God in whom we live, and move, and have our being —ST PAUL

*Spiritus intus alit totamque infusa per artus
Mens agitat molem, et magno se corpore nascet* —VIRGIL

*Estne Dei sedes nax terra, et pontus, et aer,
Et cælum et virtus ? Superos quid quaerimus ultra ?
Iupiter est quodcumque vides, quocumque moveris !—*
LUCAN

All in all and all in every part —COWLEY

Lives through all life, extends through all extent
Spreads undivided, operates unspent —POPE

*Deum rerum omnium causam immanentem, non vero
transeuntem statuo* —SPINOZA

*Se Dio veder tu vuoi,
Guardalo in ogni oggetto,
Cercalo nel tuo petto,
Lo troverai in te !—METASTASIO*

An indefinite number of such examples might be cited

CHAPTER V

In the hymns of the Gurus, Nirvan, or absorption in God, is proposed as the supreme object of human attainment, but a paradise called Sach Khand is also promised to the blest There they recognize one another and enjoy everlasting beatitude Several learned Sikhs, however, maintain that Nirvan and Sach Khand are practically the same

Contrary to the practice of the ancient Indian ascetics, the Gurus held that man might obtain eternal happiness without forsaking his ordinary worldly duties Reunion with the Absolute should be the supreme object of all Sikh devotion and aspirations

My soul, seek shelter in God's holy name,
 Pondering on this shouldst set thou all thought ampler,
 No more thou'lt grieve hemmed in by mortal frame—
 But gain in God Nirvana's final joy.

Nirvan, from air out and on to blow, means in Sikh literature the cessation of individual consciousness caused by the blending of the light of the soul with the light of God. The Sikhs compare it to water blending with water —

As water blends with water, when
 Two streams that waves unite
 The light of human life doth blend
 With God's celestial light
 No transmigration then await
 The weary human soul
 It hath attained its resting-place,
 Its peaceful crowning goal.

Nirvan is to be obtained by meditation on God, with sufficient attention and sterion, and by a life spent in conformity with the Guru's teachings. Individual consciousness then ceases and there is no further pain or misery.

A man may have performed good works on earth, but, if they be unattended with devout meditation and mental absorption in God, he cannot expect either Nirvan or such khand, but must undergo purgation after death. After this the soul returns to a human body and begins anew its career, to end in either the supreme bliss of ultimate absorption or the supreme misery of countless trans-migrations.

If man live doing evil and bud up demerits his punishment after death must be severe. When the punishment corresponds to his misdeeds, his soul must enter some lower animal and pass through a greater or lesser number of the eight million four hundred thousand forms of existence in succession until its turn comes to enter the shaping of human parents. The soul thus reborn in a human being has again to proceed in its long struggle to obtain the boundless reward of Nirvan.

Longa dies perfecto temporis orbe,
Concretum exemit labem, purumque reliquit
Aetherrum sensum atque vultu sumptis ignem.¹

Mind, whether known as reason or instinct of a greater or less degree, and whether an attribute of the brain, of the nervous system, or of the heart is common to all animals. It is held in most religious systems to be distinct from the soul.² It induces the soul under the impulse of goodness or passion, to perform good or evil acts. Both the mind and the soul are concomitants of life, which is a particular combination of certain elements existing in the body, and abides as long as the bodily mechanism is in order and harmonious operation. When the mechanism has fallen out of gear by illness, accident or old age life departs, and with it the soul, which in some religious systems is held to perish with the body, in others to be immortal and individual and in others again to transmigrate from one living creature to another. We are in this work only concerned with the soul in its migratory aspect.

In the Mosiac system God is represented as jealous and visiting the sins of the fathers upon the children even to future generations. The Indian philosopher feels that this belief is derogatory to God, and holds that the state of the soul after the death of the body depends on its acts (called Karma) while contained in the body. These acts attach to the soul follow it, and determine its next abode.

Hindus, and all who have sprung from them, have never entertained any doubt as to the possibility of the wanderings of the soul in the bodies of all created animals. And not only Hindus, but some Europeans of exquisite intellectual fibre have accepted or acquiesced with this belief, as if the

¹ Virgil, *Æneid* vi. 745.

² In the *Tusculan Disputations* Cicero quotes a paragraph he had written in a work on Consolation, in which he appears to treat soul and mind as identical. After referring to the soul as that which possesses feeling, understanding, life, and vigour ('quicquid est illud, quod sentit quod sapit quod vivit quod viget'), he states that the human mind is of the same kind and nature ('Hoc e genere atque eadem e natura est humana mens'), *Tusc. Disp.* i. 27.

minds of men of vivid imagination were of necessity revolving from the misty past—gathering from the fount of original knowledge—ideas evolved by primitive man long anterior, not only to European civilization, but to all Semitic history. Many persons have thought on beholding for the first time, in this life at any rate, scenes in foreign lands, that they had been previously familiar with their beauties and derived no new gratification from them. The tenets with which the Greek philosopher Pythagoras held this doctrine, which he called *metempsychosis*, is well known. Well known, too, is the success with which he and his followers for a long time imparted their views to the Dorian aristocracy on this and kindred subjects such as, for instance, the non destruction of life. And according to the *Phædo* of Plato, Sokrates appears to have proved the doctrine of Pythagoras to his own satisfaction.

To some of our English poets the belief has been one of various interest and satisfaction. Thus Wordsworth —

Our birth is but a sleep and a forgetting,
The soul that rises with us, our life's star
Hath had elsewhere its setting,
And cometh from afar,

Thus too, Browning —

At times I almost dream
I too have spent a life the sage way,
And tread once more familiar paths

And also Rossetti —

I have been here before,
But how or when I cannot tell

The soul when it separates from the body is likened in ancient Indian works to the moon on the day when it is invisible on account of its conjunction with the sun. The soul exists as the moon exists though it is not perceptible, and as the moon shines again when it progresses in its motion so does the soul when it moves into another body.

The soul being in a state of mobility, and at the same

time immortal seeks a body for the performance of its functions and as it were, enters into a matrimonial alliance with it for the completion and perfection of both. As the same thread will penetrate a gold bead, a pearl, or an earthen ball, so the soul, bearing its burden of acts, will enter any body with which it comes in contact. Thus the soul is enabled to do by its possession of a covering of fine or grosser texture which it takes with it from the last body it has inhabited. The soul thus passes from body to body in a revolving wheel, until it is purged of its impurities and deemed fit to blend with the Absolute from which it originally emanated.

Paramâtama the primal spirit, is the Supreme Being considered as the pervading soul of the universe. It is represented as light. Jivâtama the soul of each living being, is also light in emanation from the Paramâtama and not material.

The lines of Milton may be accepted as a definition of the deity according to the Sikh conception —

Since God is light
And never but in unapproached light
Dwelt from eternity —
Bright effluence of bright essence increaseth.

And of Thomson Campbell nearly to the same effect —

This spirit will return to Him
Who gave its heavenly spark

The Paramâtama is likened to an illimitable ocean the Jivâtama to a glass of water immersed in it. The glass is the subtle body or covering of the soul. If the glass itself be broken or taken away the water in it, which corresponds to the jivâtama, blends with the water of the ocean. This is an exemplification of Nirvan.

According to Sikh ontology all animals have two bodies, one a solid material body and the other a subtle intangible body.¹ The jivâtama is separated from the former at the

¹ St. Paul speaks of a spiritual body (1 Cor. vi. 44).

time of death but not from the latter unless the state of Nirvan supervenes. While the *prāṇama* is entered in a subtle body, it is susceptible of punishment.

Socrates, in discussing the possibility of a separate existence after death, dilates on the pleasure it would afford to meet such men as Homer, Hesiod &c., but Plato has not recorded what Socrates' sensations would be on meeting his tormentors and persecutors in the same happy region. John Stuart Mill too, thought¹ that the most serious loss which would result to mankind from a disbelief in an after existence would be the despoil of reunion with those dear to us who have ended their earthly life before us. An aspiration for such a reunion is easy to understand, and the hope of its realization has soothed the death-bed of many a believer in the soul's immortality. But all people are not equally dear to us, and it did not apparently occur to that eminent philosopher that granted the hope of meeting those we love beyond the grave, there is also the possibility of meeting those who are not equally the objects of our affection—those who have perhaps embittered or even shrouded our terrestrial existence, and who, it may be as the result of predestination or divine grace, are admitted to the sempiternal joys of paradise. To the believer in Nirvan there is no apprehension of such associations. Only those who are sufficiently purified can be absorbed in the Absolute in the all-dazzling fount of God's infinite perfection and love. Here individual consciousness ceases, the supreme goal of existence is attained, and neither sorrow, misery, nor remembrance of earthly evils can be apprehended.

CHAPTER VI

About thirty miles south west of the city of Ludhiana, the capital of the Punjab, and on the borders of the present civil districts of Gujranwala and Montgomery stands the town of Tilwandi deep in densely forest. It is on the margin

¹ Essay on the Utility of Religion

of the Bar or raised forest tract which occupies the centre of the Panjab. The town is still girdled by a broad expanse of arborescent vegetation which when not whitened by the sand blown by the winds of the desert, wears through all seasons a cheerful appearance. The jal (*Salvadora Persica*) predominates, but there are also found the phulahi (*Acacia modesta*) and the jand (*Prosopis spicigera*). The wild deer is seen occasionally to appear startled at the traveller who disturbs the solitude of its domain and the hare and the partridge cower cautiously among the thickets, deprecating molestation.

In this retreat was born Guru Nanak, the founder of the Sikh religion. His birth took place on the third day of the light half of the month of Baisakh (April-May) in the year 1526 of the Vikramaditya era, corresponding to A D 1469. As to the month in which he was born there are strange diversities of statement, which we shall subsequently notice. Guru Nanak's father was Kalu of the Bedi¹ section of the Khatri caste. He was by profession a village accountant, but added the practice of agriculture to this avocation. Kalu's father was Shri Ram and his mother Banarasi. Kalu had one brother called Lahu, of whom little is known besides his name. Kalu was married to Tripta, daughter of Rama, a native of the Manjha² country. Tripta had a brother called Krishan, of whom history is as silent as of Lahu. Tripta bore to Kalu one daughter, Nanaki, and one son Nanak. Nanaki married Jai Ram, a revenue official of high repute at Sultanpur, which is in the present native state of Kapurthala and was then the capital of the Jalandhar Doab.

When Taimur had spread anarchy and devastation over Northern India, a dynasty of Sayyids or descendants of the Prophet Muhammad, aspired to rule in Delhi in the name of the Mughal conqueror. To Delhi there was hardly any territory attached, and Ala-ul-din the last of the Sayyid

¹ The meaning of this name will be explained when we come to the writings of the tenth Guru.

² The Manjha is the country between the rivers Ravi and Beas.

rulers, in contemptuous disregard for the small and troublesome dominion meted out to him by destiny retired to the distant city of Badaun to end his days in religious and political tranquillity. He left Dillih and the fortunes of empire to Bahlol Khan Lodi, a man whose ancestors had been enriched by commerce, and whose grandfather had been Governor of Multan under the famous monarch Beroz Shah Tughlak.

Bahlol Khan Lodi reigned from A.D. 1450 to A.D. 1488 and it was consequently near the middle of his reign that Guru Nanak, the founder of the Sikh religion, was born.

After the accession of Bahlol Khan Lodi, Daulat Khan, a relative of his, obtained power in the Panjab, and governed under the paramount authority of his kinsman. He lived in state at Sultanpur till defeated and deprived of his possessions by the Emperor Babar. The Panjab appears to have been already parcelled out to Musalman chiefs who were retainers of the sovereigns of Dillih. One of these chiefs, called Rai Bhai, a Musalman Rajput of the Bhatti tribe, had been Zamindar or proprietor of Talwandi. After his death his heritage descended to his son Rai Bular, who governed the town at the birth and during the youth of Nanak.

Talwandi is said to have been originally built by a Hindu king called Raja Vairat. It was sacked and destroyed by fire and sword, like most Hindu towns and cities, during the Musalman invasions. Rai Bular restored it and built a fort on the summit of the tumulus, in which he lived the secure and happy ruler of a small village, some limited acres of cultivated land, and a boundless wilderness.

Although the age was one of religious intolerance and persecution Rai Bular appears to have been the very reverse of a bigot. His father and he were converted Hindus, doubtless added to the ranks of Islam by a hasty circumcision and an enforced utterance of some Arabic sentences which they did not perfectly comprehend.¹

¹ The descendants of Rai Bular still exist in that part of the country.

In such a solitude Rai Bular could not have been under the less worthy influences of Islam, and indifference, the parent of toleration, appears to have supervened on his Muhammadan religious training. But the human mind is so constituted, and the religious or emotional instinct so dominant in human nature, that most men at some period of their lives are irresistibly impelled to religious speculation. Something too, must be allowed for Rai Bular's patriotic prejudices for a suffering though renounced faith. Talwandi shared not the tumults and excitements of the outer political world. It was a theatre most for the training of a prophet or religious teacher who was to lead his countrymen to the sacred path of truth, and de-central their minds from the superstitions of ages. Rai Bular in his little realm had ample time for reflection, and when he heard of Nanak's piety and learning, felt a mysterious interest in the clever and precocious son of Kalu.

The house in which Nanak was born lay a little distant from the fort. Probably Rai Bular and his family alone inhabited the ancient tumulus, while his tenants dwelt in the town of Talwandi on the plain. The town has now lost its old name, and is known as Nankana, in memory of the religious teacher to whom it had the honour of giving birth. When the Sikh religion had gained prominence, there was a temple erected on the spot where the Guru was born. It was afterwards rebuilt and enlarged by Raja Tej Singh, at the time when the Sikh arms had attained their greatest power and the Sikh commonwealth its widest expansion. Within the temple is installed the Granth sahib, or sacred volume of the Sikh faith, intoned by a professional reader. The innermost shrine contains some cheap printed pictures of the Guru, and musicians beguile the day chanting the religious metrical compositions of the Gurus.

CHAPTER VII

We shall now examine the principal current accounts of Guru Nanak and give brief notices of their authors.

The oldest authentic account of the Guru was written by Bhai Gur Das, who flourished in the end of the sixteenth and the beginning of the seventeenth century, dying in A.D. 1629. He was first cousin of the mother of Guru Arjan, the fifth Guru of the Sikhs. He was Guru Arjan's amanuensis, and wrote out from his dictation the *Adi*¹ *Granth*, or sacred book of the Sikhs, which then contained the hymns of the first five Sikh Gurus and of the saints who preceded them. He next wrote what he called *Wars*, or religious cantos. These are forty in number. The first War begins with the Sikh cosmology, and ends with a brief account of Guru Nanak and the succeeding Gurus to the date of Gur Das's composition. Gur Das's object was essentially religious. He delighted in singing the greatness of God, the littleness of man, and the excellence of the Guru. Besides the *Wars*, Gur Das wrote *Kabits*, which contains the Sikh tenets and a panegyric of the Gurus.

The details which Gur Das has given of Guru Nanak will be utilized in the life of that Guru. It is a matter of regret that he did not write a complete life of the Guru, as its details could at that time have been easily obtained. The date of the composition of his work is not given, but it is admitted on all hands that it was during the time of Guru Arjan. Making due allowance for Gur Das's protracted employment in copying and collating the sacred volume for Guru Arjan—a task which was completed in A.D. 1604—it may fairly be assumed that Gur Das wrote his own work not much more than sixty years after the demise of Guru Nanak, when some of his contemporaries

¹ The epithet *Ādi*, which means primitive or first was bestowed on the *Granth* *Sikhi* of Guru Arjan to distinguish it from the *Granth* of Guru Gobind Singh, the tenth Guru, which was subsequently compiled by Bhai Mani Singh.

were still alive, and one of them at least retained the vigour of his intellectual faculties

There was then living in the village of Ramdas¹ about twenty miles north of Amritsar Bhai Budha, who had embraced the Sikh religion under Guru Nanak at Kartarpur, and who used to attend him on some of his peregrinations. This man was in the prime of life when Gur Das copied the Granth Sahib for Guru Arjan, and the latter made him reader and custodian of the sacred volume at Amritsar. Bhai Budha subsequently lived until the Guruship of Guru Har Gobind, when he died at the ripe age of one hundred and seven years. In such estimation was he held that he was specially appointed to impress the saffron tilak, or patch of Gurudom, on the foreheads of the Gurus of his time, and his descendants had the same honoured privilege as long as legitimate Gurus remained to be thus distinguished. He, however, has left no memoirs of the founder of his religion.

Mani Singh was the youngest of five sons of Bika of Kaibowal, in the Malwa country, and belonged to the Dullat section of the Hindu Jats. The ruins of Kaibowal may now be seen near the village of Lungowal. When Guru Gobind Singh was going to Kurukhet'r on a preaching excursion, Bika and his son Mani went to a place called Akou to meet him and offer him their homage. Bika on due time returned home leaving his son with the Guru. The Guru one day asked Mani to wipe the vessels from which the Sikhs had eaten, and, as an inducement, promised that as the vessels became bright so should his understanding. Mani wiped the dishes with great humility and devotion, and received baptism from the Guru as his reward. He remained a celibate and devoted his life to the Guru's service.

¹ This was Bhai Budha's original name, and the village was called after him. The name Bhai Budha was given him by Guru Nanak.

The word 'Bhai' means brother. Guru Nanak, who disregarded caste and preached the doctrine of the brotherhood of man declared that all his followers should be declared brothers, and thus he addressed them. The title 'Bhai' is now bestowed on Sikh priests and others who have made a special study of the Sikh sacred writings.

When the tenth Guru found it necessary to go to the south of India he took Mani Singh among others with him. At Nander, or Abchalnagar, as it is now called by the Sikhs, the Guru expounded to his followers, among whom Mani Singh was an enthusiastic listener the recondite language of the Granth Sahib or the book *par excellence*.

After the Guru's death Bhai Mani Singh remained as Grantha, or reader of the Granth in the Har Mandir in Amritsar.¹ The Sikhs commissioned him, while so employed, to write them a life of Guru Nanak. They represented that the Minas, or descendants of Prithi Chand and interpolated much incorrect matter in the biography of the Guru, whereby doubts were produced in the mind² of orthodox Sikhs and they commissioned Mani Singh to discriminate the true from the false and compile a trustworthy life of the founder of their religion. He accordingly expanded the first of Bhai Gur Das's Wars into a life of Guru Nanak. It is called the *Gyan Ratनावलि*. Mani Singh wrote another work, the *Bhagat Ratनावलि*, an expansion of Gur Das's eleventh War which contains a list of famous Sikhs up to the time of Guru Har Gobind. After the demise of Bhai Mani Singh the copyists interlarded several Hindu ideas in his works.

The hymns of the Adi Granth are arranged under the musical measures to which they were intended to be sung. Mani Singh thought it would be better and more convenient to compile the hymns of each Guru separately. He therefore altered the arrangement of the Granth Sahib, on which he was censured by the Sikhs. He apologized and was subsequently pardoned by the members of his faith.

In A.D. 1738 Mani Singh asked permission of Zakaria Khan the Viceroy of Lahore to allow the *Divali*³ fair to

¹ Bhai Gyan Singh's *Panth Parikash*.

² The *Divali*, originally a festival observed only by Hindus in honour of Lakshmi, their goddess of wealth, on the 15th day of Kartik (Oct-Nov). It was the date on which Bhai Budha the first Granthi

be held in Amritsar. The Viceroy gave permission on condition that Mani Singh undertook to pay a poll-tax for every Sikh who attended. Mani Singh accepted this condition, and sent circulars to the Sikhs to attend and hold a special Sikh gathering. The Viceroy sent troops to watch the movements of the Sikhs, but the Sikhs, mistaking their intention, dispersed. The result was that Mani Singh was unable to pay the stipulated tax. Upon this he was taken to Lahore for punishment. Zakaria Khan asked his Qazi what the punishment should be. The Qazi replied that Mani Singh must either accept Islam or suffer disfigurement of his body. Mani Singh heroically accepted the latter alternative. The Viceroy adjudged this barbarous punishment, nominally on account of his victim's non-payment of the tax, but in reality on account of his influence as a learned and holy man in maintaining the Sikh religion. Mani Singh manifested no pain on the occasion of his execution. He continued to his last breath to recite the Jappi of Guru Nanak and the Sukhmans of Guru Arjan.

Bhai Santokh Singh, son of Deva Singh, was born in Amritsar in A. D. 1788. He received religious instruction in the Sikh faith from Bhai Sant Singh in his native city, and in the Hindu religion from a Pandit in Kasal in the Karnal district. He found a patron in Sardar Megh Singh of Buria, in the present district of Ambala in the Panjab, and under his auspices translated a work called *Amur Kosh* from the Sanskrit. In A. D. 1823 he wrote the *Nanak Parkash*, an exposition of the life and teachings of Guru Nanak.

After this Bhai Santokh Singh entered the employ of Maharaja Karam Singh of Patiala. In A. D. 1825, Bhai Ude Singh of Karthal obtained his services from the Maharaja. In Karthal Bhai Santokh Singh, with the aid of the Brahmins whom Bhai Ude Singh had placed at his disposal, translated several works from the Sanskrit. He then set about writing the lives of the remaining Gurus, completed his personal of the Granth *Guth* and it consequently became a Sikh holiday also.

and this task he completed during the rainy season of A D 1843 under the name of 'Gur Partap Suraj', popularly known as the 'Suraj Parkash', in six ponderous volumes. The lives of the Gurus, from the second to the ninth, inclusive, are divided into twelve *ras* or sections, corresponding to the signs of the Zodiac. The life of the tenth Guru is presented in six *ruts*, or seasons, corresponding to the six Indian seasons, and into two *ams*, the ascending and descending nodes. The whole work is written in metre, and in difficult Hindi, with a large admixture of pure Sanskrit words. Santokh Singh's other works are a paraphrase of the Jappi of Guru Nanak and of the Sanskrit works *Atam Puran* and Valmiki's *Ramayana*.

Bhai Ram Kanwar, a lineal descendant of Bhai Budha, was specially favoured by receiving the *pahul*, or baptism by the dagger, from Guru Gobind Singh himself, and on that occasion the name of Bhai Gurbakhsh Singh was bestowed on him¹. Bhai Gurbakhsh Singh survived by twenty-five years the tenth and last Guru, and dictated his history to Bhai Sahib Singh. To the writings of the latter, which are now no longer extant, Bhai Santokh Singh is said to have been indebted. It is, however, doubtful whether Bhai Santokh Singh had access to any trustworthy authority. From his early education and environment he was largely tinctured with Hinduism. He was unquestionably a poet and his imagination was largely stimulated by copious draughts of *bhang* and other intoxicants in which he freely indulged. The consequence was that he invented several stories discreditable to the Gurus and their religion. Some of his inventions are due to his exaggerated ideas of prowess and force in a bad as well as in a good cause—a reflex of the spirit of the marauding age in which he lived. His statements accordingly cannot often be accepted as even an approach to history.

¹ The genealogy of Bhai Gurbakhsh Singh was follows. Bhai Budha who lived from the time of Guru Nanak to that of Guru Har Gobind, begot Bhāna who begot Sarwan, who begot Jalil, who begot Jhanda, who begot Gurditta who begot Bhai Rām Kanwar (Gurbakhsh Singh).

We shall now notice works called *Janamsakhis*, which profess to be biographies of Guru Nanak. These compositions were obviously written at very different epochs after the demise of the Guru, and give very different and contradictory details of his life. In all of them miraculous acts and supernatural conversations are recorded. The question of these *Janamsakhis* is of such supreme importance, as showing the extent to which pious fiction can proceed in fabricating details of the lives of religious teachers,¹ that we must devote some space to a consideration of them.

One of the most popular *Janam-sakhis* is a large volume of 588 folio pages lithographed at Lahore. It is plentifully embellished with woodcuts, and its editor states that in its compilation he has expended vast pains, having collated books which he had brought from great distances at vast trouble and expense. He boasts that no one can produce such a book. If any one dare reprint it without his permission he shall be sued and mulcted in damages in a court of justice. The work is apparently based on Bhai Santokh Singh's *Nanak Parkash*.

To gain credence for a biography it is of course necessary to have a narrator, and to be assured that the narrator is no fictitious person. In the present, and indeed in all the popular *Janamsakhis*, which no doubt have been compiled by altering some one original volume, a person called Bhai Bala is made the narrator. He is represented as having been three years younger than Guru Nanak, and as having accompanied him in the capacity of faithful and confidential

¹ Compare the manner in which *Janamsakhis* or gospels were multiplied in the early Christian Church. "Vast numbers of spurious writings bearing the names of apostles and their followers, and claiming more or less direct apostolic authority, were in circulation in the early Church—Gospels according to Peter, to Thomas, to James, to Judas, according to the Apostles, or according to the Twelve, to Barnabas, to Matthias, to Nicodemus &c., and ecclesiastical writers bear abundant testimony to the early and rapid growth of apocryphal literature. *Supernatural Religion*, vol. 1, p. 291. It may be incidentally mentioned that it was the Gospel according to Barnabas which Muhammad used in the composition of the Qur'an.

attendant in all his wanderings. Bala is said to have dictated the biography to Patra by order of Guru Angad, the Guru next in succession to Guru Nanak. What the value of this *Janamsakhi* is we shall briefly consider.

It is generally written in the current Punjabi dialect, with a slight admixture of archaic words and no more corresponds with the dialect of the age of Guru Nanak and Guru Angad, whose compositions have descended to us and can be examined, than the English of the present day corresponds with that of Chaucer or *Piers Plowman*. If Patra wrote from Bala's dictation, where is the original volume, which of course was written in the language of the time? When Bala proffered to dictate the biography, Guru Angad, who was well acquainted with Guru Nanak, knew so little of Bala that he is represented as having asked him whose disciple he was, and if he had ever seen Nanak. This does not appear as if Bala, supposing him to have ever existed, had been an eye-witness of Guru Nanak's deeds or a trustworthy authority for the particulars of his life. If he had been his fitness for the duty of biographer would have been well known to Guru Angad, who was a constant companion of Guru Nanak in the end of his life.

In Gur Das's eleventh *Var* is found a list of well-known Sikhs up to his time. He does not state what Sikhs were converted by or lived in the time of each Guru. Mun Singh, in the *Bhagat Ratnasakhi*, has given the same list with fuller particulars of the Sikhs. Among them Bhai Bala is not mentioned. This *Janamsakhi* professes to have been written in the *Sambat* year 1592,¹ when Guru Nanak was still alive and three years before Angad had obtained the Guruship. An earlier recension of the same biography professes to have been written in *Sambat* 1582, or thirteen years before the demise of Guru Nanak.

There were three great schisms of the Sikh religion which led to the falsification of old, or the composition of new *Janamsakhis*. The schismatics were known as the *Udasis*,

¹ The *Sambat* or *Vikramāditya* era is fifty-seven years prior to *anno domini*.

the Minas, and the Handalis. The first schism of the Sikhs began immediately after the demise of Guru Nanak.¹ Some of his followers adopted Sri Chand, his elder son, as his successor, and repudiated the nomination of Guru Angad. The followers of Sri Chand were termed Udasis, or the solitary, and they now constitute a large body of devout and earnest men. Anand Ghan, one of their number, has in recent times written the life of Guru Nanak. It contains an apotheosis of Sri Chand, and states that he was an incarnation of God and the only true successor of Guru Nanak.

The second schismatical body of the Sikhs were the Minas. Ram Das, the fourth Guru had three sons, Prithi Chand, Mahadev and Arjan. Prithi Chand proved unfilial and disobedient. Mahadev became a religious enthusiast, while Arjan, the youngest, followed in the steps of his father. To Arjan, therefore, he bequeathed the Guruship. Prithi Chand he stigmatised as Mina or deceitful, a name given to a robber tribe in Rajputana. Prithi Chand, however, succeeded in obtaining a following, whom he warned against association with the Sikhs of Guru Arjan. Consequently enmity between both sects has existed up to the present time. Utharban the son of Prithi Chand wrote a Janamsakhi of Guru Nanak in which he glorified his own father. Here there was ample opportunity for the manipulation of details. It is in this Janamsakhi of the Minas we first find mention of Bhai Bala.

The Handalis, the third schismatic sect of the Sikhs were the followers of Handal a Jat of the Manjha, who had been converted to the Sikh religion by Guru Amar Das.

¹ There are now several sects of the religion of Guru Nanak. It appears from the testimony of St. Paul that the early Christian Church was similarly divided. 'For it hath been declared unto me of you, my brethren, by them which are of the house of Chloe, that there are contentions among you. Now this I say that every one of you saith I am of Paul, and I of Apollos, and I of Cephas, and I of Christ. Is Christ divided? was Paul crucified for you? or were you baptised in the name of Paul?' (1 Cor. i. 11-13). Schisms appear to be the law of all religions. They began in Islam after the death of the Prophet's companions. Islam it is said, now numbers seventy-three different sects.

the third Sikh Guru Boddhi Chand, a descendant of Handal, was a Sikh priest at Jandsala, in the Amritsar district. He took unto himself a Muhammadan woman, whom he attached to him rather by ties of love than of law, and upon this he was abandoned by his followers.

He then devised a religion of his own, and compiled a Granth and a Janamsakhi to correspond. In both he sought to exalt to the rank of chief apostle his father Handal, and degrade Guru Nanak, the legitimate Sikh Guru. For this purpose creative fancy was largely employed. To serve the double object of debasing Guru Nanak and justifying himself to men, he stated that Nanak had also taken unto himself a Muhammadan woman bound to him by no bonds save those of lucre and ephemeral affection.

According to this biographer, Guru Nanak on his journey to Sach Khand, the true region, or the Land of the Real, met the Hindu saint Dhru. One day while on earth Dhru sat on his father's lap, and was removed by his step-mother. For this trivial slight he left his home and turned his thoughts to God. God accepted his worship, and in recognition thereof offered him the highest place in heaven. The pole, as not moving is supposed to have the position of honour, and there Vishnu set him in the centre of the stars. Dhru began to converse with Guru Nanak, and told him that only one man, Kabir, had previously been able to visit that select and happy region. Here there was a covert depreciation of Guru Nanak. Kabir, a famous religious teacher, by caste a weaver, was his precursor, and the Handal's object was to show that Guru Nanak was a follower of Kabir and not an original thinker. Guru Nanak is then represented to have said that a third man, Handal, was approaching, and would be present in the twinkling of an eye.

Guru Nanak, proceeds the Handal writer, continued his journey to Sach Khand, and there found Kabir fanning God, who is represented as the four-armed Hindu deity Vishnu. A rude drawing in the Handal Janamsakhi represents God and Kabir in truly anthropomorphic fashion as a priest and his attendant disciple.

Nanak informed God that he had not fully carried out the orders he had obtained prior to his departure to earth and his human manifestation. He had only promulgated God's message in three directions. The western portion of the world remained still ignorant and unvisited. He was therefore remanded by God to fully accomplish his mission. On his return to earth he met in one of the lower worlds a Jogi with whom, as was his wont, he entered into familiar conversation. The Jogi in reply to Nanak's question, told him that he had been, in a previous state of existence in the Treta age, a servant of Raja Janak, King of Mithila, and father-in-law of the renowned deified hero Ram Chander. Nanak is made to confess to him that he, too, had been a servant of Raja Janak, and that they had both served under the same roof in the same mental capacity. The Jogi then questioned Nanak as to his secular position in the Dwapar age. Nanak is represented as saying with the same unsuspecting frankness that he had been the son of a teli or oil-presser, a trade held to be offensive and degrading to Hindus. Thus was the depreciation of Guru Nanak complete.

Such were the fictitious narratives introduced into the Janamsakhis, and, the reins of fancy having once been let loose it was difficult for the Handalis to know at what goal to pause. The result was a total transformation of the biographies of Guru Nanak which they had found in existence. This occurred about the year A D 1640. Bidha Chand died in the year A D 1654. His successor was Devi Das, whom his Musalman companion bore him.

The Handah heresy was opportune for its followers. Zakaria Khan Bahadur, the Muhammadan Governor of the Panjab, about a century afterwards, set a price on the head of every Sikh. At first he offered twenty-five, then ten, and finally five rupees. The heads of Sikhs were supplied in abundance by both Musalmans and Hindus.¹

¹ It was, as we shall subsequently see, a Brâhman who betrayed the sons of Guru Gobind Singh, and placed them at the disposal of the Muhammadan Governor of Sahind, who barbarously murdered them.

and the price offered was consequently reduced by degrees. The Handals protested to the officials of Zakaria that they were not Sikhs of Nanak, but a totally different sect who merited not persecution, and in proof of this they pointed to their Granth, and their Janamsakhi, and to the Musalman companion of Bidhi Chand. Notwithstanding these subterfuges, the Handals were subsequently persecuted and deprived of their land by Maharaja Ranjit Singh, but they still exist as a small community, whose head quarters are at Jandiala, where the guardians of their temple enjoy a jagir or fief from the British Government. They are now known by the name of Niranjane, or followers of the bright God (Niranjani).

In the present age, accustomed as we are to the use and multiplication of printed books, it is not at once easy to realize how records of every description could have been forged, altered, and destroyed in an age when manuscripts only existed. It must be remembered that books then were few, and that combinations among their possessors, especially if supported by political power or religious fanaticism, could easily be effected. The Handals apparently had sufficient influence to destroy nearly all the older accounts of the life of Guru Nanak.

But, apart from this altogether, there is no doubt that there was a great destruction of Sikh manuscripts during the persecution of the Sikh faith by the Muhammadan authorities. Sikh works or treatises preserved in shrines became special objects of attack. Their existence was known and could not be denied by the Sikh priests, and systematic raids were organized to take possession of them. It was only copies preserved by private individuals, living at a distance from the scenes of persecution, which had any chance of escape from the fury of the Moslems.¹

¹ This finds a parallel in the destruction of Christian writings by fanatical Romans prior to the time of the Emperor Constantine. The records of the Christian persecutions show that the Christian priests who surrendered their sacred writings subsequently received severe treatment at the hands of their co-religionists. Compare the manner

All the *Handah* and modern *Janamsakhs* give Kartik as the month in which Baba Nanak was born. In *Mam Singh's* and all the old *Janamsakhs* the Guru's natal month is given as *Baisakh*. The following is the manner in which Kartik began to be considered as the Guru's natal month. There lived in the time of Maharaja Ranjit Singh, at Amritsar, Bhai Sant Singh Gyani, who was held in high estimation by that monarch. Some five miles from Amritsar is an ancient tank called the *Rām Tirath* or place of pilgrimage of the Hindu god Rām. At that place a Hindu fair was and is still held at the time of the full moon in the month of Kartik. The spot is essentially Hindu, and it had the further demerit in the eyes of the Bhai of having been repaired by Lakhpat, the prime minister of Zakaria Khan Bahadur the inhuman persecutor of the Sikhs. Bhai Sant Singh desired to establish an opposition fair in Amritsar on the same date, and thus prevent the Sikhs from making the Hindu pilgrimage to *Rām Tirath*. He gravely adopted the *Handah* date of Guru Nanak's birth, and proclaimed that his new fair at Amritsar at the full moon in the month of Kartik was in honour of the nativity of the founder of his religion.

There is no doubt that Guru Nanak was born in *Baisakh*. All the older *Janamsakhs* give that as Guru Nanak's natal month. As late as the *Sambat* year 1872 it was in *Baisakh* that the anniversary fair of Guru Nanak's birth was always celebrated at Nankana. And finally the *Nanak Parkash*, which gives the full moon in Kartik, *Sambat* 1526, as the time of Guru Nanak's birth and the tenth of the dark half of *Assu*, *Sambat* 1596, as the date of his death, states with strange inconsistency that he lived seventy years five months and seven days,¹ a total which is irreconcilable with these dates, but it is very nearly reconcilable with the date of the Guru's birth given in the old *Janamsakhs*.

in which the Gospel according to the Hebrews, the *Memoirs of the Apostles*, and other valuable Christian records used by the early fathers of the Church have been destroyed and lost for ever to the world.

¹ The usually accepted horoscopes and ages of the Gurus are given in a work called the *Gur Parkash*.

How the month of Kartik was subsequently ratified by orthodox Sikhs as the month of Guru Nanak's nativity is also a curious instance of the manner in which religious anniversaries and observances can be prescribed and adopted. Bhai Harbhagat Singh, of Shahid Ganj in Lahore was a Sikh of high consideration. He long debated in his own mind whether he would accept Baisakh or Kartik as the month of Guru Nanak's nativity. At last he submitted the matter to the arbitrament of chance. He wrote the word Baisakh on one slip of paper and Kartik on the other, placed both papers in front of the Granth Sahib, and sent an unlettered boy, who had previously performed religious ablution in the sacred tank, to take up one of them. The boy selected the one on which Kartik had been written.¹

Other reasons, too, for the alterations of the date can easily be imagined. In the beginning of the month of Baisakh there have been large Hindu fairs held from time immemorial to celebrate the advent of spring. These fairs were visited by the early Sikhs as well as by their Hindu countrymen, and it would on many accounts have been very inconvenient to make the birth of Guru Nanak synchronise with them. The comparatively small number of Sikh visitors at a special Sikh fair in the early days of the Sikh religion would have compared unfavourably with the large number of Hindu pilgrims at the Baisakha fair, and furthermore, the selection of the month of October, when few Hindu fairs are held, and when the weather is more suitable for the distant journey to Nankana, would probably lead to a large gathering of Hindus at a Sikh shrine.

One difference of opinion among the victims of priestcraft is apt to produce many. When the month of Kartik was adopted by the Handals as Guru Nanak's birth time, a discussion arose as to whether it was the lunar or the solar

¹ In the East sacred books are often employed in this way for purposes of divination. In the Middle Ages the Bible, and in earlier times the poems of Homer, Virgil, and others, were used for the same purpose.

Kartik, there being a considerable difference between these forms of chronology. The partisans of the lunar Kartik, however, prevailed, the lunar month being the earlier form of calculation, and consequently the most acceptable to all persons whose religion is based on any form of Hinduism. Generally the confusion of solar and lunar chronology is the cause of much perplexity and qualms of conscience to the pious.¹

The last Janamsakhi which we shall notice was written by a Sikh called Sewa Das.² Of this we have obtained several copies. One of them in our possession bears the date Sambat 1645 = A D 1588. It was therefore completed at least sixteen years before the compilation of the Granth Sahib by Guru Arjan, which is admitted to have taken place in A D 1604. Its language is that of Pothohar, the country between the Jihlam and the Indus, and its written character is unmistakably more ancient than that of any other Gurumukhi book now in existence.

This Janamsakhi appears to have escaped the notice of both Gur Das and Mann Singh. Had Gur Das seen it, he would doubtless have given a fuller account of the life of Guru Nanak, and, had it been known to Mann Singh, he would probably have referred to it or criticised its details. While persecutions of the Sikhs were raging south of Lahore, and the other detailed memoirs of Guru Nanak's life, including those of Bhai Mann Singh, were destroyed, this Janamsakhi was preserved in Pothohar, where Moslem bigotry was not then aggressively exercised.

In this biography there is no mention whatever of Bhai

¹ The late Bhai Gurumukh Singh, who first gave the author these details, afterwards put himself at the head of a deputation to move the Government of the Panjth to declare the fictitious anniversary of Guru Nanak's birth a public holiday. That Government accordingly added a second Sikh holiday to the already long list of Christian, Hindu, and Muhammadan holidays sanctioned in its calendar. The other special Sikh holiday is the Holi Mahalla, the day on which the tenth Guru held a mimic battle for the instruction of his troops.

² The late Sir Atar Singh, Chief of Bhadour, gave the author this information.

Bala. There is, however, mention made of Mardana, who undoubtedly accompanied Baba Nanak as his minstrel in most, if not all, of his wanderings. Thus Janamsakhi again is deformed by mythological matter which Baba Nanak himself would have been the first to repudiate.

Notwithstanding exaggerations, such as occur in all religions which deal with avatars or incarnations, the Janamsakhi now under consideration is beyond dispute the most trustworthy detailed record we possess of the life of Guru Nanak. It contains much less mythological matter than any other Gurumukhi life of the Guru, and is a much more rational, consistent, and satisfactory narrative. At the same time it is, of course, the product of legend and tradition, but there have in at least one memorable instance, been thought more trustworthy than written records in such cases.¹ We shall make this ancient Janamsakhi the basis of our own details of the life of Guru Nanak², supplementing it when necessary by cullings from the later lives of the Guru. At the same time we must premise that several of the details of this and of all the current Janamsakhis appear to us to be simply settings for the verses and sayings of Guru Nanak. His followers and admirers found dainty word-pictures in his compositions. They considered under what circumstances they could have been produced and thus devised the framework of a biography in which to exhibit them to the populace.

The deeds that have been done, the prophecies that have been uttered, and the instruction that has been imparted by that great procession of holy men, the Sikh Gurus, will be found described in the following pages. In the Gurus the East shook off the torpor of ages, and unburdened itself

¹ Pappas, a father of the Christian Church, who flourished about A.D. 130, wrote that he considered what he obtained from the living and abiding voice of men would profit him more in obtaining accurate details of the life of Christ than what was recorded in the gospels.

² That accomplished Sikh scholar and saintly man, the late Bhai Dett Singh, has also made the Janamsakhi that we use the basis of his Gurumukhi life of Guru Nanak.

of the heavy weight of ultra-conservatism which had paralysed the genius and intelligence of its people. Only those who know India by actual experience can adequately appreciate the difficulties the Gurus encountered in their efforts to reform and awaken the sleeping nation.

Those who, secure in their own wisdom and infallibility, and dwelling apart from the Indian people spurn all knowledge of their theological systems, and thus deem Sikhism a heathen religion, and the spiritual happiness and loyalty of its followers negligible items, are men whose triumph shall be short-lived and whose glory shall not descend with the accompaniment of minstrel raptures to future generations. I am not without hope that when enlightened rulers become acquainted with the merits of the Sikh religion they will not willingly let it perish in the great abyss in which so many creeds have been engulfed.

LIFE OF GURU NANAK

CHAPTER I

To recapitulate what has been more fully stated in the Introduction, Guru Nanak, the founder of the Sikh religion, was born, according to all ancient Sikh records, in the early morning of the third day of the light half of the month of Baisakh (April-May) in the year A D 1469, but for convenience sake his anniversary is now observed by the Sikhs on the occasion of the full moon in the month of Kartik (October-November). His father, who was called Kalu, was accountant in the village of Talwandi in the present Lahore District of the Panjab, and his mother was Tripta, memorable in Sikh writings for her devotion to her son.

The Sikh biographers recount in minute detail all the circumstances of the birth of Guru Nanak. Daulatan, a midwife, assisted on the occasion. When next morning interrogated by the astrologer Hardial, who came to write the child's horoscope, as to the nature of the voice uttered by him at birth, she said it was as the laughing voice of a wise man joining a social gathering, and she expressed herself at her wits' end to comprehend the child's nature. The astrologer desired to see him, but his mother refused owing to the chillness of the weather. He pressed the matter, and the child was brought to him in his swaddling clothes. The astrologer on seeing the infant is said to have worshipped him with clasped hands. He declared the child should wear the umbrella, the symbol of regal or prophetic dignity in the East. At the same time he regretted that he should never live to see young Nanak's eminence, worshipped as he should be alike by Hindus and Musalmans, and not merely by Hindus.

as in the previous human manifestations of the Creator. The child's name should resound both in earth and heaven. Inanimate nature should cry out 'Nanak, Nanak' !¹ He should have power over matter so as to traverse unscathed the depths of the ocean. He should worship and acknowledge but one God, and the creature he should treat as a creature. In other words he should be a monotheist, not a worshipper of minor deities and idols.

At the unripe age of five years Nanak is said to have begun to talk of divine subjects, and to have fully understood the meaning of his language. Great trust was reposed in him, and both Hindus and Musalmans lavished on him their characteristic language of religious adulation.

At Nankana¹ every place with which Nanak had any association is deemed sacred. On the spot where he used to play with children of his own age and subsequently spend nights in devotion, there was a small tank constructed by Rai Bular, the landlord of the village, in affectionate remembrance of the childhood of the Guru, at a time when his fame had extended far and wide. The tank was greatly enlarged by Kaura Mal, the Diwan or financial minister of Zakaria Khan, who was satrap of Lahore. Kaura Mal was an enthusiastic admirer of Guru Nanak, and lent his great material and political influence to the amelioration of the condition of the Sikhs. The spot is called Balkhira or the child's playground.

When Nanak was seven years of age, his father in the manner of Hindus asked the village astrologer to select an auspicious time for the commencement of the boy's education. The schoolmaster thought the time had arrived. The school appears to have been a humble one, and the tuition fees not exorbitant. Kalu's wife and not, as in modern times, the village money-lender was the custodian of the wealth of the house. Kalu took from her a coin corresponding to three

¹ It which name Talwandi is now known.

farthings of English money, some betel-nut, and rice, and presented them to the schoolmaster with his son. In India wooden tablets painted black are employed in teaching children the letters of their language. The schoolmaster writes the letters with a kind of liquid chalk on the tablet, and the children repeat their names aloud with much noise and energy. The schoolmaster wrote the alphabet for Nanak, and the latter copied it from memory after one day.

It is said that on that occasion the young Guru made an acrostic on his alphabet. As in similar compositions in other languages, the letters were taken consecutively, and words whose initials they formed were employed to give metrical expression to the Guru's divine aspirations, his tenets, and his admiration of the attributes of the Creator.

The acrostic called the *patti* or tablet in the Rag¹ Asa is as follows —

- S The one Lord who created the world is the Lord of all
 Fortunate is their advent into the world, whose
 hearts remain attached to God's service
 O foolish man, why hast thou forgotten Him ?
 When thou adjustest thine account, my friend,
 thou shalt be *deemed* educated
- I The Primal Being is the Giver, He alone is true
 No account shall be due by the pious man who
 understandeth by means of these letters

¹ Indian writers enumerate six principal Rāgs or musical measures, namely, *Sri Rāg*, *Bhairav*, *Mālikarjūn*, *Hindol*, *Dīpak*, *Alargh*. To these are allotted 'waves' and 'sons', which are modifications of the principal *ara*, and are often sung differently in different provinces of India. The hymns of the Granth Sāhib were composed to as many as thirty-one such musical measures, the names of which are as follows — *Sri Rāg*, *Māyā*, *Gauri*, *Āsa Gōjari*, *Dāgrudhārī*, *Bāḍārā*, *Wadhane*, *Scorath*, *Dhānāsurī*, *Jatsarī*, *Todi*, *Banārī*, *Tilang*, *Sāhā*, *Bilīwal*, *Gaund*, *Rāmkaḥ*, *Nat*, *Māligaura*, *Māra Tukhārī*, *Kedāra Bhairav*, *Basant*, *Sarang*, *Malār*, *Kāra*, *Kaldā*, *Prabhat*, *Jaytsana*. For further information see *Rāga Sri Surindra Mohan Tagore's* learned works on Indian music. The Rāgs in European musical notation will be found at the end of the fifth volume of this work.

- U Praise Him whose limit cannot be found
 They who practise truth and perform service shall
 obtain their reward
- N He who knoweth divine knowledge is the learned
 pandit¹
 He who knoweth the one God in all creatures
 would never say 'I exist by myself'
- K When the hair groweth white, it shineth without
 soap
 King Death's hunters follow him who is bound
 by the chain of mammon²
- KH The Creator Lord of the world, giveth sustenance
 to His slaves
 All the world is bound in His bonds, no other
 authority prevaleth
- G He who hath renounced the singing of God's word,
 is arrogant in his language
 He who fashioned vessels made kilns in which He
 put them and burnt them
- GH The servant who performeth the Guru's³ work, who
 remaineth obedient to His commands,
 Who deemeth bad and good as the same, shall in
 this way be absorbed in Him
- CH He who made the four Veda,⁴ the four manes,⁵ and
 the four ages,⁶
 Hath been in every age a Jogi, a worldly man, or
 a learned pandit

¹ Pandit means a learned man, but the title is now appropriated by Brāhmins versed in Sanskrit literature

² Māyā In the sacred writings of the Sikhs this word has two meanings—one is mammon, as the word is here translated, the other is illusion or God's mystic power by which He created matter

³ The word Guru means great Here it stands for God In a secondary sense, it is applied to a great religious teacher

⁴ They are the Rig, Sām, Yajur, and Atharv, composed in the most ancient form of the Sanskrit language In Sikh literature they are named the white, the red, the yellow, and the black Veda

⁵ In the East four sources of life are enumerated It is there said that animals are born from eggs, wombs, the earth, and perspiration

⁶ The Sat, Tīrtā, Dvīpar, and Kal, corresponding to the golden, silver, brass, and iron ages of Greece and Rome

CHH God's shadow is over everything, doubt is His doing

O God, having created doubt, Thou Thyself leadest man astray They whom Thou favourest meet the Guru

J Thy slave, who wandered in the eighty-four lakhs¹ of existences, beggeth and prayeth for divine knowledge

There is One who taketh, One who giveth, I have heard of none other

JH Why die of grief, O mortal? What God hath to give He continueth to give

He giveth, beholdeth and issueth His orders how living things are to obtain sustenance

N When I look carefully I see no other *than God*
The one God pervadeth all places, the one God dwelleth in the heart

T O mortals, why practise deceit? Ye shall have to depart in a ghan² or two

Lose not the play of your lives, run and fall under God's protection

TH Comfort pervadeth the hearts of those whose minds are attached to God's feet

They whose minds are so attached are saved, O Lord, and obtain happiness by Thy favour

D O mortal, why make display? all that existeth is transitory

Serve Him who pervadeth all things, and thou shalt obtain happiness

DH He Himself destroyeth and buildeth, He acteth as He pleaseth

He beholdeth the work of His hands, issueth His orders, and saveth those on whom He looketh with favour

N He in whose heart God dwelleth singeth His praises

¹ It is believed in the East that there are 8,400,000 species of animal life through which the soul may wander in transmigration
A lakh is one hundred thousand

² A ghan is a period of twenty-four minutes

The Creator blendeth men with Himself, and they
are not born again

T The terrible ocean¹ is deep, and none findeth its
end

We have no boat or raft, we are drowning, save
us, O Saviour King

TH He who made all things is in every place
What do men call doubt? What mammon?
That which pleaseth God a good

D Impute not blame to any one, *but rather* to thine
own karma²

I have suffered the consequences of my acts, I
may blame no one else

DH He who made things after their kinds holdeth the
power in *His own hands*

All receive what He giveth under His most bounti-
ful order

N The Master ever enjoyeth pleasure, He cannot be
seen or grasped

I am called a married woman, my sister, *but in
reality* I have never met my Husband³

P The King, the Supreme God, made the play of *the
world* to behold it

He seeth, understandeth, and knoweth everything,
He is within and without *His creation*

PH The whole world is entangled with a noose and
bound by Death's chain

They who by the Guru's favour have run to God
for protection, are saved

¹ In Sikh writings the world is likened to a terrible and stormy ocean which can only be traversed with difficulty, and in which man is ever liable to founder without spiritual guidance. The Guru supplies a boat for salvation.

² *Karma* are acts which follow the soul in its transmigration and hinder its progress to Nirvāṇa.

³ The Gurus speak of God as a husband and themselves as His wives, and spiritual happiness they liken to conjugal bliss. This belief has to some extent a parallel in Greek mythology. Psyche, the human soul, having forfeited the love of Eros, the divine soul, endured various sufferings to regain the affection of her lover.

- B God began to play by making the four ages His
chaupar board¹
He made men and lower animals His dice, and
began to throw them Himself
- BH They who search and feel fear by the favour of
the Guru obtain the fruit *thereof*
The perverse, fools that they are, wander and heed
not, and so transmigrate in the eighty-four
lakhs of animals
- M God destroyeth worldly love, is it *only* at death
man is to remember Him?²
Other thoughts possess man and he forgetteth the
letter M³
- Y If man recognize the True One, he shall not be
born again
The holy man uttereth, the holy man understand-
eth, the holy man knoweth but the one God
- R God pervadeth all the creatures He hath made
Having created creatures He appointed them all
to *their* duties, they to whom He is kind take
His name
- L He who appointed creatures to their duties, made
worldly love sweet
He giveth eating and drinking equally to all, and
ordereth them as He pleaseth
- W The Supreme Being who created the vesture of *the*
world to behold it,
Seeth, tasteth, and knoweth everything, He is
contained within and without the world
- R Why quarrel, O mortal? meditate on God, under
whose order is *creation*
Meditate on Him, be absorbed in the True One,
and be a sacrifice unto Him
- H There is no other Giver than He who created crea-
tures and gave them sustenance
Meditate on God's name, be absorbed in God's

¹ Chaupar is the Indian draughts

² The initial of Madhusūdan one of the names applied to God
It may also be the initial of the Arabic word *marat*, death

name, and thou shalt night and day derive
profit therefrom

A What God who made *the world* hath to do He continueth to do

He acteth and causeth others to act , He knoweth
everything , thus saith the poet Nanak

Nanak appears to have continued to attend school for some time One day he was observed to remain silent, and not apply himself to his books The schoolmaster asked him why he was not reading Nanak inquired, 'Art thou sufficiently learned to teach me ?' The schoolmaster replied that he had read everything He knew the Veds and Shastars,¹ and he had learned to cast up accounts, post ledgers and daybooks, and strike balances Upon this Nanak said, 'To your accomplishments I prefer the study of divine knowledge' He then composed the following hymn —

Burn worldly love, grind *its* ashes and make it into ink ,²
turn superior intellect into paper

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

Write *God's* name, write His praises, write that He hath
neither end nor limit

O master, learn to write this account,

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

There³ greatness is obtained, everlasting joys, and everlasting
delights

They in whose hearts is the true Name, have the marks
of it on their brows

¹ Sanskrit works on the six philosophical systems of the Hindus They are—the Nyāya founded by Gautama, the Vaiśeṣika by Kaṇāda, the Sāṅkhya by Kapala, the Yoga by Patañjali the Mīmāṃsā by Jaimini the Vedānt by Vātsa The six systems have been learnedly expounded by Max Müller in his *Indian Philosophy*

² At that time in India ink was made from burnt almond-rind and gum

³ Corresponding to *œd* in Greek, the next world

By God's mercy men obtain it and not by idle words
One man cometh, another goeth, we give them great
names¹

Some men God created to beg, and some to *preside over*
great courts

When they have departed, they shall know that without
the Name² they are of no account

I greatly fear Thine anger, O God, my body pineth and
wasteth away

They, who have been called kings and lords are beheld as
ashes

Nanak,³ when man departeth all false affections are
sundered⁴

Upon this the schoolmaster became astonished,
did Nanak homage as a perfect saint, and told him
to do what he pleased

Nanak having thus shown his scholastic proficiency left school and took to private study and meditation. He remained for long periods in the same attitude, whether sleeping or waking, and associated continually with religious men.

The scholastic ignorance of the founders of great

¹ Literally—we call them commanders. This refers to the custom of parents giving their sons high sounding names.

² In the Sikh writings the word Name is frequently used for God. A somewhat similar practice was known to the ancient Jews (Amos vi. 10). At a time too early to be traced the Jews abstained from pronouncing the name Jehovah for fear of its irreverent use, and uttered instead Adonai or Lord. In connection with this we may say that the repetition of God's name is one of the principal forms of Sikh worship. Set forms of prayer are apt to be repeated mechanically or ostentatiously, and it was believed that by the constant heartfelt repetition of God's name man should be eventually absorbed in Him, and thus obtain the supreme object of human birth after countless transigrations.

³ In Oriental poetical works it is usual for the poet to insert his real or assumed name—*akhallār*—in the end of a composition or section of a composition. This practice is unknown to European poets except in the case of professed imitators of Oriental poetry. Were we there fore to omit the word 'Nanak' wherever it occurs, we should be consulting the taste of European readers, but the Sikhs do not desire such an omission.

⁴ See Rāg

religions has been made the subject of many a boast on the part of their followers. The object, of course, is that the acquirements and utterances of the religious teachers may be attributed solely to divine inspiration. We see no reason for ascribing a want of education to the founder of the Sikh religion, and the manner in which his learning was acquired is not difficult to understand. Had he remained at the humble village school, there is no reason to suppose that he would have acquired any considerable knowledge, but in the dense forests around Talwandi were to be found ascetics and anchorites who sought the extreme retirement of the locality for the combined objects of undisturbed prayer and escape from the persecution of bigoted Moslem rulers. All the Janamsakhis are unanimous in stating that Nanak courted the retirement of the forest and the society of the religious men who frequented it. Several of them were profoundly versed in the Indian religious literature of the age. They had also travelled far and wide within the limits of Hindustan and met its renowned religious teachers. Nanak thus became acquainted with the latest teachings of Indian philosophers and reformers. The satisfaction which he derived from spiritual thought and religious association he thus expressed —

Let Jogs practise Jog,¹ let gluttons practise gluttony,

Let penitents practise penance, and rub and bathe themselves at places of pilgrimage,

But let me listen to Thy songs, O Beloved, if any will sit and sing them to me

The names of the men with whom Nanak associated in the forest and who sang to him the songs of the Lord are all lost, and their excellences merged as

¹ *Jog* connected with the Greek *ζωγν*, originally meant the union of the soul with God, and may be compared with the etymological meaning of the word 'religion'. They who practised *Jog* were called *Jogs*. The word *Jog* is now applied to certain practices of the *Jogs* which are detailed in the *Aptarims of Patanjali*.

by a process of nirvan in the religious splendour of the founder of the Sikh religion. But more perhaps than learning from the lips of religious masters were his own undisturbed communings with nature, with his own soul, and with his Creator. The voice that had spoken to many a seer again became vocal in that wilderness, and raised Nanak's thoughts to the summit of religious exaltation. In summer's heat and winter's frost, in the glory of the firmament, in the changeful aspects of nature, as well as in the joys and sorrows of the inhabitants of his little natal village, he read in bright characters and repeated with joyous iteration the name of the Formless Creator. The Name henceforth became the object of his continual worship and meditation and indeed one of the distinctive features of his creed.

As a man soweth so shall he reap, as he earneth so shall he eat.

No inquiry shall be made hereafter regarding the utterers of the Name. With banners flying shall they go to heaven.¹

Men are judged according to their acts.

The breath drawn without the thought of God is wasted in vain.

I would sell this body if only I found a purchaser.

Nanak, the body which is not filled with the true Name is of no account.²

There is also proof from the satisfactory internal evidence of his own compositions that Guru Nanak studied the Persian language. Kalu felt that the society of religious men was not likely to advance his son's secular interests. Rai Bular promised that if Nanak learned Persian, in which all state documents and accounts were then written, he would appoint him village accountant in succession to his father. Persian was never the tongue of Hindus and was despised by them as the language of foreigners and conquerors.

¹ *See mukharri jai*. Also translated—if they bear Thy mark.

² *Suh*.

and of impure Musalman literature,¹ but Hindus in the age of Nanak applied themselves to it as they do now—for the simple purpose of obtaining a livelihood. Nanak soon astonished his Persian as he had previously astonished his Hindu teacher. In reply to Rukn-ul-Din's injunctions he assumed the role of teacher in turn and composed the following acrostic on the letters of the Persian alphabet —

ALIF Remember God and banish neglect of Him from thy heart

Accursed the life of him in this world who breatheth without uttering the Name

BE Renounce heresy and walk according to the Shariat²
Be humble before every one, and call no one bad

TE Repent with sincerity of heart lest thou *afterwards* grieve

Thy body shall perish thy mouth shall be burned with it, what canst thou do then?

SE Praise God very much, draw not thy breath without doing so,

Or thou shalt be offered for sale from shop to shop, and not an adh³ shall be obtained for thee

JIM Put together travelling expenses, and pack up wherewithal to go with thee

Without the Lord thou shalt trudge about wearily

HE Embrace humility, renounce the pride of thy heart,
Restrain thy wandering mind, O Rukn-ul-Din, and every moment remember thy Creator

KHE They were traitors who forgot their Creator,

¹ In the institutes of Parfiar there is found an injunction not to speak the language of the inhabitants of Yavus—a word which originally meant Greece, but was afterwards applied to Arabia—even though it save life from being used by the throat. Parfiar possessed the Hindu abhorrence of strange countries and gave expression to it. His words are now understood by the Hindus to refer to the language of the Mussulmans, though there were no Mussulmans for centuries after his time.

² Muhammadan law.

³ About an eighth of a farthing of English money.

Their minds were bent on the hoarding of wealth,
and they bore loads *of sin* upon their heads

DAL Be honest, O man, and sleep not during the eight
watches of *day and night*

Awake for one watch and hold converse with God

ZAL Remember God, O man, vacillate not an iota ,
So shall *hell* fire not touch thee at all, and thy
covetousness and worldly love be at an end

RE The advantage of faith thou shalt know when thou
arrivest before God—

Restrain the five evil passions,¹ O Rukn-ul-Din, and
apply thy heart to God

ZE Practise humility, the Lord is independent ,
He doeth what he pleaseth , what certainty is there
regarding His acts ?

SIN Search thy heart , the Lord is in thee
The body is a vessel *which He wrought*, and into
which He infused His workmanship and skill

SHIN Thou shalt obtain martyrdom if thou die for the
love of the dear One

O Rukn-ul-Din, this *human* body shall depart ,
while is it pray to obtain God

SUAD Let thy mind be contented when thou obtainest
thine allotted food

God who gave thee the disease of hunger is thy
physician

ZUAD God's splendour is lost for those who associate
themselves with worldly affairs

Arise, look before thee, and regard not the play of
the world

TOE Embrace tariqat and enter upon marafat ,²
This body of thine shall become a heap of dust in
the grave

ZOE They were tyrants who heeded not the Name

¹ Lust, anger, covetousness, worldly love, and pride

² There are four stages of Sûfism : Shariat, the law or external ceremonies ; Tariqat, walking in God's way ; Mîrafat, Divine knowledge ; Haqiqat, certainty or union with God . Many learned natives of India believe that the Sûfî system is based on Vedānt

How can man obtain peace without his Master ?

'AIN Practise good works to the best of thy power
Without good works and virtues man shall die *full*
of regret

GHAİN O Rukn-ul-Din, they are rich who know them-
selves—

In this cage *of the body* God who hath neither mother
nor father sporteth

FE Have done with the world, and think it not thine own
If thou deem it to belong to God, thou shalt not be
confounded

QAF They in whose hearts the love of God hath arisen
shall have no rest *til they find Him*
The bodies of those who have met the Lord God
have become refined gold

KAF Remember thy creed, in what else is there profit ?
O Rukn-ul-Din, be not excessively addicted to
sensuality

GAF Man's mind is wanton, if thou restrain it,
Thou shalt plant thy feet firmly on the way to
haqiqat

LAM May curses rain on those who abandon their prayers !
They lose whatever little or much they have
earned

MIM Willfulness is prohibited, walk as thy religious guide
directeth thee
The wealth of those, saith Nanak, who have not
given alms shall slip away

NUN Look to truth alone, and know that the world is false
They who think the world is true shall die con-
founded

WAW They become saints who associate with the true
The more they remember God, the more they love
Him

HE Be in fear of that day when God will judge thee
What order will He pass in our case, O Rukn-ul-
Din ?

LAM They on whom He casteth His look of mercy have
become worthy

What is desire for life if a man regulate not his own conduct ?

ALIF God is in thee, why thinkest thou not on Him,
O ignorant man ?

By service to the guru God is found, and deliverance
obtained at last

YE Love God whose empire is everlasting

He is unrivalled, O Nanak, and in need of no one¹

There are numerous Persian words and some Persian verses of the Guru found in the Granth Sahib, and it may be accepted as a fact that he became a fair Persian scholar. It is highly probable that his habit of free thought and toleration for other men's opinions were assisted by his perusal of the Muhammadan writings with which the Persian language abounds.

It does not appear that even the acquisition of Persian tended to give Nanak's thoughts a more practical direction. His father thought him insane, and was sore distressed for his future. He, however, sent him to herd buffaloes in the adjoining forest. Matters progressed smoothly for one day, but the next day Nanak fell asleep, and his cattle trespassed on a neighbour's field. The owner remonstrated, but Nanak said that God would bless the field. The owner was not to be diverted by this unpractical defence. He complained to Rai Bular, and the latter, hearing that Nanak was insane, was not content to send for him, but also for his father to adjust the quarrel. Nanak said that no injury had befallen the field. It was blessed by God. Rai Bular sent his own messengers to inspect the spot. On their arrival they found that not one blade had been trampled on or eaten. The field where this miracle is said to have occurred is pointed out to visitors. It is known as the Khara Sahib, or the *parterre par excellence*.

¹ This composition is not found in the Granth Sahib. Some Sikhs deny that it is the composition of Guru Nanak.

CHAPTER II

When Nanak had attained the age of nine years, his father determined to have him invested with the *janeu*, or sacrificial thread of the Hindus. Until a boy is so invested, he is deemed almost an out-cast. When the members and relations of the family, and all the neighbours, secular and religious, had assembled, and all preliminary rites had been duly performed, Hardial, the family priest, proceeded to put the sacred thread on Nanak's neck. 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 then explained that the *janeu* was the basis of the Hindu religion, that without it a man would only be a *Sudar*,¹ and that by putting it on greatness should be obtained in this world and happiness in the next. On hearing this the young Guru gave utterance to the following —

Make mercy thy cotton, contentment thy thread, con-
tinueance its knot, truth its twist

That would make a *janeu* for the soul, if thou have it,
O Brahman, then put it on me

It will not break, or become soiled, or be burned,
or lost

Blest the man, O Nanak, who goeth with such a thread
on his neck

Thou purchasest a *janeu* for four *damris*,² and seated in
a square puttest it on,

¹ There are four great *varnas* or castes of Hindus—Brahmans, the priestly class, Kshatri, the militant class, Vaisyas, the trading class, and Shūdras, the working class, the lowest of all. Of these castes there are now many subdivisions.

² Four *damris* is one *pausa* of Indian, or a farthing of English money.

Thou whisperest instruction that the Brahman is the guru of the *Hindus*—

Man dieth, the janeu falleth, and *the soul* departeth without it ¹

The priest explained that the custom of wearing a janeu had descended from the Vedic ritual, and that no Hindu could be deemed religious without wearing it. The Brahman then familiarly addressed the Guru, 'Thou art but a child of yesterday, and are we not as wise as thou?' Unless thou wear this thread thou shalt be deemed a person without religion.' Guru Nanak replied —

Though men commit countless² thefts, countless adulteries, utter countless falsehoods and countless words of abuse,

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

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

For the ceremony they kill a goat and cook and eat it, and everybody then saith 'Put on the janeu'

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

Nanak, the string breaketh not if it be strong

The Brahman priest, on hearing this, became angry and asked the Guru if everybody else was a fool, and he alone, who had abandoned the customs of his forefathers, was wise. He then called on the Guru to tell him what a proper janeu was. The Guru replied —

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

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

¹ *Āsa* in *Wār*. This composition will subsequently be given in *extenso*, and the meaning of the word *war* explained

² *Lotā*. Here used for an indefinite number

The Guru then wound up his instruction on the subject as follows —

There is no string for the sexual organs, there is no string for women ,

There is no string for the impure acts which cause your beards to be daily spat upon ,

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 astray,

Twisteth strings for the neck and putteth them on others

He taketh hire for marrying ,

He pulleth out a paper, and sheweth the fate of the wedded pair

Hear and see, ye people, it is strange

That, while mentally blind, man is named wise¹

We have seen in the Introduction to this work that Sultanpur was then the capital of the Jalandhar Doab. At that time and up to the period of British occupation, land revenue was generally collected in kind.² Surveyors and appraisers called Amils were dispatched from the capital to different districts. Amil Jas Ram was appointed to appraise the revenue demand of Talwandi. While one day surveying a corn-field, he observed Nanaki, sister of Nanak, drawing water from a well, and saw that she was fair to look upon. A marriage between them was arranged through the kind offices of Rai Bular. The lady went and lived with her husband at Sultanpur.

Nanak's marriage must have taken place soon after his sister's. It is related in the Janamsakhi which bears the name of Mani Singh, that Nanak was married at the age of fourteen. His marriage, as is usual in the East, was arranged for him as a matter of religious duty by his parents. He was

¹ *Am* to *W* 1r.

² Under the Emperor Akbar it was often optional for the husbandman to pay either in money or in kind. *Am-i-Akbar*, Book III, *Am* 23.

betrothed to Sulakhani, daughter of Mula, a resident of Batala¹ in the present district of Gurdaspur. It would appear that, owing to the distance between Nankana and Batala, which hindered frequent visits and negotiations, the marriage followed very soon after the betrothal. Nanak's sister was present at the wedding, but her husband could not obtain permission to attend. He sent word that he was another person's servant, an apology that was perfectly understood.

Nanak appears to have been further trusted in the capacity of a herdsman. While one day herding his buffaloes, he lay down to sleep under a tree during the madday heat. Rai Bular passing by in the evening found him in that attitude, and observed that the protecting shadow of the tree had remained stationary over him, and not veered round like the shadows of the other trees with the sun's progress. On another occasion, as Nanak lay asleep in the pasture ground, it was observed that a large cobra watched over him, and protected the youthful want with its hood. Rai Bular acknowledged the miraculous powers of the boy, and congratulated Kalu on being the father of such a son. Kalu ought no longer to be displeased with him for his indifference to his worldly affairs. He was a very great man. A jal-tree,² gnarled and maimed by the centuries, is still pointed out as the scene of the former miracle. It possesses a thick trunk, is still gratefully umbrageous, and its venerable branches depend to the earth in a fashion that suggests the pillared shade of the Indian fig-tree.

Nanak still persisted in doing no useful work, and his mother reproached him with his idleness. She counselled him to rise, work for his livelihood, and cease weaving unpractical discourses. She told him

¹ Her place of birth in Batala is revered by the Sikhs. Maharaja Sher Singh erected a temple in her honour.

² The *Salsadora Olivacea*.

that he was popularly credited with madness, but he paid no heed to her admonitions further than to compose the following hymn on the occasion —

He who dieth in obstinacy shall not be accepted

Even though man wear a religious garb and apply much ashes to his body,

Yet, if he forget the Name, he shall afterwards repent

O man obey God and thou shalt be happy

If thou forget the Name, thou shalt have to endure Death's torture

They who apply distilled aloe-wood, sandal, and camphor to their bodies,

Are immersed in worldly love, and far from the supreme dignity of salvation

They who forget the Name are the falsest of the false

They who are *guarded by lances for whom hands play* who sit on thrones and are objects of salutation,

Suffer from excessive avarice and lust

Being without God they pray not for His service or His name

God is found not by argument or by pride

If man apply his mind he shall find the comforting Name

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 the Guru, there is complete loss

Hail, hail to him who showeth the road¹

Hail, hail to him who communicateth the Word²

Hail, hail to him who blendeth us with God¹

Hail, hail to Him to whom the soul belongeth¹

Under the Guru's instruction separate the true from the false, and drink it as nectar

The greatness of the Name is bestowed according to Thy pleasure, O God

Without the Name how could I live, O mother²

Night and day¹ I repeat it and remain, O Lord, under Thy protection

Nanak, he who is imbued with the Name obtaineth honour²

¹ *Anants*, translated 'night and day' by the *gylas*, is literally—every day

² *Gurm Ashitapadi*

After this Nanak lay down, remained in one position for four days, and declined all physical exertion.

Nanak appears to have become unfitted for all secular occupation. His idleness became notorious, and a serious source of anxiety to his parents. His mother sought to lead him with mild admonitions to secular duty but fortunately failed. His father then addressed himself to the task. He represented that he required assistance in the cultivation of his land, and Nanak was now of an age to turn his attention to agriculture. Nanak replied —

Make thy body the field, good works the seed, irrigate with God's name,

Make thy heart the cultivator, God will germinate in thy heart, and thou shalt thus obtain the dignity of nirvan.¹

His father and Rai Balar represented that that was not the way to become a husbandman, whose business ought to be manual labour, and whose object was to gain a livelihood. Upon this Nanak composed the following —

Become a husbandman, make good works thy soil, and the word of God thy seed,² ever irrigate with the water of truth.

Faith shall germinate, and thus even a fool shall know *the distinction between heaven and hell*.

Think not that thou shalt find the Lord by mere words.

In the pride of wealth and the splendour of beauty life hath been wasted.

The sin of the body is a puddle, the mind is a toad *therein*, which valueth not at all the lotus.

The bumble-bee is the teacher³ who preeneth incessantly but can *the guru* cause a man to understand who will not understand.⁴

¹ Sri Rig.

² Also translated—Clear thy ground, make the Word thy seed.

³ That is, the Guru.

⁴ The body is compared to a puddle, the mind to a toad which loves the puddle, but sets no value on the beautiful lotus of spiritual wisdom. The spiritual guide, like the bee, unceasingly hums his message.

Preaching and listening are as *the* *sough* of the wind, when man's mind is tinctured by the illusions of the world

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

Even though thou perform the thirty days' fast and make the five prayers thy daily companions, yet he who is called Satan will cut the thread of thy thoughts¹

Nanak saith, man must depart, why amass property and wealth ?²

On the same occasion the Guru uttered the following —

Make thy mind the ploughman, good acts the cultivation, modesty the irrigating water, and thy body the field *to fill*,

The Name the seed, contentment the harrow, and the garb of humility thy fence

By the work of love the seed will germinate, thou mayest behold happy the homes of *persons* who thus act

O father, mammon accompaneth not *man when he departeth*

Mammon hath allured this world, and few there are who understand it

Then Nanak informed his father that he had sown his own field, and that its harvest was now ready. He had such confidence in his tillage, that, even after deduction of the portion paid in kind to the government as revenue, the full produce would still remain. Sons, daughters, beggars, brethren, and relations would all be profited thereby. He had done farming work for God, who had treated him as a lord does his tenants, and the day that he effected union with his Creator, his soul within him would be glad

¹ That is, make thy thoughts wander. For *man* in the old Panjabi life of the Guru the Granth Sahib has *man*. The line may then be translated—Perform the thirty days' fast of the *Musalman*, make their five daily prayers thy companions, and take care lest Satan destroy the effect of thy prayers

² Sri Rāg

On hearing this, his father told him to keep a shop, for a shop was as profitable as tillage. Nanak replied —

Make the knowledge that life is frail thy shop, the true Name thy stock-in-trade ,

Make meditation and contemplation thy piles of vessels ,¹
put the true Name into them

Deal with the dealers of the true Name, and thou shalt gladly take home thy profits

Then again Kalu said, ' If thou desire not to be a shopkeeper, take horses and deal in them. Thy heart is sad, but do something for thy livelihood and visit foreign countries. We will say that thou hast gone to earn thy living, and that thou wilt soon return ' Upon this Nanak uttered a third stanza —

Make thy hearing of the sacred books thy merchandise,
truth the horses thou takest to sell ,

Tie up virtues as thy travelling expenses, and think not in thy heart of to-morrow

When thou arrivest in the land of God, thou shalt obtain happiness in His abode

Kalu in despair replied, ' Thou art lost to us, go and take government service. Jai Ram, Daulat Khan's revenue officer, is thy brother-in-law, go and take service with him, perhaps thou wilt like that place, we can dispense with thine earnings. If thou go elsewhere without any occupation, everybody will say that my son hath become a faquir, and people will heap reproaches on me ' Upon this, Guru Nanak uttered a fourth stanza —

Make attention thy service, faith in the Name thine occupation ,

Make the restraint of evil thine effort, so shall men congratulate thee

¹ In which the Indian petty shopkeeper keeps his goods

God will then look on thee, O Nanak, with an eye of favour, and thy complexion shall brighten fourfold ¹

Nanak then informed his father that God had granted him the object of his prayers. The gains of commerce, of government service, and of banking, had all been imparted to him. The astonished father said he had never seen or heard of a God who granted so many favours. Nanak replied that his God was the object of praise to those who had seen Him —

As men have heard, *O Lord*, so all call Thee great,
But hath any one ever seen how great Thou art ? ²
 Thy worth cannot be estimated or described,
 They who seek to describe it are absorbed in Thee
 O my great Lord, deep and profound, brimful of excellences,

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 ³—

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

All truth, all fervour, all goodness,
 The excellences of perfect men,
 Cannot be obtained in their perfection without Thee
 If Thy grace be obtained none can be excluded,
 Of what account is the helpless speaker ?
 Thy store-rooms are filled with Thy praises
 Who can prevail against him to whom Thou givest ?
 Nanak, the True One arrangeth all ⁴

His father was not satisfied, but further remon-

¹ Sorath

² Also translated—How great He is whoever hath seen Him could tell

³ *Gurān*, translated high priests, is really the Persian plural of *guru*. Compare the words *Shāhī markhāhī*, so frequently found in the *Granth Sāhib*. *Markhāhī* is, of course, the Arabic plural of *shāhī*

⁴ *Am*

strated with Nanak. He enjoined him to abandon his whims and act like others, as no one could live without worldly occupation. Nanak was not convinced, so his father in despair left him and went to attend to his ordinary business. Nanak's mother again attempted the worldly reformation of her son. She requested him to forget even for a few days his devotions and go abroad, so that the neighbours might be assured that Kalu's son had recovered his reason. Nanak then uttered the following verses in the Rag Asa —

If I repeat the Name I live, if I forget it, I die,¹

It is difficult to repeat the true Name

If a man hunger after the true Name,

His pain shall depart when he satisfieth himself with it -

Then how could I forget it, O my mother?

True is the Lord, true is His name,

Men have grown weary of uttering

Even an iota of His greatness, His worth they have not discovered

If all men were to join and try to describe Him,

That would not add to or detract from His greatness

God doeth not, neither is there any mourning for Him,

He continueth to give us our daily bread which never faileth

His praise is—that there neither is,

Nor was nor shall be any one like unto Him

As great as Thou art Thyself, O God, so great is Thy gift

Thou who madest the day madest also the night

They who forget their Spouse² are bad characters,³

Nanak, without His name they are naught⁴

¹ Of course, spiritual life and death are meant.

² Literally,—the pain of that hungry man shall depart on eating the Name, that is, on receiving it as food. The verse is also translated—His pain shall depart, all his desires shall be merged in his hunger for the Name.

³ The allusion here is to men forgetting God.

⁴ A colloquial meaning of the word *Naught*, which literally means inferior caste.

⁵ *Saen*, a plural form of *sa*, a year, or an age. The word was

Then his mother arose and told the household of Nanak's state. Upon this the whole family and relations grew sad, and said it was a great pity that Kalu's son had become mad.

His uncle Lalu among others exerted himself to console the young prophet. He represented to Nanak that all his relations had fixed on an occupation for him, but he had refused to adopt it. On the contrary, he would do nothing whatever, not even enjoy himself. Nanak then gave utterance to the following hymn, which, however, is not found in the Granth Sahib —

All men are bound by entanglements, how can these be called good qualities ?

Nay, O Lalu, listen to the following qualities —

Forgiveness is my mother, contentment my father,

Truth by which I have subdued my heart my uncle,

Love of God my brother, affection mine own begotten son,

Patience my daughter—I am pleased with such relations—

Peace my companion, wisdom my disciple—

This is my family in whom I ever rejoice

The one God who adorned us all is my Lord

Nanak, he who forsaketh Him and clingeth to another shall suffer misery

Guru Nanak then became silent, lay down, and ate and drank nothing. The whole family represented to Kalu that something ought to be done for his son. A physician ought to be called, and medicine prescribed. 'Who knows but that behind a straw there is a lakh ?' that is, by a small expenditure Nanak may recover. Upon this, Kalu went and brought a physician. The physician came, and began to feel Nanak's pulse. He withdrew his arm, and, drawing in his feet, stood up and said, 'O

applied to corn which had long circulated, and which had consequently worn away and become worthless

physician, what art thou doing ?' The physician said that he was diagnosing his disease. Upon this Nanak laughed, and then uttered the following verses —

The physician is sent for to prescribe a remedy, he taketh my hand and feeleth my pulse

The ignorant physician knoweth not that it is in my mind the pain is ¹

Physician, go home, take not my curse with thee

I am imbued with my Lord, to whom givest thou medicine?

When there is pain, the physician standeth ready with a store of medicine

The body is weeping, the soul crieth out, ' Physician give none of thy medicine '

Physician, go home, few know my *malady*

The Creator who gave me this pain, will remove it

The physician asked Nanak what he himself thought his illness was. Nanak replied —

I first feel the pain of separation *from God*, then a pang of hunger *for contemplation on Him*

I also fear the pain which Death's powerful myrmidons *may inflict*

I feel pain that my body shall perish by disease

O ignorant physician, give me no medicine

Such medicine as *thou hast*, my friend, removeth not

The pain I feel or the continued suffering of my body

I forgot God and devoted myself to pleasure,

Then this bodily illness befell me

The wicked heart is punished

Ignorant physician give me no medicine

As sandal is useful when it exhaleth perfume,

As man is useful as long as he hath breath in his body,

So when the breath departeth, the body crumbleth away *and becometh useless*

No one taketh medicine after that

¹ *Mahr k' Wār*

When man shall possess the Name of the Bright and Radiant¹ One,

His body shall become like gold and his soul be made pure ,

All his pain and disease shall be dispelled,

And he shall be saved, Nanak, by the true Name ²

The following was on the same subject —

Pain is arsenic, the name of God is the antidote

O ignorant man, take such medicines

As shall cure thee of thy sins

Make contentment thy mortar, the gift of thy hands thy pestle

By ever using these the body pineth not away,

Nor at the final hour shall Death pommel thee

Make enjoyments thy firewood, covetousness thy clarified butter and oil

Burn them with the oil of lust and anger in the fire³ of *divine knowledge*

Burnt offerings, sacred feasts, and the reading of the Purans,⁴

If pleasing to God, are acceptable

Empire, wealth, and youth are all shadows

So are carriages and imposing mansions

Hereafter neither man's name nor his caste shall be considered

There is day, here all is night

Let us make penitence the paper,⁵ Thy name, *O Lord*, the prescription

They for whom this priceless medicine is prescribed,

¹ Also translated—When man possesseth even a portion of the name of the Bright One

² *Mālī*

³ It was intended by his parents to make a *śam* sacrifice or burnt offering for Nānak's recovery. The Sanskrit word *śam* is interpreted to mean casting into the fire, and correctly represents the oblation of clarified butter, sesames, butter, &c., which forms part of the ceremonial

⁴ Sacred books of the Hindus, eighteen in number. They are the principal authorities for the idolatry and superstition of the Hindus

⁵ To write a prescription on

Are fortunate when they reach their final home
O Nanak, blessed are the mothers who bore them ¹

Then the physician drew back, stood still, and said that Nanak was not ill. His relations and friends ought to feel no anxiety for him, for he was a great being. Upon this the physician worshipped him and took his leave.

There is very little known regarding Nanak's married life excepting that he begot two sons, Sri Chand and Lakhna Das. It was related that he used to retire to the desert, and pass his time under trees in religious contemplation.

All the modern Janamsakhis make Nanak's marriage long subsequent to this, and after his departure to Sultanpur. They say that it was Jai Ram who had him married, and that his wife was a native of Pakkho, a town not far from Sultanpur. We have followed Mam Singh and the old Janamsakhi. If Nanak had been left to his own discretion, and if his marriage had not been made for him by his parents, it is most probable that he would not have turned his attention to that part of a man's duties after entering the service of the government in Sultanpur. This will subsequently be understood when we come to consider his mode of life at that capital.

CHAPTER III

The Guru, on one occasion seeing his parents and relations standing around him to consider his condition, composed a hymn in the Rag Gauri Cheti ² —

Since when have I a mother ? Since when a father ?
Whence have we come ?

¹ *Malir*

² *Gauri* is a *ragini* or consort of Sri Rag, and has nine varieties one of which is the *Cheti*.

From fire and bubbles of water are we sprung , for what object were we created ?

My Lord, who knoweth Thy merits ?

My demerits cannot be numbered

How many shrubs and trees have we seen ! how many beasts created *by Thee* !

How many species of creeping things, and how many birds hast Thou caused to fly !

Men break through the shops and great houses of cities and stealing therefrom go homewards

They look before them, they look behind them, but where can they hide themselves from Thee ?

The banks of streams of pilgrimage, the nine regions¹ of the earth, shops, cities, and market-places have I seen

Becoming a shopkeeper I take a scale and try to weigh *my actions* in my heart

My sins are numerous as the waters of the seas and the ocean

Bestow compassion, extend a little mercy, save me who am like a sinking stone

My soul is burning like fire , it is as though shears were cutting my heart

Nanak humbly representeth—he who obeyeth God's order is happy day and night ²

Kalu then desired that his son should embrace a mercantile life. He instructed him to go to Chuharkana in the present district of Gujranwala, and buy there salt, turmeric, and other articles to trade with. Nanak set out with a servant, and on the way met some holy men, whose vows obliged them to remain naked in all seasons. Nanak was struck with this peculiarity, and inquired of their head-priest Santren if they had no clothes to wear, or if, having clothes, they found it uncomfortable to

¹ The ancient Indian Geographers divided the earth into nine regions or continents

² *Geun*

wear them. Before he could receive an answer, Nanak was reminded by his servant of his more practical mission and counselled to proceed to Chuharkana in obedience to his father's instructions. Nanak, however, was not to be thwarted in his object. He pressed the priest for an answer. The priest replied that his company required not clothes or food, except in so far as the latter was voluntarily bestowed on them. To avoid all luxury they dwelt in forests, and not in peopled towns and villages. Nanak thought he had found what he had sought for, and said to his servant that he had already obeyed his father's instructions, which were to spend his money to the best advantage. He therefore gave the holy men the money with which his father had provided him. Upon this they asked him his name, and he said that he was Nanak Nirankari, or Nanak the worshipper of the Formless One, that is, God. Nanak was prevailed upon to take the money to the nearest village to buy food for the holy men, who had not tasted any for some days.

When the fakirs took their departure, Nanak was censured by his servant for his reckless prodigality. He then realized the nature of his act, and did not go home, but sat under a tree outside the village of Talwandi. He was there found by his father who cuffed him for his disobedience. The aged tree under which he sat is still preserved. A wall has been built around it for protection. Within the enclosure are found religious men in prayer and contemplation. The tree is known as the *Ihamb Sahib*, or the holy trunk.

Jai Ram, during his yearly visits to Talwandi at the close of the spring harvest, had ample opportunities of cultivating Nanak's acquaintance, and appreciating his good qualities. Rai Bular, too, was no apathetic advocate of Nanak. It was agreed

between him and Jai Ram that Nanak was a saint ill-treated by his father, and Jai Ram promised to cherish him and find him occupation in Sultanpur. Nanak's departure to his brother-in-law was precipitated by another act of worldly indiscretion. He had entered into companionship with a faqir who visited the village. Nanak told him, as he did the other faqirs, that his name was Nanak Nirankari, and a friendly intimacy sprang up between them. The faqir was probably a swindler, and coveted a brass lota, or drinking vessel, and a gold wedding ring which Nanak wore, and asked that they might be presented to him. Nanak acceded to the request, to the further sorrow and indignation of his parents. After that it was not difficult to induce Kalu to allow his son to proceed to Sultanpur to join Jai Ram and Nanaki.

The other members of Nanak's family also unanimously approved of his decision. Nanak's wife alone, on seeing him make preparations for his journey, began to weep, and said, 'My life, even here thou hast not loved me, when thou goest to a foreign country, how shalt thou return?' He answered, 'Simple woman, what have I been doing here?' Upon this she again entreated him, 'When thou satest down at home, I possessed in my estimation the sovereignty of the whole earth, now this world is of no avail to me.' Upon this he grew compassionate, and said, 'Be not anxious, thy sovereignty shall ever abide.' She replied, 'My life, I will not remain behind, take me with thee.' Then Nanak said, 'I am now going away. If I can earn my living, I will send for thee. Obey my order.' She then remained silent.

When Nanak asked Rai Bular's permission to depart, the Rai gave him a banquet. The Rai then requested him to give him any order he pleased, that is, to state what favour he might grant him. Nanak replied —

I give thee one order if thou wilt comply with it
 When thine own might availeth not, clasp thy hands
 and worship God

Jai Ram introduced Nanak as an educated man to the Governor, Daulat Khan, who appointed him storekeeper and gave him a dress of honour as a preliminary of service. Nanak began to apply himself to his duties, and so discharged them that everybody was gratified and congratulated him. He was also highly praised to the Governor, who was much pleased with his new servant. Out of the provisions which Guru Nanak was allowed, he devoted only a small portion to his own maintenance, the rest he gave to the poor. He used continually to spend his nights singing hymns to his Creator.

If Nanak, when weighing out provisions, went as far as the number thirteen—*tera*—he used to pause and several times repeat the word—which also means 'Thine,' that is, 'I am Thine, O Lord,'—before he went on weighing.

The minstrel Mardana subsequently came from Talwandi and became Nanak's private servant. Mardana was of the tribe of Dums, who are minstrels by heredity. He used to accompany Nanak on the rabab, or rebeck.¹ Other friends too followed. Nanak introduced them to the Khan and procured them employment. They all got a living by Nanak's favour, and were happy. At dinner-time they came and sat down with him, and every night there was continual singing. A watch before day, Nanak used to go to the neighbouring Bein river and perform his ablutions. When day dawned, he went to discharge the duties of his office.

One day after bathing Nanak disappeared in the

¹ This instrument, which was of Arabian origin, has fallen into disuse in Northern India. It had from four to six strings of goat-gut with steel strings for resonance.

forest, and was taken in a vision to God's presence. He was offered a cup of nectar, which he gratefully accepted. God said to him, 'I am with thee. I have made thee happy, and also those who shall take thy name. Go and repeat Mine, and cause others to do likewise. Abide uncontaminated by the world. Practise the repetition of My name, charity, ablutions, worship, and meditation. I have given thee this cup of nectar, a pledge of My regard.' The Guru stood up and made a prostration. He then sang the following verses to the accompaniment of the spontaneous music of heaven —

Were I to live for millions of years and drink the air for my nourishment,

Were I to dwell in a cave where I beheld not sun or moon, and could not even dream of sleeping¹

I should still not be able to express Thy worth, how great shall I call Thy name?

O true Formless One, Thou art in Thine own place—

As I have often heard I tell my tale—If it please Thee, show Thy favour unto me.

Were I to be felled and cut in pieces, were I to be ground in a mill,

Were I to be burned in a fire, and blended with its ashes,

I should still not be able to express Thy worth, how great shall I call Thy name?

Were I to become a bird and fly to a hundred heavens,

Were I to vanish from human gaze and neither eat nor drink,

I should still not be able to express Thy worth, how great shall I call Thy name?

Nanak, had I hundreds of thousands of tons of paper and a desire to write on it all after the deepest research,

Were ink never to fail me, and could I move my pen like the wind,

¹ That is, were I to lead even the most ascetic life possible

I should still not be able to express Thy worth , how great shall I call Thy name ? ¹

Hereupon a voice was heard, ' O Nanak, thou hast seen My sovereignty ' Then Nanak said, ' O Sire, what is anything that mortal can say, and what can be said or heard after what I have seen ? Even the lower animals sing Thy praises ' Upon this, the Guru uttered the preamble of the Jappi —

There is but one God whose name is True, the Creator, devoid of fear and enmity, immortal, unborn, self-existent, great, and bountiful ²

The True One was in the beginning , The True One was in the primal age

The True One is, was, O Nanak, and the True One also shall be

When Nanak had finished, a voice was heard again ' O Nanak, to him upon whom My look of kindness resteth, be thou merciful, as I too shall be merciful My name is God, the primal Brahm, and thou art the divine Guru '

The Guru then uttered the following hymn —

Thou wise and omniscient, art an ocean , how can I a fish obtain a knowledge of Thy limit ?

Wherever I look there art Thou , if I am separated from Thee, I shall burst

I know neither *Death* the fisherman nor his net

When I am in sorrow, then I remember Thee

Thou art omnipresent though I thought Thee distant

What I do is patent unto Thee ,

Thou beholdest mine acts, yet I deny them

I have not done Thy work or uttered Thy name ,

Whatever Thou givest, that I eat

There is no other gate than Thine , to whose gate shall I go ?

Nanak maketh one supplication—

Soul and body are all in Thy power

¹ Sn Rāg

² The ordinary translation of *Gur paridā*, ' By the Guru's favour, does not seem appropriate here

Thou art near, Thou art distant, and Thou art midway
Thou seest and hearest, by Thy power didst Thou create
the world

Whatever order pleaseth Thee, *sastā* Nanak, that is
acceptable ¹

After three days the Guru came forth from the forest. The people thought he had been drowned in the neighbouring river, and how had he returned to life? He then went home, and gave all that he had to the poor. A great crowd assembled, and Nawab Daulat Khan, the Governor, also came. He inquired what had happened to Nanak, but received no reply. Understanding, however, that the Guru's acts were the result of his abandonment of this world, the Governor felt sad, said it was a great pity, and went home.

It was the general belief at this time that Nanak was possessed with an evil spirit, and a Mulla or Muhammadan priest was summoned to exorcise it. The Mulla began to write an amulet to hang round Nanak's neck. While the Mulla was writing Nanak uttered the following —

When the field is spoiled where is the harvest heap?

Cursed are the lives of those who write God's name and sell it.

The Mulla, paying no attention to Nanak's serious oburgation, continued the ceremony of exorcism and finally addressed the supposed evil spirit, 'Who art thou?' The following reply issued from Nanak's mouth —

Some say poor Nanak is a sprite, some say that he is a demon,

Others again that he is a man.

Those who were present then concluded that Nanak was not possessed but had become insane.

On hearing this Nanak ordered Mardana to play the rebeck and continued the stanza —

¹ *Sri Rāg*

Simpleton Nanak hath become mad upon the Lord ¹
 And knoweth none other than God
 When one is mad with the fear of God,
 And recogniseth 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 there
 wisdom ?
 When man loveth the Lord and deemeth himself worthless,
 And the rest of the world good, he is called mad ²

After this, Guru Nanak donned a religious costume and associated constantly with religious men. He remained silent for one day, and the next he uttered the pregnant announcement, 'There is no Hindu and no Musalman'. The Sikhs interpret this to mean generally that both Hindus and Muhammadans had forgotten the precepts of their religions. On a complaint made by the Nawab's Qazi, or expounder of Muhammadan law, the Guru was summoned before Daulat Khan to give an explanation of his words. He refused to go, saying, 'What have I to do with your Khan ?'. The Guru was again called a madman. His mind was full of his mission, and whenever he spoke he merely said, 'There is no Hindu and no Musalman'. The Qazi was not slow to make another representation to the Governor on the impropriety of Nanak's utterance. Upon this the Governor sent for him. A footman went and told the Guru that the Governor had requested him to come to him. Then Guru Nanak stood up and went to the Governor. The Governor addressed him, 'Nanak, it is my misfortune that such an officer as thou should have become a faqir'. The Governor then seated him beside him, and directed his Qazi to ask, now that Nanak was in conversational mood, the meaning of his utterance. The Qazi became thoughtful, and smiled. He then asked Nanak, 'What hath happened to thee, that

¹ S colloquialism

² Māru

thou sayest there is no Hindu and no Musalman ? The Guru not being engaged in controversy with Hindus at the time, gave no answer to the first part of the question. In explanation of his statement that there was no Musalman he uttered the following —

To be ¹ a Musalman is difficult, if one be really so, then one may be called a Musalman

Let one first love the religion of saints,² and put aside pride and self³ as the file *removeth rust*

Let him accept the religion of his pilots, and dismiss anxiety regarding death or life,⁴

Let him heartily obey the will of God, worship the Creator, and efface himself⁵—

When he is kind to all men, then Nanak, shall he be indeed a Musalman⁶

The Qazi then put further questions to the Guru. The Guru called on Mardana to play the rebeck, and sang to it the following replies and instructions adapted for Muhammadans —

Make kindness thy mosque, sincerity thy prayer-carpet, what is just and lawful thy Quran

Modesty thy circumcision, civility thy fasting, so shalt thou be a Musalman,

Make right conduct thy Kaaba,⁷ truth thy spiritual guide, good works thy creed and thy prayer,

The will of God thy rosary, and God will preserve thine honour, O Nanak

¹ In the original, 'to be called a Muslimān' The same idiom is found in Greek

² Also translated—(a) Let him first of all make his religion agreeable to men, (b) let him first love his saints and his religion

³ Also translated—(a) which bring trouble, (b) to dispel pride and worldly love is to be filed or cleansed of impurities

⁴ This verse is also translated—Being resigned to God, obedient (din) and lowly (mahane) let man set aside all fear of birth and death—the transmigration which so exercises the oriental mind

⁵ Mithā in Wār

⁶ The great cube like Muhammadan temple at Makka to which the faithful make pilgrimages

Nanak, let others' goods¹ be to thee as swine to the *Musalman* and kine to the *Hindu*;²

Hindu and Musalman spiritual teachers will go bad for thee if thou eat not carrion³

Thou shalt not go to heaven by lip service, it is by the practice of truth thou shalt be delivered

Unlawful food will not become lawful by putting spices⁴ therein

Nanak, from false words only falsehood can be obtained

There are five prayers, five times for prayer, and five names for them⁵—

The first should be truth, the second what is right, the third charity in God's name,

The fourth good intentions, the fifth the praise and glory of God

If thou make good works the creed thou repeatest, thou shalt be a Musalman

They who are false, O Nanak, shall only obtain what is altogether false

The Qazi became astonished at being thus lectured. Prayers had become to him a matter of idle lip-repetition of Arabic texts, while his mind was occupied with his worldly affairs.

It was now the time for afternoon prayer. The whole company, including Nanak, went to the mosque. Up rose the Qazi and began the service. The Guru looked towards him and laughed in his face. When prayer was over, the Qazi complained to the Nawab of Nanak's conduct. The Guru said he had laughed because the Qazi's prayer was not

¹ Literally—rights, or what is due to thy neighbour

² The Musalmāns abstain from the flesh of swine, and the Hindus from the flesh of kine

³ What is not thine own

⁴ This means that, if wealth be improperly obtained, a portion of it bestowed in alms will be no atonement

⁵ Prayers, or rather texts from the Qurān, are repeated by strict Musalmāns १. २ times, at midday, in the afternoon, in the evening, and before going to bed. ३. ३ at night

accepted of God. The Qazi asked Nanak to state the reason for his conclusion. The Guru replied that immediately before prayer the Qazi had unloosed a new-born filly. While he ostensibly performed divine service, he remembered there was a well in the enclosure, and his mind was filled with apprehension lest the filly should fall into it. His heart was therefore not in his devotions. The Guru informed the Nawab also that while he was pretending to pray, he was thinking of purchasing horses in Kabul. Both admitted the truth of the Guru's statements, said he was favoured of God, and fell at his feet. The Guru then uttered the following —

He is a Musalman who effaceth himself,
Who maketh truth and contentment his holy creed,
Who nether toucheth what is standing, nor eateth what
hath fallen —

Such a Musalman shall go to Paradise.

The whole company of Musalmans at the capital — the descendants of the Prophet, the tribe of shaiikhs,¹ the qazi, the muftis,² and the Nawab himself, were all amazed at Nanak's words. The Muhammadans then asked the Guru to tell them of the power and authority of his God, and how salvation could be obtained. Upon this the Guru addressed them as follows —

At God's gate there dwell thousands of Muhammads, thousands of Brahmas, of Vishnus, and of Shivs.³

Thousands upon thousands of exalted Rams,⁴ thousands of spiritual guides, thousands of religious garbs.

¹ *Shaiikhs* are superiors of *dawatchies* or Muhammadan monks, but the title has now in India a much more extended significance, and is very often adopted by Hindu converts to Islam.

² Muhammadan jurists.

³ Brahma, Vishnu, and Shiva, form the Hindu trinity, and are respectively the gods of creation, preservation, and destruction.

⁴ Ram Chander, King of Ayudha, deified by the Hindus. He and his consort Sita will be found often mentioned.

Thousands upon thousands of celibates, true men, and Sanyasis ¹

Thousands upon thousands of Gorakhs,² thousands upon thousands of superiors of Jogis,

Thousands upon thousands of men sitting in attitudes of contemplation, gurus, and their disciples who make supplications,

Thousands upon thousands of goddesses and gods, thousands of demons,

Thousands upon thousands of Muhammadan priests, prophets, spiritual leaders, thousands upon thousands of qanis, mullas, and shankhs—

None of them obtaineth peace of mind without the instruction of the true guru

How many hundreds of thousands of sadhs³ and strivers,⁴ yea, countless and endless!

All are impure without meditating on the word of the true guru

There is one Lord over all spiritual lords the Creator whose name is true

Nanak, His worth cannot be ascertained, He is endless and incalculable⁵

It is said that Daulat Khan, the Musalman ruler, on hearing this sublime hymn, fell at Guru Nanak's feet. The people admitted that God was speaking through Nanak's mouth, and that it was useless to catechize him further. The Nawab, in an outburst

¹ The *Sanyāsīs* are ascetics who have abandoned the world, and are popularly believed to have overcome nature. The word *Sanyās* means renunciation.

² Gorakh was a famous Jogi who lived many centuries ago. His followers shut their ears, and make *Shas* the special object of their worship. The name Gorakh, meaning Supporter of the earth, is often used for God in the sacred writings of the Sikhs.

³ Sadhs in Sanskrit *Sādhis* are persons who by the practice of Jogi are popularly supposed to acquire extended life and miraculous powers.

⁴ *Sādhis* persons aspiring to be *Sādhis*.

⁵ Banno's *Granth Sāhib*. An account of Banno will be found in the life of Guru Arjan.

of affectionate admiration offered him a sacrifice of his authority and estate. Nanak, however, was in no need of temporal possessions, and went again into the society of religious men. They too offered him their homage, and averred that he was desirous of the truth and abode in its performance. Nanak replied —

My beloved, this body, first steeped in the brine of worldliness,¹ hath taken the dye of avarice.

My beloved, such robe² pleaseth not my Spouse, How can woman thus dressed go to His couch ?

I am a sacrifice, O Benign One, I am a sacrifice unto Thee

I am a sacrifice unto those who repeat Thy name

Unto those who repeat Thy name I am ever a sacrifice

Were this body my beloved friends 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 had 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 persons' feet

God Himself it is who decketh, it is He who dyeth, it is He who looketh with the eye of favour

Nanak, if the bride be pleasing to the Bridegroom, he will enjoy her of his own accord.³

Upon this the fakirs kissed the Guru's feet, the Governor also came, and all the people, both Hindu and Musalman, attended to salute and take final leave of him. Some complaints had been made of his extravagance as storekeeper, but, when the Governor made an investigation, he found the

¹ A metaphor from the dyers trade. Clothes before the process of dyeing are steeped in alum as a base or mordant the better to retain the dye.

² *Choir*, a coat which reaches to the knees, *Chok*, its diminutive, is a woman's bodice.

³ That a man will be happy if he by good works make himself acceptable to God. The hymn is from Tilang.

storehouse full and all the Guru's accounts correct. Nay, it was discovered that money was due to him from the State. The Guru, however, refused to receive it and requested the Nawab to dispose of it in relieving the wants of the poor.

CHAPTER IV

After a short stay with the holy men with whom he had recently been consorting, the Guru, in company with Mardana, proceeded to Saiyidpur, the present city of Emmabad, in the Gujranwala district of the Panjab. Nanak and his companion took shelter in the house of Lalo, a carpenter. When dinner was ready, Lalo informed the Guru, and asked him to eat it within sacred lines¹. The Guru said, 'The whole earth is my sacred lines, and he who loveth truth is pure. Wherefore remove doubt from thy mind.' On this Lalo served dinner, and the Guru ate it where he was seated. After two days the Guru desired to take his departure, but was prevailed on by Lalo to make a longer stay. The Guru consented, but soon found himself an object of obloquy because he, the son of a Khatra, abode in the house of a Sudra. After a fortnight, Malik Bhago, steward of the Pathan who owned Saiyidpur, gave a great feast, to which Hindus of all four castes were invited. A Brahman went and told the Guru that, as all the four castes had been invited, he too should partake of Malik Bhago's bounty. The Guru replied, 'I belong not to any of the four castes, why am I invited?' The Brahman replied, 'It is on this account people call thee a heretic. Malik Bhago will be displeased with thee for refusing his hospitality.' On this the Brahman went away, and

¹ Enclosures generally smeared with cow-dung to make them holy, within which Hindus pray and cook their food.

Mahk Bhago fed his guests, but the Guru was not among them.

When subsequently Mahk Bhago heard of the Guru's absence from the feast, he ordered him to be produced. Bhago inquired why he had not responded to his invitation. The Guru replied, that he was a faqr who did not desire dainty food, but if his eating from the hands of Mahk Bhago afforded that functionary any gratification, he would not be found wanting. Mahk Bhago was not appeased, but charged the Guru, who was the son of a Khatri, while refusing to attend his feast, with dining with the low-caste Lalo. Upon this the Guru asked Mahk Bhago for his share, and at the same time requested Lalo to bring him bread from his house. When both viands arrived, the Guru took Lalo's coarse bread in his right hand and Mahk Bhago's dainty bread in his left, and squeezed them both. It is said that from Lalo's bread there issued milk, and from Mahk Bhago's, blood. The meaning was that Lalo's bread had been obtained by honest labour and was pure, while Mahk Bhago's had been obtained by bribery and oppression and was therefore impure. The Guru hesitated not to accept the former.

After this the Guru and Mardana proceeded to a solitary forest, nowhere entering a village or tarrying on the bank of a river. On the way they were overtaken by hunger, and Mardana complained. The Guru directed him to go straight on and enter a village where the Upal Khatri dwelt. He had only to stand in silence at the doors of their houses, when Hindus and Musalmans would come to do him homage, and not only supply him with food, but bring carpets and spread them before him to tread on. Mardana did as he had been directed, and succeeded in his errand.

Mardana subsequently received an order to go to another village. He there also received great homage

The villagers came and fell at his feet, and offered him large presents of money¹ and clothes. These he tied up in bundles and took to the Guru. On seeing them the Guru laughed and asked Mardana what he had brought. He answered that the villagers had made him large presents of money and clothes, and he thought that he would bring them to his master. The Guru replied that they did not belong to either of them. Mardana inquired how he was to dispose of them. The Guru told him to throw them away, an order which he at once obeyed. The Guru explained to him the disastrous effects of offerings on laymen. 'Offerings are like poison and cannot be digested. They can only bring good by fervent adoration of God at all hours. When man performeth scant worship and dependeth on offerings for his subsistence, the effect on him is as if he had taken poison.'

The Guru and Mardana are said to have visited a notorious robber called Shaikh Sajjan. With extreme impartiality he had built for his Hindu guests a temple, and for his Muhammadan guests a mosque, and he otherwise ostensibly provided them with everything necessary for their comfort. His hospitality, however, was as false as that of the famous Greek robber, Procrustes. When night came on, Sajjan dismissed his guests to sleep. He then threw them into a well in which they perished. Next morning he took up a pilgrim's staff and rosary, and spread out a carpet to pray in the true spirit of an ancient Pharisee. Shaikh Sajjan, seeing the Guru, interpreted the look of spiritual satisfaction on his countenance into a consciousness of worldly wealth, and expected much profit from such a wind-fall. He as usual invited his guests to go to sleep. The Guru asked permission to recite a hymn to God, and having obtained it, repeated the following —

¹ Literally—twenty-five, because it used to be the Indian custom to count money in heaps of twenty five each.

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

Which cannot be removed even by washing a hundred times

They are friends¹ 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 if were crumbled and useless

Heron's arrayed in white dwell at places of pilgrimage,
Yet they rend and devour living things, and therefore should not be called white²

My body is like the samal tree,³ men beholding me mistake me⁴

Its fruit is useless such qualities my body possesseth
I am a blind man carrying a burden while the mountainous⁵ 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?

Nan'k, remember the Name, so mayest thou be released from thy shackles⁶

Shankh Sajjan, on hearing this warning and heart-searching hymn, came to his right understanding. He knew that all the faults were his own, which the Guru had attributed to himself. Upon this he made

¹ The name Sajjan also means friend. There is here a pun on the word.

² The heron, though white, has a black heart.

³ The *Bombax legiophyllum*. It bears no fruit in the true sense of the word. Its pods yield cotton, which is unfit for textile purposes. Its wood is very brittle, and almost useless for carpentry.

⁴ Like birds which peck at what they suppose to be the fruit of the samal tree, but find none. The gñānis exercise their ingenuity on this line, and translate—The parrots (*maṁ maṁ*) looking at it make a mistake.

⁵ *Dūgar* thence the tribe of Dogras in the Kāngra and adjacent districts. Dogra literally means hillman.

⁶ 86h.

him obeisance, kissed his feet, and prayed him to pardon his sins. Then the Guru said, 'Shaikh Sajjan, at the throne of God grace is obtained by two things, open confession and reparation for wrong.' Shaikh Sajjan asked him to perform for him those things by which sins were forgiven and grace obtained. Then the Guru's heart was touched, and he asked him to truly state how many murders he had committed. Shaikh Sajjan admitted a long catalogue of the most heinous crimes. The Guru asked him to produce all the property of his victims that he had retained in his possession. The Shaikh did so, whereupon the Guru told him to give it all to the poor. He obeyed the mandate, and became a follower of the Guru after receiving charanpahul¹. It is said that the first Sikh temple² was constructed on the spot where this conversation had been held.

The Guru, hearing of a religious fair at Kurkhetar³ near Thanesar, in the present district of Ambala, on the occasion of a solar eclipse desired to visit it with the object of preaching to the assembled pilgrims. Needing refreshment, he began to cook a deer which a disciple had presented to him. The Brahmans expressed their horror at his use of flesh, upon which he replied —

Man is first conceived in flesh, he dwelleth in flesh.

When he quickeneth, he obtaineth a mouth of flesh,
his bone, skin, and body are made of flesh.

¹ Also called charanmud. This was a form of initiation by drinking the water in which the Guru's feet had been washed. The preamble of the Japp was read at the same time. The ceremony was inaugurated by Guru Nanak.

² *Dharamsal*. In modern times this word means a charitable rest house where the Granth Sahib is kept and divine worship held, where travellers obtain free accommodation and children receive religious instruction. A temple at a place visited by a Guru is now called Gurdwara.

³ The ancient Kurukshetra, the scene of the great battle between the Pandava and Kaurava. In Hindu books it is called the Navel of the earth, and it is held that worldly beings were there created. *Khadirat-ul-Tawakeel*.

When he is taken out of the womb, he seizeth teats of flesh

His mouth is of flesh, his tongue is of flesh, his breath is in flesh

When he groweth up he marryeth, and bringeth flesh home with him

Flesh is produced from flesh, all man's relations are made from flesh

By meeting the true Guru and obeying God's order, everybody shall go right

If thou suppose that man shall be saved by himself, he shall not, Nanak it is idle to say so

The following is also on the same subject —

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

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

They who forswear flesh and hold their noses when new it, devour men at night

They make pretences to the world but they know not divine knowledge or meditation on God

Nanak, why talk to a fool? He cannot reply or understand what is said to him

He who acteth blindly is blind, he hath no mental eyes

Ye were produced from the blood of your parents, yet ye eat not fish or flesh

When man and woman meet at night and cohabit

A foetus is conceived from flesh, we are vessels of flesh

O Brahman, thou knowest not divine knowledge or meditation on God, yet thou callest thyself clever

Thou *considerest* the flesh that cometh from abroad¹ bad, O my lord, and the flesh of thine own home good

All animals have sprung from flesh, and the soul taketh its abode in flesh

¹ The flesh of animals

They whose guru is blind, eat things that ought not to be eaten, and abstain from what ought to be eaten

In flesh we are conceived, from flesh we are born, we are vessels of flesh

O Brahman, thou knowest not divine knowledge or meditation on God, yet thou callest thyself clever

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

Flesh adorneth sacrifice and marriage functions, flesh hath always been associated with them

Women, men, kings, and emperors spring from flesh

If they appear to you to be going to hell, then accept not their offerings

See how wrong it would be that givers should go to hell and receivers to heaven

Thou understandest not thyself, yet thou instructest others, O Pandit, thou art very wise ¹

O Pandit, thou knowest not from what flesh hath sprung

Corn, sugar-cane, and cotton are produced from water, ² 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 shalt be superhuman, saith Nanak deliberately ³

The Guru succeeded in making many converts at Kurkhetar. When departing, he thus addressed his Sikhs: 'Live in harmony, utter the Creator's name, and if any one salute you therewith, return his salute with the addition true, and say "Sat Kartar"', the True Creator, in reply. There are four ways by which, with the repetition of God's name men may reach Him. The first is holy companionship, the second truth, the third contentment, and the fourth restraint of the senses. By whichever of these

¹ Said ironically

² Water assists the growth of vegetables, and on vegetables animals are fed

³ *Mukh in War*

doors a man entereth, whether he be a hermit or a householder, he shall find God '.

The Guru next visited Hardwar in pursuance of his mission. A great crowd was assembled from the four cardinal points for the purpose of washing away their sins. The Guru saw that, while they were cleansing their bodies, their hearts remained filthy, and none of them restrained the wanderings of his mind or performed his ablutions with love and devotion. While they were throwing water towards the east for the manes of their ancestors, the Guru went among them, and, putting his hands together so as to form a cup, began to throw water towards the west, and continued to do so until a large crowd had gathered round him. Men in their astonishment began to inquire what he was doing, and whether he was a Hindu or Muhammadan. If the latter, why had he come to a Hindu place of pilgrimage? If he were a Hindu, why should he throw water towards the west instead of towards the rising sun? And who had taught him to do so? In reply, the Guru asked them why they threw water towards the east. To whom were they offering it, and who was to receive it? They replied that they were offering libations to the manes of their ancestors. It would satisfy them, and be a source of happiness to themselves.

The Guru then asked how far distant their ancestors were. A learned man among them replied that their ancestors were thousands of miles distant. The Guru, upon this, again began to throw palmfuls of water towards the west. They reminded him that he had not answered their questions, or vouchsafed any information regarding himself. He replied that, before he had set out from his home in the west, he had sown a field and left no one to irrigate it. He was therefore throwing water in its direction, that it might remain green and not dry up. His field was on a mound where rain-water would not

rest, and he was obliged to have recourse to this form of irrigation. On hearing this the spectators thought he was crazed, and told him he was sprinkling water in vain, for it would never reach his field. Where was his field and where was he, and how could the water ever reach it? 'Thou art a great fool, thy field shall never become green by what thou art doing.' The Guru replied, 'Ye have forgotten God. Without love and devotion your minds have gone astray. My field, which you say this water cannot reach, is near, but your ancestors are very far away, so how can the water ye offer them ever reach them or profit them? Ye call me a fool, but ye are greater fools yourselves.'

The Guru after a little time again broke silence, and said 'The Hindus are going to hell. Death will seize and mercilessly punish them.' A Brahman replied, 'How can they who repeat God's name go to hell?' Thou hast in the first place acted contrary to our custom, and now thou hast the audacity to tell us that we are going to hell.' The Guru replied, 'It is true that, if ye repeat the Name with love, ye shall not be damned. But 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 worldly objects. Your rosaries are therefore only for show, and your counting your beads is only hypocrisy. One of you is thinking of his trade with Multan, another of his trade with Kabul, another of his trade with Delhi, and the gain that shall in each case accrue.' The people, on hearing the Guru thus accurately divine their thoughts began to think him a god, and prayed him to pardon them and grant them salvation by making them his disciples.

The Guru, requiring fire to cook his food, went into a Brahman's cooking-square for it. The Brahman charged him with having defiled his viands. The Guru replied that they had already

been defiled Upon this the following was composed —

Evil mindedness is a low woman,¹ cruelty a butcher's wife, a slanderous heart a sweeper woman, wrath which ruineth *the world* a pariah woman

What availeth thee to have drawn the lines *of thy looking place* when these four are seated with thee ?

Make truth, self-restraint, and good acts thy lines, and the utterance of the Name thine ablutions

Nanak, in the next world he is best who walketh not in the way of sin ²

While at Hardwar the Brahmans pressed the Guru to return to his allegiance to the Hindu religion. They pointed out the spiritual advantages of sacrifices and burnt-offerings, and of the worship of cremation-grounds, gods, and goddesses. The Guru replied that the sacrifices and burnt-offerings of this age consisted in giving food to those who repeated God's name and practised humility. And where the Guru's hymns were read, there was scant worship of places of burial or cremation, or of gods, goddesses, and ignorant priests. As to the homage paid the latter, the Guru said that men were ruined thereby, as sweetmeats are spoiled by flies setting on them.

Guru Nanak and Mardana departed thence, and proceeded to Panipat, a place famous in Indian history as the scene of three great decisive battles. At that time a successor of Shaikh Sharaf ³ was the

¹ Dūmmi the wife of a Dūm

² Śrī Rāg ki Wār

³ Shaikh Sharaf, whose patronymic was Abū Alī Qalandar, received instruction at the age of forty years from Khwāja Qutub-ul-Din, who was also spiritual guide of Shaikh Farid and of the Emperor Shams-ul-Din Alauddin. Shaikh Sharaf says of himself, 'Learned men gave me a licence to teach and to pronounce judicial decisions, which offices I exercised for twenty years. Unexpectedly I received a call from God, and throwing all my learned books into the Jamna, I set out on travel. In Turkey I fell in with Shams-ul-din Tabriz and Maulana Jalal-ul-Din Rumi, who presented me with a robe and turban and with many books, which in their presence I threw into the river

Muhammadian priest of the place. A disciple called Tatihari went to fetch a pot of water for his spiritual guide from the well near which the Guru and Mardana had sat down to rest. The Guru wore a Persian hat and a nondescript costume, which Tatihari took for that of a Persian darwesh. He addressed the Guru with the Muhammadian salutation, 'Salam Alaikum' (the peace of God be with you). Nanak replied 'Salam Alekh' (salutation to the Invisible). Tatihari was astonished, and said that until then nobody had distorted his salutation. He went and told his religious superior, the Shaikh, that he had met a darwesh who had taken the liberty of punning on the Muhammadian salutation. The Shaikh at once resolved to go himself to see the man who had saluted the Invisible One, and inquire what he knew regarding Him.

The Shaikh, on arriving, asked the Guru what religious denomination his head-dress denoted, and why he did not shave his head in orthodox fashion. The Guru replied —

When man hath shaved his mind he hath shaved his head,¹
 Without shaving his mind he findeth not the way
 Let him cut off his head and place it before his guru
 If he resign his own wisdom, he shall be saved by the
 wisdom of his guru

To become the dust of the feet of all is to shave the head
 Such a hermit appreciateth the words of the guru,
 That is the way in which the head is shaved, O brother
 Few are there who shave their heads according to the
 instruction of their guru

Nanak having abandoned all pleasures, affections, and egotism,

Hath put on a hat of this fashion²

Subsequently I came to Pānpāt and there lived as a recluse.³ His tomb is there.

¹ That is, has laid aside egotism.

² This and the following hymns bearing on the Jōg philosophy express Guru Nanak's ideas on the subject. These hymns are not found in the *Granth Sahib*.

The Shaikh then asked the Guru to what religious sect he belonged. The Guru replied —

Under the instructions of my Guru¹ I remain His disciple

My stole and my hat consist in grasping the Word in my heart

I have turned the flowing river into a streak of sand²

I sit there at mine ease and am happy³

I have dispelled joy and sorrow

Having put on my stole I have killed all mine enemies,⁴

I have settled in the silent city and abode therein

There I learned how to wear this stole

Having forsaken my family I live alone—

Nanak having put on this stole is happy

The Shaikh next inquired to what sect the Guru's loun-cloth belonged. The Guru replied —

By the word and instruction of the Guru my mind hath obtained peace,

I restrain my five senses and abide apart from the world,

I close mine eyes and my mind hath ceased to wander

I have locked up the ten gates⁵ of my body,

And I sit in contemplation in its sixty-eight chambers⁶

With this loun-cloth I shall neither grow old nor die

Putting on a loun-cloth I dwell alone

And drink from the waterfall⁷ of the brain

I discard my low intelligence for the lofty wisdom of my Guru

In this way Nanak weareth a loun-cloth

¹ Nanak's Guru was God. See Scrath xi, Mahalla I, and Gur Dās Wār, xiii 25

² My brain is in a state of repose

³ The wanderings of the mind hither and thither have ceased

⁴ *Dandi*, literally, ill washers, then man's evil passions

⁵ The apertures or openings of the body frequently mentioned in Oriental medical and theological sciences. Nine of them can be easily enumerated, the tenth is the brain

⁶ In Jog philosophy the breath is supposed to wander in sixty eight chambers of the body

⁷ Jogs believe that nectar falls or trickles from the brain in a state of exaltation

Then again the Shaikh desired to know what sect the Guru's slippers denoted. The Guru replied —

By associating with those who go the right way *I have obtained* all knowledge

I have reduced my mind to the caste of fire and wind,¹

I abide in the manner of the earth or a tree,

I can endure the cutting and digging of my heart,²

I desire to be as a river or sandal

Which whither pleased or displeased conferreth advantage on all

Having churned the churn³ of this world I am exalted,

And having abandoned evil I appear before my God

To those, who put on their slippers while meditating on Him,

O Nanak, mortal sin shall not attach

Again the Shaikh said, 'Explain to me what a darwesh is.' The Guru, ordering Mardana to play the rebeck, composed the following hymn —

He who while he liveth is dead while he waketh is asleep,⁴
who knowingly alloweth himself to be plundered⁵

And who having abandoned everything meeteth his Creator, is a darwesh

Few servants of Thine, O God, are darweshes at heart,

Who feel not joy, sorrow, anger, wrath, pride, or avance,

Who look on gold as dross, and consider what is right to be lawful,

Who obey the summons of God and heed none other,

Who seated in a contemplative attitude in the firmament⁶ play spontaneous music. —

Saith Nanak, neither the Veda nor the Quran know the praises of such holy men

¹ That is—I have no more caste than fire and wind

² Cutting, as applied to a tree, and digging to earth. That is—I can endure every form of torture

³ Having extracted all pleasures from this world

⁴ Who takes no heed of the world

⁵ That is, who effaces himself

⁶ That is in the brain in a state of exaltation

The Shaikh finally said, 'Well done' why make a further examination of him who beareth witness to God? Even to behold him is sufficient' Then he shook hands with the Guru, kissed his feet and departed

Guru Nanak journeyed on and arrived in Dihli. An elephant belonging to the reigning sovereign Ibrahim Lodi had just died, and the keepers, regretting the loss of the animal whose service had afforded them maintenance, were bewailing its death. The Guru inquired whose the elephant was. They replied in Oriental fashion, that it was the Emperor's, but that all things belonged to God. The Guru said that the elephant was alive, and bade them go and rub its forehead with their hands, and say at the same time, 'Wah Guru'—hail to the Guru!¹ It is said that the elephant stood up to the astonishment of all. The Emperor, having received information of the miracle, sent for the animal, mounted it, and went to the Guru, and asked if it was he who had restored it to life. The Guru replied, 'God is the only Destroyer and Re-animater. Prayers are for faqirs, and mercy for Him.' The monarch then asked, if the elephant were killed would the Guru again restore it. The Guru, not wishing to be treated as an itinerant showman, replied —

It is He (pointing on high) who destroyeth and destroying re-animateth,

Nanak, there is none but the one God

The animal then died, the inference of the chroniclers being that it died at the will of the Guru, as it had been previously called to life by him. The Emperor ordered him to again revivify it. The Guru replied, 'Hail to your Majesty' Iron when heated in the fire becometh red, and cannot be held for a moment in the hand. In the same way faqirs

¹ Wahguru generally means God. We here merely give its apparent meaning.

become red in the heat of God's love, and cannot be constrained' The Monarch, it is said, was pleased at this reply, and requested the Guru to accept a present from him The Guru replied —

Nanak is hungry for God, and careth for naught besides
I ask for God I ask for nothing else

The king returned to his palace, and the Guru continued his wanderings

The Guru next proceeded to Bndrabau, where he saw enacted the play called *Krishanika*, in which the exploits of Krishan¹ are represented Krishan appears making love to milkmaids, stealing their clothes while they were bathing, and killing his uncle Kans The Guru expressed his dissatisfaction with the subject of the performance —

The disciples play, the gurus dance,
Shake their feet, and roll their heads
Dust flieeth and falleth on their hair
The audience seeing it laugh and go home
For the sake of food the performers beat time,
And dash themselves on the ground
The milkmaids sing, Krishans sing,
Sitas and royal Rams sing
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 his disciples this knowledge is obtained,

¹ Krishan son of Vasudev, by his wife Devaki was born, according to Indian tradition, 3185 B C Cattle-grazing was the original calling of the family, and Krishan is celebrated for his adventures among the milkmaids of Mathura In the Bhagavat Gita, an episode of the Sanskrit epic *Mahabharat*, he declared himself to be God, the supreme Soul, the Creator of the world, and its Destroyer, and he has been accepted as such by Hindus, who deem him an incarnation of Vishnu

That the Kind One saveth those on whom He looketh
with favour

Oil-presses, spinning-wheels hand-mills, potters' wheels,
Plates,¹ whirlwinds, many and endless,

Tops, churning-staves, threshing-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 ,

Every one danceth according to his own acts—

They who dance and laugh shall weep on their departure,

They cannot fly or obtain supernatural power

Leaping and dancing are mental recreations ,

Nanak, they who have the fear of God in their hearts
have also love ²

CHAPTER V

The Guru set out towards the east, having arrayed himself in a strange motley of Hindu and Muhammadan religious habiliments. He put on a mango-coloured jacket, over which he threw a white safa or sheet. On his head he carried the hat of a Musalman Qalandar,³ while he wore a necklace of bones, and imprinted a saffron mark on his forehead in the style of Hindus. This was an earnest of his desire to found a religion which should be acceptable both to Hindus and Muhammadans without conforming to either faith. As the Guru and his attendant proceeded, they met a Muhammadan notable called Shaikh Wajid. The Shaikh alighted under a tree, and his bearers began to shampoo and fan him. This afforded matter for contemplation to Mardana, and he asked the Guru whether there was not one God for the rich and another for the poor. The Guru replied that there

¹ *Thal*, plates, posed on a stick and spun round

² *Āsa Li Wār*

³ A Muhammadan anchorite who abandons all worldly ties and possessions. He corresponds to the Indian Sanyāsi.

was only one God. Mardana then put his question in another form 'Who created this man who rideth in a sedan of ease while the bearers have no shoes to their feet? Their legs are naked while they shampoo and fan him.' The Guru replied with the following verses —

They who performed austerities in their former lives, are now kings and receive tribute on earth

They who were then weaned, are now shampooed by others

The Guru continued in prose 'O Mardana, whoever is born hath come naked from his mother's womb, and joy or misery is the result of actions in previous states of existence.' Upon this, Mardana fell at the Guru's feet.

As Guru Nanak and Mardana journeyed on, they arrived at Gorakhmata, or temple of Gorakh, some twenty miles north of Pilibhat in the United Provinces of India¹. There they observed a pipal-tree² of many a religious reminiscence. Years previously it had withered from age, but it is related that when the holy man sat beneath it, it suddenly became green. The biographer of the Guru states that Sidhs came on that occasion and addressed him 'O youth, whose disciple art thou, and from whom hast thou obtained instruction?'.

Guru Nanak in reply, composed the following hymn —

What is the scale? What the weights? What weighman³ shall I call for Thee?

Who is the guru from whom I should receive instruction, and by whom I should appraise Thy worth?

O my Beloved, I know not Thy limit

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

¹ The place is now known as Nanakmata, in memory of the Guru's visit.

² The *Ficus religiosa*.

³ This line appears to mean that God cannot be weighed or estimated.

My heart is the scale, 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 art the weighman,

Thou Thyself beholdest, Thou Thyself understandest, Thou Thyself art the dealer with *Thee* ¹

A blind man, a low-born person, and a stranger come but for a moment, and in a moment depart

In such companionship Nanak abideth, how can he, fool that he is, obtain Thee ? ²

Then the Sidhs said, ' O youth, become a Jogi, and adopt the dress of our order, so shalt thou find the true way and obtain the merits of religion ' The Guru replied with the following hymn —

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 in the blowing of horns ³

Abide pure amid the impurities of the world, thus shalt thou find the way of religion

Religion consisteth not in mere words,

He who looketh on all men as equal is religious

Religion consisteth not in wandering to tombs ⁴ or places of cremation or sitting in attitudes of contemplation, ⁵

Religion consisteth not in wandering in foreign countries, or in bathing at places of pilgrimages

Abide pure amid the impurities of the world, thus shalt thou find the way of religion

On meeting a true guru doubt is dispelled and the wanderings of the mind restrained

It raineth nectar, slow ecstatic music is heard, and man is happy within himself

¹ In the *Granth* *Sihab* God is the wholesale merchant from whom all grace and good gifts proceed, and men are the dealers who receive from Him ² *Sih* ³ The Jogi blow deer's horns

⁴ *Marhi*, a structure raised over the ashes of the dead

⁵ *Tari lagana* is to sit cross-legged in contemplative attitude as Buddha is represented

Abide pure amid the impurities of the world , thus shalt thou find the way of religion

Nanak, in the midst of life be in death , practise such religion

When thy horn soundeth without being blown, thou shalt obtain the fearless dignity—

Abide pure amid the impurities of the world, thus shalt thou find the way of religion ¹

On hearing this the Sidhs made Guru Nanak obeisance The Guru, having infused sap into the pipal-tree by sitting under it, necessarily became a great being in their estimation

The Guru and his musical attendant proceeded to Banaras,² the head quarters of the Hindu religion, and the birthplace of the renowned Kabir, then dead but not forgotten The Guru and Mardana sat down in a public square of the city At that time the chief Brahman of the holy city was Pandit Chatur Das On going to bathe he saw the Guru and made the Hindu salutation, 'Ram Ram ³' On observing the Guru's dress, he twitted him with possessing no salagram ⁴ though he called himself a faqr, with wearing no necklace of sacred basil and no rosary 'What samtship hast thou obtained ?' The Guru replied —

O Brahman, thou worshapest and propitiest the salagram, and deemest it a good act to wear a necklace of sweet basil ⁵

Why irrigate barren land and waste thy life ?

Why apply plaster to a frail tottering wall ?

Repeating God's name, form a raft *for thy salvation* , may the Merciful have mercy on thee !

¹ Sidhs

² Banaras, in Sanskrit Bārāṇas, is derived from Baraṇa and An, two tributary streams of the Ganges

³ A quartzose stone bearing the impression of ammonites and believed by the Hindus to represent Vishnu petrified by a curse of Brinda for possessing her in the guise of her spouse. Silagrams are found in the Gandaka and Son rivers

⁴ Thereby denoting that he was dedicated to the god Vishnu

Chatur Das replied 'O saint, the salagram and the necklace of sweet basil may indeed be useless as the irrigation of barren land, but tell me by what means the ground may be prepared and God found' The Guru replied —

Make God the well, string *His name* for the necklace of waterpots, and yoke thy mind as an ox thereto

Irrigate with nectar and fill the parterres therewith, thus shalt thou belong to the Gardener

The Pandit inquired 'The soil is irrigated, but how can it yield produce until it hath been dug up and prepared for the seed?' The Guru explained how this was to be done —

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 effaced in vain

The Pandit replied 'I am the crane, and thou art the primal swan of God My understanding is overcome by my senses' The Guru replied —

If thou, O Merciful One, show mercy, a crane shall change into a swan

Nanak, slave of slaves, supplicateth, O Merciful One have mercy¹

The Pandit then admitted that the Guru was a saint of God, and asked him to bless the city and sing its praises The Guru inquired in what the specialty of the city consisted The Pandit said it was learning, by which wealth was acquired 'The world admureth the ground on which the possessor of wealth treadeth By applying the mind to learning, thou shalt become a high priest' The Guru replied in a series of metaphors —

The city² is frail, the king³ is a boy and loveth the wicked, He is said to have two mothers⁴ and two fathers⁵, O Pandit, think upon this

¹ Basant

² The body

³ The heart

⁴ Hope and desire

⁵ Love and hate

O, sir Pandit, instruct me

How I am to obtain the Lord of life

Within me is the fire¹ the garden² is in bloom and I have
an ocean³ within my body

The moon and sun⁴ are both in my heart, thou hast not
obtained such knowledge?

He who subdueth mammon knoweth that God is every-
where diffused,

He may be known by this mark that he storeth con-
tentment as his wealth⁵

The *king* dwelleth with those who listen not to advice, and
who are not grateful for what they receive

Nanak, slave of slaves, representeth, *O God*, in one moment
Thou makest the small great and the great small⁶

Chatur Das requested further information 'Sir,
shall the name of God be to any extent obtained
by what we teach the people and what we learn
ourselves?' The Guru inquired in return 'O reli-
gious teacher, what hast thou read? What teachest
thou the people, and what knowledge dost thou
communicate to thy disciples?' The Pandit replied
'By the will of God I teach the people the fourteen
sciences—reading, swimming, medicine, alchemy,
astrology, singing the six rags and their raginis,
the science of sexual enjoyment, grammar, music,
horsemanship, dancing, archery, theology, and states-
manship' The Guru replied that better than all
these was knowledge of God. Upon this he repeated
the long composition called the Oamkar in the Rag

¹ The fire of evil passions

² Of my youth

³ Of desires. Man is here the measure of infinity. The ocean is
supposed to contain fire which consumes it and hinders its increase.
This fire is called *harmanal*, and is supposed to be near the Equator.

⁴ Meditation and divine knowledge

⁵ Also translated—He who hoardeth mercy instead of wealth
recognizeth God

⁶ Literally,—in a moment thou canst make a tola a māsha, and
in a moment a māsha a tola. A tola is 180 grama avordupois, the
weight of a rupee. A māsha is the twelfth part of a tola. The hymn
is from *Basant*

Ramkali, the first two pauris or stanzas of which are as follow —

It is the one God who created Brahma,¹

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

It is by the word of God man is saved

It is *by the name of* the one God the pious are saved

Hear an account of the letter O—²

O is the best letter in the three worlds

Hear, O Pandit, why writest thou puzzles³

Write under the instruction of the Guru the name of God, the Cherisher of the world

He created the world with ease in the three worlds there is one Lord of Light

Under the Guru's instruction select gems and pearls, and thou shalt obtain *God* the real thing

If man understand, reflect, and comprehend what he readeth, *he shall know at last that* the True One is everywhere⁴

The pious man knoweth and remembereth the truth—that without the True One the world is unreal

On hearing the whole fifty-four stanzas of the Oamkar, the Pandit fell at the Guru's feet, and became a Sikh and possessor of God's name

During the Guru's stay at Banaras Krishan Lal and Har Lal, two eminent young pandits, went to visit him, and he explained to them the tenets and principles of his religion

From Banaras the Guru proceeded to Gaya, the famous place of pilgrimage, where Buddha in days long past made his great renunciation and performed his memorable penance. There the Guru uttered the following in reply to Brahmans who had

¹ This means that the true God is superior to all other gods

² The symbol of the eternal God. It is here used instead of the Name

³ *Nirantar*, pervades creation uninterruptedly

urged him to perform the ceremonies usual among Hindus for the repose of the souls of ancestors

The Name alone, is my lamp, suffering the oil I put therein

The lamp's light hath dried it up, and I have escaped meeting Death

O ye people, make me not an object of derision

The application of a particle of fire *will destroy* even hundreds of thousands of logs heaped together ¹

God is my barley rolls ² and leafy platters,³ the Creator's name the true obseques ⁴

In this world and the next, in the past and the future, that is my support

Thy praises are as the Ganges and Banaras to me, my soul laveth therein

If day and night I love Thee, then shall my ablution be true

Some rolls are offered to the gods some to the manes ⁵, but it is the Brahman who kneadeth and eateth them

Nanak, the rolls which are the gift of God are never exhausted ⁶

The Guru and Mardana in the course of their travels found themselves at a grain-dealer's house. A son had just been born to one of the partners, and several people had come to offer him congratulations. Some threw red powder ⁷ in token of joy, and voices of blessing and congratulation filled the neighbourhood. Mardana sat down and gazed on the

¹ That is, God's name will remove hundreds of thousands of sins

² *Paad*, this word also means the body which is supposed to be put together by the offering of these rolls

³ *Patta*, literally, plates of leaves generally of the *palis* (*Butea frondosa*) in which food is placed

⁴ *Kirt*, the ceremonies performed on the thirteenth day after death

⁵ *Chandekars*, those who walked the earth, the manes of ancestors

⁶ *Am*

⁷ Red powder is thrown on passers-by in India on occasions of festivity. The practice is particularly resorted to on the occasion of the *Holi*, a Hindu saturnalia.

spectacle In the evening, when the grain-dealer's entertainment was at an end, he stood up and went to his private apartments without taking any notice of Mardana The latter went to the Guru, who sat at some distance, informed him of the birth of the child, and gave him an account of the entertainment The Guru smiled, and said it was not a son who had been born in the grain-dealer's house, but a creditor who had come to settle his account He would remain for the night and depart in the morning Then the Guru ordered Mardana to play the rebeck, and sang to its strains the following hymn —

I

In the first watch of night, my merchant friend, *the child*
by God's order entereth the womb

With body reversed it performeth penance within, O
merchant friend, and prayeth to the Lord—

It prayeth to the Lord in deep meditation and love

It cometh naked into the world, and again it departeth
naked

Such destiny shall attend it as God's pen hath recorded
upon its forehead

Saith Nanak, in the first watch the child on receiving the
order entereth the womb

II

In the second watch of night, O merchant friend, it for-
getteth to meditate on God

It is dandled in the arms, O merchant friend, like Krishan
in the house of Yasodha

The child is dandled in the arms, and its mother saith,
'This is my son'

Think on this, O thoughtless and stupid man,¹ nothing
shall be thine at last

Thou knowest not Him who created thee, meditate upon
Him in thy heart

¹ *Man* in the original might be translated *mind*, but the word
includes the heart in the next line

Sarth Nanak, the child hath forgotten to meditate at the second watch

III

At the third watch of night O merchant friend, man's thoughts are of woman and *the pleasures* of youth ,

He thinketh not of God's name, O merchant friend, which would release him from his bondage

Man thinketh not of God's name, but groweth beside himself with worldly love

Devoted to woman and intoxicated with his youth he wasteth his life in vain

He hath not traded in virtue or made good acts his friends

Sarth Nanak, in the third watch man's thoughts are of woman and *the pleasures* of youth

IV

In the fourth watch of night, O merchant friend, the reaper cometh to the field .

The secret hath been given to none when Death shall seize and take away *his riches*

Think upon God , the secret hath been given to none when Death shall seize and take man away

Hollow are the lamentations around In one moment *man's goods* become another's

He shall obtain those things on which he hath set his heart ¹

Sarth Nanak, O mortal, in the fourth watch the reaper hath reaped the field ²

When morning came, the gram-dealer's child died, and the gram-dealer and his relatives came forth weeping and wailing Mardana asked the Guru what sudden change of fortune had come to those who yesterday had been engaged in their rejoicings

¹ It is supposed that man shall receive in the next world the things which formed the object of his last thoughts in this He who has not fixed his thoughts on God at the last moment shall not find Him, but begin anew a course of transmigration See *Pradechan, Gajars* vol vi

² Sn Rig Puhare

and saturnalia. Then the Guru uttered the following on the vicissitudes of human life —

They to whose faces were uttered gratulations and hundreds of thousands of blessings,

Now smite their heads in grief, and their minds and bodies suffer agony

Of the dead some are buried, others are thrown into rivers ¹

The gratulations have passed away, but even so do thou, O Nanak, praise the True One

As the Guru and Mardana pursued their way they saw a small enclosed field of gram ². The watchman of the field began to roast some for his dinner, while the Guru and Mardana gazed at him at a distance. As the watchman was preparing to eat, he saw them, and it occurred to him that they wanted something more dainty than gram, so he would go to his house and bring them better fare and comfortable bedding. As he stood up, the Guru, who did not wish to trouble him, asked whither he was going, and, on being informed, uttered the following verses —

Thy pallet is a coverlet and mattress for me, thy love is my dainty dish

Nanak is *already* satiated with thy good qualities, come back, O monarch

In due time the watchman obtained spiritual dignity in return for his kind intentions towards the Guru

There was at that time a shopkeeper whose mind had taken a religious bent, and who desired to meet a religious guide. He heard of Guru Nanak's arrival, and vowed that he would not eat or drink until he had had an interview with him. Having

¹ The Mussulmans bury their dead. The Hindus cremate them, or throw them into their sacred streams.

² *Chana*, *Cher arathum* chick peas, on which horses are fed in India. It is called gram by Europeans. When roasted green it is sometimes eaten by the poorer classes.

once visited the Guru he continually went to him to receive religious instruction. A neighbouring shopkeeper heard of his friend's visits, and said that he too would go to see the holy man. They proceeded together, but on the way the second shopkeeper saw a woman of whom he became enamoured, and his visit to Nanak was indefinitely postponed. It was the custom of both to set out together, one to visit his mistress, and the other to visit the Guru. The second shopkeeper desired to put the fortunes of both to the test, and said, 'Thou practisest good works, while I practise bad works. Let us see what shall happen to each of us to-day. If I arrive first, I will sit down and wait for thee, and if thou arrive first, then wait for me.' This was agreed upon. The second shopkeeper went to the house of his mistress as usual, but did not find her. He then proceeded to the spot where his friend had agreed to meet him, but his friend, who on that day tarried long with the Guru, had not yet arrived. The second shopkeeper needing some occupation in his solitude, drew out his knife and began to whittle the ground with it, when he found a shining gold coin. He continued his excavations with the weak delving implement he possessed, when, to his disappointment, he only discovered a jar of charcoal. He had, however, obtained some reward for his labour.

Meanwhile the first shopkeeper arrived in doleful case. Having left the Guru, a thorn pierced his foot. He bound up the wound, and proceeded sore limping to the trysting-place. His friend told him of his better fortune. They both saw that he who went daily to commit sin prospered, while he who went to his religious teacher to pray and meditate on God, suffered, and they agreed to refer to Guru Nanak for an explanation of their unequal and unmerited fates.

The Guru explained that the sinful shopkeeper had in a former birth given a gold coin as alms to a holy man. That coin was converted into many

gold coins as a reward for the alms-giver, but, when he entered on his career of sin, the gold coins were turned into charcoal. The original gold coin was, however, restored. The shopkeeper who visited the Guru, had deserved to die by an impaling stake for the sins of deceit and usury, but, as he continued to progress in virtue, the impaling stake was reduced in size till it became merely a thorn. Having been pierced by it, he had fully expiated the sins of a former birth. Thus may the decree of destiny be altered by the practice of virtue. Both men were thoroughly satisfied with this explanation of unequal retribution. The sinful as well as the virtuous man fell at Guru Nanak's feet, and both became true worshippers of God. The Guru then uttered the following verses —

The heart is the paper, conduct the ink,¹ good and bad are both recorded therewith.

Man's life is as his acts constrain him, there is no hint to Thy praises, O God.

O fool, why callest thou not to mind *Thy Creator*?

Thy virtues have dissolved away by thy forgetfulness of God.

Night is a small net, day a large one, there are as many meshes as there are ghats in the day.

With relish thou ever peckest at the bait, and art ensnared, O fool, by what skill shalt thou escape?

The body is the furnace, the mind the iron therein, five fires² are ever applied to it.

Sin is the charcoal added thereto, by which the mind is heated, anxiety is the pincers.

The mind hath turned into dross, but it shall again become gold when it meeteth such a Guru.

As will bestow the ambrosial name of the one God, then, Nanak, the mind shall become fixed.³

¹ Literally—Conduct—heart being the paper—is the ink.

² The deadly sins.

³ *Mitra*.

The Guru then took the opportunity of discoursing on the immoral shopkeeper's peculiar vice. 'Man is fickle when he beholdeth a courtesan, he then hath a special desire for love's play, and can in no way be restrained. On meeting her he loseth his human birth. Bereft of his religion he falleth into hell, where he undergoeth punishment and profusely lamenteth. Wherefore look not on her, but pass thy time among the holy.'

After this they all separated, and the Guru and Mardana continued their wanderings. On the way they were encountered by robbers. On seeing Guru Nanak, they said to themselves that he on whose face shone such happiness could not be without wealth. They accordingly went and stood around the Guru. As they beheld him morning dawned, so they were able to examine him more closely. He asked them who they were, and what they wanted. They candidly replied that they were thugs,¹ and had come to rob him. The Guru gave them spiritual instruction, and said that their sins should be wiped out when they had abandoned their evil career, turned to agriculture, and bestowed charity out of the spoils in their possession. They acted on his suggestions, began to repeat the Name, and reform their lives. The Guru on that occasion composed the following —

Covetousness is a dog, falsehood a sweeper, food obtained by deceit carrion.

Slander of others is merely others' filth in our mouths, the fire of anger is a sweeper.²

Pleasures and self-praise—these are mine acts, O Creator
My friends, doth any one obtain honour by mere words?

Call them the best, who are the best at the gate of the Lord, they who do base acts sit and weep.

¹ Indian robbers who generally effect their purpose by the use of stupefying and poisonous drugs.

² Also translated—Slander of others is our neighbour's dirt, filthy language a sweeper, anger fire.

There is pleasure in gold, pleasure in silver and in women, pleasure in the perfume of sandal,

There is pleasure in horses, pleasure in couches and in palaces, pleasure in sweets, and pleasure in meats

When such are the pleasures of the body, how shall God's name obtain a dwelling therein ?

It is proper to utter the words by which honour is obtained

Injury resulteth from uttering harsh words, hearken O foolish and ignorant man

They who please God are good, what more can be said ?

They in whose heart God is contained possess wisdom, honour, and wealth

What need is there of praising them ? What further decoration *can they obtain* ?

Nanak, they who are beyond God's *answering* glance love not charity or His name ¹

By the following the Guru recommended agricultural labour —

The oxen are disciples,² the ploughman is their Shaikh,³

The earth is a book, the furrow the writing

The sweat of the ploughman's brow falleth to his heels,

And every one eateth of his earning⁴

They who eat the fruit of their earning and bestow a little *from it*,

O Nanak, recognize the true way

Then the Guru departed thence

¹ Sri Rig

² *Mushday* This is the Arabic *mushday* a sower

³ Their spiritual guide

⁴ Compare—

On its oxen and its husbandmen

An empire's strength is based

CHAPTER VI

The Guru and Mardana went to Kamrup,¹ a country whose women were famous for their skill in incantation and magic. It was governed by a queen called Nurshah in the Sikh chronicles. She with several of her females went to the Guru and tried to obtain influence over him.

Then the Guru uttered the following verses —

You buy saline earth,² and want musk into the bargain.
Without good works, Nanak, how shall you meet your Spouse ?

The Guru continued as follows —

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

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

My Spouse is an abode of sweetness, why should He enjoy other women ?

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

She shall string her Spouse's heart thereon like a priceless gem.

I show the way to others, but walk not in it myself,³ I say I have *already* traversed it.

If thou, O my Spouse, speak not to me, how shall I abide in Thy house ?

Nanak, excepting One there is none besides.

If Thy wife, O Spouse, remain attached to Thee, she shall enjoy Thee.⁴

Nurshah observed that her people's spells were of no avail, however much they tried. The Guru, on

¹ In the time of the Guru it is believed that Aitwarū, or Kāmrup, included at least the present districts of Goalpara and Kāmrup.

² *Kallar*, impure nitrate of soda found in sandy soils in India.

³ Compare—

'Fungar vice cotta, acutum

Reddere quae ferrum valet, exersit ipsa secunda —HORACE

⁴ Wadhans

beholding their fruitless efforts, uttered the following hymn in the Suhi measure entitled Kuchajji, or the woman of bad character —

I am a worthless woman, in me are faults, how can I go to enjoy my Spouse ?

My Spouse's wives are one better than the other, O my life, who careth for me ? ¹

My female friends who have enjoyed their Spouse are in the shade of the mango ²

I do not possess their virtues, to whom can I attribute blame ? ³

What attributes of Thine, O Lord, shall I blazon abroad ? What names of Thine shall I repeat ?

I cannot even attain one of Thy many excellences I am over a sacrifice unto Thee

Gold, silver, pearls, and rubies which gladden the heart—

These things the Bridegroom hath given me, and I have fixed my heart on them ⁴

I had palaces of brick fashioned with marble

In these luxuries I forgot the Bridegroom and sat not near Him

The kulangs cry in the heavens,⁵ and the cranes have come to roost ⁶

The woman goeth to her father-in-law's, ⁷ how shall she show her face as she proceedeth ?

As morning dawned she soundly slept, and forgot her journey

She separated from Thee, O Spouse, and *therefore* stored up grief for herself

¹ Literally—who knoweth my name?

² That is, they are fortunate. The mango is an evergreen, and its leaves always afford shelter

³ It is my own fault that I possess not virtue

⁴ And forgotten the Giver

⁵ The Orientals believe that very old men hear noises in their heads. The kulang is a large stately Indian bird

⁶ Grey hair has come

⁷ In the Granth Sāhib the present world is called one's father's house, and the next world one's father-in-law's

In Thee, *O Lord*, are merits, in me all demerits Nanak hath thus one representation to make

Every night is for the virtuous woman, may I though unchaste obtain a night also !¹

Nurshah grew weary of her efforts She felt that her ill success was the result of her sins Her women then, beating drums, stood in front of the Guru, and began to dance and sing He on that occasion composed the following hymn —

The impulses of my heart are my cymbals and madras²

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

Saints like Narad dance under the influence of this Kal age³

They who call themselves continent and virtuous also enter the dance

Nanak, I am a sacrifice to the Name

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

Contrary to custom, a disciple eateth from the hand of his guru,

And goeth and dwelleth with him only for the sake of food⁴

If man were to live and eat hundreds of years,

Only that day would be acceptable in which he recognized the Lord

Compassion is not exercised by merely beholding a swar⁵,

There is no one who receiveth or giveth not bribes

The king dispenseth justice when his palm is filled

If a man make a request for God's sake nobody heedeth him

Nanak, men nowadays are men only in shape and name

¹ She has grown grey in sin, and is not desirable to her Husband

² The madras were struck with a stick, and somewhat corresponded to European triangles

³ Even saints dance for pleasure, and not for the love of God in this age

⁴ This is described as a custom of this degenerate age The proper course would be for the disciple to feed his master

⁵ A bribe must be paid to the judge

In action they are dogs, shall they be accepted at God's gate ?

If man by the favour of his guru deem himself a guest in this world,

He shall acquire some honour in God's court ¹

Again the Guru uttered the following verses —

In words we are good, but in acts bad

We are impure-minded and black-hearted, yet we wear the white robes of innocents ²

We envy those who stand and serve at His gate

They who love the Bridegroom and enjoy the pleasure of His embraces,

Are lowly even in their strength, and remain humble

Nanak, our lives shall be profitable if we meet such women ³

When the Guru had uttered these verses, Nurshah thought she would tempt him with wealth. Her attendants brought pearls, diamonds, gold, silver, coral, sumptuous dresses, all things precious the state treasury contained, and laid them at his feet. The Guru rejected all the proffered presents, and uttered the following hymn, which he sang to Mardana's rebeck —

O silly woman, why art thou proud ?

Why enjoyest thou not the love of God ⁴ in thine own home ?

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

Put the surma ⁵ needles of God's fear into thine eyes, and wear the decoration of love

Thou shalt be known as a devoted happy wife ⁶ if thou love the Bridegroom

¹ *Āsa*

² Literally—we are white outside

³ *Sri Rāg ki Wār*

⁴ The Indian husband is deemed as a god by his wife

⁵ A species of collyrium

⁶ *Sukh-gan*, from the Sanskrit *su*, good, and *āg*, fortune, is applied to a wife whose husband is alive. Her lot is happy, and her state deemed holy in comparison with that of a widow

What shall a silly woman do if she please not her Spouse ?
However much she implore, she may not enter His chamber

Without God's grace she obtaineth nothing, howsoever she may strive

Intoxicated with avarice, covetousness, and pride, she is absorbed in mammon

It is not by these means the Bridegroom is obtained, silly is the woman who thinketh so

Go and ask the happy wives¹ by what means they obtained their Spouse—

'Whatever He doeth accept as good, have done with cleverness and orders

'Apply thy mind to the worship of His feet by whose love what is most valued is obtained'²

'Do whatever the Bridegroom biddeth thee, give Him thy body and soul, such perfumes apply'³

Thus speak the happy wives⁴ 'O sister, by these means the Spouse is obtained

'Efface thyself, so shalt thou obtain the Bridegroom, what other art is there ?'⁵

Only that day is of account when the Bridegroom looketh with favour, the wife hath then obtained the wealth of the world

She who pleaseth her Spouse is the happy wife, Nanak, she is the queen of them all

She is saturated with pleasure, intoxicated with happiness,⁶ and day and night absorbed in His love

She is beautiful and fair to view, accomplished, and it is she alone who is wise⁷

¹ Who have God for their spouse

² That is, salvation Also translated—from whom the wealth of love is obtained

³ That is, let these be thy blandishments

⁴ This is the reply of the favourite wives showing how they won God as their Spouse

⁵ *Saky* This word has many meanings in the Granth Sāhib It means natural disposition, easily, slowly, divine knowledge, divine tranquility, God, &c In some of its meanings it is derived from *sak*, with, and *ya*, born

⁶ *Tilang*

Nurshah and her women, on hearing this hymn, twisted their head-dresses around their necks in token of submission, and fell at the Guru's feet. They asked how they could obtain salvation. The Guru told them to repeat God's name, conscientiously perform their domestic duties, renounce magic, and they should thus secure future happiness. It is said that they became followers of Guru Nanak, and thus secured salvation.

The Guru, on leaving Kamrup, entered a wilderness. There Kaljug¹ came to tempt him. Mardana became sore afraid. The Guru remonstrated with him, asked why he was afraid of Kaljug, if he felt fear it ought to be the fear of God.

The Guru then sang the following hymn —

Put the fear of God² into thy heart, then the fear of *Death* shall depart in fear.

What is that fear by fearing which the fear of *Death* may take fright?

O God, there is no other abode than in Thee,

Whatever happeneth is according to Thy pleasure.

Fear if thou have any other fear than that of *God*.

Fear is mental disturbance.

The soul dieth not, neither is it drowned, it is saved *through fear of God*.

He who made something will make something.

By His order man cometh, by His order man goeth,

Before and behind us His order prevaileth.

The swan of the heart aspreth to fly to heaven,

But on the way it is a target for great hunger which *restraineth it*.

Let *the swan* make fear its eating, drinking, and support,

Without such food the stupid bird would die.

Who hath a *helper* let anybody say.

Everybody is Thine, Thou art *the helper* of all.

¹ Kaljug here means Satan.

² *Dar ghar*, the abode of fear, is explained by the gylms to mean God.

Nanak, to name and meditate on Him to whom belong
Men, lower animals wealth and property is difficult ¹

Mardana inquired who Kaljug was, by what signs
he was known unto men, and what prerogative he
exercised ² The Guru replied —

When true men speak the truth and suffer for it, when
penitents fail to perform penance in their homes,

When he who repeateth the name of God meeteth
obloquy—these are the signs of the Kaljug ³

Kaljug offered the Guru the wealth of the world
if he would abandon his mission. He said, 'I possess
everything. Say but the word, and I will build
thee a palace of pearls, inlay it with gems, and
plaster it with fragrant aloes and sandal. I will
bring thee very beautiful women, and give thee the
wealth of the world, the power of working miracles,
and confer upon thee the sovereignty of the East
and of the West. Take whatever pleaseth thee.'
The Guru informed him that he himself had renounced
all sovereignty. What could he do with what Kaljug
offered him, which moreover belonged to others ⁴
Then the Guru uttered the following stanza —

Were a mansion of pearls erected and inlaid with gems
for me,

Perfumed with musk, saffron, fragrant aloes and sandal
to confer delight,

May it not be that on beholding these things I may forget
Thee, O God, and not remember Thy name ⁵

My soul burneth without Thee

I have ascertained from my Guru that there is no other
shelter *than in God*

Were the earth to be studded with diamonds and rubies,
and my couch to be similarly adorned,

Were fascinating damsels whose faces were decked with
jewels to shed lustre and enhance the pleasure of the scene,

¹ Gaun

² Rinkah

May it not be that on beholding them I may forget Thee
and not remember Thy name !

Were I to become a Sidh and work miracles , could
I command the wealth of *the universe* to come to me ,

Could I disappear and appear at *pleasure*, and were the
world to honour me ,

May it not be that on beholding these things I may forget
Thee and not remember Thy name !

Were I to become a monarch on my throne and raise an
army ,

Were dominion and regal revenue mine—O Nanak, they
would be all worthless—

May it not be that on beholding these things I may forget
Thee and not remember Thy name !¹

Then Kaljug went round him in adoration, fell at
his feet, and took his departure

On the way Guru and Mardana sought shelter in
a village, but were not allowed to remain there
The villagers began to play practical jokes on them
The Guru on that occasion uttered the following
verses —

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 ,²

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 !

Then the Guru composed the following hymn in
the Rag Malar —

¹ Sri Rag

² That is, I have become a fakir and dishonoured my family

Death is forgotten amid eating and drinking, laughter and sleep

By forgetting the Lord man hath ruined himself and rendered his 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 conferrest 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 so the body itself ¹

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

The Guru and Mardana did not remain long in that village. Mardana asked the Guru what his decision was regarding its inhabitants. He replied, 'O Mardana, may they remain here !'

The inhabitants of the next village at which they arrived showed them great attention. They remained there, however, for only one night, and departed next morning. The Guru when leaving said that the village should be abandoned. Then Mardana remarked, 'Sir, the village in which we were not allowed to sit down, thou hast blessed, and that which bestowed great attention and kindness on us thou hast cursed.' The Guru replied, 'Mardana, if the people of the former village remove to another, they shall ruin it, but if the people of the latter village remove to another, they shall save it.'

The Guru returned from Kamrup by the great river Brahmaputra, and then made a coasting voyage to Puri on the Bay of Bengal, where Vishnu or

¹ That is, the condition of the body is as changeable as the seasons

Krishan, under the name of Jagannath, lord of the world, is specially worshipped. When the lamps were lit in the evening the Guru was invited by the high priest to stand up and join in the god's worship, which was of a gorgeous and imposing character. In that rich temple offerings to the god were made on salvers studded with pearls. On the salvers were placed flowers and censers. A fan was employed to excite the flames of the incense, while the lamps around threw light over the temple. But the use of these articles showed artificial worship, while the expanse of the firmament, the sun and the moon, the procession of the stars, the natural incense of the sandal, the winds and forests, were the fitting accessories of Nanak's purer worship of the God of creation. The Guru therefore, instead of accepting the high priest's invitation to adore the idol, raised his eyes to heaven, and gave utterance to the following hymn —

The sun and moon, O Lord, are thy lamps, the firmament,
Thy salver, the orbs of the stars, the pearls *enchased* in it.

The perfume of the sandal ¹ is Thine incense, the wind is
Thy fan, ² all the forests are Thy flowers, O Lord of light ³

¹ *Mahank* literally—the wind from the Malay tree.

² In the original, *chauri*, a flapper made from the tail of the yak or Tibetan cow, and used in India to brush away flies.

³ The following is Dr. Trumpp's translation of these two verses —

The *dash* is made of the sky, the sun and moon are made the lamps,
the orbs of stars are, so to say, the pearls.

The wind is incense-grinding, the wind swings the fly-brush, the
whole blooming wood is the flames (of the lamps).

While the present author was engaged in translating the sacred writings of the Sikhs at their request, one Bhai Gurumukh Singh projected a rival translation, which was to surpass all others. His *modus operandi* was to alter Dr. Trumpp's words here and there, and thus produce what he perhaps deemed would be an original version. He circulated the following as his translation of these lines —

The sky is for my plate (for art), the sun and moon are for lamps,
(and) rows of stars are as it were for pearls.

The air of sandal wood for perfumery smoke, the wind (for my) fan
and all the rows of blooming forests (for flowers), O Lord of light.

What worship is this, O Thou Destroyer of birth?¹ Unbeaten strains of ecstasy are the trumpets of Thy worship.

Thou hast a thousand eyes and yet not one² eye; Thou hast a thousand forms and yet not one form;³

Thou hast a thousand pure feet and yet not one foot; Thou hast a thousand organs of smell and yet not one organ—I am fascinated by this play of Thine.⁴

The light which is in everything is Thine, O Lord of light.

From its brilliancy everything is brilliant;

By the Guru's teaching the light becometh manifest.

What pleaseth Thee is the real arati.⁵

O God, my mind is fascinated with Thy lotus feet as the *bumble-bee* with the flower: night and day I thirst for them.

Give the water of Thy grace to the sarang⁶ Nanak, so that he may dwell in Thy name.⁷

¹ That is, of transmigration.

² Thou hast many spiritual eyes, but no material eye.

³ Thy manifestations are many, yet Thou hast no bodily form.

⁴ Also translated—In this way Thou hast enchanted the world.

⁵ In memory of the circumstance recorded in the text the Sikhs repeat several prayers in the evening. The prayers are collectively called *Arati*, and consist of this hymn and some others, which will be noted in their proper place. The word *Arati* originally meant waving lamps as signs before an idol.

⁶ The *Sarang*, or pied Indian cuckoo, the *Cuculus Melanoleucos* is supposed to drink water only when the moon is in the mansion of Arcturus, so, when its time comes to drink, it is naturally thirsty. This bird is also known under the names *chā-trik* and *papka*. Its love is celebrated in song and story. It is in full voice on the approach of the Indian monsoon, when its plaintive strains are heard clearest at night. It is said that they make love's unhealed wounds bleed anew.



It is said that they make love's unhealed wounds bleed anew.

While at Jagannath, Guru Nanak met a Brahman who kept his eyes and nose closed so as to receive no pleasure from these organs. He averred that in that state he with his mental eyes saw the secrets of the world. Nanak hid his lota and the Brahman could not find it, so Nanak by the following hymn in the Dhanasari measure twitted him on his want of omniscience —

This is not the age, there is no longer acquaintance with
Jog, this is not the way of truth

The holy places in the world have fallen, the world is thus
ruined

In this Kal age God's name is the best thing

Thou closest thine eyes and holdest thy nose to deceive
the world

Thou holdest thy nose with thy thumb and first two
fingers, and sayest that thou seest the three worlds

But thou seest not what is behind thee, this is a wonderful
thing ¹

CHAPTER VII

The Guru and Mardana after their travels in Eastern India returned to the Panjab, and proceeded on a visit to the shrine of Shaikh Farid, a Moslem saint, at a place then called Ajodhan, but now Pak Pattan, in the southern part of that province. A saint called Shaikh Brahm (Ibrahim) was then the incumbent of the shrine. He was the first to speak. On seeing the Guru, whom he knew to be a religious man, dressed in ordinary secular costume, he said —

Either seek for high position ² or for God

Put not thy feet on two boats lest thy property founder ³

The Guru replied —

¹ Also translated—lo! this is thy devotional attitude. *Padam asan* is one of the *jogis'* attitudes

² *Muzaddam*, literally, the headship of a town

³ The meaning is—lead either a secular or a religious life. Do not combine both

Put thy feet on two boats and thy property also on them ¹
 One boat may sink, but the other shall cross over ²
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

Shaikh Brahm replied —

O Farid, the world is enamoured of the witch ³ who is
found to be false when her secret is known
 Nanak, while thou lookest on, the field ⁴ is ruined

Upon this the Guru urged —

O Farid, love for the witch hath prevailed from the very
 beginning
 Nanak, the field shall not be ruined if the watchman be
 on the alert

Then Shaikh Brahm —

Farid, my body faileth, my heart is broken, and no
 strength whatever remaineth me
 Arise, beloved, become my physician and give me
 medicine

Then the Guru exhorted him —

My friend, examine the truth, lip-worship is hollow
 Nanak, the Beloved is not far from thee, behold Him in
 thy heart

Then Shaikh Brahm uttered the following —

When thou oughtest to have made thy raft, thou didst
 not do so,

When the full river ⁵ overfloweth, it is difficult to cross
 over

¹ That is, enjoy the world and also remember God

² The body may perish, but the soul shall be saved

³ Worldly love

⁴ Man's body

⁵ When the body has completed its measure of an *Sarsar* is, literally, a tank or lake, but Shaikh Brahm refers to the broad river Satlej, near which he lived

Put not thy hand into the fire or it will burn,¹ my dear
Some have obtained honour for themselves by uttering
God's name

As milk will not return to the udder, so the soul will
not again enter the same body

Saith Farid, O my companions, when the Spouse calleth
you,

The soul shall depart in perplexity, and the body become
a heap of dust²

The Guru replied by a hymn in the same measure —

Make a raft of devotion and penance, so mayest thou
cross the stream³

There is no lake, no overflowing, such a road is easy
O Lord, Thy name alone is the madder with which my
robe is dyed

Such colour is everlasting, O my dear

If thou, my beloved, go not ~~thus~~ arrayed to meet the
Bridgroom, how canst thou meet Him?

If thou possess virtues, He will meet thee

If He become united with thee, He will not part from
thee, that is, if union be *really* effected

It is the True One who putteth an end to transmigration
She who hath abandoned egotism hath sewed for herself
a garment to *please the Bridgroom*

Under the Guru's instruction she obtaineth her reward
in the ambrosial converse of her Lord

Nanak saith, O female companions, the Lord is thoroughly
dear

We are His slaves, true is our Spouse

Then Shaikh Brahm uttered the following —

They who have heart-felt love for God are the true,
But they who have one thing in their hearts and utter
another are accounted false

¹ Also translated—Touch not safflower its dye will depart

² *Sûhi*

³ *Wadele*, also translated—comfortably

They who are imbued with the love of God and a longing to behold Him *are also true*

They who forget God's name are a burden to the earth
God hath attached to His skirt those who were darw_{eh}es at His gate

Blest the mothers who bore them , profitable was their advent *into the world*

O Cherisher, Thou art illimitable, unapproachable, and endless

I kiss the feet of those who recognize the True One

I seek Thy shelter, O God , it is Thou who pardonest

Grant Thy worship as charity to Shaikh Farid¹

On this the Guru uttered the hymn called Suchajja, the fortunate, in the Suhi measure —

When I have Thee I have everything , Thou, O Lord, art my treasure

In Thee I dwell in peace, in Thee *to dwell* is my pride ,

If it please Thee, Thou bestowest a throne and greatness ,
if it please Thee, *Thou makest* man a forlorn mendicant ,

If it please Thee, rivers flow over dry land, and the lotus bloometh in the heavens ,

If it please Thee, man crosseth the terrible ocean , if it please Thee, he is drowned therein .

If it please Thee, Thou art my merry Spouse—I am absorbed in Thy praises, O Lord² of excellences

If it please Thee, O Lord, Thou terrifiest me, and then I am undone with transmigration

O Lord, Thou art inaccessible and unequalled , I am exhausted uttering Thy praises

What can I ask of Thee ? What can I say to Thee ?
I hunger and thirst for a sight of Thee

Under the instruction of the Guru I have obtained the Lord , Nanak's prayer hath been granted

¹ *Ām*

² *Farid* is a Persian word meaning Lord. The gurmukhi translate it *vesal*

The Guru and Shaikh Brahm remained together that night in the forest. A kind-hearted and charitable villager who had seen them, took them a basin of milk before daylight. The Shaikh separated his own share from that of the Guru, and uttered these verses —

Devotion in the beginning of the night is the blossom,
in the end of the night ¹ the fruit

They who watch obtain gifts from the Lord ²

The Guru responded —

Gifts are the Lord's, what can prevail against Him ? ³

Some who are awake receive them not, others who are asleep
He awaketh, and conferreth presents upon them ⁴

The Guru then asked Shaikh Brahm to put his hand into the milk and feel what was in it. Farid found that it contained four gold coins. Upon this the villager, deeming that he was in the hands of magicians, went away without his basin. The Guru uttered the following hymn —

I

O thou with the beautiful eyes, in the first watch of
a dark night

Watch thy property, O mortal, thy turn shall come next

When thy turn cometh, who will awake thee ? Death
shall taste thy sweets as thou sleepest

The night is dark, what shall become of thee when the
thief breaketh into and robbeth thy house ?

O inaccessible, incomparable Protector, hear my supplication

O Nanak, the fool hath never thought of God, what
can he see in a dark night ?

¹ That is, the end of life

² Farid's Sloka

³ No one can force Him to bestow His gifts

⁴ See Rāg ki Wār

II

It is the second watch, awake, O heedless one
 Watch thy property, O mortal, thy field is being eaten up
 Watch thy field, love God's praises, while thou art
 awake, the thief shall not touch thee

Then shalt thou not go the way of Death, nor suffer *from*
him, the fear and dread of him shall depart

The lamps of the sun and moon shall shine for thee, if
 thou under the Guru's instruction ponder on the True One
 in thy heart, and *utter His name* with thy lips

Nanak, the fool heedeth not even now, how shall he
 obtain happiness in the second watch ?

III

It is the third watch, thou art wrapt in slumber
 By wealth, children, and wives men are afflicted with
 sorrow

Yet wealth, children, wives, and worldly possessions are
 dear to man, he nibbleth at the bait, and is continually
 caught

If man under the Guru's instruction meditate on the
 Name, he shall obtain rest, and Death shall not seize him ¹

Transmigration and death never forsake us, without the
 Name we are afflicted

Nanak, in the third watch men, under the influence of
 the three qualities,² feel worldly love

¹ Death only seizes the soul which has to undergo further transmigration. He does not harass the emancipated soul.

² The three *gunas* or qualities of goodness, passion, and darkness—or reality, impulse, and ignorance—are frequently mentioned in Sikh as well as Hindu sacred literature. The Mosiac and Zoroastrian systems recognized two principles good and evil, in the economy of nature. It was the Indian sage Kapila who discerned the three principles or qualities above stated. He beheld good, moderately good, and evil every where in creation. He believed that these qualities, but in different degrees, pervade all things, and are the distinguishing characteristics of matter implanted in it by the Creator Himself.

The demigods possess goodness in excess, the demons darkness, and men passion. Manu thus defines the three qualities. 'It ought to be known that the three *gunas* or fetters of the soul are goodness, passion, and darkness. Restrained by one or more of these it is ever

IV

It is the fourth watch, the sun riseth

They who night and day are watchful have saved their homes

Night is pleasant for those who under the Guru's instruction watch and apply themselves to the Name

They who act according to the instruction of the Guru shall not be born again, the Lord will befriend them

In the fourth watch hands shake, feet and frames totter, eyes grow dim, and men's bodies become like ashes

Nanak, without God's name abiding in the mind man is unhappy during the four watches

V

The knot of life is open, arise, thine allotted time hath come

All pleasures and happiness are at an end, Death will lead thee captive away

Without being seen or heard he will lead thee captive, when it so pleaseth God

His turn shall come to every one, the ripe field shall ever be cut down

An account of every ghan and moment shall be taken, and the soul shall obtain punishment or reward

Nanak, God made everything, demigods and men are herein agreed¹

When the Guru and Shaikh Brahm left the forest the villager returned to fetch his basin. On lifting it up, it is said, he found that it had become gold, and was filled with gold coins. Then he began to repent of his suspicions, and confessed to himself that they were religious men. If he had come with

attached to forms of existence. Whenever any one of the three qualities predominates, it causes the embodied spirit to abound in that quality. The aim of the soul apparently should be to divest itself of all three qualities. Compare Plato's distinction of the three parts of the mind corresponding to the three classes of his ideal state

¹ Tukhān Chhant

his heart disposed towards God, he would have gained holiness 'I came with worldliness, and worldliness have I found' Upon this he took up his basin and departed

Shaikh Brahm remarked that it was difficult for those who attached themselves to mammon to obtain salvation, and inquired what aid besides God's name was ordinarily necessary for future happiness The Guru replied with the following hymn —

The union of father and mother produceth a body,
On which the Creator hath written its destiny,
The gifts, the *divine* lights, and the greatness *allotted it* ,
But on associating with mammon it loseth remembrance
of God

O foolish man, why art thou proud ?
Thou shalt have to depart when it pleaseth the Lord
Abandon pleasures, and peace and happiness shall be thine
Thou shalt have to leave thy home , no one is permanent
here

Eat a little and leave a little,
If thou art again to return to this world ¹
Man decketh his body, dresseth it in silk,
And issueth many orders ,
He maketh a couch of ease and sleepeth thereon
Why weepeth he when he falleth into the hands of *Death* ? ²
Domestic entanglements are a whirlpool, O brother ,
Sin is a stone which floateth not over
Put thy soul on the raft of God's fear, *and thou shalt be saved*

Saith Nanak, *such a raft God giveth but to few* ³

Then the people brought them bread, but Shaikh Brahm said that he had already dined The people, annoyed that their offerings were thus spurned, said

¹ That is, to practise great economy would be useless for him who is not to return to this world

² If man disregard the present opportunity of doing good works, why should he afterwards weep when Death seizes him for punishment ?

³ *Mitra*

to him 'You must be a liar from that country where Farid, who wore a wooden cake on his stomach, held religious sway Whenever any one offered him food he used to say he had taken dinner'¹ Upon this Shaikh Brahm said 'What shall be my condition, who am ever saying that I have dined, when I am only fasting?' The Guru was pleased to observe the Shaikh's tender conscience, and said to him 'Shaikh Brahm, God is in thee' The Shaikh then asked the Guru to tell him of God, and by what virtues and merits He was to be found The Guru replied as follows —

Come, my sisters and dear companions, embrace me

Having embraced me, tell me tales of the Omnipotent Spouse

In the true Lord are all merits, in us all demerits

O Creator, every one is in Thy power

Meditate on the one Word, where Thou, O God, art,
what more is required?

Go ask the happy wife by what merits she enjoyeth her Spouse—

'Composure, contentment and sweet discourse are mine ornaments

'I met my Beloved, who is an abode of pleasure, when I heard the Guru's word'

How great, O God, is Thy power! how great Thy gifts!

How many men and lower animals utter Thy praises day and night!

How many are Thy forms and colours! how many castes high and low!

When the true *Guru* is found, truth is produced, and man becoming true is absorbed in the truth

When man is filled with fear through the Guru's instructions, then he obtaineth understanding, and honour resulteth

Nanak, the true King then blendeth man with Himself!

¹ An account of Farid will be found in the sixth volume of this work

² See R4g

The Guru, after his pleasant visit to Shaikh Brahm and his district, where he made several converts, proceeded to a country called Bissar, probably the state of Bushahir in the Himalayas, where he was ill received. The inhabitants, deeming his presence pollution, purified every place he had stood on. One man alone, Jhanda, a carpenter was found to treat him with hospitality. He took him to his house, washed his feet, and drank the water used for the purpose. While drinking, it was revealed to him that Nanak was a Guru. He joined him in his wanderings.

The Guru and his companions directed their steps to the East. They went to an island in the ocean where they could obtain no food. There the Guru composed the *Jugawali*, a poem (no longer extant) on the four ages of the world. Jhanda committed it to writing and circulated it. With the new composition in his possession he returned to his own country, leaving the Guru and Mardana to continue their pilgrimage.

Not long after they found themselves in a lonely desert. Mardana began to feel the pangs of hunger, and thus addressed his master: 'We are lost in this great wilderness, from which God alone can extricate us. Here I shall fall into the clutches of some wild animal which will kill and eat me.' The Guru asked him to take care, and nothing should come near him. He further consoled him by stating that they were not in a desert, as the place where God's name was uttered was always inhabited. 'Many better men than we', said the Guru, 'have endured greater hardships.' Upon this he composed the following —

The demigods in order to behold Thee, O God, made pilgrimages in sufferings and hunger

Joga and Jats¹ go their own ways, and don ochre-coloured garbs

¹ *Jats*, men vowed to perpetual continence

For Thy sake, O my Lord, the darweshes 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 darweshes at Thy gate

They don skins, carry begging bowls, staves, and wear hair-tufts, sacrificial threads, and loin-cloths

Thou art the Lord, I am Thy player, Nanak representeth, what is caste¹

The Guru further remonstrated with his attendant 'We cannot succeed without God's word. Think of some hymn and play the rebeck.' Mardana replied that his throat was collapsing for want of food, and he had no strength to move, much less to play. The Guru then pointed to a tree and told him to eat his fill of its fruit, but take none with him. Mardana accordingly began to eat, and so much enjoyed the flavour of the fruit, that he thought he would eat what he could, and also take some with him, lest he might soon again find himself in a similar plight.

As they continued their wanderings, Mardana again felt hungry, so he drew forth his stock of fruit. Directly he tasted it he fell down. The Guru inquired what had happened. Mardana confessed his disobedience of his master's instructions in having brought with him and eaten some of the forbidden fruit. The Guru remonstrated with him for his disregard of orders. The fruit was poisonous, but the Guru had blessed it for the occasion and made

it wholesome. The Guru put his foot on Mardana's forehead as he lay stretched on the ground, and he at once revived.

CHAPTER VIII

Mardana had by this time had enough of travel, hardship, and hunger, and thus addressed his master 'Blessings on thy devotion and thy deeds! Thou art a holy man who hast abandoned the world, who neither eatest nor drinkest, and who never enterest a village. How can I remain with thee?' The Guru asked him on what conditions he would change his mind and continue to accompany him. He replied, 'I will remain with thee if thou satisfy my hunger in the same way as thou satisfiest thine own, and if thou also promise not to take notice of anything I do.' The Guru agreed to these conditions, and told him he should be happy in this world and the next. Mardana then fell at his feet.

It would appear however, that Mardana soon represented to the Guru the duty and propriety of returning home, and seeing his parents after twelve years' wandering. The Guru adopted his suggestion, and they both directed their steps towards Talwandi. They halted in the forest some three miles from the village. Mardana asked permission to go home and inquire if his people were dead or alive. The Guru replied, 'Since thou desire it, go and see thy people. Go also to my father Kalu's house, but mention not my name. Return quickly.'

When Mardana reached his house he found several persons assembled there. They all affectionately greeted him, and said he had grown like Nanak. He was a great man now, and no longer the humble person he had been before. Mardana, having seen his people, proceeded to the house of Kalu, and sat down in his courtyard. The Guru's mother, on

seeing him, arose, embraced him, and wept for joy. She asked for some account of her son Nanak. By that time a great crowd had assembled, and every one wanted to hear about him. Mardana evaded all inquiries, only telling people that he had been with Nanak. He then went away. The Guru's mother at once suspected that he must have had some object in departing so quickly, and that her son could not be far off. She again arose, and taking some clothes and sweets for Nanak, followed Mardana and overtook him. She earnestly requested him to take her to her son. Mardana made no answer, but went on his way, she following.

Nanak arose on seeing his mother, and respectfully saluted her. She kissed his forehead and began to weep, saying, 'I am a sacrifice unto thee. I am a sacrifice unto the ground thou treadest on. Seeing thy face hath made me happy. Now I desire that thou shouldst abandon thy wanderings, abide with us, and turn thine attention to commerce for thy livelihood.' The Guru, who was in turn delighted to see his mother, called on Mardana to play the rebeck while he himself sang the following —

Drunkards abandon not stimulants, nor fishes water

So God is pleasing *beyond* all others to those who are imbued with their Lord¹

I am a sacrifice, I would be cut in pieces, O Lord, for Thy name

The Lord is a fruit-bearing tree whose name is ambrosia.

They who have partaken of it are satisfied, I am a sacrifice unto them

Why appearest Thou not unto me, O Lord, since Thou abidest with all?

¹ These two lines are also translated—

If drunkards obtain not stimulants, and fishes water, *they are pleased with nothing else,*

So all who are imbued with their Lord are content with none but Him

How shall my thirst abate when there is a screen between the Tank¹ and me ?

Nanak is Thy dealer , Thou O Lord, art his capital
Illusion leaveth my mind when I praise and pray to Thee²

His mother placed before Nanak the new clothes and sweets she had brought for him, and asked him to eat He said he required no food His mother inquired where he had eaten He again called on Mardana to play an accompaniment to the following hymn —

To obey *God's word* is all sweet flavour , to hear it is salt flavour ,

To utter it with the mouth is acid flavour, and to sing it is spices

The love of the one God is thirty-six dishes³ for those on whom He looketh with favour

O mother, other viands afford ruminous happiness ,

By eating them the body is pained, and sin entereth the mind

His mother asked him to take off the faqr's jacket he wore, and put on the new becoming clothes she had brought him His reply was the following —

To be imbued with *God* is as red, truth and charity as white clothing ,

To cut away the blackness of sin is blue, to meditate on *God's feet* is the real raiment ,

Contentment is the waistband Thy name, O Lord, is wealth and youth

Mother, other dress affordeth ruminous happiness ,

By putting it on, the body is pained and sin entereth the mind

By this time his father Kalu had heard of Nanak's arrival, and went on horseback to meet him Nanak

¹ God

² Wadhans

³ Indian gourmets enumerate thirty six palatable dishes

bowed to him, and fell at his feet. Meantime Kalu continued to weep for joy. He asked his son to mount the horse on which he had come, and go home with him. Nanak replied that he had no need of a horse, and then sang the following —

To know Thy way, *O God*, is as horses with saddles made of gold

To pursue virtue is as quivers, arrows, bows, spears, and sword-belts

To be honourably distinguished is as bands and lances,
Thy favour, *O God*, is as caste for me

Father, other conveyance affordeth ruinous happiness,

By mounting it the body is pained, and sin entereth the mind

The father again pressed the son to return with him, if only for once. He said he had built a new house which he should like to show him after his long absence. Nanak ought also to visit his wife, and then, if he felt so disposed, he might continue his wanderings. Nanak replied —

The pleasure of the Name is as mansions and palaces,
Thy favouring glance, *O Lord*, is as family for me

To please Thee is mine empire, to say more were altogether useless

Nanak, true is the King, He decideth without taking others' counsel

Father, other intercourse affordeth ruinous happiness,

By indulging in it the body is pained, and sin entereth the mind¹

Kalu again said, 'My son, tell me at what thou art offended. If thou desire it, I will find thee another wife.' The Guru replied as follows —

He who made the world watcheth over it, and appointeth *His creatures* to their various duties

Thy gifts, *O Lord*, are as light to the mind, and as the moon and lamps to the body

¹ Sn Rig

Thy gifts are as the moon and lamps to the body, by which the pain of darkness is dispelled

The bridal procession of attributes which accompany the Bridegroom who hath chosen His bride, appeareth beautiful

The marriage hath been performed with splendour to the accompaniment of the five musical instruments¹

I am a sacrifice to my unchanging companions and friends

I have exchanged hearts with those to whom my body is attached

Why should I forget those friends with whom I have exchanged hearts?

Let those whose sight giveth pleasure be clasped to the heart

All merits and not one demerit is thine for ever and ever

If one have a casket of virtues let him extract odour from it

If our friends possess virtues, let us go and become partners with them

Let us form a partnership with virtue and abandon vice

Let us wear silk, go in state, and take possession of our arena²

Wherever we go, let us sit down, speak civilly, and skim and drink nectar

If one have a casket of virtues, let him extract odour therefrom

It is God Himself who acteth, to whom should we complain? No one else acteth

Go and complain to Him if He forget

If He forget, go and complain to Him, but why should the Creator Himself forget?

He heareth, seeth, giveth His gifts without asking or praying for

The Giver, the Arranger of the world giveth His gifts, Nanak, and true is He

¹ The voice, stringed instruments, wind instruments, leather instruments as drums and metallic instruments as cymbals bells, &c. *Panek said* may also mean the five species of breath enumerated by Jyoti

² That is, the company of saints

When He Himself acteth, to whom should we complain ?
No one else acteth ¹

Nanak continued to address Kalu ' Father dear, it is God who arrangeth marriages. He maketh no mistake, and those whom He hath once joined He joineth for ever ' By these words the Guru perhaps meant to establish monogamy ² The Guru's mother then interposed, and asked her son to stand up and go with them, and cease his nonsense. He would obtain wealth by attending to his worldly duties. The Guru replied with the following hymn —

In the end of the night call upon the name of the Lord,
And tents, umbrellas, pavilions, and carriages shall
appear ready for *your celestial journey*

They are ever obtained by those who meditate on Thy
name, *O Lord*

Father, I am without good works and false, I have not
meditated on Thy name

My mind is blind, led astray by superstition

The pleasures I have had have blossomed into pain by
primal destiny, O mother

The pleasure was little, the pain great, in much pain
have I passed my life

What separation is there from those who have separated
from God ? and what meeting is there with those who have
met Him ?

Praise that Lord who made and beholdeth this play

By good destiny men meet God and enjoy pleasures even
in this life

By evil destiny they who meet separate, O Nanak, but
even so they meet again *by God's favour* ³

¹ Sôhi Chhant

² Bhai Gur Dâs, so understood the Guru's words when he wrote—
Be chaste with one wife (Wâr, vi, 8). In the Prem Samârag, a work
containing the supplementary teaching of Guru Gobind Singh, we
found the injunction 'Be satisfied with one wife. That befits a
good man.'

³ Mâra

Kalu, finding his arguments vain, appealed to his son on the score of his health and safety, and pointed out how regardless of them he had been. The following was the Guru's reply —

I have no anxiety regarding death, and I have no desire for life

Thou *O God*, art the Cherisher of all living things, our breathings¹ are taken into account

Thou dwellest in the holy, as it pleaseth Thee, so Thou decidest

O my soul, by uttering God's name the heart is satisfied

Under the Guru's instruction divine knowledge is obtained, and the burning of the heart extinguished²

The Guru again addressed his parents 'Father dear, mother dear, I have returned home. I have been until now a hermit. Obey God's order and let me again depart.' His mother replied 'My son, how shall I console myself, seeing that thou hast only now returned after an absence of twelve years?' Then the Guru urged, 'Mother, agree to what I say, consolation shall come to thee.' She then became silent, thinking it was useless to make further remonstrance.

CHAPTER IX

The Guru and Mardana again set out on their travels. It is said that they went to the west and crossed the rivers Ravi and Chanab, and, after a long circuitous route through a desert country, made their way again to Pak Pattan to pay another visit to Shaikh Brahm. They sat down to rest about four miles from the city. Shaikh Kamal, a pious and God-fearing disciple of Shaikh Brahm, who had gone

¹ *Sāṅ gīras*, expiration and inspiration

² *Śān Rāg*

into the forest for firewood, observed the Guru and his attendant. The latter was playing his rebeck and singing the following —

Thou art the tablet, *O Lord*, Thou art the pen, and Thou art also the writing

Speak of the one *God*, *O Nanak*, why should there be a second ?¹

Shaikh Kamal went and, after obeisance, sat down near them, and asked to have the couplet repeated. This was done, and he learned it by heart. He then took up the firewood he had collected and went home. He told his master of his adventure, and repeated the couplet for him. Shaikh Brahm was highly pleased that the Guru had again visited his country, and he promptly proceeded to welcome him. After mutual salutations, the Guru thanked God for having again granted him a sight of Shaikh Brahm. After some friendly conversation, the Shaikh asked the Guru to explain the couplet. 'Nanak, thou sayest, "There is only one God, why should there be a second ?" I say —

'There is one Lord and two ways,
Which shall I adopt, and which reject ?'

The Guru replied —

There is but one Lord and one way,
Adopt one and reject the other
Why should we worship a second who is born and dieth ?
Remember the one God, Nanak, who is contained in sea and land

The Muhammadan priest then said in turn —

Tear thy coat into tatters and wear a blanket instead,
Adopt a dress by which thou mayest obtain the Lord.²

The Guru traversed this instruction. 'It is not

¹ *Mālū ki Wār*

² *Fard's Shloka*

necessary for me to tear my coat or adopt a religious garb. Men who reside at home and work in their ordinary costume shall find the Lord if they fix their hearts on Him.'¹

A young wife sitteth at home, her Beloved is abroad, she continually thinketh of Him and pines away

She shall have no delay in meeting Him if she have good intentions.²

Shaikh Brahū replied to the latter couplet —

When she was little, she enjoyed not her Spouse, when she grew up she died

Lying in the grave she calleth out, 'I have not met Thee, O Lord'.³

Guru Nanak then gave utterance to the following, to the effect that salvation depends upon virtue and not on a pleasing exterior or the possession of accomplishments —

A woman may be stupid, untidy, black, and impure-minded,

Yet, if she possess merits, she meeteth her Beloved, otherwise, Nanak, the woman is to blame

The Shaikh then put the following questions —

What is that word, what that virtue, what that priceless spell,

What dress shall I wear by which I may captivate the Spouse?⁴

¹ This reply of the Guru was subsequently verified by Guru Amar Das —

Why tear thy coat Nanak, and why wear a blanket?

Seated at home thou shalt find the Lord if thine intentions be good.

² Wadhans ki Wār

³ Farid's Sloka.

⁴ Farid's Sloka

The Guru replied —

Humility is the word, forbearance the virtue, and civility
the priceless spell

Make those three¹ thy dress, O sister, and the Spouse shall
come into thy power²

The Spouse shall be hers who serveth Him

Forsaking all His other companions He will go to her

The Shaikh then said he wanted a knife—' Give
me such a knife as will make those who are killed
with it acceptable to God With the ordinary knife
in use the lower animals are killed, and if a man's
throat be cut with it he becomes carrion ' The Guru
replied ' Dear Shaikh, here it is —

Truth is the knife, truth is pure steel ,

Its fashion is altogether incomparable

Put it on the bone of the Word,

And fit it into the scabbard of merit

If any one be bled with that, O Shaikh,

The blood of avarice will be seen to issue forth

If man be slaughtered with it, he shall go to meet God,

O Nanak, and be absorbed in the sight of Him³

On hearing this the Shaikh raised his head in
amazement and said, ' Well done Thou hast seen
God, and art dear to Him God hath been very kind
to me in that I have met thee It would be rude
to ask any further questions of those who are so
beloved by Him ' The Guru then volunteered the
following —

There is friendship between beauty and love, alliance
between hunger and dainty viands ,

Companionship between greed and wealth, between a
sleepy man and a bed and coverlet

¹ *Three* three pieces forming an Indian woman's dress.

² *Parth's* Sloka.

³ *Ramiah ki* Wār

The anger which basketh is despised , it is vain to worry
with worldly occupations

To be silent, O Nanak, is good , without the Name the
mouth is defiled ¹

The Shaikh asked the Guru to let him hear a
strain in praise of the one God ' My idea is ', said
the Shaikh, ' that adoration cannot be performed
without two beings, that is, God and the Prophet ;
Let me see whom thou makest man's intercessor '
The Guru called upon Mardana to play the rebeck
and recite the first slok and pauri² of the Asa ki War

I am a sacrifice, Nanak, to my Guru a hundred times a
day,

Who without any delay made demigods out of men

Nanak, they who, very clever in their own estimation,
think not of the Guru,

Shall be left like spurious sesames in a reaped field—

They shall be left in the field with Nanak, without an
owner

The wretches may even bear fruit and flower, but these
shall be as ashes within their bodies

— — —

God Himself created the world and Himself gave names
to things

He made Maya by His power , seated He beheld His
work with delight

O Creator, Thou art the Giver , being pleased Thou
bestowest and practisest kindness

Thou knowest all things , Thou givest and takest life
with a word ³

Seated Thou beholdest *Thy work* with delight ⁴

¹ Malar ki War

² A *slok* in Sanskrit is a dactyl or couplet, but in modern Indian
poetry it may extend to the length of an English sonnet. The word
pauri is literally a ladder. In the Granth Sikhi it means a stanza of
five lines, and always follows a *slok*.

³ Also translated—Thou givest and takest life from the body

⁴ Asa ki War

Shaikh Brahm asked the Guru for further instruction. The Guru then spoke on the subject of humility, and said that as water, which resteth lowly on the earth, riseth under pressure into the air in sparkling fountains, so they who preserve a humble mind mount to God's highest pinnacle.

The Shaikh then rose to take his leave, and said, 'O Nanak, thou hast found God. There is no difference between Him and thee. Kindly grant that I too may be on good terms with Him.' The Guru replied, 'Shaikh Brahm, God will cause thy cargo also to arrive safe.' By this the Guru meant that God would accept the Shaikh's devotion. The Shaikh requested the Guru to give him a certain promise of this, and the Guru complied. They then shook hands and parted.

The Guru next proceeded to Dipalpur. During his journey a Sanyasi asked him to define the word *udas*. The Guru replied, 'To make use of all things in this world and not deem them one's own, but only God's property, and ever to possess a desire to meet Him is *udas*.'

The Guru then visited Kanganpur, Kasur, and Patti in the Lahore District. He thence proceeded to Windpur, not far from the present town of Cholha, in the sub-collectorate of Tarn Taran in the Amritsar District. He met some Khatri who dwelt there, but when they saw him dressed as a faqr and heard his minstrel Mardana sing, they were displeased at what they considered the masquerade he had adopted, and said to him, 'What dress is this which thou hast assumed?' Having become a faqr, thou hast disgraced thy tribe, and led the world astray. Quit this place.' The Guru represented that he would only remain for the night, and would depart next morning. He added that he was not leading people the wrong way, but guiding them to salvation. They replied that they would not allow him to remain for a moment in their village. He must

depart at once, or they would forcibly expel him. The Guru, complying with this insulting order, said that the Guru's place should ever be permanent.

The Guru thence proceeded to a village on the site of the present Goundwal, where he desired to stay, but no one except a poor leper would receive him or allow him to remain there. The leper took him to his hut, and entertained him for the night. The leper thanked God that he had at last seen a human face, for even the lower animals had fled from him. When he began further to bemoan his fate, the Guru uttered the following —

My mind is ever and ever troubled

In many troubles *my body* pineth away and ever groweth worse

The body which forgetteth God's word,

Screameth like a real leper

To make many complaints is to talk folly

Without our complaining everything is known to God,

Who made our ears, our eyes, and our noses ,

Who gave us tongues wherewith to speak ,

Who preserved us in the fire *of the womb* ,

And ~~through whom~~ the breath moveth and speaketh every-where

Worldly love, affection, and dainties

Are all blackness and stains

If man depart with the brand of sin on his face,

He will not be allowed to sit in God's court

If he meet Thy favour, *O God*, he repeateth Thy name

By attaching himself to it he is saved , he hath no other resource

Even if he be drowning ~~in sin~~, God will still take care of him

Nanak, the True One is beneficent to all ¹

The Guru further warmed towards the leper and blessed him. The leper was cured of his malady, fell at the Guru's feet, and began to utter the Name

¹ *Dhansian*

The Guru then travelled through Sultanpur—his old head quarters when he was a Government official—Vairawal, and Jalalabad, until he arrived at a place called Kari Pathandi in the Amritsar District. In Kari Pathandi he made many Pathan converts. They used to serenade him with instrumental music, interspersed with cries of 'Hail to King Nanak!'. The Guru there composed the following —

He who made the world watcheth over it, what shall we say, O brother ?

He Himself who hath laid out its garden knoweth and setteth

Sing the praises of the Beloved, sing His praises by which happiness is ever obtained

She who enjoyeth not her Spouse with love shall afterwards repent

She shall wring her hands, and beat her head as the night passeth away

She shall not be able to repent when the whole night is at an end,

But she may again enjoy her Husband when it cometh to her turn¹

The wife whom the Spouse hath chosen is better than I

I have not her merits, whom shall I blame ?

I will go and ask the female companions who have enjoyed their Spouse,

I will touch their feet, implore them, and induce them to show me the way

Nanak, she who obeyeth her Spouse's order, appheth fear as her sandal,

And performeth the incantation of merits, shall find her Beloved

She who meeteth Him with her heart shall continue to meet Him, that is called a *real* meeting

However much one may desire it, a meeting is not effected by words

¹ That is, in a future birth

Metal blendeth with metal and love hasteneth to love
 Know the Guru's favour, and thou shalt find the Fearless
 One

A garden of betel may be in the house, *but* the donkey
 knoweth not its merits

When one is a judge of perfume, then may one appreciate
 flowers

He who drinketh nectar,¹ Nanak, putteth an end to his
 doubts and transmigration,

He easily blendeth with God, and obtaineth the undying
 dignity.²

The Guru continued his wanderings and visited
 Batala in the Gurdaspur District. Thence he pro-
 ceeded a second time to Saividpur, where he again
 visited Lalo. Lalo complained to him of the oppres-
 sion of the Pathans. The Guru replied that their
 dominion should be brief, as Babar was on his way
 to the conquest of India. The Guru then addressed
 the following threnody to his host—

As the word of the Lord cometh to me, so I make known,
 O Lalo—

Bringing a bridal procession of sin, *Babar* hath hasted
 from Kabul and demandeth wealth as his bride, O Lalo

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,³ O Lalo

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

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

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

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

¹ He who performs heartfelt devotion

² Tilang, Ashtapadi

³ This refers to the licentiousness of Babar's army

He who made men assigned them different positions , He sitteth apart alone and regardeth them

True is the Lord, true His decision, true the justice He meteeth out as an example

Bodies shall be cut like shreds of cloth , Hindustan will remember what I say

They shall come in '78, depart in '97, and then shall rise another disciple of a hero¹

Nanak uttereth the word of the True One, and will proclaim the truth at the True One's *appointed* time²

Lalo asked the Guru what he meant by saying that God had assigned men different positions The Guru replied as follows. —

God can cause lions, hawks, kestrels, and falcons to eat grass ,

And the animals which eat grass He can cause to eat meat —such a custom can He establish

He can cause hills to appear in rivers, and unfathomable rivers in sandy deserts

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 sustenance³

A Brahman came to the Guru, offered him a basket of fruit, and said, ' My friend, thou art uttering hymns of wrath ' The Guru replied, ' Remain not here , there is a pool three miles distant , go thither with thy family All who remain here will be put

¹ That is, the Mughals shall come in Sambat 1578, and depart in Sambat 1597 (A D 1540) The Sambat year is fifty seven years in advance of annus Domini The departing monarch was Humāyūn The disciple of a hero is understood to be Sher Shāh Sūr, who dispossessed him This line appears to be an answer to a question put to the Guru by Lālo

² Tāng

³ Nāh k Wār

to death' The Brahman acted on his advice After some days Babar assaulted and destroyed the city He also devastated the neighbouring villages There was a general massacre of the people, and Pathan as well as Hindu habitations were plundered and razed to the ground

The lives of the Guru and Mardana were spared, probably because they were strangers, but they were imprisoned and placed under the superintendence of Mir Khan, an officer of Babar's army Mir Khan, on seeing them, ordered, 'Take away these slaves to work' The Guru was condemned to carry loads on his head, and Mardana to do the work of a groom The Guru upon this uttered the following —

I am a purchased slave, my name is Lucky,

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

What cleverness hath Thy slave ?

He cannot obey the Lord's order

My mother was a slave, my father a slave, I was born a slave

My mother danced, my father sang I perform Thy service
O King¹

If Thou drink I will fetch Thee water, O Lord, if Thou eat I will grind *Thee* corn

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

Sansk Nanak, ungrateful as Thy slave, if Thou pardon him, it will be to Thy glory

In the beginning, in every age, Lord of mercy, Bestower, without Thee salvation is not obtained²

When the Guru had finished this hymn, Mardana saw some women weeping and shrieking as they passed along, and asked his master what had happened to them The Guru told Mardana to play the

¹ That is, I am a hereditary servant of God

² Miru

rebeck Mardana replied that he could not do so, as he was holding a horse. The Guru bade him utter 'Wah Gurm' and let go the horse. Mardana obeyed and played the Rag Asa, to which the Guru sang the following hymn —

They who wore beautiful tresses and the partings of whose hair were dyed with vermillion

Have their locks now shorn with the scissors, and dust is thrown upon their heads

They dwelt in their private chambers, now they cannot find a seat in public—

Hail, Father! hail!

O Primal Being, Thy limit is not known, Thou artkest and beholdest the different phases of existence —

When they were married, they appeared beautiful near their spouses,

They came in their sedans adorned with ivory,

Water was waved round their heads¹ and glittering fans over them

They had hundreds of thousands waiting on them sitting and hundreds of thousands waiting on them standing

Eating coco-nuts and dates they sported on their couches,

But now chains are on their necks, and broken are their strings of pearls

The wealth and beauty which afforded them pleasure have now become their bane

The order was given to the soldiers to take and dishonour them

If it please God, He giveth greatness, and if it please Him, He giveth punishment

If they had thought of Him before, why should they have received punishment?

But they had lost all thought of God in joys, in spectacles, and in pleasures

When Bihari's rule was proclaimed no Pathan prince ate his food

¹ The bridegroom's mother or elder sister waves water around the head of a bride and then drinks it, so as to take all her ill on herself

Some lost their *five* tunes of *prayer*, others their *hours* of worship

How shall Hindu women now bathe and apply frontal marks without their sacred squares ?

They who never thought of Ram¹ are not now allowed even to mention Khuda.²

One may return to her home, another may meet and inquire after the safety of a relation,

But others are destined to sit and weep in pain

What pleaseth God, O Nanak, shall happen, what is man ?³

After this, Mir Khan, the governor of the jail, arrived. He saw that the Guru's bundle was raised a cubit over his head without any apparent support, and that the horse entrusted to Mardana followed him while he played sacred music on his rebeck. The governor communicated this information to Babar. The Emperor replied that, if he had known the city contained such holy men, he would not have destroyed it. At the governor's suggestion he went to the prison, which was two miles distant. There were Pathan and Hindu women huddled promiscuously together, grinding corn. The Guru had also been supplied with a hand-mill for the same purpose. It is said that the mill revolved of its own accord while he put in the corn. The Emperor addressed the Guru, but he was in a trance, thinking of the slaughter of his unoffending countrymen. On awaking he uttered the following hymn, which, however, is not found in the Granth Sahib —

¹ The Hindu name of God

² The Muhammadan name of God, which Hindus shrink from pronouncing

³ Compare —

God of our fathers! what is man
That thou towards him with hand so various,
Or might I say contrarious,
Temperst thy providence through his short course
Not evenly, as thou rulest
The angelic order, and inferior creatures mute,
Irrational and brute ?

MILTON, *Samson Agonistes*

No one can kill him, O Kind One, whom Thou preservest
How can Thy praises be numbered ? Thou savest countless
beings

Preserve me, O Beloved, preserve me ! I am Thy slave
My true Lord pervadeth sea and land, the nether and the
upper regions

Thou didst preserve Jandev and Nama, Thy beloved saints—
Thou didst save those on whom Thou didst bestow Thy
name—

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

Thou didst preserve Ravidas, the tanner, who is numbered
among Thy saints¹

Nanak, who is without honour or family, uttereth suppli-
cation

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

It is said that the Emperor, on hearing this, fell at Nanak's feet, and declared that God appeared on his face. Upon this all the courtiers saluted Nanak. The Emperor asked him to accept a present from him. The Guru replied that he wanted nothing for himself, but he requested that the captives of Saayidpur might be released. Upon this the Emperor ordered that they should be set free and their property restored to them. The captives, however, refused to depart without the Guru. He was then allowed to go with them, and they went to their homes in the city. They found that all the people who had remained in Saayidpur had been put to death. Mardana told his master that it had all happened as God had willed it. Upon this the Guru, to the accompaniment of Mardana's rebeck, sang the following lamentation —

¹ An account of the saints mentioned in this hymn, with their compositions contained in the *Granth Sahib*, will be given in the final volume of this work.

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

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

Where those mirrors and fair faces ? we see them no longer
here

This world is Thine, O Lord of the earth.

In one ghari Thou establishest and dis-establishest , Thou
distributest wealth as Thou pleasest

Where are those houses, those mansions, and those palaces ?
where those beautiful scraglons ?

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

For wealth many are ruined , this wealth hath disgraced
many

It is not amassed without sin, and it departeth not with
the dead

Him whom the Creator destroyeth He *first* depriveth of
virtue

Millions of priests tried by *their* miraculous power to
restrain the emperor when they heard of his approach

He burned houses, mansions, and palaces , he cut princes
to pieces, and had them rolled in the dust

No Mughal hath become blind , no *priest* hath wrought
a miracle

There was a contest between the Mughals and Pathans ,
the sword was welded in the battle

One side aimed and discharged their guns, the other also
handled their weapons

They whose letter ¹ hath been torn in God's court must
die, my brethren

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

¹ In India when announcing the death of a relation it is usual for
the writer to tear the top of the letter. The reference here is to that
custom

The robes of some were torn from head to foot, the dwellings of others were their places of cremation

How did they whose husbands came not home pass the night ?

The Creator acteth and causeth others to act, to whom shall man complain ?

Misery and happiness are according to Thy pleasure, to whom shall we go to cry ?

The Commander is pleased issuing His orders, Nanak, man obtaineth what is allotted him ¹

A propos of the change of circumstances in India the Guru uttered the following —

God hath given fixed time *for all events*, and fully established the nine regions, the seven seas, the fourteen worlds,² the three qualities, and the four ages

He put four lamps ³ one by one into the hands of the four ages

O kind God, such is Thy power

The dwellers at every hearth are Thy slaves, and religion is their ruler

The earth is Thy cooking-pot, Thou gavest once for all, destiny is Thy storekeeper

Instigated by their hearts⁴ men lose patience and beg again and again to their ruin

Covetousness is a black dungeon, demerits the fetters on the feet

Wealth ever beatech *the soul* with its mallet, while sin setteth as judge

Man shall be either good or bad, O Lord, as Thou lookest on him

¹ *Āsa*

² The Hindus and the Muhammedans agree in believing that there are fourteen worlds, seven above and seven, including the earth itself, below. According to the Hindus these worlds emerged from the mundane egg when divided into two equal parts

³ The *Veds*

⁴ *Nirad* the Man is here understood by the *gryāns* to mean the human heart. Some further account of *Nirad* will be given

The Primal Being is now called Allah, the turn of the Shaikhs hath come

There is a tax on the shrines of the gods, such is the practice established

There are ablution-pots, calls to prayer, five daily prayers, prayer-carpets, and God appeareth dressed in blue¹

In every house all say 'Mian',² your language hath been changed

Since Thou, who art Lord of the earth *hast appointed Baber a Mir*,³ what power have we⁴

In the four directions men make Thee obeisance, and Thy praises are uttered in every house

The profit which is obtained from pilgrimages, repeating the Samritis,⁵ and bestowing alms all day long,

Is, O Nanak, obtained in one ghar by remembering the Name which conferreth greatness⁶

The Hindus and the Musalmans who returned to Saryidpur began to dispose of their dead, and there was weeping and mourning in every house. People said, 'Such and such was the deceased'. Upon this the Guru fell into a trance, and uttered the following hymn —

As herdsmen stay for a short time in the pasture-ground,¹ so do men stay in this world

Men by the exercise of falsehood build houses *for themselves*

Awake, awake, ye sleepers, *for the soul the dealer departeth*

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

The body shall fall and the soul depart, if any one *desires to know the truth*

¹ The Muhammadans frequently wear blue clothes, a custom which has descended from the ancient Egyptians

² *Mian*, a title of respect addressed to Muhammadans. In the hill districts of India it is given to the sons of Rajpūt princes

³ *Mir*, a lord or master

⁴ *Samrits*, the traditional ceremonial and legal institutes of the Hindus. The principal Samrits are twenty-seven in number

⁵ *Basant A-shiapadi*

⁶ This refers to the nomadic life which prevailed around the Guru's natal village

Why criest thou Alas ! alas ! ' ' God is and shall be

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

Ye worry with worldly occupations, my brethren, and practise falsehood

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

He who lads them to sleep, Nanak, will awake them

If man know his own home *in God* then shall he not sleep

If *any one know of any one* at his departure taking anything with him,

Then let him with open eyes amass wealth—know and consider this

Do thy dealing , gain thine object , be not sorry hereafter

Thou shalt be known as a *true* dealer if thou take 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

If it be God's favour, man shall meet the true Guru, understand his instruction,

Repeat the Name, hear the Name, and deal in the Name

As is the profit so the loss , that is the way of the world

What pleaseth Him, O Nanak, is my glory ¹

One day Mardana took it into his head to ask the Guru to explain the cause of the Sarayidpur massacre and said, ' Sir, some Pathans have done wrong , but why have so many been killed on their account ? ' The Guru pointed out a tree, and told Mardana to go and sleep under it When he awoke, the Guru would give him an answer Mardana accordingly went and lay down to sleep under the tree A drop of honey fell on his naked breast As he slept, ants came to drink it, and the sleeper half unconsciously crushed them to death with his hand The Guru asked him on awaking what he had done He replied

¹ *Oh, oh* ' There is a pun on the word *oh* It means, Alas ! and He (God) is

² *Ass Ashtapadi*

that one insect had bitten him, and so he had killed them all. The Guru replied, 'It is in that very way the people of Saryidpur were killed.' Upon this Mardana fell at his feet, and the remnant of the inhabitants of Saryidpur became his disciples.

After this the Guru returned to the Emperor's camp with the object of obtaining another interview with him. He visited the prison and sang hymns for the prisoners whose treatment he deplored. Under the influence of such feelings he composed the following —

Babar ruled over Khurasan and hath terrified Hindustan

The Creator taketh no blame to Himself, it was Death
disguised as a Mughal who made war on us

When there was such slaughter and lamentation, didst
not Thou, O God, feel pain ?

Creator, Thou belongest to all

If a tyrant slay a tyrant, one is not angry,

But if a ravening lion fall on a herd, its master ¹ should
show his manliness

The dogs of Lodi ² have spoiled the priceless inheritance,
when they are dead no one will regard them

O God, Thou Thyself joinest and Thou Thyself separatest
—lo! this is Thy greatness

If any one give himself a great name and enjoy himself
to his heart's content,

In God's view he is as a worm which nibbleth corn,

But he who while alive is dead, may gain something,
O Nanak, by repeating the Name ³

When Babar had heard this hymn, he ordered the Guru to be sent for. When the Guru appeared, the Emperor asked him to sing the hymn again, and

¹ The master of Hindustan at the time was Sultan Ibrahim Lodi. He only met Babar's force at Panipat, where he was defeated.

² The Pathan dynasty of the Lodis who ruled in India prior to the advent of the Mughal Babar.

³ *Ara*

the Guru did so. Upon this, it is said, Babar's brain opened for the reception of spiritual truths. He praised the Guru, and opening his bhang-pouch, offered him some. The Guru replied that he had already taken bhang whose intoxication would never subside. Babar asked what bhang that was. The Guru replied with the following hymn —

O God fear of Thee is my bhang, my heart its pouch,
 I am an intoxicated hermit
 My hands are the cup, it is for a sight of Thee, O God,
 I hunger,
 And ever beg at Thy door—
 For a sight of Thee I crave
 I beg at *Thy* door, grant me Thine alms
 Saffron, flowers, musk, and sandal are all applied
 to the body.
 So the bright *perfume* of the saints rendereth all souls
 fragrant
 No one calleth clarified butter or silk impure,¹
 Such is a saint in regard to caste
 May Nanak obtain alms at the doors
 Of those who are imbued with Thy name and continue
 to love Thee!²

The Emperor was so pleased with the Guru that he asked him to accompany him. The Guru would at first only promise to remain one day with him, but, on being pressed to remain three days, at last consented. The Guru was always distressed as he looked towards the prisoners. For the third time he sang the preceding hymn, and then fell into a trance and became unconscious. The Emperor stood over him, and asked the bystanders what had happened. They replied that the faqir, on beholding God's wrath, was in suffering, and had fallen into a trance. Babar became alarmed for the Guru's safety, and asked the people to pray to God for his re-

¹ That is, no one despises them

² Tilang

covery Upon this the Guru stood up, and there then shone such light as if a thousand suns had arisen Babar saluted, and asked the Guru to be gracious unto him The Guru replied, 'If thou, O Emperor, desire kindness, set all thy captives free' He agreed, on one condition—that the Guru should promise that his empire should continue from generation to generation The Guru replied, 'Thine empire shall remain for a time' The Emperor on this ordered that all his prisoners should be clothed with robes of honour, a matter which gave great pleasure and satisfaction to the Guru The Emperor asked the Guru for instruction suitable to his position The Guru said, 'Deliver just judgements, reverence holy men, forswear wine and gambling The monarch who indulgeth in these vices shall if he survive, bewail his misdeeds Be merciful to the vanquished, and worship God in spirit and in truth'

At the final parting the Emperor pressed the Guru to embrace Islam, which recognized only one God, as the Guru himself had been preaching, so he would not have far to go on his spiritual journey and his progress to salvation Moreover, on embracing Islam he would have the advantage of the mediation of God's holy and last prophet Muhammad The Guru replied —

There are hundreds of thousands of Muhammads but
only one God

The Unseen is true and without uncty

Many Muhammads stand in His court

So numberless they cannot be reckoned

Prophets have been sent and come into the world

Whenever He pleaseth He hath them arrested and
brought before Him

The slave Nanak hath ascertained

That God alone is pure and all else impure

The Emperor, instead of being incensed at this outspoken language, invited the Guru to ask him

a favour The Guru replied to the accompaniment of Mardana's rebeck —

It is the one God Who hath commissioned me
 Every one partaketh of His Gifts
 He who looketh for human support
 Loseth both this world and the next
 There is but one Giver, the whole world are beggars
 They who forsake Him and attach themselves to others
 lose all their honour
 Kings and Emperors are all made by Him
 There is none equal to Him
 Sarth Nanak, Hear Emperor Babar,
 He who beggeth of thee is a fool

CHAPTER X

The Guru then departed for Pasrur, and thence to Sialkot, the fortress of the Sial tribe, now a cantonment in the northern part of the Panjab. He rested under a wild caper tree, which still exists outside the city. Having taken refreshment, he sent Mardana to the market-place for a *passa*, or a farthing's worth of truth and a *passa* worth of falsehood. Nobody understood what the messenger meant till Mardana reached Mula, who was a Karar, or petty shopkeeper. The latter said that death was true and life false. Mardana returned with this message to the Guru. Upon this a great friendship sprang up between the Guru and Mula, and Mula afterwards accompanied him to Kabul. On a subsequent occasion when Guru Nanak and Mardana visited Sialkot, Mardana went to Mula. His wife, thinking her husband would again leave her, concealed him, and told Mardana to say he was not at home. In his concealment, he was bitten by a snake and died. On this Guru Nanak composed the following —

Friendship with Karars is false, and false is its foundation.
 Mula saw not whence death would come to him.¹

¹ Additional Sloka of Guru Nanak

When his work was accomplished in Sialkot, the Guru proceeded to the south of the Panjab as far as Mithankot (in the present district of Dera Ghazi Khan), where Mian Mitha, a famous Muhammadan priest, resided. The Guru took up his quarters in a garden near the town. When Mian Mitha heard of the Guru's arrival he said, 'Nanak is a good faqir, but, if I meet him, I will squeeze the juice out of him as if he were a lemon. Mardana, when reporting his speech to the Guru, said, 'Mian Mitha is thine automaton, and will play as thou causest him to play.' Mian Mitha continued his boasting. 'I will go to see Nanak, and, if I meet him, I will take the cream off him as I would skim milk.' Mian Mitha met the Guru and, after saluting him in the Muhammadan fashion, sat down. He challenged the Guru by the following slok —

The first name is that of God the second that of the Prophet

O Nanak if thou repeat the Creed,¹ thou shalt find acceptance in God's court

The Guru replied —

The first name is that of God, how many prophets are at His gate!

O Shaikh, form good intentions, and thou shalt find acceptance in God's court

The Guru continued. 'Mian Mitha, at God's gate there is no room for a prophet. He who dwelleth there is God alone.' Mian Mitha then put the Guru two questions. 'How can a lamp burn without oil?' and, 'How shall man obtain a seat in God's court?'

The Guru replied as follows —

Act according to the Quran and thy sacred books
Put the wick of fear into thy body,
Burn in it the knowledge of truth,

¹ That is, if thou become a Muhammadan

Thus shall thy lamp burn without oil
 Make such a light, and thou shalt find the Lord
 When God's words leave an impression on man
 And service is performed, happiness is obtained
 All worlds come and go
 While abiding in this world perform worship,
 Thus shalt thou obtain a seat in God's court,
 And, saith Nanak, *triumphantly* swing thine arm ¹

Mian Mitha then put to the Guru the question contained in the first line of the following hymn. He also inquired the condition of the souls of the wicked after death. The Guru replied as follows —

'My brother, salam alaikum! for God's sake tell the truth, how shall man obtain distinction in God's court?'

As man soweth so shall he reap, he shall eat what he obtaineth from the Commander

Nanak, without the true Name man shall be bound and endure suffering

Praise be to the Creator, when man goeth down to the wretched dark grave, God's power shall be manifested.

The angels, the heralds of the Almighty, shall come with His orders

They shall hold quivers, maces, battle-axes, two-edged swords, bows,

Lances, and shields made of fire, and put chains on men's necks

By God's order they shall bind and lead away the back-biter as well as the man without a priest

Nanak, the true Name, the source of consolation in this last age, shall procure man's acceptance in God's court

Ye fear lions, jackals, and snakes, but they shall make their dwellings in your graves

Oxen shall root up your graves, and even your enemies' hatred of you shall cool

¹ *Sri Rāg*

Brethren, friends, and lovers read the *fatiha*,¹ and say prayers *for the departed*

Nanak, *such* things are false, and God alone is true

The sinners who have committed transgressions are bound and led away

Their luggage of sins is so heavy that they cannot lift it
The steep road ahead is dark, while the executioner walketh behind them

In front is a sea of fire, how shall they cross it ?

Ravens stand on men's skulls, and peck at them fast as a shower of sparks

Nanak, where shall man escape when the punishment is by God's order ?

The eyes of the sinful shall be torn out, they shall become blind, and terrible darkness *prevail*

Their ears shall be pressed as if they were the sockets of oil-presses,² and storms of filth *shall assail* their noses

Their tongues shall be cut out *for breaking* their promises and forgetting the True One

They shall cry aloud when their skulls are burning in the fire

No one can save the ignorant man who is covetous and hath no priest,

But they whose demerits are pardoned through their merits shall be, O Nanak, of the elect

As sesame is heated and pressed, or cotton carded by means of a thong, *so shall sinners be punished*

Like paper they shall be beaten with mallets, and put into presses,

They shall be heated like iron, they shall burn and cry aloud,

The wretched beings' heads shall be taken up with tongs and placed on anvils,

¹ The introductory prayer of the Qur'ān. In secondary meaning is prayers offered up for a deceased person

² The Indian oil press is a primitive machine. A beam is made to revolve in a socket in which the seeds to be pressed are placed. The meaning here is, that the ears shall be tortured as if the beams of oil-presses revolved in them as sockets

On which they shall be beaten with hammers in time according to the smith's ¹ lead

Nanak, without the true Name they shall have no rest either in this world or the next

Iron spikes shall be driven into their feet, and the sun shall burn their heads

They who are captivated with the strange woman's flesh, shall lose their manhood and their honour ,

They shall be bound to a *heated* pillar, and no one will go near them ,

They shall be unloosed and again tied to it , they shall repent and implore pity—

Everybody, Nanak, is an enemy of the sinner—

They shall be put into a furnace and bodkins of fire thrust *into their eyes* ,

They shall be burnt by sand under which fire hath been kindled ,

They shall be roasted *in a caldron* like rice, and shall then crackle and make a report

God Himself pardoneth, O Nanak , whom else shall we address ?

As the juice of sugar-cane is expressed by putting great weight on it,

So man is weighed down by eating, drinking, dressing, and pleasures which degrade his mind

An account shall be demanded from the soul which hath dealt in such things

Feet and legs perform the duties *the soul* ordereth them

The tongue which tasted sinful savours shall stand up in court and cry out *against the soul* ,

The ears shall also depose that it is the soul which is false and deceitful

The nose and eyes shall also plead not guilty, and it is the poor soul which shall suffer

The soul under arrest in Death's court *pleadeth*, ' It is the senses which have led the whole world astray

' The senses united have thrown man into misery as the smith *putteth iron* on the anvil '

¹ *Dharmat*, the *Pluto* of Greek mythology

Nanak, he who meeteth not the true Guru and *obtaineth* not divine knowledge, *shalt' find no rest* in this world or the next

The soul shall be filed seventy times like an arrow ,

It shall be melted like gold in a mould , O soul, thou shalt suffer for what thou hast done

The *soul* shall have to bear a prodigious saddle and be driven like a steed

Nanak, it shall be bound by Death, and have to suffer transmigration again and again

How many enemies shall it have on sea and land ! the forests and glades shall cause it to suffer

Every house shall bear it enmity , Nanak, the real thing is to meditate on the Eternal

Death with the three bloodshot and terrible eyes shall be in wait *for the soul*

The whole world is Death's provender , merciless is the god of death

He seizeth men, Nanak, and hurrieth them away in obedience to the Commander

My body is before Thee , Thou art Master , Thou mayest preserve or destroy it

There shall be no mother, father, kinsman, wife, or brother,

Son, or wealth to *assist us* , how shall we have consolation ?

There shall be no quiver, or bow, or shield, or sword *to protect us*,

But a seething caldron day and night , consider this under the Guru's instruction

Make honesty thy steed, truth thy saddle, continence thine equestrian armour ,

The five virtues¹ thine arrows, and truth thy sword and shield

Nanak, pious men who have truth in their hearts, shall obtain honour in God's court

¹ Contentment, compassion, piety, patience, morality. The list of the five virtues is somewhat arbitrary. Truth is generally included in them, but here the Guru makes it a separate virtue

Brahma who came into the world repeating the Veda
cannot describe God

What is poor Krishan who by God's order descended upon
earth ?

Shiv and countless gods and goddesses standing at Thy
gate praise Thee

He who turneth *from God* shall pine away and die , the
True One is ever the Pardoner ¹

Mian Mitha then spoke 'What is that one
Name which thou praisest so much ?' The Guru
replied, 'Hath any one ever known the worth of
that Name ?' Mian Mitha asked him to be good
enough to explain it to him. The Guru then took
his arm, led him aside, and said to him, 'Shaikh,
hearest thou the Name of the one God ?' While
they were speaking, the name of the Prophet vanished
amid the sounds of divine ecstasy, and when they
looked again there appeared instead of it only a heap
of ashes. Then came a voice from heaven which only
repeated 'Allah', God's Arabic name. Upon this
Shaikh Mitha got up and kissed the Guru's feet.
The Guru then fell into a trance, and in that state
gave utterance to the following —

NASIHAT NAMA ²

The present are favoured , the absent are not

Faith is a friend, want of faith an infidel ,

Pride is ruin, wrath is unlawful ,

Concupiscence is Satan, conceit is inidelity ,

The slanderer's face is black

The man without faith is unclean , he who is tender-
hearted is pure

Knowledge is gentleness. The non-avaricious are holy ,
the avaricious are impatient

The honest man hath a bright, the ungrateful man a
yellow face

¹ Banno's *Granth Sahib*. It must be noted that this hymn is not
generally accepted by the Sikhs

² Instruction. This too is not found in the *Granth Sahib*

Truth is heaven, falsehood is hell
 Mildness is victuals
 Force is oppression, justice is pure
 God's praises are ablutions, the call to prayer is noise
 Theft is greed, adultery uncleanness
 Patience is humility, impatience deceit
 The right way is that of spiritual advisers, the wrong
 way is for those who have none
 Compassion is wealth, want of compassion useless
 The sword is for warriors, justice for monarchs
 He who knoweth and causeth others to know these
 things
 Is, O Nanak, called a wise man

Upon this the Guru and Mian Mitha separated

CHAPTER XI

The Guru proceeded to the river Ravi and thence to Lahore. The Lahore territory was then farmed from the Emperor by a millionaire Khatri, whose name was Duni Chand. He was performing the ceremony of shradh¹ for his father, when he heard of the devout Nanak's arrival. He took the Guru to his house, and treated him with great affection. When everything was ready for the anniversary feast, Duni Chand began to feed the Brahmans. The Guru, on being summoned, asked what the matter was. Duni Chand replied that it was his father's shradh and that he had fed one hundred Brahmans in his name. The Guru replied, 'It is now two days since thy father hath eaten anything, and yet thou sayest thou hast fed one hundred Brahmans for him.' Duni Chand asked where his father was. The Guru replied that he had become incarnate in a wolf, which was now in a clump of trees six miles distant. The reason

¹ *Shraddh* are oblations of cakes and libations of water made to the spirits of deceased ancestors. Vide Monier Williams's *Sanskrit Dictionary*.

his father's soul had entered a wolf was, that while he was in human birth he had coveted meat which a Sikh was cooking, and had died in that desire

The Guru, on seeing several flags over Duni Chand's door, asked what they were. It was explained that each flag denoted a lakh of rupees which Duni Chand had acquired. On this the Guru gave him a needle, and told him to keep it until he asked for it in the next world. Duni Chand took the needle to his wife, and told her to put it by for the purpose indicated. She believed him crazed, and asked how a needle could go to the next world. She accordingly charged him to return it to the Guru. Duni Chand took the needle with his wife's message to the Guru, who said, 'If such a small and light thing as a needle cannot go to the next world, how can thy wealth reach there?' Upon this Duni Chand fell at his feet, and prayed him to tell him by what means his wealth should reach the next world. The Guru replied, 'Give some of thy wealth in God's name, feed the poor, and thy wealth shall accompany thee.' Upon this Duni Chand distributed seven lakhs of treasure, for he understood that disobedience to the Guru's order would militate against his salvation. He then became a disciple of the Guru, and began to repeat the Name. Guru Nanak uttered the following on the occasion —

False are kings, false their subjects, false the whole world ,

False are mansions, false palaces, false those who dwell therein ,

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

False the body, false raiment, false peerless beauty ,

False husbands, false wives , they pass away and become dust ¹

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

¹ Instead of *dhār*, dust, the Granth *Sāhib* has *dhār*, decayed

With whom contract friendship ? The whole world passeth away

False is sweetness, false honey, in falsehood shiploads are drowned—

Nanak humbly asserteth—Except Thee, *O God*, everything is thoroughly false ¹

The Guru went in a north-east direction, and took up his post on the bank of the Ravi. His arrival there caused great excitement, and every one went to see him. He was universally held to be a man of God. All who visited him went away pleased. Every verse that he composed was at once published abroad. He used to compose verses like the following, which faqirs sang to the accompaniment of reeds —

Falschood is at an end, Nanak, truth at last prevaleth ²

There was only the one Name mentioned in the Guru's dwelling, and he became the object of great popular admiration.

A millionaire official who dwelt in a neighbouring village began to depreciate the Guru. He said, 'Who is this person whose name is repeated by every one, as if he were a god, though he is only a mortal like ourselves? The Hindus are being perverted, and even the Musalmans are losing their faith. Come, let us imprison him.' When the speaker mounted on horseback, the animal shied and threw him. Next day he again mounted, but, as he proceeded on his way, became blind and had to alight. Those who witnessed his calamity were afraid to make any remark save that Nanak was a great saint. They, however, suggested to the millionaire that he should do homage to the Guru. Upon this he began to praise the Guru, and those who were with him bowed towards the Guru. The millionaire again

¹ *Āmā hī Wīr*

² *Rāmā hī Wīr* 1

mounted his horse, intending this time to go and supplicate the Guru, but immediately fell down. His companions addressed him, 'Thou hast made a mistake in going on horseback. Go on foot, that thou mayest be pardoned.' He took this advice. On arriving at a spot whence the Guru's residence could be seen, he recovered his sight, and began to make salutations in the Guru's direction. On arriving in his presence he fell at his feet. The Guru was pleased and made him his guest for three days. The millionaire, in honour of the Guru, founded a village, which he called Kartarpur, on the margin of the Ravi, and built a Sikh temple therein, both of which he dedicated to the Guru.

One day a fanatical Brahman came to the Guru and begged for alms. The Guru, who was at his breakfast, invited the Brahman to join him. The Brahman replied that he would not eat food in that way. 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 of the surface might be removed, and he would also make a cooking square into which none but himself might enter. He would then dig a span deeper, and make a fireplace on which he would put firewood which he had washed, so that no insects might be burned in it. The Guru had not attended to these formalities, and the Brahman spurned food otherwise cooked. The Guru told him he would give him uncooked viands which he might cook himself. He then went outside and began to dig up the earth, but wherever he dug he only turned up bones, which he deemed a still greater abomination than the Guru's food. He continued digging all day, but with the same result. At last, overcome by hunger, he went and threw himself at Nanak's feet, and asked for the cooked food he had previously rejected. The Guru was pleased to gratify him, and then composed the following —

Cooking places of gold, vessels of gold,
 Lines of silver far extended,
 Ganges water, firewood of the karanta ¹ tree,
 Eating rice boiled in milk—

O my soul, these things are of no account
 Until thou art saturated with the true Name
 Hadst thou the eighteen Purans with thee,
 Couldst thou recite the four Veda,

Didst thou bathe on holy days and give alms according to
 men's castes,

Didst thou fast and perform religious ceremonies day and
 night ,

Wast thou a qam, a mulla, or a shankh,
 A Jogi, a jangam,² 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 men
 away

The duties of all creatures are recorded on their heads ,
 They shall be judged according to their acts

Foolish and ignorant men issue orders—

Nanak, the True One hath storehouses of praises ³

The Guru initiated the practice of singing hymns
 in the end of the night. A boy seven years of age
 used to come to listen and stand behind him.
 When the singing was over, he used quietly to
 depart. One day the Guru ordered his servants to
 detain the boy in order to discover the object of
 his continual attendance. He was accordingly
 brought before the Guru, who asked him, 'O boy,
 why comest thou so early in the morning to listen
 to hymns?' This is the time of life for thee to
 eat, play, and sleep.' The boy replied, 'Sir, one
 day my mother bade me light the fire. When
 I put on the wood, I observed that the little sticks
 burned first and afterwards the big ones. From that
 time I have been afraid of early death. It is very

¹ The *Caruwa Carandas*

² A class of fakirs with matted hair and thin chains to their feet.
 They generally go about ringing bells

³ Basant

doubtful whether we shall live to be old, and so I attend thy religious gatherings' The Guru was much pleased on hearing this wisdom from the child's lips, and said he spoke like an old man (budha) On that occasion the Guru composed the following —

In the briny unfathomable ocean the fish did not recognise the net ¹

Why did the very clever and beautiful fish have so much confidence ?

It was caught through its own doing, 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 destroyed

They who are imbued with the True One, and have abandoned worthless mammon, are saved

I am a sacrifice unto 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 instruction are pure

Make supplication to the true Guru to unite thee with the Friend

When man meeteth the Friend he obtaineth happiness, and the myrmidons of death poison themselves

¹ The worldly man does not remember death

I abide in the Name, and the Name abodeth in my heart

Without the Guru all is darkness, without the Word nothing can be known

By the Guru's instruction 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 untest 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.¹

The boy to whom the above hymn was addressed was subsequently known as Bhai Budha on account of the complimentary expression of the Guru. He was held in such high estimation that he was commissioned to confer the tilaks or patches of Guruship on the first five successors of Guru Nanak.

Kalu with all his people proceeded to where his son the Guru had fixed his habitation. Sikh societies then began to be formed. The Guru took off his extraordinary costume and dressed in a more conventional manner. With a cloth around his waist, a sheet over his shoulder, and a turban on his head, he looked the impersonation of holiness. The string of his fame rose to heaven, it was said, like that of a kite. Every one addressed him, 'Hail, Nanak! a great saint hath been born in the world.'

¹ See R&G, Ashtapadi

At Kartarpur, a watch before day, the Jappi and the Asa ki War were repeated. Then followed reading and expounding of the Guru's hymns, until a watch and a quarter after sunrise. This was succeeded by singing and the reading of the Arati (Gagan mau thal). After this, breakfast was served. In the third watch there was again singing, after which in the evening the Sodar was read. Then the Sikhs all dined together. The repast ended with further singing. After a watch of night had elapsed the Sohila was read, and every one then retired.

The Guru when not engaged in prayer occupied himself during the day in Kartarpur in giving instruction to all who sought it. He thus delivered himself to Malo and Bhago on the subject of Hindu penances: 'To burn in fire, to abide long in water, to fast, to endure heat and cold, to hold up one's arm permanently, to do penance with body reversed, to stand for a long time on one leg, to live on forest tubers and roots, to abide on the margins of rivers, to wander over the world as a pilgrim, to fast at full moon—all such penances are works of darkness.'

The Guru thus expressed himself on the subject of the devotional exercises of the Sikhs: 'To recall the wandering mind from the distraction of the senses, and then employ it in pious discourses and in devoutly singing and listening to songs of praise of the Almighty—know that these are meritorious acts which may be easily performed. They involve but little labour and bring great reward. The Hindu penances on the contrary involve great trouble while only small recompense is obtained therefrom.'

The Guru replied to a man called Kalu who had asked him for a definition of a holy man: 'Recognize him as holy in whom are to be found friendship, sympathy, pleasure at the welfare of others, and dislike of evil company. In the first place, the intentions of holy men are pure. Secondly, they are

pleased on hearing the praises of others Thirdly, holy men serve the virtuous Fourthly, they honour those who can impart to them learning and good counsel Fifthly, as there is a periodical craving for food or intoxicants, so they feel a craving for the Guru's word and for divine knowledge Sixthly, they love their wives, and renounce other women Seventhly, they avoid subjects from which quarrels may arise Eighthly, they serve those who are superior to themselves in intelligence or devotion Ninthly, even if strong, they are not arrogant, and trample not on others Tenthly, they abandon the society of the evil, and only associate with the holy'

Two Sikhs, called Bhagta and Ohri, asked Guru Nanak how rest was to be obtained, and transmigration avoided The Guru replied as follows 'You shall find rest by avoiding *manmukh karm* (perverse acts)' Being asked to define *manmukh karm* more particularly, the Guru replied 'It is to be heartily envious of every one, to desire that worldly wealth and all happiness should forsake others and come to oneself, to suffer great pain as one beholdeth the houses and property of others, to believe all men one's enemies, and do good to no one Expel all this evil from your hearts In the second place, the perverse man is proud and relentless to every one When he seeth such and such a person inferior to himself, he never adviseth him, nay, he laugheth at him, and treateth him with contempt, saying, "His is not equal to my lofty intellect" In the third place, the perverse man is addicted to slander, but do you renounce it and never utter it If any one praise another who is superior to him, he cannot endure it, nay he becometh wroth, saying, "O! I am well acquainted with him" In this way he uttereth slander How can he who is proud of his efforts and envious of others ever possess excellence? In the fourth place, if the perverse man receive advice, he will not act on it through obstinacy, nay, he will

perversely do the very reverse. These vices—envy, pride, slander, and obstinacy—belong to the perverse. Relinquish them, acting as trees do when they drop their leaves in autumn.

The Guru was asked why the words Sat Nam—the True Name—were always written as an introduction to his hymns. He replied, 'The Name is the God of all gods. Some propitiate Durga,¹ some Shriv, some Ganesh,² and some other gods, but the Guru's Sikhs worship the True Name and thus remove all obstacles to salvation. Accordingly, the prefatory words, the True Name, are written in all compositions.'

It was here the Guru composed his poem on the Twelve Months of the year. The description is of course suited to the climate of the Panjab, his native country. We here give a translation in extenso.³—

Hear Thou, *O God*—according to men's acts in previous states of existence

The weal or woe which Thou givest to each individual is just
O God, the Creation is Thine, what is my condition?
I cannot live for a moment without Thee

I am miserable without my Beloved. I have no friend,
yet from the Guru's instruction I drink nectar

The Formless One continueth His creation,⁴ to obey God
is the best of human acts

¹ Durga is the energy or consort of Shriv

² Ganesh is an elephant headed god of the Hindus, who in one of his attributes presides over literature, and is specially invoked in the prefaces to literary works

³ The Indian seasons and months are—1, Spring, which includes the months Chet and Baisakh, 2, the hot weather, Jeth and Hār, 3, the rainy weather, Sāwan and Bhādon, 4, the temperate weather, Āsu and Kārik, 5, the cold weather, Maghar and Poh, 6, Autumn, Māgh and Phālgan. These seasons are in Sanskrit and Hindi called respectively—Basant, Grihsm, Pīwas, Sard, Ham, and Śarir. The latter season, when the leaves fall, is contemporaneous with the European early spring. The Indian lunar year begins with Chet, which is movable, and the Indian solar year with Baisakh about the 12th of April

⁴ In Indian sacred writings several creations and destructions of the world are alluded to

Nanak, the woman is waiting for Thee, hear Thou, O Omnipresent Spirit

The chatrūk¹ crieth 'Pno!' and the kokil² also singeth its lays

The woman who is embraced by her Spouse enjoyeth every happiness

She whom God in His pleasure hath embraced is a happy woman

God established the nine mansions of the body, the tenth which is superior to them all, is His home

Everything is Thine, Thou art my Beloved, I delight in Thee night and day

Nanak, the chatrūk crieth 'Pno, pno!' and sweet is the kokil's song

O God, filled with delight my Beloved, hear Thou me

Thou art contained in my soul and body, I forget Thee not for an instant

Why should I forget Thee for an instant? I am a sacrifice unto Thee, I live by singing Thy praises

I have no one, whose am I? I cannot abide without God

I have sought the shelter of His feet, and dwell there, and my body hath become pure

Nanak, he on whom God looketh with favour obtaineth peace in his home, and his mind is consoled with the Guru's teaching

It raineth a torrent of nectar, whose drops are delightful,

When the friend the kindly Gurus meeteth one, and love is established with God

God entereth the temple of the body when it pleaseth Him, and the woman riseth up and repeateth His praises

¹ Its cry is 'pno', a word which also means beloved. Hence it is said the bird calls to God and lives in His worship

² The black Indian cuckoo. Its name is derived from its cry, which increases in volume of sound as it progresses. It is larger than the chatrūk

In every house the spouse enjoyeth his happy wife,
why hath my Spouse forgotten me ?

Lowering clouds have overspread *the heavens*, it raineth
pleasantly and love comforteth my soul and body

Saikh Nanak, Thou who rainest ambrosial speech,
graciously come to mine abode

In Chet agreeable is the spring, the bumble-bee is
pleasing

In the Bar the forests are flowering, may my Beloved
return to me !

When her beloved returneth not home, how can a wife
obtain comfort ? Her body wasteth away with the pain
of separation

The Lokil singeth sweetly on the mango-tree, why
should I endure pain of body ?

The bumble-bee is sitting on the flowering branches,
how shall I survive ? I am dying, O mother

Nanak, in Chet comfort is easily obtained if woman
obtain God in her home as her Spouse

The month of Bassakh is pleasant, the trees are in
blossom,

The woman is waiting for God at her gate, saying, ' Come,
take compassion on me

' Come home, my Beloved make me cross the difficult
ocean, without Thee I am worthless

' Who can appraise Thy worth, my Darling ? If it please
Thee, I shall look at Thee and show Thee to others

' I know that Thou art not distant, I acknowledge that
Thou art in my heart, and I recognize Thy mansion '

Nanak, in Bassakh God is found by him who meditateth
on the Word and whose mind is *thus* happy

The month of Jeth is pleasant, why should the Beloved
be forgotten ?

The land is burning like a furnace, woman is making
supplication—

Woman is making supplication and praising His qualities
 'I shall be pleasing to the Lord if I utter His praises
 'The Bauragi¹ liveth in the true palace, if He allow me
 to go to Him, I will go

'Without God I am without honour and strength, how
 shall I obtain comfort in His palace?'

Nanak, in Jeth if a woman know God and embrace virtue,
 she shall by His favour become like unto Him

The month of Har is sultry,¹ the sun is burning in the
 sky,

The earth is suffering, it is parched and heated like fire,
 The heat is drying up moisture, men die in anguish,
 yet the sun weareth not of his toil

When his chariot turneth *towards the south*,² woman
 looketh for the shade, the grasshoppers chirp in the
 forest

She who hath departed with her sins shall suffer in the
 next world, while she who remembereth the True One shall
 obtain comfort

Nanak, with God, to whom I gave my heart, are death
 and life

In Sawan be happy, O my soul, it is the season of clouds
 and rain

'I love my Spouse with my soul and body, but the Dear
 One hath gone abroad,

'My Spouse cometh not home, I am dying with the pang
 of *separation*, the flash of the lightning terrifieth me

'I am alone on my couch and greatly grieved, O mother,
 my pain is as bad as death

'Say how can sleep and appetite come to me without
 God? Raiment affordeth my body no comfort'

¹ God, in the sense that He loves not the sinner. The word Bauragi
 ordinarily means a man without love for the world. The Baurigas now
 form a special sect who worship Vishnu and wear sacrificial threads.
 They are distinguished from the Sanyāsins who worship Shiva and dis-
 pense with sacrificial threads.

² We are obliged here to take a liberty with the word *Maah*, which
 means good. ² After the summer solstice

Nanak, she is the happy wife who is embraced by her beloved Spouse

In the month of Bhaddon woman in the bloom of youth is led astray by doubt, *but afterwards* repenteth

The lakes and the meadows are filled with water, it is the rainy season—the time for pleasure

It raineth during the dark night how can the young wife have comfort *without her mate*? Frogs and peacocks are croaking

'Prio, prio' crieth the chatrik, serpents go abroad biting, Mosquitoes sting, lakes are filled to the brim, how shall man obtain comfort without God?

Nanak, I will ask my Guru and go where the Lord is

In Assu come, O Beloved, the wife is pining and dying for Thee

Man can meet the Lord when He granteth him an interview, but love of mammon ruineth him

When woman is spoiled by falsehood, her husband putteth her away, then bloom the kukah and the kah reads¹

The heat is over, the cool season is approaching, on seeing this my mind is uneasy²

On all sides the trees are green and verdant, that which slowly ripeneth is sweet

Nanak, the true Guru hath become my mediator, may I meet my Beloved in Assu!

In Kartik what pleaseth God is recorded in man's destiny The lamp which is lit by divine knowledge easily burneth

Love is the oil of the lamp, the woman and her Beloved have met,³ she is overwhelmed with delight

She whom sin killeth shall not be acceptable at her death, while she whom virtue killeth shall really die⁴

God hath given His name and service to those who dwell in their own homes, ever their prayer is—

¹ *Kukah* is supposed to be the *Saccharum munja*, and *kah* the *Saccharum glaberrimum*

² That is, so much time has passed away, that I fear I shall never meet my Beloved

³ Guided by the lamp's light

⁴ Shall not suffer transmigration

' Meet us, O God, and open the doors of our understanding, otherwise one hour shall be as six months '

The month of Maghar is pleasant for those who are blended with God's person by singing His praises.

The virtuous woman through her virtues enjoyeth *her spouse*, my Spouse is ever pleasing to me.

While the whole world is movable, He is immovable, clever, wise, the Arranger.

They who possess the merits of divine knowledge and meditation shall be blended with God. They are pleasing to God, and God is pleasing to them.

The songs, music, and poems of bards have I heard but it is at the name of God sorrow fleeth away.

Nanak, that wife is dear to her spouse who in his presence doeth him hearty service.

In Poh it freeth, the moisture of the forest and of the grass drieth up.

Why comest Thou not? Thou dwellest in my body, in my soul, and in my mouth¹.

The Life of the world pervadeth my soul and body, I enjoy pleasure through the instruction of the Guru.

The light of God is contained in the hearts of animals born from eggs, wombs, perspiration, and earth.

Lord of compassion, beneficent One grant me a sight of Thee, and give me understanding that I may obtain salvation.

Nanak, the Enjoyer enjoyeth her with pleasure who beareth Him love and affection.

In Magh woman becometh pure when she knoweth the place of Pilgrimage² within her.

I have easily met the Friend, and, by adopting His attributes, have become blended with Him.

Hear me, O beloved and beautiful God, I made Thine attributes mine ornaments, if it please Thee, I shall bathe in Thy tank.

¹ That is, I ever think of Thee and repeat Thy name, but am unworthy to receive Thee. ² God

The Ganges, the Jamna, the meeting of the three rivers at Tribeni Priyag,¹ the seven oceans,

Alms, charity, and worship are all contained in God's name I recognise Him as the One God in every age

Nanak, in the month of Magh, if I repeat God's name with great delight, I bathe at the sixty-eight places of pilgrimage²

In Phagan the hearts of those to whom God's love is pleasing are happy

Night and day are pleasant to him who effaceth himself

When it pleased God, I effaced worldly love from my heart, O Lord, mercifully come to my home

Though I deck myself in various garbs, yet without the Beloved I shall not obtain a place in heaven

I decorated myself with necklaces, strings of pearls, perfumes,³ silks, and satins, when my Beloved desired me

Nanak, my Guru hath blended me with God, and I have obtained Him as my Spouse

The twelve months, the seasons, the lunar days, and the week days,

The gharas, the mahurats,⁴ the moments, are all pleasant when the True One cometh and meeteth me of His own accord

¹ A famous place of Hindu pilgrimage, near Allahabad. The third river is the Saraswati, which is supposed to meet the Ganges and Jamna underground. The Saraswati, though no longer seen, was at one time an actual river. From a legend in the *Mahabharat* it would appear that it took its rise with other great rivers in the Himalayas that it thence flowed through Rājputāna, where it occasionally disappeared in the sands of that country, and that it finally debouched north of Dwāraka into the Arabian Sea.

² Sixty-eight is the number of sacred places of pilgrimage in the estimation of the Hindus.

³ *Ras* really means relishes.

⁴ The following is the Hindi time-table —

60 vada	= 1 chaus
60 chaus	= 1 pal
60 pal	= 1 ghar
3 ghar	= 1 mahurat
4 mahurats	= 1 pahar
8 pahars	= 1 day and night

When the dear Lord is obtained, everything is arranged ,
the Creator knoweth everything

I am dear to Him who decorated me , I have met Him
and am happy

The couch of my home is beautiful when my Beloved
enjoyeth me , the holy have good fortune written on their
foreheads

Nanak, the Beloved enjoyeth me day and night , having
obtained God as my Spouse, I am a permanent bride

At that time there was a man in very straitened domestic circumstances who had a daughter to marry. He appealed to Guru Nanak to assist in procuring her a wedding outfit. The Guru told him to give him a list of the things he required, and he would send for them. The man did so. The Guru called a servant of his, named Bhagirath, and ordered him to go to Lahore and fetch what was required. He warned him at the same time not to spend a night in that city¹. Bhagirath, on arriving in Lahore went to a shopkeeper, and asked him to supply the articles at once. The shopkeeper bade him remain for a day and everything should be ready. Bhagirath said it was impossible. The shopkeeper told him that everything should be ready on that day, but the bride's bracelets could not be made and coloured before nightfall. Bhagirath explained the order that had been given him. The shopkeeper inquired what sort of master he had who had issued such an order. Bhagirath replied that his master was the Guru. The shopkeeper inquired who the gurus of this generation were. Bhagirath could only reply that his master was a great Being. The shopkeeper rejoined, 'Wretch, where canst thou find a great being in this age?' After further colloquy and further praise of the Guru by Bhagirath, the shopkeeper decided that he would go with him to his

¹ Which he characterized as a city of poison and wrath—*Lahaur shahr ashr qadr*. By this the Guru meant the intemperance and licentiousness of that city.

master He had a set of coloured bracelets in his private house, which he would take and give the Guru 'If he be a great being,' continued the shopkeeper, 'he shall be my Guru as well as thine, and he shall have the bracelets for nothing, but, if he be not a great being, I will exact the full price from him' When the shopkeeper saw the Guru and heard his gentle remonstrance with Bhagirath for his delay, he became convinced that he was a great being and searcher of hearts, and he accordingly fell at his feet and was made happy He remained three years with the Guru, during which time he committed to memory many of his hymns

When the shopkeeper returned to Lahore, he sent for merchants and bankers and sold them everything he had in his shop He then sailed to Ceylon to extend his commerce There he took up his residence and began to trade At the same time he led a religious life, and did not forget the Guru's hymns He used to sing them late into the night, and again rise before day for his devotions and ablutions On the subject of bathing the Guru had taught him that whoever bathed a watch before day in cold water and repeated God's name with love and devotion, should receive nectar at God's door, and be blended with Him who is unborn and self-existent

After bathing, the shopkeeper used to repeat the Jappi and read the Guru's hymns He was wont to take breakfast at daybreak, and then go to discharge his worldly duties Though the people of Ceylon were said to corrupt strangers who went among them, they had no influence over the shopkeeper, who continued to adhere rigidly to the teachings of the Guru The king of the country, whose name according to the Sikh annals was Raja Shivnabh, hearing that the shopkeeper would not conform to the religious customs of his country, summoned him to his presence The shopkeeper presented the Raja with a coconut in token of his loyalty In reply to the Raja's

questions, he said that he had already obtained what others sought to obtain by fasting, religious ceremonies, and austerities, so why should he perform them ? The Raja asked him what it was he had obtained. The shopkeeper replied that he had beheld a great being and thus secured salvation. The Raja inquired if he had really obtained spiritual comfort by seeing the great being. The shopkeeper replied, 'Sure, when one hath met God, what further comfort is necessary ?' The king asked, 'In this Kal age who is there, a sight of whom can confer salvation ?' The shopkeeper replied, 'Such a person is Guru Nanak, the mere repetition of his name can confer salvation.' He then translated for him one of the Guru's hymns. The Raja on hearing it was satisfied, and joy thrilled through his frame. He then requested the shopkeeper to take him to where Nanak lived, so that he too might behold him. The shopkeeper replied, 'Sure, meditate on him in thy heart, and thou shalt meet him here.'

The shopkeeper loaded his ship with the products of Ceylon and returned to India. Raja Shrivabh remained at home thinking of the Guru and yearning to behold him.

CHAPTER XII

Meanwhile the Guru made a journey to the south of India. He wore wooden sandals, took a stick in his hand, twisted a rope round his head as a turban, and on his forehead put a patch and a streak. On that occasion he was accompanied by Sudo and Gheho of the Jat tribe. He proceeded to the Dravidian country now named Madras.

His companions, seeing his morning ablutions, thought that he worshipped the river god, Khwaja Khizir,¹ and derived his power from him. They

¹ Le mot de Khedher signifiant en Arabe vert et verdoyant, on

determined to worship the same god, and advance themselves if possible to a higher spiritual eminence than the Guru had attained. While travelling one night for the purpose of their worship they met a man carrying a fish in his hand. After mutual interrogations he said that he was the river god taking an offering to the Guru, and that it was from the Guru he had obtained his power, and not the Guru from him. He added 'I am water, he is air, a superior element, I am often contained in him.' Sando and Gheho then went and prostrated themselves before the Guru. He asked them why they had come to him at that hour. They used formerly only to come after sunrise. They then confessed to him the whole story of their attempted worship of Khwaja Khizar, and begged his forgiveness. The Guru composed the following on that occasion —

He who batheth in the immortal water of divine knowledge taketh with him the sixty-eight places of pilgrimage.

The Guru's instruction is jewels and gems, by serving him his disciples find them.

There is no place of pilgrimage equal to the Guru,

The tank of consolation is contained in that Guru.

The Guru is a river whence pure water is ever obtained, and by which the filth of evil inclinations is washed away.

He who findeth the True Guru hath obtained perfect bathing, which maketh him a god out of a beast or a ghost.

He who is unshod with the true Name obtaineth it, that Guru is called sandal.

Fix thine attention on His feet by whose odour vegetables are perfumed.

présumé que ce nom fut donné à ce prophète à cause qu'il jouit d'une vie florissante et immortelle depuis qu'il eut bû de l'eau de la Fontaine. Plusieurs le confondent avec le prophète Ève, que nous disons faire sa demeure dans le Paradis terrestre et pour de l'immortalité. Parce que l'arbre de vie étoit dans ce Paradis, et qu'il y avoit aussi une Fontaine, les Musulmans donnent à cette Fontaine le nom de Fontaine de Vie, et croyant que c'est de la boisson de cet eau sera bien que du fruit de l'arbre de vie, qu'Ève entretenait son immortalité. (D Herbelot)

Through the Guru man obtaineth real life, and through the Guru man departeth to God's home

Nanak, through the Guru man is absorbed in the True One , through the Guru man obtaineth the special dignity of *dehvañra* ¹

On the same occasion the Guru composed the following —

They who forget the Name go astray in worldly love and superstition ,

They let go the stem and cling to the branches , what shall they obtain ? Ashes

How can man be saved without the Name ? If any one know, *let him tell it*

If man be holy he shall be saved , the perverse shall lose their honour

Perfect is the wisdom of those who serve the one God

Servants of God, take shelter in Him who was in the beginning, in every age, and who is the Bright One

My Lord is one , there is none other, my brethren

By the favour of the True One happiness is obtained

Without the Guru no one hath obtained God, however much the matter be debated

He Himself showeth the way and fixeth true devotion *in the heart*

Even though thou advise the perverse man, he will still go to the wilderness ,

But without God's name he shall not be saved , he shall die and go to hell

He who repeateth not God's name shall wander in birth and death

God's worth cannot be known without serving the true Guru

Whatever service God causeth men to do, that will be done

It is God Himself who acteth , whom besides shall I mention ? God beholdeth His own greatness

He whom God inspireth serveth the Guru

Nanak, they who give their lives shall be saved, and shall obtain honour in God's court ¹

The Guru arrived at a Saravagi or Jain temple, which was much frequented. Narbhu, the Jain priest, went with his disciple to visit him. The Jains attach an exaggerated value to life in every form. The Jain priest heard that the Guru had not the same tender scruples on the subject, and began to catechize him. 'Eatest thou old or new corn?' (that is, dost thou eat corn with worms in it or not?) 'Drinkest thou cold water, shakest thou the trees of the forest to eat their fruit?' Who is thy guru, and what power hath he to pardon thee since thou violatest all rules and destroyest life?' The Guru in reply uttered the following paun —

When the True Guru is merciful, faith is perfected

When the True Guru is merciful, man shall never grieve

When the True Guru is merciful, man shall know no sorrow

When the True Guru is merciful, man shall enjoy divine pleasure

When the True Guru is merciful, what fear hath man of Death?

When the True Guru is merciful he ever bestoweth happiness

When the True Guru is merciful, man obtaineth the nine treasures ²

When the Guru is merciful, man is absorbed in the True One ³

After this the Guru launched out into a satire on the Jains —

They have their hair plucked out, they drink dirty water, they beg and eat others' leavings,

¹ *Ām Ashtapad*

² *Nau sukhi*. This expression is used in the sacred writings of the Sikhs to denote unlimited wealth and prosperity. In the sacred books of the Hindus the expression has a more definite numerical signification

³ *Māh ki Wār*

They spread out their ordure, they inhale its smell, they are shy to look at water.

They have their heads plucked like sheep, the pluckers' hands are smeared with ashes—

They spoil the occupations of their parents, their families weep and wail *for them*

They give not their deceased *relations* lamps or perform their last rites, or place anywhere barley rolls and leaves *for them*¹

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

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

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

They hold cups in their hands, they have brooms² by their sides, they walk in single file

They are not Jogis, or Jangams, or Qazis, or Mullas

God hath ruined them, they go about despoised, 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 lightheth on their plucked heads

From water gems arose when Meru was made the churning staff³

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

¹ The Jains conform in many ways to Hindu customs. The Guru here censures them for not being altogether consistent

² To brush away insects and thus avoid treading on them

³ According to the Hindus, Vishnu in his Karmavātar assumed the shape of a tortoise which supported the mountain Mandara—in the Sikh writings called Meru—the Olympus of the Hindus, with which the gods churned the ocean. From the ocean were produced the fourteen gems or jewels here referred to. They are Lakshmi, wife of Vishnu, the moon, a white horse with seven heads, a holy physician, a prodigious elephant, the tree of plenty, the all-yielding cow &c

After ablution *the Muhammadians* 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 things¹ 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

When it raineth, kine ever graze, and women churn their milk

By the use of the clarified butter thus obtained burnt offerings and sacred feasts are celebrated, and worship is ever adorned

All the Sikhs are rivers , the Guru is the ocean, by bathing in which greatness is obtained

If the Pluckedheads bathe not, then a hundred handfuls of dust be on their skulls²

The Jain priest asked the Guru why he travelled in the rainy season, when insects are abroad and there is danger of killing them under foot The Guru replied as follows —

Nanak, if it rain in Sawan, four species of animals have pleasure—

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

Nanak, if it rain in Sawan, there are four *species of animals* which feel discomfort —

Cows' calves, the poor, travellers, and servants

The Jain priest went and fell at his feet and became a convert to his faith On that occasion the Guru completed his hymns in the Majh Lī War, and Saudo and Gheh wrote them down from his dictation

It is said that the Guru then went to an island in the ocean, governed by an inhuman tyrant The name of the island has not been preserved Besides

¹ That is, water and bathing

² Mājh Lī Wār

Saudo and Gheho a third Jat called Siho accompanied him thither. On seeing them the tyrant resolved to put them to death for trespassing on his domain. He seized the Guru as the first victim of his rage. 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 as God's court¹

It is said that on hearing this hymn the tyrant desisted from his intention, and prostrated himself before the Guru. Saudo gave him water to drink in which the Guru had washed his feet, and thus made him a Sikh, and ensured him deliverance.

The Guru on that occasion met a successor of Pir Makhdum Baha-ul-Din Qureshi, who had an extravagant idea of his own spiritual and temporal importance. On being assured of the man's hypocrisy, the Guru uttered the following —

The heart which relinquisheth God's praises and magnification and attacheth itself to a skeleton,²

Receiveth a hundred reproaches by day and a thousand by night³

The Pir then fell at his feet, invited the Guru to abide with him and desist from his wanderings, upon which the Guru uttered the following reflection and instruction —

¹ *Āsa ki Wār*

² *Sāhi ki Wār*

³ That is, to the filth of the world

Rest, sit at home, there is trouble in ever travelling
 A place of rest is recognized when men dwell there per-
 manently

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 , sids sit in the palaces of the gods ,
 Demigods, sids, heavenly musicians, muns, 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 ghari or two , O my heart, under-
 stand that thou too must go

This is told in hymns yet few are they who understand it
 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 beside
 is transitory

Call Him permanent on whose head no destiny is recorded
 The heavens and the earth 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 ¹

Upon this the Pir was convinced that the Guru
 was an exalted spiritual leader

CHAPTER XIII

The Guru then turned his thoughts towards
 Ceylon, and succeeded in reaching that country,
 where he took his seat in Raja Shrivnabh's garden

¹ See Rāg, Ashtapadi

At that time it was barren, but it is said to have become green on the Guru's arrival. The gardener requested the king to go and see the faqr who had caused the withered garden to bloom anew. The king sent beautiful damsels to dance before the Guru and tempt him with their charms. The Guru, wrapped up in his own thoughts, neither spoke to them nor noticed them. The king came and inquired his name, caste, and whether he was a Jogi. The Guru replied as follows —

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.

The king asked if he were a Brahman. The Guru replied —

He is a Brahman who hath divine knowledge for his ablutions, and God's praises for the leaves¹ of his worship.

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

The king asked if he were a shopkeeper. The Guru replied —

Make thy heart the scale, thy tongue the beam, and weigh the inestimable Name.

There is but one shop, one Merchant above all. The dealers are many.

The king again inquired if he were a Hindu or a Muhammadan. The Guru continued his enigmatical replies —

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

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

¹ Brahmins use sweet basil and bel (*Acgile Marmelos*) leaves in their worship, the former in the worship of Vishnu and the latter in the worship of Shiv.

He who abideth in the Word and ever worshippeth day and night, hath ended his doubts

The king then asked if he were Gorakhnath. The Guru showed no inclination to directly gratify his curiosity

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 anchorit¹

When the Guru had ended, the king invited him to go to his palace and see his queen. He gave him an opportunity of expounding his doctrines to her

It was during Guru Nanak's visit to Ceylon that he composed the Pransangh, which contained an account of the silent palace of God, the manner of meditating on Him, the private utterances of the Guru, and the nature of the soul and body. The following are its opening verses —

The supreme state is altogether a void,² 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.³
Nanak, my mind is satisfied with the supreme state

Saado and Gheho subsequently wrote out the Pransangh from memory

¹ Mūru

² The Greek *νόθος*, the Latin *caelos*, heaven

³ The meaning of this expression is totally different from that of *gnōthi σουαυ*. To know oneself, in the Sikh sacred writings, means to know God who is within one

On his return to India the Guru, having heard of the fair of Shivrati¹, went to Achal Batala² to preach his doctrines. The whole country crowded to see and hear him, and showered offerings on him. The Jogs on witnessing his success became very jealous and determined to humble him. Bhangarnath, their superior, asked him why he mixed acid with his milk, that is, why he a holy man led a family life. 'When the milk becometh sour' said Bhangarnath, 'no butter is produced by churning. Why hast thou doffed thy hermit's dress, and donned ordinary clothes?'

The Guru replied 'O Bhangarnath, thy mother was an unskilful woman. She knew not how to wash the churn, and so spoilt the butter in producing thee. Thou hast become an anchorite after abandoning thy family life, and yet thou goest to beg to the houses of family men. When thou doest nothing here, what canst thou obtain hereafter?'

Bhangarnath made no reply to the Guru's question but broached another subject. 'O Nanak, thou hast exhibited miracles to the world; why art thou slow to exhibit them to us also?' The Guru replied 'I have nothing worth showing you. Man hath absolutely no shelter except in the companionship of the hymns of the Guru. Were man to move the earth, that would not induce God to grant him undeserved favours. Hear the Word, I speak verily, I have no miracle except the True Name —

¹ A festival in honour of the god Shiva held on the 14th day of the dark half of Pūṣan (February-March). It was usual for Jogs to congregate on the occasion of this festival. In the *Ain-i-Akbari* it is stated that the Emperor Akbar used then to hold meetings of all the Jogs of the Empire and eat and drink with them. Under the influence of such carousals they used to promise him that he should live three or four times as long as ordinary mortals.

² Achal, about three miles from Batala, contains the shrine of Sankarān, son of Shiva. For a full account of Batala see the *Khuliat-ul-Tawdrikh*, whose author was born there.

Were I to put on a dress of fire, construct a house of snow and eat iron ,

Were I to turn all my troubles into water, drink it, and drive the earth as a steed ,

Were I able to put the firmament into one scale and weigh it with a tank ,¹

Were I to become so large that I could be nowhere contained , and were I to lead every one by the nose ,²

Had I such power in myself that I could perform such things or cause others to perform them, it would be all in vain

As great as the Lord is, so great are His gifts , He bestoweth according to His pleasure

Nanak, he on whom God looketh with favour obtaineth the glory of the True Name '³

In Batala the Guru vanquished in argument all priests who attended the fair, and obliged the followers of the six schools of philosophy to bow before him. The Jogis finally complimented him on his success and said ' Hail, O Nanak, great are thy deeds ' Thou hast arisen a great being, and lit a light in this last age of the world ' It was the time the Jogis took their daily wine, and the goblet was accordingly passed around. On its reaching the Guru he asked what it was. They said it was the Sedhs' cup. He inquired what it contained. They said molasses and the flower of the dhava⁴ plant, of which Indian spirits are made. The Guru then uttered the following hymn —

Make divine knowledge thy molasses, meditation thy dhava flowers, good actions thy fermenting bark⁵ to put into them

Make the love of God thy furnace, devotion the sealing of the still , in this way shall nectar be distilled

¹ In Hindi apothecaries weight a *tant* is equal to four *māshas*, a *masha* is eight *rastrs*, and a *rastr* is the weight of eight grains of rice

² As a camel is led ³ High in War ⁴ The *Barris latifolia*

⁵ This is generally the bark of the *Salix*, or *Asinus Arabicus*

Father, by quaffing the divine juice the mind becometh intoxicated and easily absorbed in God's love

I have arranged to fix my attention on God day and night, and heard the unbeaten sound

God is true, His cup is pure, He giveth it to drink to him on whom He casteth a favouring glance

Why should he who dealeth in nectar feel love for paltry wine ?

The Guru's word is a nectar-speech, by drinking it man becometh acceptable

When man performeth service at God's gate¹ to obtain a sight of Him, what careth he for salvation or paradise ?

He who is dyed with God's praises never loveth the world, and loveth not his life in the game

Saith Nanak, hear, Jogi Bharthari, I am intovated with the nectareous stream²

The Jogi inquired if he lived by begging. The Guru replied, 'Why should he who is absorbed in the Formless go to beg alms ?' They then asked if he were an Udasi or hermit. The Guru replied —

He who taketh the sword of knowledge and wrestleth with his heart,

Who knoweth the secrets of the ten organs of action and perception³ and of the five evil passions,

Who can knot divine knowledge to his mind,

Who maketh pilgrimage on each of the three hundred and sixty days of the year,

Who washeth the filth of *pride* from his heart—

Nanak saith, he is a hermit

¹ Sikhs and Moslems use the expression 'Gate of God' for God's throne or God's court. The latent allusion is to a king who removes himself from his subjects' gaze. It is at his gate those who appeal to him for justice wait, and it is at his gate when he goes forth his subjects can obtain a sight of him.

² *Ass*

³ The organs of action are the mouth, the hands, the feet, and the generative and excretory organs. The organs of perception are the five senses.

The Jogs then asked the Guru if he were an Audhut. The Guru told them what an Audhut ought to be —

He is a servant of the Guru who restraineth his sexual organs,

Whose heart is free *from worldly desires*, whose words are true,

And who receiveth as his alms the glance with which the Merciful One beholdeth him

Know him to be meek, whose heart is meek,

And whose instruction is the profitable Word

Nanak saith, he is an Audhut

Whose mind is not fickle, who goeth not to spectacles,

Or to gamble or play chaupar,

Who attacheth not his mind to things bad or good,

Who weareth on his body whatever is given by the Guru,

Who, when he goeth to another's house, talketh not scandal,

Who ~~observeth~~ the restraint put on him by the true Guru,

And who receiveth the Guru's instructions—O holy man,

Nanak saith, such a man is an Audhut

The Jogs then desired to know if he were a Jog, and the Guru replied —

To remain seated without support,

To collect and restrain the five evil passions,

To sleep little and take scant food,

To keep guard over the saintly body,

To be constant in devotion, penance, self-restraint, and remembrance of God—

Nanak saith, these are the marks of a Jog

When he speaketh, he uttereth divine wisdom ,

He day and night waketh in the contemplation of God ,

He attacheth a string to the vacant sphere,¹

And by the Guru's favour never dieth

All the gods do obeisance to him

¹ That is, he fixes his attention on God

Who in this way performeth the Guru's service,
And who alloweth not his tongue to taste daunties—
Nanak saith, these are the marks of a Jogi

He who effaceth wrath, avarice, and greed,
Who quencheth the fire of the five evil passions within his heart,
Who day and night flieth the kite
By which divine knowledge is produced and evil inclinations depart,
Who cherisheth holiness, restraineth his evil passions
And repeateth no spell but the Guru's—
The habits of that good man are the best—
Nanak saith, these are the marks of a Jogi

He who maketh his body the vessel, remembrance of God his milk,
Who putteth pure truth into it as his acid,
Who by contrivance and effort easily curdleth the milk—
Without contrivance it would be spoiled—
Who useth divine knowledge as his churning staff and the Name as its string,
Who in this way repeateth only the Name,
And who by rolling and rolling extracteth the butter—
Nanak saith, these are the marks of a Jogi

The Jogis wondered if he were a Bairagi. The Guru defined the word for them —

He is a Bairagi who is sold to God,
Who in the presence of God subdueth mammon,
Who performeth the work of God and mammon,¹
Who beareth an unbearable and intangible thing,
Who hath abandoned wrath, avarice, and pride—
Nanak saith, such a man is a Bairagi

He who abideth lonely in the house of enjoyment,
And dwelleth in the house of worship—

¹ That is, who performs his worldly avocations and thinks of God at the same time

Where the cat fleeth at the sound of a mouse¹—
Nanak saith, is a Bairagi

He is a Bairagi who embraceth contentment,
Who reverseth his breath and is absorbed in God,
Who subjecteth to himself the five senses—
Such a Bairagi shall rise higher than Shriv
He who renounceth evil ways and fixeth his attention on
the one God,
Nanak saith, is a Bairagi

Upon this the followers of Gorakhnath pressed
the Guru to adopt the style of a Jogi The Guru
asked them to describe a Jogi They replied —

A Jogi weareth earrings, a patched coat, carrieth a wallet,
a staff,

And a deer's horn which soundeth through the world

The Jogis were proceeding to give a further description of their sect when the Guru interrupted and offered spiritual substitutes for all the externals of a Jogi —

Put the Guru's word into thy heart for the rings in thine ears, wear the patched coat of forbearance,

Whatever God doeth consider as good, in this way shalt thou easily obtain the treasure of jog

O father, in this way the soul which hath been a pilgrim in every age, uniteth with the Supreme Essence

He who obtaineth the ambrosial name of the Pure One, and maketh reflection his Jogi's cup,

Divine knowledge his staff, and the Omnipresent the ashes he smears² on his body, shall enjoy the great elixir of divine knowledge

Make God's praise thy prayer, the Guru's instruction thy sect of Atita,³

The renunciation of desires and quarrels thy sitting in contemplation in God's citadel⁴—

¹ Where hypocrisy flees before humility

² By Atita here is meant a sect of Jogis who consider themselves liberated from worldly restraints

³ The brain

From the sound of thy horn a melody shall thus be produced which day and night shall fill thee with music

In everything is Thy light contained, *O God*, and many and various are its colours

Saith Nanak, hear, Jogi Bharthari, the Primal God is the sole object of my love¹

During his residence in Batala the Guru composed the *Sidh Gosht*, a treatise from which the Jogis are said to have derived spiritual consolation

CHAPTER XIV

The Guru continued his journey to the north. 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 was accompanied by Hassu, a smith, and Sihan, a calico-printer. The party went as far as Srinagar in Kashmir, where they stayed some time and made many converts.

Brahm Das was then the most eminent of the Kashmiri pandits. On hearing of the Guru's arrival, he went to pay him a formal visit. The better to impress the Guru with his piety and learning, he wore an idol suspended from his neck, and took with him two loads of Sanskrit books. On seeing the Guru's dress he said, 'Is that the sort of faquir thou art? Why wearest thou leather, which is unclean? Why twistest thou a rope round thy body? Why hast thou abandoned the observances of thy religion? And why eatest thou flesh and fish?' The Guru, not paying much attention to these impertinent questions, thus unburdened himself of the thoughts which filled his mind —

There is but one road, one door, the Guru is the ladder to reach one's home

Beautiful is God, Nanak, all happiness is in His name

PAURI

God Himself 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 a word

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

He made the wonderful play of night and day

Pilgrimage, 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 again burst forth in God's praises —

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 or mother, who begot Thee ?

Thou art devoid of all form, outline, or caste

Thou feelest not hunger or 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 are absorbed in Him ¹

Brahm Das then recognizing the Guru's piety and genius fell at his feet, and asked him what existed before creation ? The Guru in reply uttered the following hymn known as *Solaha* ² in Rag Maru —

¹ *Mālīr ki Wār*

² A hymn containing sixteen stanzas.

In the beginning ¹ there was indescribable darkness ,
Then was not earth or heaven, naught but God's unequalled
order

Then was not day, or night, or moon, or sun , God was
meditating on the void

Then were not the mines of *production*, or voices, or wind,
or water ,

Neither creation nor destruction, nor coming nor going,

Then were not continents, or hells, or seven seas, or rivers,
or flowing streams ,

Nor was there paradise, or a tortoise,² or nether regions ,

Or the hell or heaven of the *Muhammadians*, or the destroyer
Death ,

Or the hell or heaven of the *Hindus*, or birth, or death ,
nor did any one come or go

Then was no Brahma, Vishnu, or Shriv

No one existed but the One God

Then was no female, or male, or caste, or birth , nor did
any one feel pain or pleasure

There was no Jati, Sati,³ or dweller in the forest ,

There was no Sadh, or Striver, or dweller at ease ,

No Jogi, or Jangam, or religious garb , nor did any one
call himself a Nath ⁴

No devotion, penance, austerity, fasting, or worship

Nor did any one speak or tell of duality ⁵

God Himself having created was pleased, and valued what
He had done

There was no purification, or self-restraint, or necklace of
sweet basil ,

There was no milkmaid, or Krishna, or cow, or herdsman ,

¹ *Arhad* is here understood to be for *aramid*. *Arhad* in Sanskrit means a number of one hundred millions, so *arhad arhad* may also mean—for countless years

² Which some Hindus believe supports the earth

³ Sati means a faithful wife, especially one who cremates herself with her deceased husband

⁴ A superior of Jogi

⁵ *Dualit*, duality, in the Sikh writings means the worship of other than God

No incantations or spells, no hypocrisy, nor did any one play on the flute ¹

There were no acts *attaching to the soul*, or religion, or the giddy of mammon

No one saw caste or birth with his eyes

There was not the net of pride, nor was death *written* on man's brow, nor did man meditate on aught created ²

There was no slander, no seed, no soul, no life

There was no Gorakh or Machhandar ³

Nor was there divine knowledge, or meditation, or nobility, nor did any one have conceit of himself

There was no caste or religious garb, no Brahman or Khatrī,

No demigod, no temple, no cow, no gayatri, ⁴

No hom, no sacred feasts, no places of pilgrimage to bathe in, nor did any one perform worship

There was no Mulla or any Qari,

No Shaikh, no Disciple, no Haji, ⁵

No subject or king, nor was pride in the world, nor did any one give himself a great name

There was no love, no service, no Shriv, or energy of his, ⁶

No friend, no helper, no seed, no blood ⁷

God Himself was the merchant, Himself the dealer—such was the will of the True One—

¹ One of Krishna's youthful accomplishments

² Literally—nor did any one meditate on any one else. That is, no one then worshipped the gods or idols of the Hindus

³ Machhandar is described in a verse attributed to Gorakhnāth as his father

⁴ The *gayatri* is the spell of the Hindus. It is now recited as follows *Oam, Mār, Mamas, mar, let sunnier variegation, I charge devaysa, Shimas, Shya ya nak prakthya!* 'Oam, earth and air and sky, let us meditate on that excellent sun the bright god, which stimulath our intellects' The late Professor Max Müller gave the following translation—'We meditate on the adorable light of the divine Savitri, that he may rouse our thoughts'

⁵ This word is applied to Muhammadans who have made the pilgrimage to Makka

⁶ Shriv's energy or consort was variously named Purbati, Durga, &c

⁷ 'No seed, no blood' this refers to the male and female functions of generation

Then were no Veds or *Muhammadian* books,¹ no *Smritis*,
no *Shastars* ,

No reading of the *Purans*, no sunrise, no sunset

The Imperceptible God was Himself the speaker and
preacher , Himself unseen He saw *everything*

When He pleased He created the world ,

Without supports He sustained the sky

He created *Brahma*, *Vishnu*, and *Shiv*, and extended the
love of mankind

He communicated the Guru's words to some few persons

He issued His order and watched over all

He began with the continents, the universe, and the
nether regions, and brought forth what had been hidden

His limit no one knoweth

From the True Guru I have learned,

Nanak, that they who are imbued with the truth are
wonderful, and delight in singing God's praises

Upon this *Brahm Das* again fell at the Guru's
feet, cast away the idol from his neck, and, becoming
a worshipper of God, performed service for the
Guru His evil desires, however, departed not
Whatever service he performed was brief and per-
functory, for he thought to himself that he had
performed similar service before, but whatever he
did was of no avail on account of his pride

At one of their meetings the Guru told him to take
a guru He inquired, 'What guru shall I take ?'
The Guru bade him go to a certain house in the
wilderness where he should find four *fakirs*, and they
would inform him The *pandit* went to them, and
they, after some delay, pointed out a temple in which
they said he should find his guru The *pandit* pro-
ceeded thither, but instead of receiving a courteous
reception, was shoe-beaten in a piteous manner by
a woman in red who guarded the temple Crying
bitterly he returned to the four men who had dis-

¹ They are described as the *Psalms* of David, the Old Testa-
ment, the New Testament, and the *Qur'an*

patched him on the unpleasant errand. They inquired if he had found a guru, and in reply he told them his painful story. They explained to him that the woman was Maya, or worldly love, and that she for whom he had so longed was his guru. The pandit returned to the Guru, and fell at his feet. He then cast away his two loads of books, began to repeat God's name, and became so humble as to be as it were, the dust of the earth. The pandit inquired who were happy in this world. The Guru replied with the following sloks, which Hassu and Suhan committed to writing —

Indar wept after his thousandfold punishment ¹

Paras Ram wept on his return home, ²

King Ajai ³ wept after eating what he had obtained as alms—

Such is the punishment meted out in God's court—

Ram wept when he was expelled from his kingdom,

And separated from Sita and Lachhman ⁴

Rawan, who took away Sita with beat of drum

Wept when he had lost Lanka, ⁵

The Pandavs ⁶ though their master ⁷ had been with them,

Became slaves and wept,

¹ Indar was the god of the firmament. His punishment was for his effort to seduce Ahalya, the wife of the sage Gautama.

² Paras Ram. Ram with the axe was the avatâr of Vishnu and preceded the Ram of Indian popular worship. He is said to have cleared the earth twenty-one times of the Kshatriyas. He then gave it to the sage Kashyapa and retired to the Mahendra mountains. The text alludes to his subsequent homeward return.

³ Aj was grandfather of Râm Chândar. One day when hunting he dipped a cloth in the blood of a deer which he had shot, and in order to test his wife's affection sent it to her with a dying message that he had been killed in the hunting-field. She, believing the messenger, at once cremated herself with the cloth she had received. King Aj on returning home found out what had occurred, and was so overcome with grief and sorrow, that he abandoned his throne and retired from the world to do penance for his crime.

⁴ Lachhman was Râm's brother.

⁵ Lanka. This was the ancient name of Ceylon, where Rawan ruled.

⁶ The opponents of the Kuravs in the great war which forms the subject of the *Mahabharat*.

⁷ Krishna.

Janameja¹ wept when he went astray,—
 For one *offence* he was deemed a sinner—
 Shaikh, Disciples and Pirs² weep
 For fear of suffering at the last moment,
 Kings wept when their cars were torn,³
 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 avail⁴

The Guru, leaving Srinagar, penetrated the Himalaya mountains, and scaled numerous lofty peaks

¹ Janameja king of Hastinapura, who listened to the long Sanskrit epic *Mahabharat* in expectation of the aim of killing Brâhmanas

² Pirs are Muhammedan saints

³ The reference is to Gopi Chand and Bharthari. Bharthari was king of Ujjain. In his state there lived a Brâhman who by his austerities had obtained the fruit of immortality. Not deeming it useful to himself he presented it as a fitting offering to his monarch. He being in love with his queen presented it to her. She being in love with the head police officer of the state presented it to him. He being in love with a favourite courtesan presented it to her. She being in love with the king presented it to him. On being informed of the strange vicissitudes of the fruit of immortality, and pondering on the instability of love and friendship, Bharthari abdicated and became a religious mendicant.

Gopi Chand was king of Bengtî, whose capital according to legend, was then Daulagarb. His mother Menkwanî was Raja Bharthari's sister. One day as Gopi Chand was bathing, his mother, seated in an upper chamber, admired his beauty, but at the same time felt that he was not so handsome as his father, her late husband. Death had taken him, it would also take Gopi Chand. Gopi Chand as he bathed felt moisture falling on him, and was told in reply to his inquiries that it was his mother's tears. He tried to console her and said that death was the way of the world, and one must not endeavour to resist Nature's primordial law. On reflection she decided that Gopi Chand should become a faqir under the spiritual guidance of Jalendharnath. Gopi Chand abdicated, proceeded to him, and after many troubles received, it is said instruction how to overcome death.

⁴ Râmkah kî Wâr

until he arrived at Mount Sumer. He there met many renowned Sidhs. When the Guru had made his obeisance and sat down, they inquired whence he had come and in what state he had left Hindustan. He replied —

The Kal age is a knife, kings are butchers, justice hath taken wings and fled

In this completely dark night of falsehood the moon of truth is never seen to rise

I have become perplexed in my search

In the darkness I find no way

Devoted to pride, I weep in sorrow

Sarth Nanak, how shall deliverance be obtained ?¹

On this the Sidhs requested the Guru to join them in praising God. Having done so he put his subsequent conversation with them into the following form —

The Sidhs holding an assembly sat in religious attitude — hail to the assembly of the saints !

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

The Sidhs asked —

'Who art thou ? What is thy name ? What is thy sect and what thine 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 whither goest thou ?

'Hear, O Nanak,' said the Sidhs, 'What are thy tenets ?'

¹ *Majh ki War*

Nanak—‘I dwell in God who hath His seat in every heart, I act according to the will of the True Guru

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

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

‘If one understand the Guru’s instruction and know himself, then he being true shall be absorbed in the True One’

A Sidh called Charpat asked —

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

Saath Charpat, ‘O Audhut Nanak, give a true reply’

Nanak—‘Thou sayest so, thou thyself understandest, What answer can I give thee?’

‘I speak truly, thou hast reached the distant shore, how can I argue with thee?’

‘As a lotus in the water remaineth dry, as also a water-fowl 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 hearts the one God abideth, who live without desires in the midst of desires,

And who see and show to others the inaccessible and incomprehensible God¹

The Sidhs then said ‘All hail!’ The Guru replied, ‘All hail to the Primal Being!’

Several Sikhs suppose that Guru Nanak composed the Sidh Goshit on that occasion when he found leisure and retirement for composition

CHAPTER XV

After his sojourn with the Sidhs the Guru returned to the plains of the Panjab and travelled in a north-westerly direction until he reached Hasan Abdal,

¹ Sidh Goshit

then a great centre of Muhammadan religious enthusiasm

There abode on a small hillock a bigoted and selfish priest known as Bawa Wali of Kandhar. 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. Bawa Wali, who claimed exclusive holiness for himself, became offended on hearing the Guru's praises, and refused the required water. He said if Mardana's master were such a holy man, he ought to provide water for himself. When this reply was communicated to the Guru, he sent Mardana back to the Wali with the message that he himself was a very poor creature of God, and had no claims to the character of a saint. The Wali paid no heed to this protestation, but persisted in his refusal to afford water to the Guru and his minstrel. The Guru was then compelled to bore a hole near where he had taken shelter, 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 increased, and it is said that he hurled the hillock upon Guru Nanak's unoffending head. The Guru, on seeing the descending volume of earth, raised his right arm to protect himself. It is related that upon this the fall of the hillock was arrested. The impression of the palm of the Guru's hand was left on the descending mass, which is now known as 'Panja Sahib' and held in reverence by the Sikhs.

After a brief residence in Hasan Abdal the Guru proceeded to Gorakh-Hatari, a quarter of the city of Peshawar on the frontier of the Panjab where there is an ancient temple of Gorakhnath. The Jogs having heard of his fame were anxious to discover how he had acquired such moral and

spiritual influence, and, when the Guru was seated, put him the questions contained in the first four verses of the following hymn. The Guru's replies follow —

What callest thou that gate at which thou attest ? Who can see the gate within it ?

Let some one come and describe to me that gate *to attain* which the Udas wandereth

How shall we cross the ocean ?

How shall we be dead when alive ?

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

Mammon is a moat, domestic life its water, man abideth 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 thoughts, what *God* deemeth *proper*, He doeth

As long as there is 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 desires, then, *O Nanak*, he meeteth the one God

In this way shall he cross the ocean,

And thus be dead while alive ¹

On uttering this hymn the Guru was pressed to adopt the style and religion of a Jogi. The principles of the Jogis' sect were explained to him. The Guru replied —

The Word is my meditation, divine instruction the music of my horn for men to hear,

Honour is my begging-wallet, and uttering the Name my alms

Father, Gorakh awaketh

Gorakh is He who lifted the earth and fashioned it without delay,

Who enclosed water, breath, and life *in the body*, and made the great lights of the moon and sun.

Who gave us the earth as our abode, *but whose* many favours we have forgotten

Sidhs, Strivers, Jogs, Jangams, and Pirs are many

If I obtain the Name *from them*, I will sing their praises, and serve them heartily—

Paper and salt melt not in clarified butter, the lotus remaineth *unaffected* by water—

What can Death say to them, O Nanak, who meet such saints ? ¹

After his successful discussion with the Jogs the Guru decided to visit Makka, the pole star of Muhammadan devotion. He disguised himself in 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 when an opportunity offered, he shouted the Muhammadan call to prayer like any orthodox follower of the Arabian prophet. As usual in his peregrinations, he was accompanied by his faithful minstrel and rebeck-player Mardana. It is recorded that whenever he met children on his journey he joined in their sports. He accidentally found a Muhammadan faqir also bent on the Makkan pilgrimage, and passed a night with him in pleasant spiritual converse. The pilgrim offered him his bhang-pouch, and asked whether he was a Hindu or a Musalman. The Guru replied with the hymn he had previously addressed to the Emperor Babar when he inquired what intoxication that was whose effects should never depart.

As they proceeded on the road to Makka, it is said, a cloud they saw over their heads accompanied them. The pilgrim became alarmed at the unusual occur-

¹ Rāmāh

rence, and said to the Guru, 'No Hindu hath ever yet gone to Makka. Travel not with me, either go before or after.' The Guru told the pilgrim to precede him. When the pilgrim turned round to see where his companion was, it is said he could see neither him nor the cloud. The pilgrim then began to wring his hands, and said, 'It was God who was with me, but I could not endure the sight of Him. He worked illusion on me.'

When the Guru arrived, weary and footsore, in Makka, he went and sat in the great mosque where pilgrims were engaged in their devotions. His disregard of Moslem customs soon involved him in difficulties. When he lay down to sleep at night he turned his feet towards the Kaaba. An Arab priest locked him and said, 'Who is this sleeping infidel? Why hast thou, O sinner, turned thy feet towards God?' The Guru replied, 'Turn my feet in a direction in which God is not.'¹ Upon this the priest seized the Guru's feet and dragged them in the opposite direction, whereupon, it is said, the temple turned round, and followed the revolution of his body. Some understand this in a spiritual sense, and say it means that Guru Nanak made all Makka turn to his teaching. Those who witnessed this miracle were astonished and saluted the Guru as a supernatural being.

The Qazis and the Mullahs crowded round the Guru, and interrogated him on the subject of his religion. They admitted that he had accomplished a great feat, but the source of his power was not apparent. They opened his book, and seeing that it was on religious subjects, inquired which was

¹ Curious it is to find the same expression in an Italian operatic writer of the eighteenth century.

*E se, dov'ei dimora
Non intendessi ancora,
Confondimi, se puoi,
Dimmi dov'ei non è*

(Metastasio)

superior, the Hindu or the Muhammadan religion. The Guru replied, ' Without good acts the professors of both religions shall suffer. Neither the Hindus nor the Muhammadans shall obtain entrance into God's court. All their devotions shall vanish like the fleeting dye of safflower. Both sects are jealous of each other. The Hindus insist on saying Ram and the Moslems Rahim, but they know not the one God. Satan hath led them both along his own flowery way.' On that occasion the Guru uttered the following hymn in the Tilang measure :—

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.
 Every day 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.¹

When the Guru had finished, the Qazi said, ' Well done ! I have to-day for the first time seen a real saint of God.' The Qazi then went and told the high priest that the darwesh Nanak had arrived. The high priest went to see him, shook hands with him,

¹ This hymn is not found in the Granth Sāhib.

and sat down beside him. He thanked God that Nanak had come.

The high priest asked Nanak if the Hindus who read the Veds, and the Musalmans who read the Quran, should or should not find God. The Guru courageously replied with the following outspoken hymn of Kabir :—

O brethren, the Veds and the Quran are false, and free not the mind from anxiety.

If for a moment thou restrain thy mind, God will appear before thee.

O man, search thy heart daily, that thou mayest not again fall into despair.

This world is a magic show which hath no reality.

Men are pleased when they read falsehood, and quarrel over what they do not understand.

The truth is, the Creator is contained in the creation ; He is not of a blue colour *in the guise of Vishnu*.

Thou shouldst have bathed in the river which floweth in heaven.¹

Take heed ; ever fix thine eyes on Him who is everywhere present.²

God is the purest of the pure ; shall I doubt whether there is another equal to Him ? ³

Kabir, he to whom the Merciful hath shown mercy, knoweth Him.

The high priest then asked how God might be obtained by men. The Guru replied that it was by humility and prayer. He added the following hymn in the Persian language :—

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

¹ In the brain instead of the Ganges and other sacred streams of the Hindus.

² Also translated—Embrace perpetual poverty, fix thy mental eyes on God, and thou shalt behold Him everywhere present.

³ Also translated—If there be another like Him, then entertain doubt.

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

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

Azrail¹ 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 *hinder* my falling at last when my fate² 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 servants³

The high priest then asked the Guru to tell him the composition of matter, the nature of the God he adored, how He was to be found, and in what consisted the essence of his religion. The Guru replied again in the Persian language —

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 elements⁴

However high man may leap, he shall fall 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?

¹ Azrail is frequently mentioned in the Sikh sacred writings. In the Muhamadan dispensation he is the minister of Death who separates men's souls from their bodies by violently tearing them asunder. The *Qur'an*, *Sûras* 32 and 79.

² *Fatâh* is understood to be for the Arabic *taqdir*, destiny.

³ Tilang

⁴ *Alâkâ*, or ether, being the fifth

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 four books of the *Muhammadans*,
but God's worth is not described in them

I have consulted the nine regions of the earth, one
improveth upon what the other saith

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 butter 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 works¹

In due time the Guru proceeded to Madina, where
he vanquished the Muhammadan priests in argu-
ment. Thence he journeyed to Baghdad, and took
up his position outside the city. He shouted the
call to prayer, on which the whole population
became wrapt in silent astonishment². The high
priest of Baghdad, on meeting face to face the
enthusiastic stranger, inquired who he was and to
what sect he belonged. The Guru replied, 'I have
appeared in this age to indicate the way unto men.
I reject all sects, and only know one God, whom
I recognize in the earth, the heavens, and in all
directions.'

Upon this the Guru began to repeat the Japji.
As the high priest listened to its doctrines he said,
'This is a very impious faqir. He is working

¹ Banno's *Granth Sāhib*

² It is certain that the Guru omitted the words *Muhammad* or *raḥim*
Allāh of the creed, and substituted Arabic words of a similar sound to
express his own ideas. Hence the astonishment of the people

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

The world is a perishable abode, O my heart, know thus as the truth

Arcail¹ 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 *aid* my falling at last when my fate² 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,

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² *Fakhr* is understood to be for the Arabic *Aspîr*, destiny.

³ Tilang

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¹ Banno's Granth Sahib

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miracles here, and informing us, contrary to the authority of our holy Quran, that there are hundreds of thousands of nether and upper regions, and that at last men grow weary of searching for them' The high priest then called upon the Guru to give a manifestation of his power Upon this, it is said, the Guru laid his hand on the high priest's son and showed him the upper and lower regions described in the Jappi¹

The Guru having accomplished his mission in the West resolved to return to his own country When he arrived in Multan, the local high priest presented him with a cup of milk filled to the brim By this he meant it to be understood that the city was full of holiness already, and that there was no room for another religious teacher The Guru, in no wise disconcerted, took the milk and laid on it an Indian jasmīn flower The cup did not overflow This typified that there was still room for the Guru in the midst of the Multanis, as there is still room for the ever flowing Ganges in the ocean

The Guru, after a brief sojourn in Multan, set out for Kartarpur His reputation daily increased in the world, and men meditated on his name He insisted that praying for anything except God's name merely conferred on man a crown of sorrow By this time the Guru had founded a pure religion and made his coin current in the world

In due time the Guru and his minstrel arrived at Kartarpur on the right bank of the river Ravi, opposite the present town of Dehra Baba Nanak There he doffed his pilgrim's dress, and donned worldly garments in order to show that he did not desire men to devote themselves exclusively to an ascetic life At the same time he sat on his religious stool, and began to preach to the people

During Guru Nanak's stay at Kartarpur he con-

¹ Jappi, Psalm xxiii.

tinued to compose hymns which diffused spiritual light and dispelled mental darkness. He ever conversed on religious subjects, and divine measures were ever sung in his presence. The Sodar and the Sohala were chanted in the evening and the Japji repeated at the ambrosial hour of morning.¹

At Kartarpur, Mardana, the Guru's faithful minstrel, advanced in years and wearied with his long wanderings and physical privations, fell ill. He felt that he had no hope of longer life, and resigned himself to man's inevitable fate. He had originally been a Muhammadan, but, being now a Sikh, the question arose as to how his body should be disposed of after death. The Guru said, 'A Brahman's body is thrown into water, a Khatri's is burnt in the fire, a Vaisya's is thrown to the winds, and a Sudra's is buried in the earth. Thy body shall be disposed of as thou pleasest.' Mardana replied, 'Through thine instruction the pride of my body hath totally departed. With the four castes the disposal of the body is a matter of pride. I deem my soul merely as a spectator of my body, and am not concerned with the latter. Wherefore dispose of it as thou pleasest.' Then the Guru said, 'Shall I make thee a tomb and render thee famous in the world?' Mardana replied, 'When my soul hath been separated from its bodily tomb, why shut it up in a stone tomb?' The Guru answered, 'Since thou knowest God and art therefore a Brahman, we shall dispose of thy body by throwing it into the river Ravi and letting it go with the stream. Sit down therefore on its margin in prayerful posture, fix thine attention on God, repeat His name at every inspiration and expiration, and thy soul shall be absorbed in the light of God.' Mardana accordingly sat down by the river, and his soul separated from its earthly enclosure the following morning at a watch

¹ A translation of these divine services will be found in this volume.

miracles here, and informing us, contrary to the authority of our holy Quran, that there are hundreds of thousands of nether and upper regions, and that at last men grow weary of searching for them'. The high priest then called upon the Guru to give a manifestation of his power. Upon this, it is said, the Guru laid his hand on the high priest's son and showed him the upper and lower regions described in the Jappi.¹

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¹ Jappi, *Part II* 222.

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before day. The Guru then, by the aid of his Sikhs, consigned Mardana's body to the river Ravi,¹ caused the Sohila to be read for his eternal repose, and concluded the obsequies by distributing *karah parshad*² (sacred food). The Guru counselled Mardana's son Shahzada and his relations not to weep. There ought to be no lamentation for a man who was returning to his heavenly home and therefore no mourning for Mardana.³

The Guru bade Shahzada remain with him in the same capacity as his father, and he would be held in equal honour. Accordingly Shahzada, the Guru's faithful friend and minstrel, accompanied him to the time of his death.

In the Granth Sahib are found three sloks of the Guru, dedicated to Mardana, against the use of wine. The following, which may conveniently be given here, will suffice as a specimen —

The barmaid is misery, wine is lust, man is the drinker

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

The company is false and covetous, and is ruined by excess of drink

Instead of such wine make good conduct thy 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 sins depart*⁴

CHAPTER XVI

There lived in a town called Khadur a Sikh named Jodha who used to repeat God's name while

¹ It is stated in several Sikh works that Mardana's body was cremated.

² The recipe for the preparation of *karah parshad*, or Sikh sacred food, will be given in the life of Guru Gobind Singh, vol. 7.

³ *Cycle Ratanmalah*

⁴ *Bhāgare ki Wār*

the rest of the inhabitants worshipped Durga. Their priest was a man called Lahina. One day when Jodha was repeating Guru Nanak's Japji, Lahina heard him and inquired whose composition it was. Jodha duly informed him, and they became intimate. On being introduced to the Guru, Lahina told his name, upon which the Guru said, 'Thy *lahina* is here, where else can it be found?' In the Panjabi language the word *lahina* means to take or receive, and the Guru meant, 'What thou desirest to receive—salvation—is here, and nowhere else.' After some spiritual instruction from the lips of the Guru, Lahina threw away the tinkling bells he wore on his hands and feet to dance before the goddess, and began to repeat God's name. He made it a practice afterwards to perform menial service for the Guru.¹

It is said that Lahina in a vision saw a female in a red dress shampooing the Guru. Lahina asked her who she was. She replied that she was Durga, and that she came once a week to do service for the Guru. On this Lahina became convinced of the divine mission of Guru Nanak.

A Jogi went to visit the Guru and congratulate him on the large number of converts he had made. The Guru replied that he had few real Sikhs, as the Jogi himself would see. The Guru and the Jogi determined to proceed into the forest and there make trial of the Sikh converts who accompanied them in numbers. For this purpose the Guru assumed a terrible guise. He put on dirty, tattered clothes, took a knife in his hand, and proceeded with some hunting dogs into the forest, ostensibly in quest of game. On this several of his Sikhs fled. It was on that occasion the Guru composed the following —

¹ A fuller account of Jodha's influence on Lahina will be given in the Life of Guru Angad, Vol. II.

I have a dog¹ and two butches² with me ,
 Every morning they bark at the wind³
 Falsehood is my hunting-knife and carnion its handle
 O Creator, I remain in the guise of a huntsman ,
 I do not follow my Master's counsel or do His work
 I appear deformed and terrible
 Thy Name alone saveth the world ,
 It is my support , to obtain it is my desire
 I utter calumny day and night ,
 I am base and worthless , I covet my neighbour's house
 Lust and anger, which are pariahs, dwell in my heart
 O Creator, I remain in the guise of a huntsman ,
 In saint's dress I meditate to entrap others
 I am a cheat in a country of cheats⁴
I deem myself very clever, and bear a great load of sin
 O Creator, I remain in the guise of a huntsman
 Ungrateful that I was, I did not appreciate what Thou
 didst for me

How can I, who am wicked and dishonest, show my face ?
 Humble Nanak expresseth his thoughts—

O Creator, I remain in the guise of a huntsman⁵

As the party proceeded they found the road covered with copper coins. Some Sikhs took them up and departed. Further on were found silver coins. Several Sikhs took up the silver coins and returned home. As the Guru's party proceeded further, they saw gold coins on the road. Several of the remaining Sikhs took up the gold coins and quickly vanished. Only the Jogi, two Sikhs, and the Guru's attendant Lahina now remained.

On proceeding further they found a funeral pyre. Near the corpse were four lighted lamps. A sheet was stretched over it as it lay on the ground and emitted an offensive smell. The Guru said, 'Let

¹ Avancee

² Desire and covetousness

³ The line means that desire and covetousness call in vain to the saint

⁴ Also translated—I am a cheat and cheat the country

⁵ Sri Rig

whoever wisheth to accompany me eat of this ' The Sikhs quailed at the dreadful proposal, but Lahina remained staunch in his faith in the Guru. Without more ado he clasped his hands and asked the Guru if he should begin to eat the head or the feet of the corpse. The Guru told him to begin at the waist. Lahina lifted the winding-sheet in order to begin to eat, when lo! it is said a dish of sacred food appeared instead of the corpse! Lahina offered the sacred food to the Guru first, and said he would partake of his leavings. The Guru replied, 'Thou hast obtained this sacred food because thou didst desire to share it with others. The wealth given by God which man useth himself or burneth in the earth, is like carrion, but the wealth which man shareth with others is as sacred food. Thou hast obtained my secret, thou art in mine image. I will tell thee the real thing, the spell which is the essence of religion, and by which thou shalt have happiness here and hereafter. The following, which is the preamble of the Jappi, is the spell meant by the Guru —

There is but one God whose name is True, the Creator, devoid of fear and enmity, immortal, unborn, self-existent, great, and bountiful. Repeat His name.

The True One was in the beginning, The True One was in the primal age,

The True One is, was, O Nanak, the True One also shall be.

The Guru instructed Lahina to utter the spell with a pure heart. It would fulfil all his desires, bestow happiness in this world and salvation in the next, and by the continual practice of it the light of God should dawn in his heart. Upon this the Jogi said, 'O Nanak, he shall be thy Guru who is produced from thy body—ang.' Upon this the Guru embraced Lahina, addressed him as Angad, and promised that he should be his successor. The Jogi and the Guru then went to their respective homes.

The Sikhs who had deserted the Guru, afterwards bitterly regretted their conduct. They who had found the copper money said, that if they had gone further they would have found the silver money, and they who had found the silver money said that if they had gone further, they would have found the gold money. Upon this the Guru composed the following —

The words man speaketh shall be taken into account,
the food he eateth shall be taken into account,

Man's movements shall be taken into account, what
he heareth and seeth shall be taken into account

Every breath he draweth shall be taken into account,
why should I go and ask the learned?

O father, attachment to Maya is deceitful

He who being *spiritually* blind forgetteth God's name,
shall gain neither this world nor the next

Life and death are for everything that is born, death
devoureth everything here

Where *the Judge* sitteth and decideth, thither no one
shall accompany thee

All who weep for thee tie up, as if *were*, a bundle of refuse¹

Everybody saith that God is great, nobody detracteth
from Him,

But no one hath found His price, He becometh not
great by what man saith

O True Lord Thou art one Lord, how many other worlds
in which creatures dwell¹

Nanak is with those who are low born among the lowly,

W^{ay}, who are lowest of the low, how can he rival the
great?

Where Thou, O Lord, watchest over the lowly, Thy look
of favour shall be their reward²

The successor of Pir Baha-ul-Din, the Musalman prelate of Multan, went accompanied by several of his followers to visit Guru Nanak. On meeting him he said, 'I have loaded the load, do something

¹ That is they weep in vain

² Sri Rag

for me'—that is, pray that I may have a successful journey to the next world

The Guru replied —

He who filleth the sack shall load it *on himself*,¹ the will of God is over all,

Nanak, they who have acted honestly shall depart with bright faces

The Guru, seeing the Pir prepared for death, said he would soon follow him himself. The Guru upon this composed the following hymn —

Wealth, youth, and flower, are guests² only for four days,³
 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 depart in sorrow, and weep with a feeble voice

O fair one,⁴ 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 sleepeth⁵ in her father's house, is robbed at an untimely season

She hath lost her bundle of merits and departed with a load of demerits⁶

CHAPTER XVII

The Guru, knowing that his end was approaching, appointed Angad his successor. The Guru's sons had not obeyed him. Their minds were insincere, and they had rebelled and deserted him. Wherefore he subsequently placed the umbrella

¹ Man shall take with him the result of his acts.

² *Atithi* is connected with the Panjabi *atithi*, to run away.

³ Four days is a common Oriental expression for a short period.

⁴ The soul is here meant.

Who awakes not in God's service

⁵ *Soi Rāg*

of spiritual sovereignty over Angad's head, and bowed to him in token of his succession to the Guruship. Then it became known to his people that Guru Nanak was about to die. Whole troops of Sikhs, Hindus, and Musalmans went to bid him farewell. Angad stood up before him in an attitude of supplication. When Guru Nanak had invited him to speak, he said, 'O king, be pleased to attach again to thy skirt those who have seceded from thee.' By this Angad meant the Sikhs whose faith had been tried and found wanting. Guru Nanak replied, 'I have forgiven them all for thy sake.' Upon this Angad fell at his feet.

Guru Nanak went and sat under a withered acacia tree, when lo! it became green, and produced leaves and blossoms. Angad again fell at his feet in adoration. Guru Nanak's family, relations, and disciples began to weep. On that occasion he composed the following —

Hail to the Creator, the True King, who allotted to the world its various duties !

When the measure ¹ is full the duration of life is at an end, the soul is led away,

When the destined hour arriveth, the soul is led away and all one's relations weep.

The body and soul are separated, O my mother, when one's days are at an end.

Thou hast obtained what was allotted thee, and reaped the fruit of thy former acts.

Hail to the Creator, the True King, who allotted to the world its various duties !

Remember the Lord, O my brethren, all must depart.

The affairs of this world are transitory, only for four days, we must assuredly proceed onwards.

We must assuredly proceed onwards like a guest, why should we be proud ?

¹ *Pae*. This is an Indian corn measure.

Repeat the name of Him by whose worship thou shalt obtain happiness in His court

In the next world thou canst in no wise enforce thine authority, every one shall fare according to his acts

Remember the Lord, my brethren, every one must depart

That which pleaseth the Omnipotent shall come to pass, this world is an illusion

The true Creator pervadeth sea and land, the nether regions, and the firmament

The true Creator is invisible, unequalled, His limit cannot be found

Profitable is their advent into this world who have meditated with their whole hearts upon Him

The Adorner by His order demobsheth and again constructeth

That which pleaseth the Omnipotent shall come to pass, this world is an illusion

Saith Nanak, O Father, they shall be considered to have wept who weep through love

If men weep for the sake of worldly things, all their weeping, O Father, shall be in vain

All their weeping shall be in vain, the world is not mindful of God, and weepeth for mammon

They know not good from evil, and thus lose their human lives

All who come into this world must depart, false are you who practise pride

Saith Nanak men shall be considered to have wept, O Father, if they weep through love¹

After this the assembled crowd began to sing songs of mourning, and the Guru fell into a trance. When he awoke therefrom, his sons, on seeing a stranger appointed to succeed their father, inquired what provision had been made for themselves. Guru Nanak replied, 'O my sons, God giveth to His creatures, you shall obtain food and clothing in

¹ *Wadhana, Althamān*

abundance, and if you repeat God's name you shall be saved at last'

The Musalmans who had received God's name from the Guru, said they would bury him after his death. His Hindu followers on the contrary said they would cremate him. When the Guru was invited to decide the discussion he said, 'Let the Hindus place flowers on my right, and the Musalmans on my left. They whose flowers are found fresh in the morning, may have the disposal of my body.'

Guru Nanak then ordered the crowd to sing the *Sohla* —

In the house in which God's praise is sung and He is meditated on,

Sing the *Sohla* and remember the Creator

Sing the *Sohla* of my fearless Lord, I am a sacrifice to 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*¹ are recorded, O *relations*, meet and pour oil on *me* the bride²

O my friends, pray for me that I may meet my Lord

This message is ever sent to every house, such invitations are ever issued

Remember the Caller, Nanak, the day is approaching³

The concluding slok of the *Japu* was then sung. The Guru drew a sheet over him, uttered 'Wahguru', made obeisance to God, and blended his light with Guru Angad's. The Guru remained the same. There was only a change of body produced by a supreme miracle.

¹ Death is here considered a marriage as among the ancient Greeks

² Before marriage the bride's relations anoint her with oil

³ *Rag Gauri Dipsak*. Guru Nanak caused this hymn to be repeated for him in token of rejoicing when he was dying. It is still read as a funeral service

When the sheet was removed next morning, there was nothing found beneath it. The flowers on both sides were in bloom. The Hindus and the Musalmans removed their respective flowers. All the Sikhs reverently saluted the spot on which the Guru had lain. He breathed his last on the tenth day of the light half of the month of Assu, Sambat 1595 (A D 1538) at Kartarpur in the Panjab.

The Sikhs erected a shrine and the Muhammadans a tomb in his honour on the margin of the Ravi. Both have since been washed away by the river, perhaps providentially, so as to avoid idolatrous worship of the Guru's last resting-place.

Bhai Gur Das, a brief account of whom we have given in the Introduction, draws a gloomy picture of the wickedness of the world at the rise of the Sikh religion—Men's ideas and aspirations were low. Mammon fascinated the world and led every one astray. Good acts no longer commended themselves to men. They burned with pride, and respected not one another. The high and the low forgot their mutual duties. Monarchs were unjust, and their nobles were butchers who held knives to men's throats.

Everybody thought he possessed knowledge, but none knew in what knowledge or ignorance consisted. Men did what pleased themselves. Alchemy and thaumaturgy were professed, incantations and spells practised, and men indulged in strife, wrath, and mutual jealousies. In the general disorder every one adopted a religion of his own. Out of one God they made many, and carved gods attractive and unattractive from wood and stone. Some worshipped the sun or moon, others propitiated the earth, sky, wind, water, or fire, and others again the god of death, while the devotion of many was addressed to cemeteries and cremation grounds. Thus did mankind go astray in vain religions and vain worship.

Men despised one another and hence caste received

religious sanction. The Brahmans set the Veds, the Purans, and the Shastars at variance. The professors of the six schools of Hindu philosophy quarrelled with one another, and while so employed indulged to their hearts' content in hypocrisy and superstition.

Not only were the Hindus divided into four castes, but the Muhammadans were divided into four sects,¹ and while the Hindus worshipped the Ganges and Banaras, the Muhammadans addressed their devotions to Makka and the Kaaba. The devil fascinated the members of both religions, they forgot their holy books, they went astray on every road, and truth was the one thing they failed to discover.

There was no guru or religious guide, and without one the people were pushing one another to their destruction. Sin prevailed throughout creation. Pure religion was weeping day and night, and finally began to disappear from men's gaze beneath the earth. She was weighed down by human transgressions. In lowly attitude she appealed to God for a guide. God observing men's anguish and hearing their piteous cries, conferred supernatural attributes on Guru Nanak. He bestowed on him the supreme wealth of the Name and humility, and sent him into the world to relieve its sufferings. When Guru Nanak contemplated the world, he everywhere saw spiritual darkness, and heard the cry of pain. He endured the greatest privations and travelled to different countries in order to regenerate the human race.

He pointed out to men the straight way—that there was but one God, the primal and omnipresent. He restored the three legs which religion had lost, and reduced to one the four castes of the Hindus. He placed the king and the beggar on a spiritual equality, and taught them to respect each other.

¹ Hanafi, Shafi, Maliki, and Hanbali.

He preached to all a religion of the heart as distinguished from a religion of external forms and unavailing ritual

He found that the acts and austerities practised by professedly religious men of his age and country were without divine love or devotion, and consequently contained no merit before God. He satisfied himself that Brahma, the reputed author of the Veda, did not include love in them, nor was it mentioned in the Smritis. He declared that God who has no form or outline was not found by wearing religious garbs, but by humility, and that if men rejected caste and worshipped God in spirit they should be accepted in His court.

The Guru examined all religious sects, contemplated the gods, goddesses, and spirits of earth and heaven, and found them all immersed and perishing in spiritual pride. He scrutinized Hindus, Moslems, priests, and prophets, and found not one godly person among them. They were all groping in the blind pit of superstition.

Religious men who ought to be guiding their flocks, had retreated to the solitude of mountains. There was no one left to instruct and save the world. Though hermits rubbed ashes night and day on their bodies, they possessed no knowledge, and the world was rushing to its ruin for want of a divine guide. Rulers were everywhere oppressive. The fence began to eat the field instead of protecting it. Guardians proved faithless to their trusts and consumed the wealth of their wards. Some disciples played while their spiritual guides danced. Other disciples sat at home while, contrary to all custom, their spiritual guides waited on them. Judges took bribes and perpetrated injustice. Women only paid regard to their husbands for the wealth they possessed, and sin was diffused throughout the world.

When Guru Nanak appeared, the fog of spiritual ignorance dispersed, and light shone in the world,

as when the sun rises the stars disappear and darkness fades away, or as when the lion roars in the forest the timid deer incontinently disappear. Wherever the Guru planted his foot, there was established a seat of worship. Every house of his followers became a temple in which the Lord's praises were ever sung and the Lord's name continually repeated. The Guru established a separate religion, and laid out an easy and simple way of obtaining salvation by the repetition of God's name. The Guru extricated men from the terrible ocean of the world, and included them in the boon of salvation. He cut off the fear of transmigration, and healed the malady of superstition and the pain of separation from God. Until the Guru's advent death's mace ever impended over men's heads, and the apostate and the evil spent their lives in vain. When men grasped the feet of the divine Guru, he gave them the true Word and effected their deliverance. He inculcated love and devotion, the repetition of God's name, and the lesson that as men sow so shall they reap.

The four castes of the Hindus he reduced to one. Whether a Sikh had a caste or not, he was distinguished in the society of the holy. The six schools of philosophy are like the six seasons of the year, but the sect of the Guru is the sun which shines over them all. Guru Nanak having abolished all sects shed great splendour on his own. Setting aside the Veds and the books of Islam, he taught his sect to repeat the name of the infinite God who surpasses all conception. By falling at one another's feet and by practising humility are the Guru's Sikhs recognized. They live as hermits among their families, they efface their individuality, they pronounce the ineffable name of God, and they transgress not the will of the Creator by uttering blessings or curses upon their fellow-creatures. Thus were men saved in every direction and Guru Nanak became the true support of the nine regions of the earth.

DIVINE SERVICES BY GURU NANAK AND OTHER GURUS

THE JAPJI¹

THERE is but one God whose name is true, the Creator,²
devoid of fear and enmity, immortal unborn self-existent,³
by the favour of the Guru.⁴

REPEAT HIS NAME

The True One was in the beginning the True One was in
the primal age

The True One is⁵ now also, O Nanak, the True One
also shall be⁶

¹ The Japp is considered by the Sikhs a key to their sacred volume and an epitome of its doctrines. It is idently repeated by the Sikhs early in the morning. Every Sikh must have it by heart, otherwise he is not deemed orthodox. It is the duty of all Sikhs, even if they cannot read, to have themselves taught this great morning divine service. The composition appears to have been the work of Guru Nānak in advanced age.

² *Karta parakh*. It is perhaps not necessary to translate the word *parakh*. It means mile or creative agency. The all-pervading spirit in union with a female element uttered a word from which sprang creation.

³ *Amritan* is derived from the Sanskrit *amṛtānā*, which we have found in this passage in a very ancient Sikh MS.

⁴ *Gur Paraid*. We have translated these words in deference to the opinions of the majority of the Sikhs, but with several learned gytans we have no doubt that they were intended as epithets of God—the great and bountiful. Guru Nānak had no human guru, as we have already seen, his guru was God. It was during the spiritual supremacy of his successors the favour of the Guru was invoked and deemed indispensable for deliverance. Moreover, though *gur paraid* does sometimes in the Granth Sikh mean the Guru's favour, this appears to be more often expressed by *gur parakh*.

⁵ *Āin*. There are two *āins* in this line which some say are rhomantic. We have very little doubt that the first *āin* is an obsolete past tense of the defective verb *āin*, and that the verse ought to be translated—
‘The True One is, was, and also shall be.’ Compare —‘Guru Nānak, Shahu hai, bā, haen —Sūhi Ashtapadi: 1

⁶ Also translated—

God was true in the beginning, He was true in the primal age,
He is true now also Nānak and He also will be true

I

By thinking I cannot obtain a conception of *Him*, even though I think hundreds of thousands of times

Even though I be silent and keep my attention firmly fixed on *Him*, I cannot preserve silence

The hunger of the hungry for *God* subadeth not though they obtain the load of the worlds

If man should have thousands and hundreds of thousands of devices, even one would not assist him in obtaining *God*

How shall *man* become true before *God*? How shall the veil of falsehood be rent? ¹

By walking, O Nanak, according to the will ² of the Commander as preordained

II

By His order bodies are produced, His order cannot be described

By His order souls ³ are infused into them, by His order greatness is obtained

By His order men are high or low, by His order they obtain preordained pain or pleasure

By His order some obtain their reward, ⁴ by His order others must ever wander in transmigration

All are subject to His order, none is exempt from it

He who understandeth *God's* order, O Nanak, is never guilty of egoism ⁵

III

Who can sing His power? Who hath power to sing it? ⁶

Who can sing His gifts or know His signs? ⁷

This translation appears to be unmeaning, for it is not doubted that *God* was true in all ages. With the translation in the text compare *Eya aya ahi té pyaré, sat é, na aqarar,* 'I am all that was, and is, and will be'—Inscription on a Greek temple

¹ Also translated—How shall the line of falsehood be broken?

² *Rajé*, the Arabic *razé*, the divine pleasure

³ In these two lines some suppose *adár* to refer to the non-sentient, *jis* to the sentient world

⁴ That is, to be blended with *God*

⁵ Literally—would not be guilty of saying *Assa sara*, i.e. I exist by myself independently of *God*. This is the sin of spiritual pride

⁶ Also translated—Whoever has the power

⁷ Also translated—He who knows his signs

Who can sing His attributes, His greatness, and His deeds ?¹
 Who can sing His knowledge whose study is arduous ?
 Who can sing Him, who fashioneth the body and again
 destroyeth it ?

Who can sing Him, who taketh away life and again
 restoreth it ?

Who can sing Him, who appeareth to be far, but is known
to be near

Who can sing Him, who is *all-seeing* and omnipresent ?²
 In describing Him there would never be an end
 Millions of men give millions upon millions of descriptions
 of Him, *but they fail to describe Him*

The Giver giveth, the receiver groweth weary of receiving
 In every age man subsisteth by *His bounty*

The Commander by His order hath laid out the way *of the*
world

Nanak, God the unconcerned is happy

IV

True is the Lord, true is His name, it is uttered with
 endless love³

People pray and beg, 'Give us, give us', the Giver giveth
 His gifts,

Then what can we offer Him whereby His court may be
 seen ?

What words shall we utter with our lips, on hearing which
 He may love us ?

At the ambrosial hour of *morning* meditate on the true
 Name and God's greatness

¹ *Clear* is understood to be a contracted form of *achar*. Some
 translate the word 'excellent,' and make it an epithet of *mahar*

² This and the preceding lines of this poem are also translated—

Some sing His power according to their abilities,
 Some sing His gifts according to their knowledge of His signs,
 Some sing His attributes, His greatness, and His deeds,
 Some sing His knowledge whose study is arduous,
 Some sing that He fashioneth the body and again destroyeth it,
 Some that He taketh away the soul and again restoreth it,
 Some that He appeareth far from mortal gaze,
 Some that He is all-seeing and omnipresent

³ Also translated—His attributes are described in endless languages

The Kind One will give us a robe of honour and by His favour we shall reach the gate of salvation.¹

Nanak, we shall thus know that God is altogether true.²

V

He is not established nor is He created.

The pure one existeth by Himself

They who worshipped Him have obtained honour

Nanak, sing His praises who is the Treasury of excellences

Sing and hear and put His love into your hearts

Thus shall your sorrows be removed, and you shall be absorbed in Him who is the abode of happiness.³

Under the Guru's instruction God's word is heard, under the Guru's instruction its knowledge is acquired, under the Guru's instruction man learns that God is everywhere contained.⁴

The Guru is Shriv, the Guru is Vishnu and Brahma, the Guru is Parvati, Lakhshmi,⁵ and Saraswati.⁶

¹ This verse is also translated—By our former acts we acquire this human vesture, and by God's favour reach the gate of salvation.

The body is first formed, and then the soul from another body enters it. God decides in what body the soul is to have residence until the body perishes. The acts of previous births are adjusted when the soul attains a human body. It is the acts done in a human body which accompany the soul to future states of existence.

² This verse is commonly translated—we shall then know that God is all in all Himself, but this translation does not appear to harmonize with the preceding part of the poem.

³ Also translated—and you shall take happiness to your homes.

⁴ This very difficult verse is also translated—

(a) Under the Guru's instruction God's word is heard, under the Guru's instruction the knowledge of it is acquired, it is contained in the Guru's instruction.

(b) The voice of God is found as well in other compositions as in the Veds, the voice of God is all-pervading.

(c) The pious know the Guru's instruction, that God is everywhere contained.

(d) The voice of the Guru is as the Veds for the holy, they are absorbed in it.

⁵ The Hindu goddess of wealth and riches consort of Vishnu, and mother of Kām the god of love.

⁶ The goddess of eloquence and learning and patroness of arts and sciences.

This verse is also translated—

If I knew Him, should I not describe Him ? He cannot be described by words

My Guru hath explained one thing to me—

That there is *but* one Bestower on all living beings , may I not forget Him ¹

VI

If I please Him, that is my place of pilgrimage to bathe in ,
if I please Him not, what oblations shall I make ?

What can all the created beings I behold obtain without *previous* good acts ?

Precious stones, jewels, and gems *shall be treasured up* in thy heart if thou hearken to even one word of the Guru

The Guru hath explained one thing to me—

That there is *but* one Bestower on all living beings , may I not forget Him ¹

VII

Were man to live through the four ages, yet ten times longer ,

Were he to be known on the nine continents, and were everybody to follow in his train ,¹

Were he to obtain a great name and praise and renown in the world ,

If God's look of favour fell not on him, no one would notice him

He would be accounted a worm among worms, and even sinners would impute sin to him

(a) He is greater than Shv greater than Vishnu and Brahma , greater than Parabrahma, Lakshmi, and Saraswati

(b) For the holy the Guru is Shv, the Guru is Vishnu and Brahma , the Guru is Parabrahma, Lakshmi, and Saraswati

The tenth Guru says —

Khandas parihare say ke jin nañ sander upaye—

God first created the sword, the emblem of Death, and then the world

So here Shv obtains precedence as the agent of destruction
The word uttered by God became the source of knowledge of Him through the Guru in the three forms of Shv, Vishnu, and Brahma

¹ That is, to show him respect

Nanak, God may bestow virtue on those who are devoid of it as well as on those who *already* possess it ,

But no such person is seen as can bestow virtue upon Him

VIII

By hearing *the name of God* men become Sadhs, Piras, Surs¹ and Nathas ,

By hearing *the Name* man understandeth the real nature of the earth, its supporting bull,² and Heaven ,

By hearing *the Name* man obtaineth a knowledge of the continents, the worlds, and the nether regions

By hearing *the Name* death doth not affect one³

Nanak the saints are ever happy

By hearing *the Name* sorrow and sin are no more

IX

By hearing *the Name* man becometh as Shiv, Brahma, and Indar

By hearing the Name *even* the low become highly lauded⁴

By hearing the Name the way of Jog and the secrets of the body *are obtained*

By hearing the Name man understandeth the real nature of the Shastars, the Smritis, and the Veds

Nanak, the saints are ever happy

By hearing the Name sorrow and sin are no more

X

By hearing the Name truth, contentment, and divine knowledge *are obtained*

Hearing the Name is equal to bathing at the sixty eight *places of pilgrimage*

By hearing the Name and reading it man obtaineth honour⁵

¹ Surs are spiritual heroes

² The bull which the Hindus believe supports the earth This is not believed in by the Sikhs See below, para vii

³ Man shall not die again, but obtain deliverance

⁴ Also translated—By hearing the Name one is praised by high and low

⁵ Also translated—On hearing the Name man obtaineth honour by the knowledge acquired

By hearing the Name the mind is composed and fixed on God ¹

Nanak, the saints are ever happy

By hearing the Name sorrow and sin are no more

XI

By hearing the Name, the depth of the sea of virtue is sounded ²

By hearing the Name *men become* Shukhs, Pirs, and Emperors

By hearing the Name a blind man findeth his way

By hearing the Name the unfathomable becometh fathomable

Nanak, the saints are ever happy

By hearing the Name sorrow and sin are no more

XII

The condition of him who obeyeth God cannot be described

Whoever trieth to describe it, shall afterward repent

There is no paper, or pen, or writer

To describe *the condition* of him who obeyeth God

So pure is His name—

Whoever obeyeth God knoweth *the pleasure of it* in his own heart ³

XIII

By obeying Him wisdom and understanding *enter* the mind ,

By obeying Him man knoweth all worlds ,

By obeying Him man suffereth not punishment,

By obeying Him man shall not depart with Jam ⁴—

So pure is God's name—

Whoever obeyeth God knoweth the pleasure of it in his own heart

¹ Or—by hearing the Name man easily meditateth upon God

² Also translated—man acquireth the best virtues

³ Literally—he knows it in his own mind, that is, he obtains a pleasure which is incommunicable

⁴ The god of death, previously called Dharmraj. This verse means that man shall not die again, but be absorbed in God

XIV

By obeying Him man's path is not obstructed ,
 By obeying Him man departeth with honour and distinction ,
 By obeying Him man proceedeth in ecstasy ¹ on his way ,
 By obeying Him man formeth an alliance with virtue—
 So pure is God's name—
 Whoever obeyeth God knoweth the pleasure of it in his own heart

XV

By obeying Him man attaineth the gate of salvation ,
 By obeying Him man is saved with his family ,
 By obeying Him the Guru is saved, and saveth his disciples ,
 By obeying Him, O Nanak, man wandereth not in quest of alms ²—
 So pure is God's name—
 Whoever obeyeth God knoweth the pleasure of it in his own heart

XVI

The elect ³ are acceptable, the elect are distinguished ,
 The elect obtain honour in God's court ,
 The elect shed lustre ⁴ on the courts of kings
 The attention of the elect is bestowed on the one Guru ⁵
 If any one say he can form an idea of God, *he may say so*,

¹ *Magus* This word is understood to be for *magan* Those who read *magan* as translate—

(a) By obeying Him man proceedeth not by the path of destruction

(b) Man proceedeth by the broad, not the narrow way

² This is explained to mean—does not wander in transmigration

³ *Panch*, literally five The number conveys the idea of selection There is a Hindustani proverb, *Panchon me Paramahoor hai*, Where five are assembled, God is in the midst of them Others say that *panch* refers to the five classes of persons previously mentioned—those who walk according to God's will, who know Him to be true, who praise Him, who hear His name, and who obey Him

⁴ This is the interpretation of *ashaki* given by Bhai Chanda Singh in his commentary on the *Granth Sahib*

⁵ The elect have one God as their Guru or spiritual guide, and meditate on Him

But the Creator's works cannot be numbered
The bull *that is spoken of* is righteousness, the offspring of
mercy,

Which supported by patience maintaineth the order of
nature¹

Whoever understandeth this is a true man

What a load there is upon the bull !²

Beyond this earth there are more worlds, more and more

What power can support their weight ?

The names of living things, their species, and colours

Have all been written with a flowing pen

Doth any one know how to write an account of them ?

If the account were written, how great it would be !

What power and beautiful form are Thine, O God !

Who hath power³ to know how great Thy gifts are ?

By one word⁴ Thou didst effect the expansion of the world,

Whereby hundreds of thousands of rivers were produced

What power have I to describe Thee ?

So powerless am I, that I cannot even once be a sacrifice
unto Thee

Whatever pleaseth Thee is good

Thou, O Formless One, art ever secure.

XVII

Numberless thy worshippers,⁵ and numberless Thy lovers ,
Numberless Thine adorers, and numberless they who
perform austerities for Thee ,

Numberless the reciters of sacred books and Veds ,

¹ *Sut*, the thread on which the world is strung The Guru means
by patience the adjusted balance of the world, everything being in
equipoise

² Here Guru Nanak obviously rejects the Hindu story that the earth
is supported by a bull

³ We understand *that* as the Arabic *la-mawt* If *that* be held to mean
food, a meaning which the word so pronounced also bears in Arabic,
the verse will be translated—Who knoweth the extent of Thy gifts of
sustenance ?

⁴ The Hindus believe this is *Ate aham, kahu gaur*, I am one, let
Me become many

⁵ Literally—repetitions of God's name Here the word is used by
metonymy for those who repeat God's name

Numberless Thy Jogs whose hearts are indifferent to the world ,

Numberless the saints who ponder on Thine attributes and divine knowledge ,

Numberless Thy true men , numberless Thine almsgivers ,
Numberless Thy heroes who face the steel of their enemies ,

Numberless Thy silent worshippers who lovingly fix their thoughts upon Thee

What power have I to describe Thee ?

So lowly am I, that I cannot even once be a sacrifice unto Thee

Whatever pleaseth Thee is good

O Formless One, Thou art ever secure

XVIII

Numberless are the fools appallingly blind ,

Numberless are the thieves and devourers of others' property ,

Numberless those who establish their sovereignty by force ,¹

Numberless the cut-throats and murderers ,

Numberless the sinners who *pride th masters on* committing sin ,

Numberless the liars who roam about lying ,

Numberless the filthy ² who enjoy filthy gain

Numberless the slanderers who carry loads of calumny on their heads

Nanak thus describeth the degraded

So lowly am I, I cannot even once be a sacrifice unto Thee

Whatever pleaseth Thee is good

O Formless One, Thou art ever secure

¹ Also translated—Numberless are those who issue oppressive orders

² *Malekk* Whose deares are filthy, and who are deemed the lowest of the low, complete outcasts. In the Guru's time the word *malekk* was applied by Hindus as a term of opprobrium to Maham-madans. The Hindus still apply it to all who are not of their own persuasion

XIX

Numberless *Thy* names, and numberless *Thy* places
 Completely beyond reach are *Thy* numberless worlds
 Numberless they who repeat *Thy* name with all the
 strength of their intellects¹

By letters ² we repeat *Thy* name, by letter we praise Thee ,
 By letters we acquire divine knowledge, and sing *Thy*
 praises and *Thine* attributes ,

By letters we write and utter the word ³ of *God* ,
 By the letters recorded on man's head his destiny is declared
 He who inscribeth them on others, beareth them not on
 His own head

As He ordaineth, so shall man obtain
 As great *Thy* creation, O *God*, so great is *Thy* fame
 There is no place without *Thy* name
 What power have I to describe Thee ?
 So lowly am I, that I cannot even once be a sacrifice unto
 Thee

Whatever pleaseth Thee is good
 O Formless One, Thou art ever secure

XX

When the hands, feet, and other members of the body are
 covered with filth,

It is removed by washing with water

When thy clothes are polluted,

Apply soap, and the impurity shall be washed away

So when the mind is defiled by sin,

It is cleansed by the love ⁴ of the Name

Men do not become saints or sinners by merely calling
 themselves so

¹ Also translated—

(a) With their bodies reversed, that is, standing on their heads, a
 form of religious austerity practised in India

(b) They who try to describe Thee shall have to carry loads of
 sin on their heads

² Letters here appear to mean sacred literature

³ *Has* generally means custom. Here it is understood to be used
 for *Idm*, a word

⁴ Water in which the dye of the Name has been dissolved

The recording angels take with them a record of man's acts

It is he himself soweth and he himself eateth
Nanak, man suffereth transmigration by God's order

XXI

Pilgrimage, austerities, mercy, and almsgiving on general and special occasions

Whosoever performeth, may obtain some little honour,

But he who heareth and obeyeth and loveth God in his heart,

Shall wash off his impurity in the place of pilgrimage within him

All virtues are Thine, O Lord, none are mine

There is no devotion without virtue

From the Self-existent *proceeded* Maya (ātmā), whence issued a word which produced Brahma and the rest ¹—

Thou art true, Thou art beautiful, there is ever pleasure in Thy heart ²

What the time, what the epoch, what the lunar day, and what the week-day

What the season, and what the month when the world was created,

The Pandits did not discover, had they done so, they would have recorded it in the Purāṇs

Nor did the Qaṣṣ³ discover it, had they done so, they would have recorded it in the Qurān

Neither the Jog nor any other mortal knows the lunar day, or the week-day, or the season, or the month

Only the Creator who fashioned the world knoweth *when He did so*

How shall I address Thee, O God? how shall I praise Thee? how shall I describe Thee? and how shall I know Thee?

¹ The verse is also translated—'Blessing on Thee! is said to have been the first salutation that Brahma addressed Thee'

² Guru Nānak means, the scribes who reduced the Qurān to writing

Saith Nanak, everybody speaketh of Thee, one wiser than another

Great is the Lord, great is His name , what He doeth cometh to pass

Nanak, he who is proud shall not be honoured on his arrival in the next world

XXII

There are hundreds of thousands of nether and upper regions

Men have grown weary at last of searching for God's limits , the Veds say one thing, *that God has no limit*¹

The thousands of Purans² and Muhammadan books tell that in reality there is but one principle³

If God can be described by writing, then describe Him , *but* such description is impossible

O Nanak, call Him great , only He Himself knoweth how great He is

XXIII

Prayers praise God, but have not acquired a knowledge of Him,

As rivers and streams fall into the sea, but know not its *extent*

Kings and emperors who possess oceans and mountains of property and wealth,⁴

Are not equal to the worm which forgetteth not God in its heart

¹ The verse is also translated—The Veds have at last grown weary of searching for God's limits but they cannot give the slightest description of Him

² There being only eighteen Purans, the expression in the text means a thousand times eighteen or an indefinite number. The word *ashwars* is also understood by the gylms to refer to rikhs and learned men in indefinite numbers

³ That is, that God is the root or principle of all things

⁴ Also translated—As the sea is the king of streams, so is God the monarch of all. They who possess mountainous wealth, &c

XXIV

There is no limit to God's praises,¹ to those who repeat
them there is no limit

There is no limit to His mercy, and to His gifts there is no
limit

There is no limit to what God seeth, no limit to what He
heareth

The limit of the secret of His heart cannot be known

The limit of His creation cannot be known, neither His
near nor His far side can be discovered²

To know His limits how many vex their hearts³

His limits cannot be ascertained,

Nobody knoweth His limits

The more we say, the more *there remains* to be said

Great is the Lord, and exalted is His seat

His exalted name is higher than the most exalted

Were any one else ever so exalted,

Then he would know that exalted Being

How great He is He knoweth Himself

Nanak, God bestoweth gifts on whom *He* looketh with
favour and mercy

XXV

His many bounties⁴ cannot be recorded,

He is a great giver and hath not a particle of covetousness

How many, yea countless heroes beg of Him!

How many *others* whose number cannot be conceived!

How many pine away in sin!⁵

How many persons receive yet deny God's gifts!

How many fools there are who *merely* eat!

How many are ever dying in distress and hunger!

O Giver, these are also Thy gifts

¹ Also translated—There is no limit to the Praises One

² A metaphor taken from the banks of a river

³ *Būñā*, literally, cry in pain

⁴ *Karam*, in Sanskrit, is work, in Persian, kindness, favour, or bounty. The context seems to show that the latter is intended

⁵ Compare *Mas vohra vohra*, the mind is encompassed with sin
Guru Amar Das

Rebirth ¹ and deliverance depend on Thy will
 Nobody can interfere with it
 If any fool ² try to interfere with it
 He shall himself know the punishment he shall suffer
 God himself knoweth *to whom He may give*, and He Him-
 self giveth
 Very few acknowledge this
 He to whom God hath given the boon of praying and
 lauding Him,
 O Nanak, is the King of kings ³

XXVI

Priceless are Thine attributes, O God, and priceless Thy
 dealings, ⁴
 Priceless Thy dealers, priceless Thy storehouses,
 Priceless what cometh from Thee, and priceless what is
 taken away,
 Priceless Thy rate and priceless the time *for dealing*, ⁵
 Priceless Thy justice and priceless Thy court,
 Priceless Thy weights and priceless Thy measures, ⁶
 Priceless Thy gifts and priceless Thy marks,
 Priceless Thy mercy, and priceless Thine ordinances
 How beyond all price *Thou art* cannot be stated
 Ever speaking of Thee men continue to fix their thoughts
 on Thee ⁷

¹ *Band*, to be enclosed in a mass

² *Ahool*. This word is also found in the *Sri Rag Is War*, Slok 2 -
sho nahe Ahool, there is no place for the fool

³ Also translated—

To them few, O Nanak, the King of kings
 Giveth the boon of praying and lauding Him

⁴ In the true Name

⁵ Also translated—Priceless is Thy love, and priceless they who
 are absorbed in it

⁶ We read *pramen* for *parman*. If the latter be read, the translation
 will be—Priceless Thy weights and priceless Thine acceptance of
 mortals. A third translation is—Priceless Thy scale and priceless
 Thy weights

⁷ Also translated—Repeating *that Thou art priceless*, men continue
 to fix their attention on Thee

They who read the Veds and Purans speak of Thee ,
 Learned men speak of Thee and deliver discourses on Thee ,
 Brahmas speak of Thee, and Indars speak of Thee ,
 The milkmaids and Krishan speak of Thee
 Shivs speak of Thee, the Sudhs speak of Thee ,
 All the Budhas Thou hast created speak of Thee ,
 The demons speak of Thee, the gods speak of Thee ,
 Thy demigods, men, munis,¹ and servants speak of Thee ,
 How many speak of Thee or attempt to speak of Thee !
 How many depart while speaking of Thee !
 If Thou wert to create as many more as Thou hast created,
 Even then few of them would be able to speak *adequately*
of Thee
 Thou mayest be as great as Thou pleasest
 Nanak, only the True One Himself knoweth how great
 He is
 If any one were to speak improperly of God,
 Write him down as the most ignorant of men

XXVII

What is that gate what is that mansion where Thou,
O God, sittest and watchest over all things ?
 How many various and countless instruments are played !
 How many musicians,
 How many musical measures with their consort, and
 how many singers sing Thee !
 Wind, water, and fire sing Thee , Dharmraj sings at Thy
 gate
 The recording angels,² who know how to write, and on
 whose record Dharmraj judgeth sing Thee
 Ishar,³ Brahma, and Devi, ever beautiful as adorned by
 Thee, sing Thee

¹ Inspired saints who are popularly supposed to have attained divine nature

² *Chitr* and *Gupt* *Chitr* means visible *Gupt* invisible According to the Sikhs, *Chitr* records man's overt acts, *Gupt* the designs of his heart Both then report to Dharmraj In Sanskrit literature *Chitragupt* is one person, the recorder of Yama

³ A title of Shiva

Indar seated on his throne with the gods at Thy gate
sing Thee

Sidhs in meditation sing Thee, holy men in contempla-
tion sing Thee

The continent, the true, and the patient sing Thee un-
yielding heroes sing Thee

The pandits and the supreme Rikhs,¹ reading their Veds,
sing Thee in every age

The lovely *celestial maid* who beguile the heart in the
upper, middle, and nether regions sing Thee²

The jewels created by Thee with the sixty-eight places
of *Hindu* pilgrimage sing Thee

Mighty warriors and divine heroes sing Thee, the four
sources of life sing Thee

The continents, the worlds, and the universe made and
supported by Thy hands sing Thee

The saints who please Thee, and who are imbued with
Thy love³ sing Thee

The many others who sing Thee I cannot remember, how
could Nanak recount them?⁴

¹ There are said to be seven supreme Rikhs. The Veds were
written by Rikhs.

² Also translated—The lovely *celestial maid* who beguile the heart
sing Thee in the upper, and the fish in the lower regions.

³ *Rasak* is, literally, an abode of pleasure.

⁴ The following is offered as a free blank verse paraphrase of this
pauri —

What is that gate, that mansion what, where Thou
Dost sit and watch o'er all Thy wondrous works?
Many the harp and songs which tune Thy praise,
Yea countless, Thy musicians who can tell!
How many measures sung with high delight,
And voices which exalt Thy peerless name!
To Thee sing water, wind and breathing fire
To Thee sing Dharman in regions drear,
To Thee sing th' angels who men's deeds record
For judgement hail by that king of death
To Thee sing Shiva, Brahma, and the Queen
Of Heaven with radiant beauty ever crown'd
To Thee sing Indar and th' attendant gods
Around Thy throne and scrupled at Thy gate
To Thee sing Sidhs in meditation deep,
And holy men who ponder but on Thee

That God is ever true, He is the true Lord, and the true Name

He who made this world is and shall be , He shall neither depart, nor be made to depart ¹

He who created things of different colours, descriptions, and species,

Beholdeth His handiwork which attesteth His greatness

He will do what pleaseth Himself , no order may be issued to Him

He is King, the King of kings, O Nanak , *all remain subject to His will*

XXVIII ²

Make contentment and modesty thine earrings, self-respect thy wallet, meditation the ashes to *smear on thy body* ,

Make thy body, which is only a morsel for death, thy beggar's coat, and faith thy rule of life and thy staff ³

Make association with men thine *As Panth*,⁴ and the conquest of thy heart the conquest of the world

To Thee sing chaste and patient of mankind,
Unyielding heroes of true faith approved
To Thee sing pundits and the chiefs of sants ,
The ages four and Veda to them assigned
To Thee sing maidens who delight the sense
This world of ours, high heaven and hell below
To Thee sing gems from Vishnu's sea that rose,
And eight and forty spots of pilgrims' haunt
To Thee sing heroes and the men of might ,
The sources four from which all life doth spring
To Thee sing regions, ocea, and universe,
Created, cherish'd, and upheld by Thee ¹
To Thee sing those whose deeds delight Thine eye,
The hosts who wear the colours of Thy faith
All things beside which sing Thy glorious name,
Could ne'er be told by Nanak's lowly song

¹ Also translated—Creation shall depart, but not He who made it

² Thus and the following three pauris were composed by Guru Nanak after the Jogis had pressed him to adopt their dress and their religion

³ This verse is also translated—Make the chastening of thy body not yet wedded to death thy patched coat, and faith thy beggar's staff

⁴ A sect of Jogis

HAIL! ¹ HAIL TO HIM,

The primal, the pure,² without beginning, the indestructible, the same in every age.³

XXIX

Make divine knowledge thy food, compassion thy store-keeper, and the voice which is in every heart the pipe to call to *repast*.

Make Him who hath strung the whole world on His string thy spiritual Lord, let wealth and supernatural power be relishes for others.

Union and separation is the law which regulateth the world.⁴ By destiny we receive our portion.

HAIL! HAIL TO HIM,

The primal, the pure without beginning, the indestructible, the same in every age.¹

XXX

One Maya in union with God gave birth to three acceptable children.²

One of them is the creator, the second the provider, the third performeth the function of destroyer.³

As it pleaseth God, He directeth them by His order.

He beholdeth them, but is not seen by them. This is very marvellous.

HAIL! HAIL TO HIM,

The primal, the pure, without beginning, the indestructible the same in every age.¹

¹ *Adak*, the ordinary salutation of Japs. This word is derived from *adi*, primal and *ak* or *akhar*, God. Guru Nanak means that this salutation should only be offered to God.

² *Ami*—literally not of a blue colour as Krishna is represented.

³ Also translated—Incurable and incurable diseases strike men's actions.

⁴ *Chak*, literally, describes.

⁵ *Kar* may either mean absorption or reaper (*kar*). Both meanings convey the idea of destruction.

XXXI

His seat and His storehouses¹ are in every world
 What was to be put into them was put in at one time²
 The Creator beholdeth His creation
 Nanak, true is the work of the True One

HAIL ! HAIL TO HIM,

The primal, the pure, without beginning, the indestructible,
 the same in every age !

XXXII

Were one tongue to become a hundred thousand, and a
 hundred thousand to become twentyfold more,

I would utter the name of the one Lord of the world
 hundreds of thousands of times *with all my tongues*

In this way I should ascend the stairs of the Lord, and
 become one with Him

On hearing of the exultation of the religious the vile
 become jealous³

Nanak, *the former* have found the Kind One, while false is
 the boasting of the false

XXXIII

I have no strength to speak and no strength to be silent⁴

I have no strength to ask and no strength to give ,

I have no strength to live, and no strength to die ,

I have no strength to acquire empire or wealth which
 produce a commotion in the heart

I have no strength to meditate on Thee or ponder on
 divine knowledge ,

I have no strength *to find* the way to escape from the
 world

He in whose arm there is strength, may see what he
 can do

Nanak, no one is of superior or inferior strength before God

¹ To supply human necessities

² That is, before man is born, his portion is fully allotted him

³ Literally—on hearing matters connected with heaven worms grow
 jealous.

⁴ This hyperbole means that man has no strength to do anything
 without God's assistance

XXXIV

God created nights, seasons, lunar days, and week days,
 Wind, water, fire, and the nether regions
 In the midst of these He established the earth as a temple
 In it *He placed* living beings of different habits, and kinds
 Their names are various and endless,
 And they are judged according to their acts
 True is God, and true is His court
 There the elect are accepted and honoured
 The Merciful One marketh them according to their acts
 The bad and the good shall there be distinguished
 Nanak, on arrival there, thus shall be seen

XXXV

Such is the practice in the realm of righteousness
 I now describe the condition of the realm of knowledge
 How many winds, waters, and fires ¹ how many Krishans
 and Shivas ¹
 How many Brahmas ¹ who fashioned worlds ¹ how many
 forms, colours, and garbs ¹
 How many lands of grace *like this* ^{1 2} how many mountains ¹
 how many Dhruas and instructors ² such as his
 How many Indras, how many moons and suns, how many
 regions and countries ¹
 How many Sedhas, Budhas, how many Nathas ¹ how many
 goddesses and representations *of them* ¹
 How many demigods and demons ¹ how many saints,
 how many jewels and seas ¹
 How many sources of life ¹ how many languages ¹ and how
 many lines of kings ¹
 How many possessors of divine knowledge ¹ how many
 worshippers ¹ Nanak, there is no end of them

¹ The Hindus believe it was through the agency of Brahma God created the world

² Where men reap the results of their acts

³ Nīrad, who instructed Dhru to obtain his exalted dignity. Nīrad is said to have been a son of Brahma. His father advised him to marry, but he rejected his advice saying it was only proper to love Krishan. Father and son then began to curse each other with immoral and disastrous results for both. One of Nīrad's epithets is Strife-maker

XXXVI

In the realm of knowledge the light of divine knowledge
is resplendent

There are heard songs from which millions of joys and
pleasures proceed

Beauty is the attribute of the realm of happiness¹

There things are fashioned in an incomparable manner

What is done there cannot be described

Whoever endeavoureth to describe it shall afterwards
repent

There are fashioned knowledge, wisdom, intellect, and
understanding,

And there too is fashioned the skill of demigods and men
of supernatural power

XXXVII

Force is the attribute of the realm of action²

Incomparable are they who dwell thereon

There are very powerful warriors and heroes

They are filled with the might of Ram —

There are many Sitas³ in the midst of greatness,

Their beauty cannot be described—

They die not, neither are they led astray⁴

In whose hearts God dwelleth

There dwell congregations of saints,

They rejoice, the True One is in their hearts

God dwelleth in the true realm⁵

He looketh on its denizens with an eye of favour, and
rendereth them happy

There are continents, worlds, and universes

Whoever trieth to describethem shall never arrive at an end

¹ *Sharm khand* *Sharm* is here not the Persian *sharm*, shame, nor the Sanskrit *shram*, toil. It is the Sanskrit *sharma*, happiness. The verse is also translated—Beautiful are the words of those who have attained the realm of the happy

² That is, the world

³ *Sita* a name is apparently introduced here as she was the wife of Ram mentioned in the preceding line

⁴ *Na dhay jak*, literally—are not deceived

⁵ *Sach Khand*

There are worlds upon worlds and forms upon forms
 They fulfil their functions according to God's orders
 God beholding and contemplating them is pleased
 Nanak, to describe them would be impossible¹

XXXVIII

Make continence thy furnace, resignation thy goldsmith,
 Understanding thine anvil, divine knowledge thy tools,
 The fear of God thy bellows, austerities thy fire,
 Divine love thy crucible, and melt God's name therein
 In such a true mint the Word shall be coined
 Thus is the practice of those on whom God looketh with
 an eye of favour
 Nanak, the Kind One by a glance maketh them happy

SLOK.

The air is the guru, water our father, and the great earth
 our mother,

Day and night are our two nurses, male and female, who
 set the whole world a-playing²

Merits and demerits shall be read out in the presence of
 the Judge

According to men's acts, some shall be near, and others
 distant from God

They who have pondered on the Name and departed after
 the completion of their toil,³

Shall have their countenances made bright, O Nanak,
 how many shall be emancipated in company with them !⁴

¹ Literally—would be as hard as iron

² Here the denizens of the world are likened to children. Their father is said to be water, the human sperm, the earth like a mother affords them nutriment, day supplies them with occupation, the night bids them to rest, and the breath of the Guru imparts divine instruction

In the East it is usual for the rich to have two nurses for a child—a female nurse by night, and a male nurse to accompany and play with it by day

³ The worship of God and the necessity of labour for one's livelihood are essentially Sikh principles.

⁴ This slok is generally believed to be the composition of Guru Angad

ASA KI WAR¹

THERE is but one God whose name is true, the Creator,
devoid of fear and enmity, immortal, unborn, self-existent,
great and beneficent

GURU HAR GORIND

This *War* includes *sloks*. The *sloks* also were written by
the first Guru, and should be sung to the air of 'Tunda
As Raja.'²

SLOK I

Guru Nanak

I am a sacrifice to my Guru a hundred times a day,
Who without any delay made demagods out of men

Guru Angad

Were a hundred moons to rise, and a thousand suns to
mount *the sky*,

Even with such light there would be appalling darkness
without the Guru

Guru Nanak

Nanak, they who very clever in their own estimation
think not of the Guru,

Shall be left like spurious sesames in a reaped field

¹ The word *War* originally meant a charge for the brave slain in battle, then it meant any song of praise, and in this collection it means God's praises generally. *Wārs* were composed in stanzas called *paurs*, literally ladders, which were sung or chanted by professional minstrels.

The *Asa ki War* is repeated by religious Sikhs after the *Jappi* as a morning divine service.

² Asa, son of Churbar, was a holy prince against whom a false charge had been preferred by his lascivious stepmother, which led to his hands and feet being cut off as punishment. One of the many Oriental versions of the story of Potiphar's wife.

They shall be left in the field, saith Nanak, without an owner

The wretches may even bear fruit and flower, but they shall be as ashes within their bodies

PAURI I¹

God Himself created the world and Himself gave names to things

He made Maya² by His power, seated He beheld His work with delight

O Creator, Thou art the Giver, being pleased Thou bestowest and practisest kindness

Thou knowest all things, Thou givest and takest life with a word³

Seated Thou didst behold Thy work with delight

SLOK II

Guru Nanak

True are Thy regions and true Thy universes,

True Thy worlds and true Thy creation,

True Thine acts and all Thy thoughts,

True Thine order and true Thy court,

True Thy command and true Thy behest,

True Thy favour and true Thy signs

Hundreds of thousands and millions declare Thee true,

True is all Thy power, true all Thy strength,

True Thy praises, true Thy eulogies,

True Thy might, O true King

Nanak, true are they who meditate on the True One

They who are born and die are the falsest of the false⁴

¹ The *paurs* in this collection are all by Guru Nanak, so in the original his name is omitted at their head

² In Sanskrit literature, *Māya* is styled *anādī*, without a beginning, hence uncreated, but this is not the doctrine of the Gurus. To believe that God did not create *Māya* would be to believe in a limitation of His power

³ Also translated—Thou givest and takest life from the body

⁴ *Kach* is here used as the correlative of *sach*, true

*Gurm Nanak*¹

Great is His glory whose name is great ,
 Great is His glory whose justice is true ,
 Great is His glory whose seat is immovable ,
 Great is His glory who understandeth *our* utterances ,
 Great is His greatness who knoweth all our feelings ,
 Great is His glory who giveth without consulting *others* ,
 Great is His glory who is all in all Himself
 Nanak, His acts cannot be described
 All that He did and hath to do dependeth on His own
 will

Guru Angad

This world is the True One's chamber , the True One's
 dwelling is therein
 Some by His order He absorbeth in *Himself* , others by
 His order He destroyeth²
 Some at His pleasure He withdraweth from *mammon* ,
 others *He* causeth to abide therein
 It cannot be even told whom He will regenerate
 Nanak, he to whom God revealeth Himself, is known as
 holy

PAURI II

Nanak, God having created animals recorded their names,
 and appointed Dharmraj to judge *their* acts
 At His own court the real truth is adjudged, He separateth
 and removeth those who are attached to *mammon*
 There the false find no place they go to hell with blackened
 faces
 They who are imbued with Thy name win , the de-
 ceivers lose
 God recorded names and appointed Dharmraj to record
 acts

¹ In the original, *Mihala I* It is so written to mark the distinction
 between the preceding verses, which are *shloks*, and the following
 verses, which are in a different measure

² By separating from Himself

SLOK. III

Guru Nanak

Wonderful Thy word, wonderful Thy knowledge,
 Wonderful Thy creatures, wonderful their species,
 Wonderful their forms, wonderful their colours,
 Wonderful the animals which wander naked,
 Wonderful Thy wind, wonderful Thy water,
 Wonderful Thy fire which sporteth wondrously,
 Wonderful the earth, wonderful the sources of production
 Wonderful the pleasures to which mortals are attached
 Wonderful is meeting, wonderful parting *from Thee*
 Wonderful is hunger, wonderful repletion,
 Wonderful Thy praises, wonderful Thy eulogies,
 Wonderful the desert, wonderful the road,
 Wonderful Thy nearness, wonderful Thy remoteness,
 Wonderful to behold Thee present
 Beholding these wonderful things I remain wondering
 Nanak, they who understand them are supremely
 fortunate

Guru Nanak

By Thy power we see, by Thy power we hear, by Thy power we fear, *or enjoy* the highest happiness,

By Thy power *were made* the nether regions and the heavens, by Thy power all creation,

By Thy power *were produced* the Veda, the Purana, the *Muhammadian* books, and by Thy power all compositions,

By Thy power we eat, drink, and clothe ourselves by Thy power *springs forth* all affection,

By Thy power are the species, genera, and colour of *creatures*, by Thy power are the animals of the world¹

By Thy power are virtues, by Thy power are vices by Thy power, honour and dishonour,²

¹ Also translated—By Thy power we created animals and man's male nature

² *Man ashudh*. The latter word is for *ashudh* as so often in the Granth Sahib. Compare *man ashudh madhi se narak nahin*, He who hath regard for honour or dishonour is not a holy man

By Thy power are wind, water, and fire , by Thy power is the earth

Everything existeth by Thy power , Thou art the omnipotent Creator , Thy name is the holiest of the holy

Sath Nanak, Thou beholdest and pervadest *all things* subject to Thy command *Thou art* altogether unrivalled

PAURI III

Man having enjoyed himself becometh ashes, and the soul passeth away

However great and wealthy a man may be, *the ministers of Death* throw a chain on his neck and take him away

There an account of his acts is read , *the Judge* on his seat taketh the account and passeth sentence

Such a man shall find no place of *shelter* , when he is beaten, who will hear his cries ?

Man, blind that thou art, thou hast wasted thy life

SLOK. IV

Guru Nanak

In fear ¹ the winds and breezes ever blow ,

In fear flow hundreds of thousands of rivers ,

In fear fire performeth its forced labour ,

In fear the earth is pressed by its burden ,

In fear Indar moveth headlong in fear *sitteth* Dharmraj at God's gate ,

In fear is the sun, in fear the moon , they travel millions of miles without end ,

In fear are the Siddhs, the Budhas, the demigods, and the Naths , in fear are the stars ² and the firmament ,

In fear are wrestlers, very mighty men and divine heroes ,

In fear cargoes of men come and go

God hath destined fear for every one , ³ Nanak the Formless One, the True, is alone without fear

¹ The fear of God is, of course, meant

² *Adars*, from the Sanskrit *adarsam* The phrase is also translated—In fear is the firmament extended

³ Literally—God hath written the destiny of fear on the heads of all

Guru Nanak

Nanak, the Formless One is without fear, all the Rāms were dust

How many stones there are of Krishan¹ how many Veds and religious compositions²

How many beggars dance, and fall, and again beat time !
Actors enter the market-place and draw forth their appliances,³

Kings and queens sing and utter nonsense,⁴
They wear earrings worth hundreds of thousands, and necklaces worth hundreds of thousands⁵

The body on which they are worn, O Nanak, shall become ashes

Divine knowledge is not sought in mere words, to speak concerning it were as hard as iron,

By God's grace man obtaineth it, skill and orders are useless *therefor*

PAURI IV

If the Kind One look with kindness, then is the true Guru obtained

The soul hath wandered through many births, and now the true Guru hath communicated the Word

There is no benefactor so great as the true Guru hear this, all ye people

By meeting the true Guru who hath removed pride from his heart, and who preacheth the Truest of the true

The True One is obtained

SLOK V

Let all the gharis be your milkmaids, and the pahars your Krishans and Gopals⁶

Let wind, water, and fire be your jewels, and the moon and sun your avatars,

¹ Also translated—How many exposed the Veds !

² Also translated—draw a crowd around them This hymn purports to give a brief description of the miracle plays of Rām and Krishan

³ Literally—speak of the upper and lower regions
⁴ *Lakk lakhs* *Tals* is really a double pice, or about a halfpenny of English money, but in the plural it means money in general

⁵ *Gopals* are herdsmen among whom Krishan used to sport

The whole earth your *stage* properties and vessels, which are all entanglements

Nanak, they who are devoid of divine knowledge are robbed, the minister of death hath devoured them

Guru Nanak

The disciples play, the gurus dance,
Shake their feet, and roll their heads.
Dust flieth and falleth on their hair,¹

The audience beholding laugh and go home
For the sake of food *the performers* beat time,
And dash themselves on the ground

The milkmaids sing, Krishans sing,

Sitas and royal Rams sing

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.

Pleasant² is the night for those who long for Him in their hearts

By the Guru's instruction to his disciples this knowledge is obtained,

That the Kind One saveth *those on whom He looketh* with favour

Oil-presses, spinning-wheels, hand-mills, potters' wheels,
Plates, whirlwinds, many and endless,

Tops, churning-staves, threshing-frames turn round,

Birds tumble and take no breath

Men put animals on stakes and whirl them

O Nanak, the tumblers are innumerable and endless

In the same way those bound in entanglements are swung round,

Every one danceth according to his own acts—

They who dance and laugh shall weep on their departure,

¹ *Jhūt* is a woman's head of hair. The actors, who in India are generally all men, wear female wigs

² *Bhām*. Literally—dewy, when the atmosphere is calm and the heat not excessive

They cannot fly or obtain supernatural power
 Leaping and dancing are human recreations,
 Nanak, they who have the fear of God in their hearts
 have also love

PAURI V

Thy name is the Formless by repeating it man goeth not
 to hell

The soul and body are all Thine what Thou givest man
 eateth to say *ought else were* waste of words

O man, if thou desire thine advantage, do good acts and be
 lowly

Even though thou stave off old age, it shall come to thee
 in the disguise of death

None may remain when his measure is full

SLOK VI

The Musalmans praise the Shanai, read it, and reflect
 on it,

But God's servants are they who employ themselves in
 His service in order to behold Him

The Hindus praise the Praised One whose appearance
 and form are incomparable,

They bathe in holy streams, *perform* idol-worship and
 adoration, use ¹ *copious* incense of sandal

The Jogs meditate on God the Creator, whom they call
 the Unseen,

Whose form is minute, whose name is the Bright One,
 and who is the image of their bodies ²

In the minds of the generous contentment is produced
 in their desire to give

Others give, but ask a thousandfold more *and still want*
 the world to honour them

If *by mention* thieves, adulterers, perjurers, evil and sinful
 men ³

¹ Some suppose *har* to be a noun meaning the lines Hindus draw
 on the ground to enclose cooking-places, within which others are not
 admitted

² The Jogs, when in intensely deep meditation, close their eyes.
 On opening them and looking upward they suppose that they behold
 God in their own image in the firmament

Many depart from here after eating what they had amassed in *previous births*,¹ shall they have any business whatever in *the next world*?²

The animals which live in the water, dry land, the fourteen worlds, and all creation—

What they say Thou alone knowest, for them too Thou carest

Saikh Nanak, the saints hunger to praise Thee, the true Name is *their* support

In everlasting joy they abide day and night may I obtain the dust of the feet of such virtuous men³

Guru Nanak and Shaikh Brahm discussed the question of the disposal of the dead. The Shaikh maintained that a man who was burned would either go to hell or not rise at the day of judgement

Guru Nanak

The ashes of the Musalman fall into the potter's clod,
Vessels and bricks are fashioned from them, they cry out
as they burn

The poor ashes burn and weep, and sparks fly from them
Nanak, the Creator who made the world, knoweth whether
it is better to be burned or buried

PAURI VI

Without the true Guru none hath found God without
the true Guru none hath found God

God hath put Himself into the true Guru, He hath made
manifest and proclaimed this

Salvation is ever obtained by meeting the true Guru who
hath banished worldly love from within him

Best are the meditations of him who hath fixed his mind
on the True One

He hath found the Giver of life to the world

¹ And have done nothing meritorious in this birth

² This verse is also translated—Many depart from here after spending what they possessed, had they any other business in *this* world?

SLOK VII

In pride man cometh, in pride he departeth
 In pride is man born, in pride he dieth ,
 In pride he giveth, in pride he taketh ,
 In pride he earneth, in pride he spendeth ,
 In pride man becometh true or false ,
 In pride man meditateth evil or good
 In pride he goeth to hell or heaven ,
 In pride he rejoiceth, in pride he mourneth ,
 In pride he becometh filthy, in pride he is cleansed ,
 In pride man loseth his caste and race ,
 In pride are the ignorant, in pride the clever ,
In pride one knoweth not the value of deliverance or
salvation ,
 In pride is mammon and in pride its effect *on the heart* ,
 In pride are animals created
 When pride is removed, *God's gate is seen*
 Without divine knowledge man worketh himself by talking
 Nanak, the Commander hath thus ordained it ,
 As man regardeth *God*, so *God* regardeth him¹

Guru Angad

It is the nature of pride that it produceth pride
 This pride is a trammel which subjecteth man to repeated
 transmigration
 What is the origin of pride, and by what device shall it
 depart ?
 For pride it is ordained that man wanders according to
 his previous acts
 Pride is a chronic disease, but there is also a medicine
 for it in the heart
 If God bestow His grace, man shall avail himself of the
 Guru's instruction ,
 Saith Nanak, hear, O ye men, in this way trouble shall
 depart

¹ Also translated—

(a) Treat men according to their acts

(b) Treat others as thou wouldst be treated thyself

PAURI VII

They who have meditated on God as the truest of the true,
have done *real* worship and are contented,

They have refrained from evil,¹ done good deeds, and
practised honesty,

They have lived on a little corn and water, and burst the
entanglements of the world

Thou art the great Bestower, ever Thou givest gifts which
increase a quarterfold

They who have magnified the great God have found Him

SLOK VIII

Man, trees, the banks of sacred streams, clouds, fields,
Islands, peoples, countries, continents, the universe,
The sources of *production* from eggs, wombs, the earth,
and perspiration,

Lakes, mountains, animals—O Nanak, God knoweth their
condition

Nanak, God having created animals taketh care of them
all

The Creator who created the world hath to take thought
for it also

It is the same Creator who made the world who taketh
thought for it

To Him be obeisance, blessings be on Him! His court
is imperishable

Nanak, without the true Name what is a sacrificial mark?
what a sacrificial thread?

Guru Nanak

Man may perform hundreds of thousands of good acts
and deeds, hundreds of thousands of approved charities,

Hundreds of thousands of penances at sacred places,
sahaj jog² in the wilderness,

¹ Literally,—Have not put their feet into evil

² There are two forms of Jog or exercise for the union of the soul with God—*Sahaj jog* or *raiy jog* is the repetition of God's name with fixed attention and association with the holy, as contradistinguished from the *Aakh jog* of Patanjali, the severest and most painful form of a Jog's austerities

Hundreds of thousands of braveries, and part with his life
in the conflict of battle ,

He may study hundreds of thousands of Veds and works
of divine knowledge and meditation and read the Purans—

Nanak, these devices would be of no avail , true is the
mark of grace

The Creator who made the world hath desired trans-
migration

PAURI VIII

Thou alone art the true Lord who hath diffused the real
truth

He to whom Thou givest obtaineth truth and he then
practiseth it

Man obtaineth truth on meeting the true Guru in whose
heart the truth dwelleth

The fool knoweth not truth, and hath wasted his life
by obstinacy ,

Why hath he come into the world ?

SHLOK IX

Guru Nanak

A man may load carts with books he may load men
with books to take with him ,

Books may be put on boats , pots may be filled with them

A man may read books for months , he may read them for
years ,

He may read them for life , he may read them while he
hath breath—

Nanak, only one word, God's name, would be of account ,
all else would be the senseless discussion of pride

Guru Nanak

The more one readeth and writeth, the more is one tor-
mented ,

The more one wandereth on pilgrimages, the more one
babbleth ,

The more religious garb man weareth, the more dis-
comfort he causeth his body

Bear, O my soul, the *result* of thine own acts
 He who eateth not corn ¹ hath lost the relish of life
 Men suffer much pain through their attachment to
 mammon

They who wear not clothes suffer terribly day and
 night

Man ruineth himself by *perpetual* silence, how can he who
 sleepeth in ignorance be awakened without a guru

Even though man go barefooted, he must still suffer for
 his own acts ²

If a man eat filth, and put ashes on his head,
 The blind fool loveth respect, without the Name he
 obtaineth no *abiding* place

The ignorant man who dwelleth in the wilderness and at
 burial and cremation-grounds, knoweth not God and shall
 afterwards regret

He who meeteth the true Guru and loveth God's name in
 his heart, obtaineth comfort

Nanak he on whom God looketh with favour obtaineth
 Him

He becometh free from hopes and fears, and destroyeth
 his pride by means of the Word

PAURI IX

The saints, O Lord, please Thy heart, adorn Thy gate,
 and hymn Thy praises

Nanak they who are outside Thy favour, find no entrance
 and wander in *many* *births*

Some know not their origin, and have an excessive
 opinion of themselves

I am a sinner of low caste others call themselves of high
 caste

I only beg of those who meditate on Thee ³

¹ Several sages do not eat corn, some go naked, some practise
 perpetual silence, some go barefooted, some eat filth, &c

² The gurus generally translate—If a man go barefooted, he is
merely suffering for his folly

³ Also translated—I beg *for a sight* of those who meditate
 on Thee

SLOK. X

Guru Nanak

False are kings, false their subjects, false the whole world ,
False are mansions, false palaces, false those who dwell
therein ,

False is gold false silver false he who wareth them ,
False the body , false raiment , false peerless beauty ,
False husbands , false wives they waste away and
become dust

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

With whom contract friendship ? The whole world
passeth away

False is sweetness , false honey , in falsehood shiploads
are drowned

Nanak humbly asserteth—except Thee, O God, everything
is thoroughly false

Guru Nanak

Man is known as true when truth is in his heart ,
When the tith of falsehood departeth, man washeth his
body clean

Man is known as true when he beareth love to the
True One ,

When the mind is enraptured on hearing the Name,
man attaineth the door of salvation

Man shall be known as true when he knoweth the true
way ,

Having prepared the field of the body, put into it the seed
of the Creator

Man shall be known as true when he receiveth true
instruction

Let man show mercy to living things and perform some
works of charity

Man shall be known as true, when he dwelleth in the
pilgrimage of his heart ,

Let man after inquiry from the true Guru rest and abide
in his own heart,

Truth is the medicine for all it removeth and washeth
away sin

Nanak maketh supplication to those who are in possession
of truth

PAURI X

Be mine the gift of the dust of the saints' feet if I obtain
it, I shall apply it to my forehead

Forsake false covetousness, concentrate thy mind and
meditate on the Unseen One

Thou shalt obtain a reward in proportion to what thou hast
done

If it have been so allotted from the beginning, man shall
obtain the dust of the saints' feet

Run not thyself with scant service

SLOK XI

Guru Nanak

There is a dearth of truth, falsehood prevaleth, the
blackness of this age maketh men demons

They who have sown the seed of *the Name* have departed
with honour, how can half-seed germinate?

If the seed be whole, it will germinate in the proper
season

Nanak, unbleached cloth cannot be dyed without a base

If the body be put into the vat of fear, modesty be made
its base,

And it be dyed with devotion, O Nanak, there will not
be a trace of falsehood in it

Guru Nanak

Greed and sin are ruler and village accountant, falsehood
is master of the mint

Lust, his minister, summoneth and examineth men, and
sitteth in judgement on them

The subjects are blind and without divine knowledge, and
satisfy *the judge's* greed with bribes

Priests dance, play musical instruments disguise, and decorate themselves ,

They shout aloud, sing of battles, and heroes' praises

Fools call *themselves* pandits and with tricks and cavilling love to amass *wealth*

Pretended religious men spoil their religious acts, and yet want the door of salvation ,

They call themselves continent, and leave their houses and homes, yet they know not the way

Every one is perfect to himself no one admitteth himself wanting

If the weight of honour be put into the scale then, Nanak, man shall appear *properly* weighed

Guru Nanak

Man's evil becometh known O Nanak , the True One seeth *all*

Every one maketh endeavours, but it is *only* what the Creator doeth that taketh place

Caste hath no power in the next world there is a new *order* of beings

They whose accounts are honoured are the good

PAURI XI

They whom Thou didst so destine from the beginning meditate on *Thee*, O Lord

There is nothing in the power of creatures , O *God*, it is Thou who hast created the different worlds

Some Thou blendest with Thyself , others Thou leadest astray from Thee

Thou art known by the favour of the Guru, through whom Thou revealest Thyself

They who know Thee are easily absorbed in the True One

SLOK XII

Guru Nanak

Pain is medicine, *worldly* pleasure a disease , where there is such pleasure, there is no desire *for God*

Thou art the Doer, I do nothing , if I try to do anything, it cometh to nothing

I am a sacrifice unto Thee , Thou abidest in Thine omnipotence
Thine end cannot be seen

Thy light pervadeth creatures , creatures are contained
in Thy light Thou tildest inanimate and animate
creation ¹

Thou art the true Lord , beautiful is Thy praise , he who
uttereth it is saved

Nanak uttereth the words of the Creator , what is to be
done God continueth to do

Guru Angad

The Jogis deem it their duty to acquire divine knowledge,
the Brahmins to read the Veds,

The Khatrias to exercise bravery, the Sudars to work for
others ,

But the highest duty of all is to repeat the name of the one
God ²

He who knoweth the secret of this
Is a bright God himself, and Nanak is his slave

Guru Angad

There is one God, the God of all gods, the Supreme God
of souls

He who knoweth the secrets of the soul and of God,
Is a bright God himself, and Nanak is his slave

Guru Nanak

Water remaineth if confined in a vessel , but it cannot
remain without a vessel

The mind controlled by divine knowledge is restrained ,
but without a guru there can be no divine knowledge

¹ Also translated—Thy power (*Jaie*) is unconceivable (*s*, not, and
Jaie to know)

² Also translated—

The Jogis speak of divine knowledge, the Brahmins of the Veds ,
The Khatrias of bravery the Sudars of working for others
All that they speak is concerning the one God

PAURI XII

When the literate man is sinful *he deserveth punishment* ,
but punish not the illiterate saint

As man acteth so shall he be described

Play not such a game as shall bring thee defeat on arriving
at God's court

The literate and the illiterate shall be judged hereafter ,
The headstrong shall be punished in the next world

SLOK XIII

Guru Nanak

Nanak, this body of ours¹ hath one carriage and one
driver

They are both changed in every age the holy man
knoweth this

In the Sat age contentment was the carriage, piety the
driver in front ,

In the Treta age continence was the carriage, strength
the driver in front ,

In the Dwapar age penance was the carriage, truth the
driver in front ,

In the Kal age passion² is the carriage, falsehood the
driver in front

Guru Nanak

The Sam I *sa* saith that the Lord is white-robed³ that
men desired truth, abode in truth, and that all were
absorbed in truth

The Rig saith that God's name is everywhere contained,
that it is as the sun in heaven ,

That by repeating it sins depart,

¹ *Mere* is the large bead in which the two ends of a rosary are
joined, without which it is believed that prayers repeated on the rosary
are of no avail. *Mere shere* here means man's body, which is
superior to that of other animals

² *Ages* Literally—fire. This word is often used for wrath but Guru
Nanak has more often inveighed against avarice or covetousness than
against wrath, and perhaps it is the former that is taken as a special
attribute of this degenerate age

³ *Sakambar* The Hans or Swan avatâr

And that then, Nanak, man obtaineth salvation
 The Yajur stateth that Kan Kṛṣṇan, who was a Yādav,
 seduced Chandrawal ,

That he brought the tree of life for a milkmaid, and amused
 himself in Bṇdraban

The Atharv belongeth to the Kal age, when God's name
 was called Allah

Men then wore blue clothes, and the Turks and Pathans
 exercised sway

The four Vedas are true *according to the Hindus*, but if they
 are read and studied there *are found therein four different*
doctrines ,

When man hath love and devotion and is himself lowly,
 it is then, O Nanak, he obtaineth salvation

PAURI XIII

I am a sacrifice to the true Guru by meeting whom the
 Lord is remembered,

Who gave me the salve of divine instruction with these
 eyes I then beheld God in the world

The dealers who leave the Lord and attach themselves
 to mammon are wrecked

The true Guru is a boat few there are who consider this,
 And those *who do* he mercifully saveth

SLOK XIV

Guru Nanak

The sumal-tree of the desert is very tall and very thick
 Why should the birds which go to it with hopes depart
 disappointed ?

Because its fruit is insipid, its flowers unwholesome, and
 its leaves useless

The tree which yieldeth sweet fruit is lowly, O Nanak,
 but its qualities and virtues are exquisite

Every one boweth to himself, no one boweth to another

If anything be put into a scale and weighed, the side
 which descendeth is the heavier ¹

¹ The man who is lowly is the most worthy

The wicked man like a deer-stalker boweth twice *more*
than *any one else*

But what availeth bowing the head, if the heart be impure ?

The following hymn was composed by Guru Nanak at Banaras on the occasion of a discussion with the local *pandits* who pressed him to dress in the style of the Hindus —

Guru Nanak

You read books, perform your twilight devotions, argue,
worship stones, and sit like cranes,

You utter falsehoods as excellent jewels, you meditate
on the Gayatrī¹ three times a day,

You wear necklaces, put sacrificial marks on your fore-
heads, carry two *dhaks*, and put towels on your heads

If you know God's designs, you *would know that yours is*
verily a vain religion

Sarth Nanak, verily reflect that without the true Guru
you shall not find the way

Some suppose that the following was addressed to
Sultan Ibrahim Khan Lodi who it is believed at one
time sought to persecute the Guru —

PAURI XIV

Raiment and pleasing beauty man must leave on earth
and depart

Man shall obtain the *fruit* of the bad or good deeds he hath
done

He may have exercised sovereignty to his heart's content,
yet must he proceed by the narrow road

He shall be sent naked to hell, which will then appear
very formidable to him,

And he shall regret the sins he committed

The following slok, addressed by Guru Nanak to
pandit Hardial, his family priest, when he came to
invest him with a *janeu*, the sacrificial thread of the
upper classes of Hindus, has already been given —

¹ *Traptā* is understood to be for *trypada*, the *gāyatrī* or spell of the
Hindus.

SLOK XV

Make mercy thy cotton, contentment thy thread, continence its knot, truth its twist

That would make a janeu for the soul, if thou have it, O Brahman, then put it on me

It will not break, or become soiled, or be burned, or lost
Blest the man, O Nanak, who goeth with such a thread on his neck

Thou purchasest a janeu for four damris, and seated in a square puttest it on,

Thou whasperest instruction that the Brahman is the guru of the Hindus—

Man dieth, the janeu falleth, and the soul departeth without it

Guru Nanak

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

For the ceremony they kill a goat and cook and eat it, and everybody then saith 'Put on the janeu'

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

Nanak, the string breaketh not if it be strong

Guru Nanak

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

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

Guru Nanak

There is no string for the sexual organs, there is no string for women,

There is no string for the impure acts which cause your beards to be daily spat upon

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 astray,
Twisteth strings *for the neck*, and putteth them on others
He taketh hire for marrying ,

He pulleth out a paper, and showeth the fate of *the wedded pair*¹

Hear and see, ye people, it is strange
That, while mentally blind, man is named wise

PAURI XV

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

A man at Lahore presented a cow to a Brahman. The Brahman took her with him, but had not wherewithal to pay toll at the Sultanpur ferry. He was stopped by the Khatri toll-keeper. The latter collected the cow's dung, and at once set about plastering his cooking-place therewith. Mardana went towards him, but was ordered off, lest he should defile the toll-keeper's cooking-place. Upon this Guru Nanak uttered the following —

SLOK XVI

Thou takest toll for a cow and a Brahman, the cow-dung will not save thee

Thou wearest a dhoti² and a frontal mark, and carnest a rosary, yet thou eatest the bread of malerchhas

¹ That is, he draws a horoscope

² *Dhoti* is a cloth tied round the loins, the Sans. *saṅghaṭṭanam*

Thou performest the Hindu worship at home, thou readest the Quran *in public*, and associatest with Muhammadans,¹ O my brother

Lay aside hypocrisy, repeat God's name, and thou shalt be saved

Guru Nanak

They who have strings on their necks eat men, recite the Muhammadan prayers,

And use knives to cut men's throats²

Although the Brahmans sound shells in their houses,

And enjoy their viands as they do themselves,³

Yet false is their capital and false their dealings

By uttering falsehood they maintain themselves

Far from them is the abode of bashfulness and honesty

Nanak, falsehood everywhere prevaleth

On their foreheads are sacrificial marks, on their waists reddish⁴ dhots,

And in their hands knives, they are the world's butchers

Putting on blue clothes, they are acceptable in the Muhammadans' court,

And, while taking bread from the maulvihas, worship the Purans

They eat he-goats killed with unspeakable words,⁵

And allow no one to enter their cooking squares

Having smeared a space they draw lines around it,

And sit within, false that they are,

Saying, 'Touch not' O touch not'

'Or this food of ours will be defiled'

But their bodies are defiled, what they do is defiled.

¹ Also translated—Thou actest like Muhammadans

² Also translated—They who read prayers devour men, and they who wear strings on their necks ply knives

³ According to the holy books of the Hindus, Brahmans should not eat in the houses of men who recite Muhammadan prayers

⁴ *Kadda*, reddish, or partially soiled from frequent washing. The word is also applied to the tucking in of a *dhot* in a particular way

⁵ The Muhammadan expression *Bismillah* (in the name of God), used when slaughtering animals as well as on other occasions. It is, of course, unacceptable to Hindus

Their hearts are false while they perform ablutions *after their meals*

Saith Nanak meditate on the True One,
If thou art pure, thou shalt obtain Him

PAGH XVI

All are within Thy ken, O Lord, Thou seest all, and Thou movest them beneath Thy glance

God himself bestoweth greatness, He Himself causeth men to do good works

He is the greatest of the great, great is His world, He appointeth *all men* to their respective duties

If He cast a backward glance, He maketh monarchs as grass,¹

They may beg from door to door and receive no alms

Guru Nanak composed the following slok on being invited by a dishonest shopkeeper to attend a *shradh*, or religious service, for his deceased father —

SLOK XVII

If a robber break a house and sacrifice the fruits of that robbery to his ancestors,

The sacrifice shall be known in the next world, and make out the ancestors to be thieves

The hand of the *Brahman* go-between shall be cut off, thus will God do justice

Nanak, it is only the fruit of what man giveth from his earnings and toil that shall be obtained in the next world

Guru Nanak

As a woman hath her recurring courses, so falsehood dwelleth in the mouth of the false one and he is ever despised

He should not be called pure who sitteth and washeth his body,

Rather is he pure, Nanak, in whose heart God dwelleth

¹ *Grass* Generally translated 'grass-cutters' by the gurmats a third interpretation too is current. In former times men of position appeared before conquerors with grass in their mouths, implying that they were the conquerors' cows whose lives should be saved. Accordingly, the phrase is also translated—and He would cause kings to put grass in their mouths

PAURI XVII

Caparazoned horses fleet as the wind and women adorned with every aid to beauty¹—

Men fix their hearts on them, dwell in mansions, pavilions and palaces, and make display,

They enjoy pleasures to their hearts' content, but they know not God and therefore fail

They live by their authority, and, beholding their women's chambers, forget death,

But old age shall come and youth fail them

A rich man gave a feast to which Guru Nanak and several Brahmans were invited. During the feast a child was born in the house, whereupon the Brahmans refused food and departed, deeming the house impure. Guru Nanak remonstrated with the following —

SLOK XVIII

If the idea of impurity be admitted, there is impurity in everything

There are worms in cow-dung² and in wood,

There is no grain of corn without life

In the first place, there is life in water by which everything is made green

How shall we avoid impurity? It falleth on our kitchens

Sarth Nanak impurity is not thus washed away — it is washed away by divine knowledge³

Guru Nanak

Impurity of the heart is greed, impurity of the tongue is falsehood,

Impurity of the eyes is gazing on another's wealth, his wife, and her beauty,

Impurity of the ears is listening to slander

¹ *Har rangi* Literally—with every colour

² In India cow dung, besides being used for religious purposes, is ordinarily used as fuel by poor people

³ In the current *Janamsūktas* it is stated that this slok was composed on the proposed purification of the Guru's house after the birth of his son, Sri Chand

Nanak, even the *pretended* saint who *practiseth* such things,
shall go bound to hell

All impurity consisteth in superstition and attachment
to worldly things

Birth and death are ordained , as it pleaseth God, we come
and go

The eating and drinking which God sent as sustenance
are pure

Nanak, the pious persons who know God have no
impurity

PAGRI XVIII

Magnify and praise the True Guru in whom there is all
greatness

If the Guru cause us to meet God, we shall behold *His*
greatness

If it please *the* Guru, he will cause God's *promises* to dwell
in the heart

He putteth his hand on our foreheads , and when he
giveth the order, removeth evil from within us

When God is pleased the nine treasures are obtained

STOK XIX

The Brahman having first purified himself sitteth in a
purified *square*

The purified food is placed before him , no one may
touch it

Being thus purified, he beginneth to eat and read Sanskrit
verses

If it is thrown into a filthy place , whose fault is that ?

The corn was holy, the water was holy, the fire and salt
were holy , when the fifth *ingredient*, *gha*,¹ was added,

Then the food became holy

When the food entereth a sinful body, it *becometh impure*
as if spat upon

The mouth which uttereth not the Name, and eateth *even*
delicacies without the Name,

Consider, O Nanak as if spat upon

¹ Clarified butter, always deemed pure by Hindus and hundred sects

The following was Guru Nanak's remonstrance to a man who reviled the female sex —

Guru Nanak

In a vessel¹ man is conceived, from a vessel he is born,
with a vessel he is betrothed and married

With a vessel he contracteth friendship, with a vessel
he goeth through the world

When one vessel dieth, another is sought for, to a vessel
he is bound

Why call her bad from whom are born kings?

From a vessel a vessel is born, none may exist without
a vessel

Nanak, only the one True God is independent of a vessel

The mouth which ever praiseth *Him*² is fortunate and
beautiful

Nanak, that face shall be bright in the court of the True
One

PAURI XIX

Every one calleth Thee his own, O Lord, those who do
not so call Thee Thou puttest away

Every one *must bear the result of his own acts*, and adjust
his own account

Since ye are not to remain in this world, why practise
ye pride?

Call no one bad, know this by reading these words

Dispute not with a fool

SLOK XX

Nanak, the mind and body of him who talketh evil are
evil

He is most evil, and most evil is his reputation

The evil person is rejected in God's court, his face is
spat upon

The evil person is a fool, and receiveth shoe-beatings as
punishment

¹ Woman is meant. The Greeks sometimes used the word *vessel* in the same sense.

² Some suppose that *woman* is the meaning word here, as the preceding part of the slok is a defence of women, not a eulogy of God.

Guru Nanak

If a man, foul within and fair without, puff himself up
in the world,

His filth will not depart even though he bathe at the sixty-
eight places of pilgrimage

They who wear silk within and rags without, are good
in this world

They have conceived love for God and contemplate
beholding Him

In God's love they weep, in God's love they laugh, or are
even silent

They care not for anything except the true Master

They beg for food at God's door, and *only* eat when He
giveth it to them

For them there is but one court as there is but one pen,¹
we and you shall meet for justice

The accounts of *the wicked* shall be examined in God's court,
and they shall be pressed, O Nanak, like oil in a mill²

PAURI XX

Thou Thyself didst create the world, and Thou Thyself
didst infuse power into it

Thou beholdest Thine own work, the losing and winning
dice³ upon earth

Whatever hath come shall depart, his turn shall come to
every one

Why forget that Lord who owneth life and soul

With thine own hands arrange thine own affairs

¹ That is, there is no mediator between God and man. It is God Himself who decides man's fate.

² This with half the last line is also translated—They who confound *name* and *house* shall have their accounts examined in God's court, and shall be pressed, O Nanak, like oil in a mill.

³ That is, the sinners and the virtuous. The game of *chatur* or *chatur* is played with sixteen pieces, called *sarr*, and three dice, called *path*. The *sarr* while being moved round the board, like creatures in transmigration, are called *huk* unripe, when they reach their goal, they are called *path*, or ripe.

SLOK XXI

Guru Angad

What love is that which attacheth itself to worldly things ?

Nanak, call him a lover who is ever absorbed in God

He who deemeth what is good good, and what is bad bad,

Shall not be called a true lover if he proceed in this manner¹

Guru Angad

He who offereth salvation and at the same time criticiseth God's works, hath made a mistake from the beginning

Both his *salvation* and *criticism* are in vain, Nanak, such a person shall not obtain a place in God's court

PAURI XXI

Ever remember that Lord by worshipping whom thou shalt find happiness

Why hast thou done such evil deeds as thou shalt suffer for ?

Do absolutely nothing evil, look well before thee,

So throw the dice that thou mayest not lose with the Lord,

Nay, that thou mayest gain some profit

SLOK XXII

Guru Angad

When a servant while performing service is proud and quarrelsome besides,

And talketh too much, he pleaseth not his master

If he efface himself and perform service, he shall obtain some honour

Nanak, he who longeth for God shall meet Him, and his longing shall be acceptable

¹ He shall not be called a lover, if he rid at God in adversity
This idea often occurs in Oriental poetry

Guru Angad

What a man hath in his heart cometh forth , lip-worship
is of no avail

Man soweth poison and expecteth ambrosia , behold
that for justice ¹

Guru Angad

Contracting friendship with a fool would never be profitable

He acteth according to his understanding let any one
see and inquire into this

One thing can be put into a vessel if another be *first*
removed ¹

Commands will not succeed with God , supplications
must be addressed to Him

By practising falsehood falsehood is obtained Nanak,
there is pleasure in praising God

Guru Angad

Friendship for a fool and love for a great man
Are like lines drawn on water, which leave neither trace
nor mark

Guru Angad

If a man be a fool and do anything, he cannot do it well ,
Even though he do one or two things well, he will spoil the
rest

PAURI XXII

If the servant who is employed in service act according
to his master's wishes,

His honour is all the more, and he receiveth double wages

If he vie with his master, he will excite his jealousy,

Loss his large salary, and receive shoe-beating on the
mouth

Thank Him by whose gifts thou liveth

Nanak, commands will not succeed with Him , the
Master must be implored

¹ The love of God will enter man's heart if he first expel worldly love

SLOK XXIII

Guru Angad

What sort of gift is that which we obtain by our own asking ?

Nanak, wonderful is the gift we obtain when the Lord is pleased

Guru Angad

What sort of service is that in which the fear of the master departeth not ?¹

Nanak, he is called a servant who is absorbed in the love of his master

PAURI XXIII

Nanak, God's end is not seen, nor hath He a thither or a hither side

He Himself createth, and He Himself again destroyeth

Some have chains on their necks, and some ride on many horses

It is God who causeth to act and who acteth Himself, to whom else shall we complain ?

Nanak, it is for Him who made the world to take care of it

SLOK XXIV

Guru Nanak

It is God Himself who made vessels² and He Himself who filleth them

In some is contained milk,³ others are put over the fire

Some sleep on mattresses, and others stand and watch over them

Nanak, God regenerateth those on whom He looketh with favour

¹ That is, when perfect understanding does not exist between master and servant, and the service is performed without love

² Here the word *Abdār* means human beings generally

³ That is, God's love, milk being deemed pure

Guru Angad

God Himself arrangeth, He Himself putteth what He
hath made into its proper place ,

Having in this world created animals, He Himself be-
holdeth their birth and death

Whom shall we address, O Nanak, since God doeth every-
thing Himself ?

PAURI XXIV

The greatness of the great God cannot be expressed ,
He is the Creator, the Omnipotent, the Bounteous , He
provideth His creatures with sustenance

Man must do the work which God destined for him from
the beginning

Nanak, except in the one God alone there is no *abiding*
place

He doeth what He pleaseth

THE RAHIRAS¹

SODAR²

GURU NANAK, RAG ASA

WHAT is that gate, what is that mansion where Thou,
O God, sittest and watchest over all things ?

How many various and countless instruments of Thine
are played ! How many Thy musicians,

How many Thy musical measures with their consorts, and
how many singers sing Thee !

Wind, water, fire sing Thee , Dharmraj singeth at Thy
gate ,

The recording angels, who know how to write, and on
whose record Dharmraj judgeth, sing Thee ,

Ishar, Brahma, and Devi, ever beautiful as adorned by
Thee, sing Thee ,

Indar seated on his throne and the gods at Thy gate sing
Thee ,

Sadhs in meditation sing Thee , holy men in contempla-
tion sing Thee ,

The continent, the true, and the patient sing Thee , un-
yielding heroes sing Thee

The Pandits and the supreme Rikhs, reading their Veds,
sing Thee in every age

The lovely celestial maids who beguile the heart in the
upper, middle, and nether regions sing Thee

¹ The *Rahiris* is a collection of hymns by Guru Nanak, Guru Amar Das, Guru Ram Das, and Guru Arjan. It is recited by the Sikhs as divine service at sunset.

² The following hymn is so called because in the original it thus begins

The jewels created by Thee with the sixty-eight places of *Hindu* pilgrimage sing Thee

Mighty warriors and heroes sing Thee , the four sources of life sing Thee

The continents, the worlds, and the universe made and supported by Thy hands sing Thee

O God, the saints who please Thee and who are imbued with Thy love sing Thee

The many others who sing Thee I cannot remember , how could Nanak recount them ?

That God is ever true, He is the true Lord, and the true Name

He who made this world is, was, and shall be , he shall neither be born nor die

He who created things of different colours, descriptions, and species,

Beholdeth His handiwork which attesteth His greatness

He will do what pleaseth Himself , no order may be issued to Him to the contrary

He is King, the King of kings, O Nanak , *all* remain *subject* to His will

GURU NANAK, RAG ASA

As men have heard so all call Thee great ,

But hath any one ever seen how great Thou art ?

Thy worth cannot be estimated or described

They who seek to describe it are absorbed in Thee

O my great Lord, deep and profound, brimful of excellences,

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

All truth, all fervour, all goodness,

The excellences of perfect men,
 Cannot be obtained in their perfection without Thee
 If Thy grace be obtained none can be excluded ,
 Of what account is the helpless speaker ?
 Thy storerooms are filled with Thy praises
 Who can prevail against him to whom Thou givest ?
 Nanak, the True One arrangeth all

GURU NANAK, RAG ASA

If I repeat the Name, I live , if I forget it, I die ,
 It is difficult to repeat the true Name
 If man hunger after the true Name,
 His pain shall depart when he satisfieth himself with it
 Then how could I forget it, O my mother ?
 True is the Lord, true is His name
 Men have grown weary of uttering
 Even an iota of His greatness , His worth they have not
 discovered
 If all men joined and tried to describe Him,
 That would not add to or detract from His greatness
 God dieth not, neither is there any mourning for Him ,
 He continueth to give us our daily bread which never
 faileth
 His praise is—that there neither is,
 Nor was, nor shall be any one *like unto* Him
 As great as Thou art Thyself, O God, so great are Thy
 gifts
 Thou who madest the day madest also the night
 They who forget their Spouse are evil persons
 Nanak, without His name they are naught

GURU RAM DAS, RAG GUJARI

O servants of God and the true Guru, the true Being,
 offer this supplication unto Him
 We insects and worms seek thy protection, O true Guru ,
 mercifully enlighten us with the Name ,
 My friend and divine Guru, enlighten me with God's name

Under the Guru's instruction, the Name is the helper of my soul, singing God's praises is my occupation

Exceedingly fortunate are the men of God who have faith in Him and thirst for Him

On obtaining the name of God, they are satisfied, when men meet the company of the saints, God's attributes are known

They who obtain not the relish of God's name are unfortunate, and shall go to the god of death

Curses on the lives, curses on the hopes of living, of those who enter not the true Guru's protection and society¹

The saints who have obtained the society of the true Guru are those on whose foreheads it was so written from the beginning

Blest is that true society, Nanak, by meeting which the relish of God is obtained, and the Name manifested

GURU ARJAN RAG GUJARI²

O my soul, why proposest thou exertion³ when God Himself is engaged in effort for thee?

He even putteth their food before the insects which He created in rocks and stones

¹ Also translated—They who enter not the true Guru's protection and society have lived and shall live accursed

² It is said that on one occasion there was scarcity in Guru Arjan's *langar khana*, or supply depot for holy men and mendicants. When the Guru's servants were making excessive efforts to collect provisions, he composed the following *for the special occasion*. It should not be understood from this hymn that the Guru discountenanced labour or exertion. The Guru himself was most active in his ministrations, in his poetical work, and in his compilation in one great volume of the compositions of his predecessors and of the most famous mediaeval Indian saints. He wrote—

O man, by striving and earning enjoy happiness,
Nanak, by meditating on God, meet Him and thine anxieties shall vanish

So also Guru Nanak—

They who eat the fruit of their labour and bestow some portion,

O Nanak, recognize the right way

³ Also translated—O man, why feelest thou anxiety?

O my God, they who meet the society of the saints are saved

Through the favour of the Guru they obtain the highest rank , though they be as dry wood, they are made green

No one can rely on mother, father, friends, children, or wives

God provideth every one with his daily food , why, O man, art thou afraid ?

The *kulang* fleeth away hundreds of miles, leaving her young behind her

Who feedeth them ? Who giveth them morsels to peck at ? Have you not considered this ?

God holdeth in the palm of His hand all treasures and the eighteen supernatural powers

Nanak is ever a sacrifice unto Thee , O God, Thou hast no end or bounds

SO PURUKH¹

GURU RAM DAS, RAG ASA

That Being is pure, God is the pure Being, God is altogether inaccessible and immutable

All meditate on Thee , all meditate on Thee , O God, Thou art the true Creator

All creatures are Thine , Thou providest for them all

O saints, meditate on God who causeth all misery to be forgotten

God Himself is the Lord, God Himself is the worshipper ,² Nanak, what a helpless creature is man !

Thou, O God, the one Supreme Being, art fully contained in every heart and pervadest everything

Some men are givers, some beggars , all are Thy wondrous sport

Thou Thyself art the Giver , Thou art the Enjoyer , I know none beside Thee

¹ The following hymn is so known as these are its first words

² On the principle that God is everywhere and in every creature

Thou art the totally infinite Supreme Being , what attributes of Thine shall I recount ?

The slave Nanak is a sacrifice unto those who serve Thee, unto those who serve Thee

They who meditate on Thee, who meditate on Thee, O God abide in happiness in this age

They who meditate on God are emancipated, are emancipated, my friend , for them Death's noose is broken

All fear hath departed from those who have meditated on the fearless, the fearless God

They who have worshipped, who have worshipped my God, are absorbed in Him

Blest, blest are they who have meditated on God , the slave Nanak will become a sacrifice unto them

O Infinite One, Thine infinite storehouses are filled with Thy worship Thy worship

O Infinite One, many are Thy saints, many are Thy saints who praise Thee

They offer various, various worship to Thee O God , they practise austerities and repeat Thy name, O endless One

Various, various *sants* of Thine read many *Samrits* and *Shrstars*, perform their daily duties and the *acts prescribed for Brahmins*,¹

But only they are saints, good saints, saith Nanak, who please God, the Omnipotent

Thou art the primal Being, the illimitable Creator , there is none so great as Thou

Thou art the same in every age , Thou art ever and ever the same , Thou art the eternal Creator

What pleaseth Thee prevaileth , what Thou doest cometh to pass

Thou Thyself didst fashion the whole creation, yet, being created, it shall disappear²

Nanak singeth the praises of the Creator who knoweth all things

¹ Reading the Veda expounding them, making sacrifice, assisting others in doing the same receiving alms and giving them to other Brahmins

² Only God Himself is permanent

GURU RAM DAS, RAG ASA

Thou art the true Creator, my Lord
 What pleaseth Thee shall come to pass , what Thou givest
 I shall receive

Everything is Thine all meditate on Thee
 They to whom Thou showest kindness, obtain the jewel
 of Thy name

The pious ¹ have gained, and the perverse have lost it
 Thou Thyself hast separated ~~these~~ and blended ~~these~~ with
 Thee

Thou art an ocean all are contained in Thee
 There is none beside Thee
 All living creatures are Thy play
 When Thou didst desire separation, they who had met
 Thee were separated from Thee , when Thou didst desire
 union, Thou didst blend them with Thyself ²

That saint whom Thou causest to know Thee shall know
 Thee

And ever dwell on Thy praises
 They who have served God have found happiness,
 And have become easily absorbed in His name
 Thou Thyself art the Creator , everything that is made is
 Thine ,
 There is none beside Thee ,
 Thou beholdest and knowest Thy handiwork
 The slave Nanak saith, under the Guru's instruction
 Thou becomest manifest

GURU NANAK, RAG ASA

Man hath obtained a dwelling in that tank ³ whose water
 God hath made as hot as fire

Man's feet cannot move in the mire of worldly love , we
 have seen him drowning therean

¹ *Gurmukhī*, literally—they who follow the Guru's instruction

² Also translated—Those separated from the saints Thou didst
 separate from Thee , those united with them Thou didst blend with
 Thyself

³ That is, the world

O foolish man, thou hast not thought of the one God in thy heart ,

Through forgetfulness of Him thy virtues have melted away

I am not continent, or true, or learned , I was born a stupid fool

Nanak representeth, he hath sought the shelter of those who forget Thee not, *O God*

GURU ARJAN, RAG AḤA

Since thou hast now obtained a human body *O man*

It is time for thee to meet God ,

All else that thou doest is of no avail ,

Join the company of the saints and only repeat God's name ,

Apply thyself to preparation for crossing the terrible ocean

Thy life is vainly passing in worldly love

Thou hast not repeated God's name, performed penance
austerities, or *other* religious *works* ,

Thou hast not served holy men or known God

Nanak saith, base have been mine acts ,

Preserve mine honour who have taken shelter in Thee

THE SOHILA¹

GURU NANAK, RAG GAURI DIPARI

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 to this song of joy by which everlasting comfort is obtained

Ever and ever living things are watched over, the Giver regardeth *their souls*

When *even* Thy gifts cannot be appraised, who can appraise the Giver?

The year and the auspicious time *for marriage* are recorded, *relations* meet and pour oil on me the bride

O my friends, pray for me that I may meet my Lord

This message is ever sent to every house such invitations are ever issued

Remember the Caller, Nanak, the day is approaching

GURU NANAK, RAG ASA

There are *six* schools of *philosophy*, *six* teachers, and *six* doctrines

The Guru of gurus is but one, though He hath various forms

O father, preserve the system

In which the Creator is praised,² that will redound to thy glory

As there is one sun and many seasons,

In which there are *wisas*, *chasas*, *gharis*, *pahars*, lunar and week days, and months,

¹ The collection of hymns called Sohila is repeated at bedtime by pious Sikhs. It consists of three hymns of Guru Nanak: one of Guru Ram Das, and one of Guru Arjan. The word Sohila is derived from *sohar* *sohi* meaning in the Panjabi language the time for sleep.

² The meaning is that Guru Nanak rejects the Hindu systems.

So O Nanak, there is but one God, although His forms are many

GURU NANAK, RAG DHANASARI

The sun and moon, *O Lord*, are Thy lamps, the firmament Thy salver, the orbs of the stars the pearls encased in it

The perfume of the sandal is Thine incense, the wind is Thy fan, all the forests are Thy flowers, *O Lord of light*

What worship is this, *O Thou Destroyer of birth*? Unbeaten strains of ecstasy are the trumpets of Thy worship

Thou hast a thousand eyes and yet not one eye, Thou hast a thousand forms and yet not one form,

Thou hast a thousand stainless feet and yet not one foot, Thou hast a thousand organs of smell and yet not one organ I am fascinated by this play of Thine

The light which is in everything is Thine, *O Lord of light*

From its brilliancy everything is brilliant,

By the Guru's teaching the light becometh manifest

What pleaseth Thee is the *real* worship

O God, my mind is fascinated with Thy lotus feet as the bumble-bee with the flower night and day I thirst for them

Give the water of Thy favour to the sarang Nanak, so that he may dwell in Thy name

GURU RAM DAS, RAG GAURI PURBI

The city¹ is greatly filled with lust and wrath, but these are destroyed on meeting the saints

By predestination the Guru is found, and the soul is absorbed in the region of God's love

Salute the saint with clasped hands—this is a greatly meritorious act

Prostrate thyself before him—this is a greatly religious act

The infidel knoweth not the taste of God's essence, he beareth the thorn of pride in his heart

The more he moveth, the more it pricketh him, and the more pain he feeleth his head shall feel death's mace

¹ The body

The saints of God are absorbed in God's name, and have destroyed the pain and fear of transmigration

They have found God the impersishable Being, and great honour is theirs in the earth's continents and the universe

O God, we poor, and wretched, are Thine, preserve us, preserve us, Thou greatest of the great !

The Name is Nanak's support and prop, I have obtained happiness through being absorbed only in God's name

GURU ARJAN, RAG GAURI PURBI

I pray you hear me, my friends, it is time to serve the saints

Earn here the profit of God's name, and in the next world ye shall abide in happiness

Human life groweth shorter every day and night,

O man, meet the Guru and arrange thine affairs

This world is involved in wickedness and superstition, they who know God are saved

He whom God awakeneth and causeth to drink the essence of *His word*, knoweth the story of the Ineffable¹

Purchase that² for which thou hast come into the world, and God by the Guru's favour will dwell in thy heart

Thou shalt find a home with comfort and peace in God's own palace, and not return again to this world

O God, Searcher of hearts, Arranger,³ fulfil the desires of my heart

The slave Nanak craveth the happiness of being made the dust of the saints' feet

¹ This and the concluding portion of the preceding line are also translated—

He whom the saint who knoweth God awakeneth shall be saved,
And shall quaff the essence of God's name—it is he who knoweth the story of the Ineffable

² God's name

³ The gurmists often translate *Bodhātā*—He who gives man the fruit of his acts. The third Guru uses the expression in the same sense

HYMNS OF GURU NANAK

SRI RAG

THE following was addressed to a man addicted to intoxicants —

The Giver gave man a pill of the intoxicant illusion
In his intoxication he forgot death and enjoyed pleasure
for four days.

The abstainers¹ obtained truth to keep them in God's court

Nanak, know the True One alone as true
By serving Him man obtaineth happiness and proceedeth
with honour to His court

The true wine is that which containeth the true Name,
it is prepared without molasses

I am a sacrifice unto those who hear and explain this
Man is known as properly intoxicated when he obtaineth
a place in God's court

Bathe in the water of virtues, apply the perfume of
truth to *thy body*,

Then shall thy face become bright, and the One Giver
bestow hundreds of thousands of gifts on *thee*

Inform God, with whom resteth happiness, of thine
unhappiness

Why forget Him who owneth thy soul and life ?

All clothing and food are impure without Him

All else is false, what pleaseth Thee, O God, is accept-
able

A Sikh called Prema asked the Guru where God
resided, in what state He dwelt, and how He

¹ *Sūfīs* These must not be confounded with the Sūfīs of Persia
whose predilections are in the opposite direction By abstainers are
here meant the truthful

could be found The following was the Guru's reply —

The virtues of the virtuous woman are blazoned abroad ,
she who is not virtuous regretteth it

O woman, if thou desire thy Spouse, *practise truth* He
cannot be obtained by falsehood

No boat or raft *will take thee* to the distant Beloved

My Lord is perfect , His throne is secure

He whom the perfect Guru maketh holy, shall obtain
the True and unrivalled One

God's palace is beautiful , it is *adorned* with bright gems,
rubies,

Pearls, and diamonds *it is surrounded* by a golden
fortress, and is an abode of pleasure

How shall I scale the fortress without a ladder ? By
meditating on God *through the* Guru I shall behold Him

The Guru giving me God's name is my ladder, my boat,
and my raft ,

The Guru is the lake, the sea, and the boat , the Guru is
the sacred stream

If it please God, I shall go to bathe in the true tank ¹
and become pure

He is called the most perfect , He reposeth on a perfect
throne

His seat is perfectly beautiful , He fulfilleth the hopes
of the hopeless

Nanak, if man obtain the Perfect One how can his virtues
decrease ?

A man can only find favour with God by
devotion —

Accursed is her life who is separated from her Spouse ,
she is ruined by mammon

Like a wall impregnated with kallar she crumbleth down
day and night

She obtaineth no rest without the Word , without her
Beloved her grief departeth not

O woman, what are thine adornments without thy Spouse ?

¹ The Guru is meant

Thou shalt not obtain entrance into God's court, being false thou shalt be despised

The Lord is wise and forgetteth not He is true and a great husbandman

He first prepareth the ground,¹ then soweth the seed of the true Name

From the name of the one God the nine treasures are produced, and man obtaineth the marks² of His favour

What shall be the condition of him who accepteth not the Guru's doctrine?

The blind³ man hath forgotten the Name, the perverse is stone-blind

His transmigration shall cease not, he shall be ruined by death and birth

Woman may buy sandal, kungu,⁴ and red lead for the partings of her hair,

Distilled aloe wood, sandal, betel, and camphor in great quantities,

Yet, if she please not her Spouse, all her preparations are vain

All her enjoyments are vain, and all her adornments are useless

Until she is permeated by the Word, how shall she obtain honour at God's court?

Nanak, bhāt is the woman who loveth her Spouse

The Guru's idea of creation —

From the True One proceedeth air from air water

And from water the three worlds, light was infused into every heart

The Pure One becometh not impure he who is unbed with the Word obtaineth honour

Guru Nanak composed the following after a con-

¹ That is, man's heart

² A reference to the *shappals*, or marks, put on crops before being divided among the partners of the land

³ That is, spiritually blind

⁴ A red composition, principally of saffron, used by women to ornament their foreheads

versation with Samangr, a Sanyasi, at Talwandi. The Guru maintained the excellence of his own system and the advantage of repeating God's name obtained from the Guru —

If I turn myself into a woman the Enjoyer will enjoy me
Love not that which appeareth transient

The Spouse enjoyeth on His couch the pious virtuous wife
Having under the Guru's instruction obtained God's name
as the water, quench the four fires ¹

The lotus of the heart shall then bloom, and thou shalt
be completely satiated with nectar

Nanak, make the true Guru thy friend, and thou shalt
obtain happiness ² in God's court

The following is a homily addressed to a trader called Ramu whom the Guru met at Kartarpur —

Trade, O trader, and take care of thy merchandise

Buy such goods as shall depart with thee

In the next world is a wise Merchant who will be careful
in selecting the real article

O my brother, utter God's name with attention

Take with thee God's praise as thy merchandise, so that,
when the Merchant seeth it, He shall be satisfied

How shall they whose wares are not genuine, be happy ?

By trading in counterfeit goods the soul and body become
counterfeit

Like a deer snared in a noose, *such a trader* shall suffer
great misery and ever lament

The counterfeit shall not be received in the great God's
treasury, and they shall not behold Him

The counterfeit have neither caste nor honour, the
counterfeit are none of them acceptable

The counterfeit who do counterfeit work, shall lose their
honour in transmigration

¹ The four fires are—*lust*, cruelty, *mad*, worldly love, *death*, anger, and *idol*, avarice

² *Sach*, literally truth, but in the compositions of the Gurus the word often means happiness

Nanak, instruct thy heart by the Guru's word and advice
They who are imbued with the love of God's name have
no load of sin and no superstition

They in whose hearts God dwelleth are without fear, and
great shall be their gain by repeating His name

The omnipresence of God —

He Himself is the Relisher, He Himself is the relish,
He Himself is the Enjoyer,

He Himself is the robe, He Himself the couch and the
Spouse—

My Lord, who is dyed with love, pervadeth everything—

He Himself is the fisherman and the fish, He Himself
is the water and the net

He Himself is the lead of the net, He Himself is the bait
within it

O my friends, my Darling is in every way playful

He ever enjoyeth the virtuous wife, see what a state is
mine !¹

Nanak representeth, Thou art the lake, and Thou art the
swan,

Thou art the lotus and the water lily, Thou art pleased
on beholding them²

The following was a remonstrance to a Mulla
and a Qazi who had entered on a discussion with
the Guru —

He is the Lord who hath caused *the garden* of the world
to flourish³ and grow green,

And who restraineth sea and land, hail to the Creator¹

Thou must die, O Mulla, thou must die

By all means fear the Creator

¹ Who, not being virtuous, am divorced from God

² The lotus opens its leaves by day and the water-lily by night
God is the sun and moon which behold them by day and night
alternately

³ *Maula*, a name of God in Arabic. The Hindi verb *maula*
means to bloom or blossom. There is in the original a pun on the
word

Thou art a Mulla or a Qazi only when thou *really* knowest God's name

Even if thou be very learned *thou must depart*, none may remain when his measure of *life* is full

He is a Qazi who hath renounced pride, and made the name of God alone his support

He is was, and shall be He was not born, neither shall He die, True is the Creator¹

Thou prayest five times a day and recdest thy Quran and holy books

Nanak saith, when the grave calleth, man shall cease to drink and eat

ASHTAPADI

The following was composed in a devotional paroxysm. Some suppose that it was uttered at Makka in reply to Qazis who had asked the Guru to tell them of the God he adored —

Persuade thy heart to sing *God's name* with every breath thou drawest²

How great is He to whom one playeth and singeth, and where *doth He dwell*?

All Thy eulogists continue to praise Thee with affection

Father, God is inaccessible and endless

Pure is the Name, pure is the place of the true Cherisher

How great Thy sovereignty is cannot be known, no one knoweth how to describe it

If a hundred poets were to be found, they could not describe a particle of it, though they sang their utmost³

Nobody hath found Thy worth, every one as he hath heard describeth Thy glory

Priests, prophets, saints, faithful men, martyrs,

Shaikhs, Strivers, Qazis, Mullas, Darweshes who have arrived at *God's gate*,

¹ True here apparently means abiding, eternal

² Also translated—As far as it can fix its attention

³ Literally,—even though they cried over it

Obtain further blessings if they continue to recite God's praises

He consulteth no one when He createth , He consulteth no one when He destroyeth , He consulteth no one when He giveth or taketh

He knoweth His own might , He acteth and causeth others to act

He beholdeth all men with favour, and bestoweth on those who please Him

Neither His place nor His name is known, nor how great His name is among other names

How great is that place where my Sovereign dwelleth ¹

None can reach it , of whom shall I inquire *the way* ?

High or low caste influenceth not God when He maketh any one great

Greatness is in the hands of the Great One , He giveth to whom He pleaseth

He regenerateth man by His order without any delay

Everybody crieth ' Give me much, much ', in the hope of getting it

How great shall the Giver be called who giveth countless gifts ¹

Nanak saith, O God, Thy storehouses are full in every age, and never is there a deficiency

It is said that a Qazi and a pandit asked the Guru how man could find God and be blended with Him The following was the reply —

All are wives of the Spouse and adorn themselves for Him

In trumpery red dresses have they come for His inspection ¹

Love is not obtained by hypocrisy counterfeit gilding degradeth

In this way God the Spouse shall enjoy the wife

The good wife is pleasing to Thee, O Lord , of Thy favour Thou decoratest her

¹ Literally—to be counted by Him

She is decorated with the Guru's word , her body and soul are with her Beloved

With hands clasped she standeth waiting on Him, and offereth Him true supplication

She is imbued with the love of her Darling , she dwelleth in fear of the True One , and, when dyed with *His love*, her colour is the true one

She is called the handmaiden of the Beloved, and answereth to the name of Lahi ¹

Her true affection is not sundered , the True One blendeth her with Himself

Her soul is imbued and saturated with the Word , I am ever a sacrifice unto her

She who is absorbed in the True Guru, shall not sit down a widow

Her Beloved is an abode of pleasure ever young and true , He neither dieth nor is born

He ever enjoyeth His virtuous wife, and casteth true glances on her as she obeyeth Him

She maketh truth the parting of her hair, and love her dress and ornaments

She maketh the indwelling ² of God her sandal, and the tenth gate her chamber

She lighteth the lamp of the Word, and weareth God's name as her necklet

She *wearsth* on her forehead the jewel of love, and she is beautiful among women

Her beauty and wisdom are charming, and true is her infinite love

She knoweth no man but her Beloved , it is only for the True Guru *she feelsth* love and affection

But thou who art reckless on a dark night,³ how shalt thou pass it without the Beloved ?

Thy bosom shall burn, thy body shall burn, and thy mind shall burn, O woman

¹ The jewel or precious one

² *Chet weatha*, also translated—mental restraint

³ In spiritual ignorance

When woman enjoyeth not her Husband, her youth passeth
in vain

Her Husband is on the couch, his wife sleepeth and
knoweth not *His presence*

While I sleep, the Beloved awaketh, whom shall I go to
consult ?¹

Nanak, the true Guru, having taught me love, hath
caused me to meet God, and I abide in His fear

The mind is impure until it receives instruction
from a true religious teacher —

When the mind is impure the body is impure and the
tongue impure

The mouth is impure by uttering impurity how shall
it be made pure ?

The heart cannot be cleansed without the Word from the
True One truth is obtained

O girl, what happiness is there without virtue ?

Brahmans read books aloud, but understand not their
meaning

They give instruction to others as a business matter

They wander about the world preaching falsehood, while
they who abide by the Word are the best

How many pundits and astrologers study the Veds¹

They glory battles and enmities,² but from quarrels
resulteth transmigration

However much they tell and preach what they have heard,
man shall not be freed from his sins without the Guru

All call themselves virtuous, but I possess no virtue

Beautiful is the woman who hath God for her Spouse,
that God pleaseth me

Nanak, she who is united with God by the Word shall
not be separated from Him

The following was addressed to Hindu devotees
whom the Guru met in his wanderings in the Hima-
layas —

¹ That is there is no remedy for my negligence now

² The epic poems Ramāyan and Mahābhārāt

Though man perform lip-devotion, penance, and austerities,
dwell at places of pilgrimage,

Bestow alms and perform acts of devotion, what are
these without the True One ?

As he soweth so shall he reap , human life is lost without
virtue

O silly one, happiness is obtained by being a slave to
virtue

She who under the Guru's instruction abandoneth evil,
shall be absorbed in the Perfect One

✓ The following is a brief lecture against hypocrisy,
with a few precepts to obtain future happiness —

God carefully draweth the touchstone over men in order
to assay them

The counterfeit shall not be accepted , the genuine shall
be put into His treasury

Duspel hopes and fears, so shall thy filth be washed away

Everybody asketh for happiness , nobody asketh for
misery

Great misery attendeth on happiness, but the perverse
understand it not

They who consider happiness and misery the same, and
know the secret of the Word shall be happy

✓ Man may escape from the dangers of this world by
accepting the Guru and hearkening to his instructions —

The fearful ocean *of the world* is dangerous and formidable ,
it hath no shore or limit,

No boat, no raft, no pole, and no boatman ,

But the true Guru hath a vessel for the terrible ocean,
and ferrieth over him on whom he looketh with favour

Love for God is inculcated by familiar Indian
examples —

O man, entertain such love for God as the lotus hath for
the water

Such love *doth it bear it*, that it bloometh even when dashed down by the waves

The creatures which God created in water die without it, and *therefore love it*

O man, how shalt thou be delivered without love ?

God pervadeth the hearts of the pious and bestoweth on them *a store of devotion*

O man, entertain such love for God as the fish for the water

The more it hath, the happier it becometh, and the greater its peace of mind and body

Without water it could not live for *a moment*, God alone knoweth the sufferings of its heart

O man, entertain such love for God as the chatuk for rain

Though the tanks be full and the earth drenched, it will not drink from either

If so fated, it shall obtain *the rain-drops*, otherwise it is fated to die

O man, entertain such love for God as water for milk

The water alone is consumed in boiling and alloweth not the milk to be consumed

God uniteth the separated, and conferreth true greatness

O man, entertain such love for God as the chakvi¹ for the sun

She sleepeth not for a moment, for she knoweth that her mate is absent from her

The perverse see not, to the pious God is ever present

The perverse make calculations, but it is only what the Creator doeth that cometh to pass

His worth cannot be ascertained, even though all men desire it,

But it can be ascertained under the Guru's instruction, by meeting the True One happiness is obtained

¹ The ruddy sheldrake, called by Anglo Indians the Brâhmam duck. Should the male and female birds be separated at night, for instance at different sides of a river they are believed to call to each other until they behold the morning sun when they renew their conjugal acquaintance

If the True Guru be met, true love shall not sunder,
And the wealth of divine knowledge of the three worlds
shall be obtained

If any one acquire virtue, he will not forget the Pure
Name

The birds which peck on sea and land have played and
gone away

Man must depart in a ghan or two, his enjoyment is
only for to-day or to-morrow

He whom Thou blindest with Thyself shall be blinded
with Thee, and shall take his place in the true arena

Without the Guru love is not produced, and the filth of
pride departeth not

He who recognizeth God in himself, and knoweth the
secret of the Word, shall be satisfied

But when man recognizeth himself through the Guru's
instruction, what more remaineth for him to do ?

Why speak of meeting God ? Man hath met Him
*already,*¹ but it is only on receiving the Word he is
satisfied

The perverse obtain not understanding, separated from
God they suffer punishment

For Nanak there is but the gate of the one God, there
is no other refuge

It is said the following was addressed by the
Guru, during his pilgrimage to the east, to a Raja
called Harbans —

Man is led astray by the reading of words, ritualists
are very proud

What availeth it to bathe at a place of pilgrimage, if the
filth of pride be in the heart ?

Who but the Guru can explain that the King and Emperor
dwelleth in the heart ?

All men err, it is only the great Creator who erreth not

He who admonisheth his heart under the Guru's instruc-
tion shall love the Lord

¹ Because the soul has emanated from God

Nanak, he whom the incomparable Word hath caused to meet God, shall not forget the True One

God cannot be deceived and His merits cannot be described —

By taking the protection of the Guru man shall be saved , counterfeit is the capital of the perverse

The eight metals of the King are coined agreeably to His orders ¹

The Assayer Himself assayeth the coins, and putteth the genuine into His treasury

Thy merits, O Lord, cannot be ascertained , I have seen and tested everything

Thy merits cannot be expressed by words , if man remain true, he shall obtain honour

Under the Guru's instruction Thou, O Lord, art praised , otherwise Thy worth cannot be described

The Guru prefers the repetition of God's name to all other forms of devotion —

My heart is penetrated by God's name , what else shall I reflect upon ?

Happiness cometh to him who meditateth on the Word , perfect happiness to him who is unbued with God

Preserve me as it pleaseth Thee, O God , Thy name is my support

O man, just is the will of the Master

Love Him who made and adorned thy body and mind

Were my body to be cut into pieces and burnt in the fire ,

Were I to turn my body and soul into firewood, and burn them night and day ,

Were I to perform hundreds of thousands and millions of religious ceremonies, all would not be equal to God's name

¹ Man is composed, according to Indian ideas, of hair, blood, nerves, skin, bone, seed, flesh, and fat. These correspond to the eight simple or compound metals differently stated by Indian historians. Bhai Gur Das understands the eight metals to be the four castes of Hindus and the four great sects of Muhammadans

Were a saw to be applied to my head and my body to be cut in twain,¹

Were my body to be frozen in the Himalayas, even then my mind would not be free from disease—

It would all not be equal to God's name—I have seen and examined everything—

Were I to make offerings of millions of gold, many excellent horses and excellent elephants,

Were I to make large presents of lands and cows, even then pride would remain in my heart

The Guru hath given me the true gift that my mind is penetrated by God's name

How many opinions and how many interpretations of the Veds through obstinacy²

How many entanglements there are for the soul! the gate of deliverance is *only obtained* through the Guru's instruction

Everything is inferior to truth, the practice of truth is superior *to all else*

Call every one exalted, let no one appear to thee low

The one God fashioned the vessels, and it is His light *that filleth* the three worlds

By His favour man obtaineth the truth, what He granteth in the beginning none can efface

The holy meet the holy, by love for the Guru man obtaineth consolation

He who is absorbed in the True Guru pondereth on the Word of the Ineffable

He who drinketh the nectar of the Name shall be satisfied, and go to God's court with a dress of honour

The strain of ecstasy³ resoundeth night and day in the hearts of those who bear great love to the Word

¹ Saws were kept at Banāras and Prayāg for the immolation of Hindu devotees. The operator applied the saw first to the head and cut through the body to the middle thus dividing it into halves. Devotees believed that all their sins should thus be forgiven, and they should immediately enter a state of bliss.

² *Khyaur* is a musical instrument, originally composed of two gourds or calabashes connected by a frame on which there were four strings. It is now generally made of one calabash, a frame and one

Few there are who obtain understanding by admonishing
their hearts through their guru

Nanak, they who forget not the Name, and who act
according to the Word shall be delivered

The following principally inculcates the inutilty
of worldly possessions and the superiority of
devotion —

We see mansions painted and whitewashed with orna-
mented doors.

They were constructed to give pleasure to the heart,
and through love and regard for worldly things, *but they*
shall fall to ruin

So the body which is empty within and possesseth no
love, shall fall and become a heap of dust

O my brethren, your bodies and wealth shall not accompany
you

God's name is the pure wealth, God giveth it through
the Guru

If the Giver give the true wealth of God's name,

The great Creator shall become man's friend, and no
inquiry shall be made of him in the next world

If God deliver man, he shall be delivered, God alone is
the Pardoner

The perverse man deemeth that daughters, sons, and
relations are his

He is pleased on beholding woman, but, as *she bringeth*
joy, so she bringeth sorrow

Holy men are imbued with the Word, and day and night
enjoy divine happiness

The mind of the wavering infidel wandereth in quest of
transitory wealth

Men run themselves by their search abroad while the
Real Thing is in their homes

The pious obtain It, the perverse miss It through pride

O vicious infidel, know thine own origin

string The Jogs apply the word to the music heard in the brain
by the practice of jog

Thy body made from blood and semen shall be brought to the fire *at last*

The body is in the power of the breath according to the true mark on the forehead

Men pray for a long life, no one desireth to die

He is said to lead a happy life in whose heart God dwelleth through the Guru's instruction

Of what account are they who are without the Name, and who therefore obtain not a sight of the great God?

As a man goeth astray at night in his sleep,

So doth he in whose heart there is pride and worldly love, and who is in the power of mammon

To him who reflecteth under the Guru's instruction the world appeareth a dream

As thirst is quenched when one drinketh water, as the child is sustained by its mother's milk,

As the lotus cannot exist without water, and the fish would die without it,

So Nanak, may I obtain divine happiness through the Guru's instruction and live singing God's praises¹

Without the spiritual condition which is obtained by a repetition of the Name there is no salvation —

I have become alarmed on seeing a terrible mountain in my Father's house²

Steep is the mountain and difficult to ascend, there is no ladder which will reach it,

But under the Guru's instruction I have found the secret,³ the Guru hath caused me to meet God and I am saved

O my brethren, the ocean of the world is difficult and formidable

If I have a satisfactory interview with the perfect true Guru, he will deliver me *by granting me* God's name

If I say I am perishable, *it will not avail me*, but if I *really* know that I am perishable, *it will*

Everything that came into this world shall depart, the Creator alone is immortal

¹ Seeing the difficulties of this world

² That there is no mountain

Be sure to praise the True One and love His abode
Beautiful houses and palaces and thousands of strong-
holds,

Elephants, horses with their housings, and hundreds of
thousands, yea, countless armed men

Will not depart with any one *Their masters pine away*
and die without gaining any advantage from them

Thou mayest amass gold and silver, but wealth is an
entangling net

Man's authority may be proclaimed throughout the whole
world, but without the Name death standeth over his
head

When the body falleth, the soul fleeth away, what shall
be the condition of the evil doers ?

The husband is delighted on beholding his sons and his
wife on her couch,

He appheth distilled aloe wood and sandal, he weareth
fine clothes and decorateth himself,

Yet shall he leave his family and depart, dust shall
return to dust

He may be styled a chief, an emperor, a king, a governor,
or a lord,

He may be called the headman of a town or a governor,
he may burn with pride,

Yet by perversely forgetting the Name he shall be as a
reed burnt in the fire

Having come into the world, he shall depart however proud
he be

, The whole world is a chamber of lampblack, the body
and soul which enter it shall be tarnished ¹

They who are preserved by the Guru are pure, the fire
of their desires is extinguished by the Word

✓ Nanak, man obtaineth deliverance by the true name of the
King of Kings

May I not forget God's name¹ may I purchase it as a
jewel¹

The perverse man perisheth in the terrible ocean of *the*

¹ Literally,—shall become ashes

world, the holy man crosseth it, unfathomable *though*
it be

GHAR III¹

Definitions —

How is Sat Sangat, the *Society of the holy*, known ?

The name of the one God is mentioned there

How are Duhagins—*women separated from their husbands*—known ?

They are those who forgetful of their Spouse wander
 unhonoured

They who are pleased with God's will,

Remove superstition from their minds

Nanak, the true Guru, is known by his association with
 every one

SRI RAG BI WAR

Some virtues which contribute to perfection —

- Faith and resignation are the characteristics of the holy,
 patience is the vaticum of angels

The perfect shall obtain a sight of God, the fool shall
 find no place with Him

- Caste is vain and contributes not to goodness or
 holiness —

Castes are folly, names are folly

All creatures have one shelter, *that of God*

If a man call himself good,

The truth shall be known, O Nanak, when his account is
 accepted

Man, no matter what his caste or social position
 may be, is exalted by devotion —

What difference is there between a swan and a crane, if
 God look kindly *on the latter* ?

Nanak, if it please Him, He can change a raven into a
 swan

¹ This is understood to mark time—three beats to a bar

MAJH KI WAR

God as the Guru —

The Guru is the Giver, the Guru is the house of snow,¹
the Guru is the lamp of the three worlds.

Nanak, the Guru possesseth the immortal wealth, by
putting faith in Him happiness is obtained

The ten stages of man —

In man's first stage he loveth the milk of his mother's
breast

In his second he recognizeth his father and mother,

In his third his brother, his brother's wife, and his own
sister,

In the fourth a love of play ariseth in him,

In the fifth he runneth after food and drink,

In the sixth he inquireth not a woman's caste in his lust,

In the seventh he collecteth things for a house to live in,

In the eighth his body is wasted by wrath,

In the ninth he groweth grey and his breathing is diffi-
cult,

In the tenth he is burnt and becometh ashes

His companions accompany him to his pyre with loud
lamentations

The soul flieth away, showing the road of *departure* to
others

He came, he died and departed—*leaving only* a name

After his death *his relations offer food* on leaves, and
call the crows²

Nanak, the perverse love mental darkness

Without a guru the world is lost

Other divisions of human life —

At ten a child, at twenty a rake, at thirty man calleth
himself handsome,

¹ That is, he cools the fire of desires. Some suppose that *Aras* *ghar* is for the Sanskrit *Ambar*, the moon

² Portions (*lahi*) of such offerings are set aside for cows, portions for dogs, and portions for crows

At forty he is in his prime, at fifty his feet halt, at sixty old age cometh on ,

At seventy he loseth his intellect, at eighty he cannot perform his duties ,

At ninety he reclineth on his couch, and feeleth no strength whatever in himself

I, Nanak, have sought and searched, and seen that the world is a mansion of smoke

The following is said to have been addressed to a holy man called Thakur Das at Priyag —

Were I to dwell in the cavern of a golden mountain or in a pot of water ,

Were I to stand on my head on earth or in the heavens ,

Were I to cover all my body with clothes,¹ and did I nothing but bathe ,

Were I to shout aloud the white, the red, the yellow, and the black Veds ,²

Were I to remain dirty and filthy,³ all this would be foolish and sinful

Nanak, since I have pondered on the Word, I am not, I was not, and I shall not be⁴

Guru Nanak declares the folly of external purifications —

Man washeth his clothes and his body, and mortifieth himself

Knowing not of the filth attaching to his heart, he rubbeth and cleanseth himself externally

Being blind he is led astray, and falleth into Death's noose

He deemeth the property of others as his own, and suffereth for his pride

Nanak, when pride is dispelled under the Guru's instructions, man meditateth on God's name,

Repeateth the Name, adoreth the Name, and through the Name is absorbed in happiness

¹ This is done by a sect called the Kapras, who cover even their faces

² As the Brāhmins do

³ The reference is to the Jain

⁴ That is I am totally absorbed in God

Some important subjects are briefly treated as follows —

God hath caused the union of body and soul ,
 He who created them can separate them
 A fool while enjoying pleasure hath all pain
 Disease proceedeth from sinful pleasure
 From worldly rejoicing proceedeth mourning, separation
 from God, birth, and death

The fool while boasting becometh involved in disputes
 The decision resteth with the True Guru , He putteth an
 end to disputes

That which the Creator doeth cometh to pass what
 man hath set in motion must stop

The following was addressed by the Guru to
 a Qazi at Sultanpur —

Thou utterest falsehood eatest carrion,¹
 Yet thou goest to admonish others
 Cheated thyself thou now cheatest thy companions
 Nanak saith, that is the sort of guide thou appearest !

As a Qazi beheaded a goat, some drops of blood
 fell on his garments, which he at once wiped
 off He said that he could not join in prayer until
 the pollution had been removed The following was
 uttered by the Guru on the occasion —

If clothes become defiled by blood falling on them
 How can the hearts of those who drink human blood²
 be pure ?

Nanak, utter God's name with a pure heart *regardless of
 thy dress*

All else is but worldly ostentation , thou, O Qazi,
 practisest falsehood

The Qazi asked Guru Nanak who he was The
 latter replied as follows —

Since I am nobody, what shall I say since I am nothing,
 what can I be ?

¹ Food obtained by peculation and bribery

² That is, who practise extortion or tyranny

As God made me, I act , as He told me, I speak , I am thoroughly defiled *with sin*, and *desire* to wash it away

Though I know nothing myself, yet I teach others , such a guide am I

Nanak, he who being blind showeth the road to others and misleadeth all his companions,

Shall be shoe-beaten in the next world, and it will be seen what sort of guide he was

Everything shall vanish except God —

Of kings, subjects, and rulers none shall remain

Shops, cities, bazars shall be destroyed by God's order

Sold and beautiful mansions a fool deemeth his own ,

Storehouses filled with wealth in a moment become empty

Steeds, chariots, camels, elephants and their housings,

Gardens, properties, houses, and homes,

Tents, comfortable beds, and ornamental pavilions—where shall they be recognized ?

The following was delivered to Sikhs who asked the Guru what pleasure God's praises afforded him —

Were rivers to become kine, and springs to become milk and clarified butter ,

Were the whole earth to become sugar so that the heart might ever rejoice ,

Were the mountains to become gold and silver, and be studded with diamonds and rubies ,

I would even then magnify Thee, and the desire to do so would not cease as I spoke

Were the eighteen loads of *vegetables of the earth*¹ to become fruit, and grass to become rice ,

Could I arrest the moon and sun in their courses, and were my seat to become unmovable,

¹ This is the sum total of the earth's flora according to ancient Sanskrit writers. The idea was that if a leaf were taken off every tree and plant, there would be formed eighteen loads, each of which an ordinary strong man could lift

I would even then magnify Thee, and the desire to do so
would not cease as I spoke

Could I inflict pain by means of the two sinful beings
Rahu *and* Ketsu,¹

Could I obtain authority over bloodthirsty kings and my
glory thus shine forth,

I would even then magnify Thee, and the desire to do so
would not cease as I spoke

Were fire and frost to become my raiment, and the wind
my food,

Were all the fascinating women of heaven to become my
wives—all perishable²—

I would even then magnify Thee, and the desire to do so
would not cease as I spoke

Caste becomes deadly if exclusive reliance be
placed on it for salvation —

What power hath caste ? It is the reality that is tested
Poison may be held in the hand, but man dieth if he eat it
The sovereignty of the True One is known in every age
He who obeyeth God's order shall become a noble in His
court

The following allegory of mounted cavalry refers
to the different stages of asceticism —

The Master sent obedience to His orders as a steed *into*
the world,

Reflection on the instruction which *the Guru* imparteth
is its kettle-drums

Some have mounted their steeds, others have them ready
caparisoned,

¹ Owing to the exigencies of prosody, only Rahu is mentioned in the original text. Rahu and Ketsu are two demons, who according to Indian astrologers inflict pain on mortals as they do on the sun and moon on occasions of eclipses.

² Some understand *śūnya* to be the Sanskrit *śūnya*, wife. The *gīṭā* translate — All the fascinating women of heaven may go, as far as I am concerned.

Some have loaded their baggage *for the march*, and others have set out

In the following allegory the mill is the world, the corn is the soul, the husk the body, refuge in God the axle —

When *the field* is ripe, it is cut, only the chaff and the hedge remain

The corn is threshed with the husk, and the chaff is winnowed away

Men then put together the two mill-stones and sit down to grind corn

That which attacheth to the axle escapeth. Nanak hath seen a wonderful thing¹

Good men, like sugar-cane, are subject to torture —

See how sugar-cane is cut down and made into sheaves after the stalks are cleaned

The labourers put it into a press and squeeze it

Having expressed the juice, they put it into a pan, and it groaneth as it burneth

The residue is collected and put into the fire *beneath the pan*

Nanak, sweet things are thus ill-treated, come and see, O people

It is useless to endeavour to instruct a fool —

What can deep water do to a fish? What can the sky do to a bird?

What can cold do to a stone? What can married life do to a eunuch?

Even though thou apply sandal to a dog, he will still preserve his canine nature

Even though thou instruct a deaf man, and read for him the Smritis,

Even though thou place a light before a blind man, and burn fifty lamps for him, *all would be of no avail*

¹ That the corn attached to the axle is not ground, that is, the soul which is attached to God is not tortured by Death.

Even though thou put gold before a herd of cattle, they would still pick out the grass to eat

If a flux be put into iron it will melt, but not become cotton¹

Nanak, the peculiarity of a fool is that what is said to him is ever lost

When his Sikhs inquired how an alliance could be formed with God the Guru composed the following —

When bronze, gold, and iron break,

The blacksmith weldeth them by means of fire

When a husband falleth out with his spouse,

A reconciliation is effected in this world through children

When the king asketh and his subjects give, a bond is established between them

When a hungry man eateth, he establisheth an alliance with the world

Drought formeth an alliance with rivers when they are flooded with rain

There is an affinity between love and sweet words

If any one speak the truth, he formeth a bond with knowledge

By goodness and truth the dead establish a bond with the living

Such are the affinities that are established in the world

The only way to establish friendship with a fool is to smite him on the mouth²

By praising God man establisheth an alliance with God's court

Nanak saith thus deliberately

The following seven sloks form part of the Guru's instruction to Shaikh Brahm, or Farid the second, of Pak Pattan —

The priests, the shaikhs, and the potentates of the world are all beneath the earth

¹ Its nature will not be altered

² *Mut mar* Also translated—to remain silent

Emperors pass away, but God ever flourisheth
There is only Thou, there is only Thou, O God !

Neither demagogs, nor demons, nor men,
Nor Siddhs, nor Strivers, nor this earth *shall abide*
There is One , is there any other ?
There is only Thou, there is only Thou, O God !

Neither the just nor the generous,
Nor the seven regions beneath the earth *shall remain*
There is One is there any other ?
There is only Thou, there is only Thou, O God !

Not the regions of the sun and the moon,
Nor the seven continents, nor the seven seas
Nor corn, nor wind shall abide
There is only Thou, there is only Thou, O God !

Our maintenance is in nobody's power *but God's*
To *all* of us but one hope abideth—
There is one is there any other ?
There is only Thou, there is only Thou, O God !

Birds have no money in their possession
They only depend on trees and water
God is their Giver
There is only Thou, there is only Thou, O God !

Nanak, no one can erase
What is written on the forehead
God it is who giveth man power and again taketh it away
There is only Thou, there is only Thou, O God !

Guru Nanak thus discoursed to Prem Chand of
Sarhind on the best way of occupying time —

They who in the early morning praise God and meditate
on Him with single heart,

Are perfect kings, and die fighting when occasion ariseth ¹

In the second watch there are many ways in which the
attention of the mind is distracted

¹ This is understood to mean that they fight to the death with their
deadly sins

Many persons fall into the fathomless water, and cannot emerge however much they struggle

In the third watch when hunger and thirst are both barking, food is put into the mouth

What is eaten becometh filth, yet man again desireth food

In the fourth watch drowsiness cometh, man closeth his eyes and goeth into dreamland¹

Again rising *in the morning* he engageth in turmoil, and yet maketh preparations to live a hundred years

If man feel love for God every moment during the eight watches of the day,

O Nanak, God will dwell in his heart and true shall be his abhution

Man's continual thought should be devotion to his Maker —

When Thou art near, what more do I desire ? I speak verily

He who is deceived by false worldly occupations reacheth not God's palace

His heart is hard and he loseth his service

The house which containeth not the True One, should be destroyed and rebuilt

When its owner is weighed, how shall he be found of full weight ?

If he lose his pride, no one will say he is of short wright

The genuine shall be assayed, and selected at the gate of the All-seeing

The true goods are only in one shop, they are obtained from the perfect Guru

The advantages conferred on men by the True One —

Without the True One all are false and practise falsehood

Without the True One the false shall be bound and led away,

¹ *Assar* properly means trance, or suspended animation

Without the True One the body is dust and shall be rolled
in the dust ,

Without the True One dress and food are all hunger ,

Without the True One the false shall not attain God's
court

The false attached to advance miss God's palace

The whole world is deceived, and cometh and goeth in
deception

In the heart is the fire of greed which is quenched by the
Guru's instruction

The advantages of the Guru, who is likened to
a life-giving tree —

Nanak, the Guru is the tree of contentment whose
blossom is religion and whose fruit is divine knowledge

It aboundeth in succulence and is ever green , it ripeneth
by good works and meditation

Honour is obtained by partaking of its relish , it is the
greatest of gifts

There is a tree of gold , its leaves are corals , its blossoms,
jewels and rubies

It beareth gems for fruit, and the heart of him who eateth
it rejoiceth

Nanak, it is obtained by him on whose forehead such
destiny hath been recorded

The sixty-eight places of pilgrimage are at the Guru's
feet, and ever specially worship them

Cruelty, worldly love, advance, and wrath are four streams
of fire

They who fall into them are burnt, O Nanak but de-
liverance is obtained by cleaving to good works

✓ The evil of forgetting God —

In the heart and mouth of the perverse who never re-
member Thee,

Abide the bitterness of the gourd, the colocynth, and the
nut, and the poison of the akk,¹ and dhatura

¹ *Calotropis procera*

Nanak, to whom shall I tell it? *Whoso forget Thee*
wander bereft of Thy favour, O God

✓ The unequal conditions of men —

The bird, man, by his ideas and his acts sometimes flieth
high and sometimes low;¹

He sometimes percheth on a sandal-tree, sometimes on
the branch of the akk-shrub, and sometimes again he loveth
high flight

Nanak saith, it is the custom of the Lord to lead all
beings by His order

Women's duty —

If women adorn themselves with love and affection for
their Spouse,

They shall not be restrained from their devotion to Him
day or night

They shall abide in His chambers, and the Word shall
regenerate them ,

They shall humbly supplicate the True One ,

And they shall appear beautiful near their Spouse walking
according to His order

They shall make hearty supplication to the Beloved

Accursed the homes, wretched the lives of those who
possess not the Word

They whose hopes are fulfilled by the Word quaff nectar

The Guru was requested to state the extent of
his love of devotion —

The desert is not satished with rain, and the hunger of
fire is not appeased ,

Kings are not satisfied with dominion , who hath ever
filled the ocean ?

How much hath Nanak inquired after the True Name
and not been satisfied !

Bhai Rama of Sultanpur inquired how God was
known The Guru replied —

He to whom God giveth understanding understandeth ,

¹ Literally—as sometimes exalted and sometimes debased

He to whom He giveth knowledge knoweth everything
 Man merely worrith himself when he preacheth for the
 sake of mammon

The Commander who created all things
 Himself possesseth all knowledge
 He Himself, Nanak, spoke the Word—
 Doubt shall depart from him to whom He gave it

The Guru's reward for singing God's praises —
 Me a minstrel out of work, God appeth to His work,
 He ordered me in the beginning to sing His praises night
 and day

The Master summoned the minstrel to His true court,
 And put on him a robe of true praise and eulogy
 He then obtained the ambrosial food of the true Name
 They who have eaten under the Guru's instruction are
 satisfied, and have obtained comfort

The minstrel uttereth praise and singeth the Word
 Nanak, he who uttereth true praise obtaineth the Perfect One

RAG GAURI

✓ The advantages resulting from the fear of God —
 The fear of God is very great and very heavy
 Man's wisdom is of little account, and so is his chatter
 Walk with the load of *fear* on thy head,
 Meditate on the Guru who is kind and merciful
 No one shall be saved without the fear of God
 His fear hath adorned man's love
 The fire of the fear of transmigration is burned away by
 the fear of God
 By fear the Word is fashioned and decorated
 What is fashioned without fear is altogether worthless
 Useless is the mould and useless the stroke thereon
 In the minds of many there is a desire to *fashion the Word*
without fear,

But even though they perform a thousand artifices they
 shall not succeed

Nanak, the speech of the perverse is nonsense,
 What they write is worthless absurdity

The following was addressed by the Guru to one who had remonstrated with him for having left his relations to lead a wandering life —

Make wisdom thy mother contentment thy father,
 Truth thy brother—this is best
 People talk, but talking is of no avail
 The measure of Thy might, O God cannot be obtained
 Modesty and attention are my two parents-in-law ,
 Good works I have accepted as my spouse ,
 Union with saints hath been my auspicious time *for*
marriage, and separation *from the world* my wedding
 Saith Nanak, from such a union hath sprung truth as my
 offspring

The composition of man's body and the mutility
 of pilgrimages , the body dies, but not the soul —

The body is a mixture of wind, water, and fire ,
 Within it is the changeful play of the intellect
The body hath nine gates and a tenth door ,
 O wise man, understand and reflect on this
 God speaketh, preacheth, and listeneth
 He who reflecteth on himself is a wise man
 The body is earth, the wind speaketh therein
 Consider, O wise man, what it is that dieth—
 It is the quarrelsome and proud understanding
 The conscious soul dieth not
 The precious jewel, for which men go on pilgrimages,
 Dwelleth within the heart
 Pandits read and argue,
 But know not that which is within themselves
 When my spiritual ignorance dieth, I die not myself
 He who is everywhere contained dieth not
 Saith Nanak, when the Guru showed me God,
 No one seemed to me to die or to be born

One Sant Das propounded six questions to Guru
 Nanak —

Is it known whence man hath come,
 Whence he hath sprung, in what he shall be absorbed,

How he is bound, how he obtaineth emancipation,
And how he shall be easily absorbed in the Imperishable ?

The Guru replied —

The Name is nectar in the heart as well as in the mouth
Through it man is freed from worldly desires

Man cometh in the course of nature and goeth in the
course of nature

Man is born according to *the desires* of his heart, and he
is absorbed in the same way

The *pious* man is emancipated and falleth into no en-
tanglements

He is delivered by meditation on the Word and by God's
name

Many birds roost by night on a tree—

Some happy, others unhappy—they whose minds have
worldly love perish

When night hath passed away, they gaze upon the sky ¹

They fly in every direction according to the destiny
recorded for them

They who are associated with the Name *deem the world*
like a meeting-place of cowherds

The *poisonous* vessels of lust and wrath have burst for
them

To those without the capital *of the Name* houses and shops
are empty,

/ But by meeting the Guru the adamant doors *of their*
understanding are opened

A holy man is met by primal destiny

/ God's perfect people are rendered happy by truth

/ They barter their souls and bodies for divine knowledge
/ and God's love

Nanak toucheth their feet

The following is a conversation between soul and
body —

The Soul 'O body, *thou thinkest* thyself immortal, and that
thou shalt be *always* happy—*know that* this world is a play

¹ When life ceases, their souls take flight

Thou practisest avarice, covetousness, and excessive falsehood, and bearest many burdens

I have seen thee, O body, trodden as ashes on the ground '

The Body 'Hearken, hearken to mine instruction

If thou have done good works, they shall abide with thee, O my soul, thou shalt not again find such opportunity '

The Soul 'I address thee, O my body, hearken to my instruction

Thou slanderest¹ and bearest false witness against others '

The Body 'Thou covetest another's vine,² O soul, thou committest theft and evil deeds '

The Soul 'When the soul departeth, thou shalt remain behind like an abandoned woman

Thou, O body, shalt remain but as a dream—what good deeds hast thou done ? '

The Body 'Whatever I took by stealth was pleasing to thee

Thou hast no honour in this world, and thou shalt be rejected in the next thou hast lost thy human dwelling in vain '

I am very unhappy, O father, saith Nanak, no one careth for me

Arabian and Turkish steeds, gold, silver, and loads of raiment

No one taketh with him, they leave him in this world, O fool

Sugar, fruit, all have I tasted, it is only Thine ambrosial Name which is sweet

Man diggeth deep foundations and constructeth edifices on them, but they shall become at last heaps of dust

He hoardeth, and hoardeth, and giveth to no one, the fool thinketh that all is his own

Ravana nominally possessed a golden Lanka and a golden palace, but they were no one's property

Hear, O foolish and ignorant soul

What pleaseth God shall be done

My Lord is a great Merchant, we are His retail-dealers

¹ *Nindu chand* is an alliteration

² This is understood to be meant for neighbour's wife

Our souls and bodies are all His capital, He it is who killeth and re-animateth

The Guru reflects on the power of the deadly sins which lead men to destruction —

The others¹ are five, I am but one, how shall I protect my house ?

They ever assail and plunder me, to whom shall I complain ?

Utter God's holy name, O my soul,

Before thee is Death's army fierce and numerous

God erected a palace,² put doors to it, and the woman³ sitteth within

Deeming the world sweet she ever sporteth, but these five men rob her

When Death destroyeth the palace, her chamber is sacked and she being alone is captured

She is beaten by Death's mace, and his chains are riveted on her neck, the five men have taken flight

The housewife wanteth gold and silver, friends want banquets

Nanak, they who commit sin for these things shall go bound to Death's city

Kinganath Jogi pressed Guru Nanak to become his disciple, the Guru replied that he had already learned the science of Jog. He composed the following hymn on the occasion —

Make restraint of thine inmost heart thine earrings, thy body the patched coat,

Reduce thy five senses to subjection, O Jogi, and make a pure heart thy staff

In this way shalt thou obtain the way of jog

Make the fact that there is but one Word and none other thy devotion to tubers and roots

If God could be obtained by merely shaving the head, we should make a god of the Ganges⁴

¹ The deadly sins which rob the body

² The body

³ The soul

⁴ Where pilgrims shave their heads

It is the one Lord who saveth the three worlds, thou thinkest not of Him, O fool

If thou apply thy mind to words through hypocrisy, thy doubts shall never leave thee

If thou turn thy thoughts to the feet of the one God, why pursue avarice and greed?

If thou repeat the Name of the Bright One, thy soul shall be absorbed in Him

O Jog, why utterest thou so much deceit?

Thy body is mad,¹ thy mind is silly, thou pass'est thy life talking of thy property

Nanak representeth, it is after the naked body is burnt the soul regretteth *lost opportunities*

Man's precious life should not be wasted, but should be devoted to God's service and not to the acquisition of wealth —

Man loseth his nights in sleeping and his days in eating

His human life, valuable as a diamond, he parteth with for a lauri

Thou knowest not God's name, O fool, thou shalt hereafter regret

Thou burnest endless wealth in the earth, yet thy desire for it departeth not²

They who departed desiring endless wealth lost the Endless One

If all were to obtain according to their desires, they would be happy

Whatever all may desire, a man's fate is decided by his acts

Nanak, He who fashioned creation taketh care of it

It is not known on whom God's order will confer greatness

The fervour of the Guru's devotion —

Were I to become a fawn, live in the forest, and gather and eat tubers and roots,

I should ever and ever be a sacrifice to my Lord, who is obtained through the favour of the Guru

I am a retail-dealer of Thee, O God,

¹ Because smeared with ashes

² Also translated—Thou desirest not the Endless One

Thy Name is my stock-in-trade and my merchandise
 Were I to become a keel and live in a mango-tree, I should
 still tranquilly meditate on the Word

Through my love my Lord, whose form appeareth unequalled,
 would naturally meet me

Were I to become a fish and dwell in the water, *I should still remember Him* who watcheth over all animals

My Spouse dwelleth on this side and on that, I shall stretch forth mine arm to touch Him

Were I to become a serpent and dwell in the ground, I should still abide in the Word and my fears would depart

Nanak, they are ever the happy married wives whom God hath absorbed in His light

GAURI ASHTAPADI

Without a religious gunde man would run riot in evil and haste to perdition —

The heart is an elephant, the body a forest,
 The Guru the goad, when the mark of the true Word is made on the elephant,

He shall obtain honour in the King's court

God cannot be known by cleverness

Without chastening the mind how can God be appraised ?

In the house is nectar which the thieves are taking away ¹

No one tried to restrain them

If any one guard the nectar, God Himself will confer greatness on him

Worldly wealth, comforts, and pleasures would never satisfy the Guru without devotion to God

I may apply distilled aloe wood and sandal to my body,

I may wear silks and satins,

But without God's name how shall I obtain happiness ?

What shall I wear / in what dress shall I show myself ?

How shall I obtain happiness without the Lord of the world ?

I may have rings in mine ears and a necklace of pearls on my neck,

¹ The name of God is in the heart The evil passions plunder it

A red coverlet, flowers, and red powder,¹
 But where should I search for happiness except with the
 Lord of the world ?

A beautiful woman with expressive eyes,
 May make the sixteen decorations and *render herself* very
 lovely,

Yet without worshipping the Lord of the world she would
 ever be despised

One may have in his house or palace a comfortable couch ,
 A flower-girl may scatter flowers on it day and night
 Yet without God's name its owner would be unhappy
 Excellent horses, elephants, lances, musical instruments,
 Armies, mace-bearers, and attendants are worthless
 And vain shows without the Lord of the world

I may be called a Sidh, and I may summon wealth and
 supernatural power to me ,

I may make for my head a crown, a regal hat, and an
 umbrella,

Yet how should I obtain real happiness without the Lord
 of the world ?

I may be styled a lord, an emperor, or a king

I may say 'Now then'² to inferiors , *all this* would be
 false display

Without the Guru's instruction my business could not
 be adjusted

Egotism and selfishness are forgotten under the Guru's
 instruction

Through the Guru's instruction it is known that God is
 in the heart

Nanak supplicateth, *I seek* Thy shelter, O God

The Guru describes the condition of the holy
 and the means of salvation —

He who serveth the one God knoweth not others

He layeth aside the better things, decent and evil

By love and truth shalt thou meet the Truest of the True

¹ For frontal marks and the parting of the hair

² *Abhale* in Panjābi is a much more conspicuous expression than
 'now then'

If there be any such saint of God,
His filth shall be washed away, and he shall meet God
by singing His praises

Reversed are the lotuses of all men's hearts

The fire of evil inclinations burneth away the world,

While those who meditate on the word of the Guru are
saved

The bumble-bee, the moth, the elephant, the fish,

And the deer¹ suffer the consequences of their acts and
die

Absorbed in worldly desires man knoweth not the Real
Thing.

He thinketh of lust and love for woman,

Which with wrath ruin all sinners

He who forgetteth the Name, loseth his honour and his
senses

The perverse being who alloweth his mind to covet
another's house,

Hath a halter round his neck, and is entangled in diffi-
culties,

While the pious shall be delivered by singing God's
praises

As a widow, who giveth her body to a stranger,

And through lust or money falleth into another's power

Is never satisfied without a lover,

So man readeth books and reciteth the *Smritis*,

He also readeth, heareth, and expoundeth the *Veds* and
the *Purans*,

But without being dyed with God's essence his mind is
very unstable

As the chatrik loveth and thirsteth for the rain-drops,

As the fish is delighted with the water,

So Nanak is satisfied quaffing God's essence

There was a huli king called Amar Singh who

¹ The animals mentioned suffer for the gratification of their senses. The bee scents the lotus and is entangled, the moth looks on the lamp and is burnt, the elephant to gratify his lust, rushes into a trap, the fish is hungry and takes the bait, and the deer is lured to his death by the hunter's bell.

was dethroned by his brother. On being expelled he went to Guru Nanak for advice. The following was given him —

They who wear religious garbs are full of pride and know not God

Few are they whose minds are reconciled to devotion under the Guru's instruction

The True One is not obtained by the practice of egotism

When pride departeth, the supreme dignity is obtained

Kings under the influence of pride make many expeditions

They are ruined by pride and remain subject to transmigration

He who meditateth on the Guru's word shall lose his pride,

He shall dismiss his wandering thoughts, and destroy his deadly sins

He in whose heart is the truth shall easily arrive at God's court,

And, knowing God, shall obtain the supreme state

The Guru dispelleth the doubts of those whose works are true,

And they shall obtain a fixed seat in the court of the Fearless

What do they retain who die talking of their possessions?

He who meeteth a perfect Guru putteth an end to his contentions —

What there is, is nothing in reality —

The pious who are saturated with divine knowledge sing God's praises

The fetters of pride cause man to wander in transmigration

Nanak, it is the saint of God who obtaineth happiness

Death impends over all, but cannot harm the holy —

Even Brahma was subject to death¹ from the beginning

¹ Literally—Brahma entered the house of death

He found not *the end* of Vishnu's lotus in the nether regions ,¹

He accepted not God's order, and was led astray in error
| Whatever is created Death destroyeth

God hath preserved us by our meditating on the word of the Guru

Maya deludeth all the gods and goddesses

Death looseth not his hold on him who serveth not the Guru

God is imperishable, invisible, and unscrutable

Emperors, rulers, and kings shall not abide

Having forgotten the Name they shall undergo death's torture

The Name is my support , I shall abide as Thou keepest me, O Lord

Chiefs and Kings have no abiding-place

Bankers die after accumulating wealth and money

O God, grant me Thine ambrosial name as my wealth

Subjects, lords, headmen, sovereigns,—

None is found permanent in this world

Irresistible death striketh false mortals on the head

One alone, the Truest of the true is immovable

All those whom He created He will again destroy²

Man obtaineth honour when he knoweth God under the Guru's instruction

Quais, shakhs, and fakirs in religious garbs

Call themselves great, but through pride their bodies are in pain

Death will not release them without receiving the true Guru's consolation

¹ According to many Hindus Vishnu was the creator of the world. From Vishnu's navel there grew a lotus from which the god Brahma was produced. Brahma on attaining intelligence began to consider the source of his birth. It could not be from such an insignificant thing as a lotus. He rejected the idea and looked the lotus at the same time whereupon he descended into it and remained long wandering in its stem until he repented of his error. He then rose to the top where he sat enthroned as before.

² Literally—draw within Himself. Creation is God's extension, destruction, His contraction.

The net of Death is over man's tongue and eyes ,
 It is over his ears when he listeneth to unchaste language
 He is robbed day and night without the Word
 Death cannot espy him in whose heart
 God's true name dwelleth, and who singeth God's praises—
 Nanak, the pious shall be absorbed in the Word

A prayer to God for protection —

As a herdsman guardeth and keepeth watch over his cattle,

So God day and night cherisheth and guardeth man and keepeth him in happiness

O Thou compassionate to the poor, I seek Thy protection ,
 look on me with favour

Preserve me in this world and the next

Wherever I look there art Thou contained , guard me,
 O Guardian

Thou art the Giver, Thou art the Enjoyer, Thou art the support of the soul

Man must supplement his prayers by good acts —

Without meditating on divine knowledge man ascendeth or descendeth according to his acts

Without praising the Lord of the world the darkness of ignorance shall not be dispelled

We see that the world is perishing through covetousness and pride

By serving the Guru, God and the true gate of salvation are attained

What hath man brought into the world ? What shall he take away when he is entangled in Death's noose ?

Like a well-bucket firmly attached to a rope, he is now in heaven, now in hell

A spiritual guide is necessary for salvation —

His account is settled who through the Guru's favour knoweth God

God, called the Pure One, who is in every heart, is my Lord

Man shall not be emancipated without the Guru's instruction, see and ponder upon this

Even though man performed hundreds of thousands of ceremonies, all would still be darkness without the Guru

What shall we say to those who are blind and devoid of wisdom ?

Without the Guru the way cannot be seen, how shall we reach the goal ?

Man calleth the counterfeit genuine, but he knoweth not what the genuine is

A blind man he calleth an assayer, wonderful is this age

Man saith the sleeper is awake, and he who is awake sleepeth,

He saith, they who are alive are dead, and he weepeth not for those *who are really dead*,

He saith, that he who is coming hath gone, and that he who hath gone is coming,

He calleth another's property his own, and with his own he is not satisfied,

He calleth what is sweet bitter, and what is bitter sweet,

He slandereth those who love God—such is what I have seen in this age

Man serveth a handmaiden,¹ but the Master he seeth not

He churneth tank water and no butter is produced

He who can explain this is the Guru for me

Nanak, he who knoweth himself is unequalled and unrivalled

GAURI (MILANT)

The longing of the pious for God is compared to the longing of the young bride for her spouse —

Painful is the night for the young bride, *without her Beloved* she sleepeth not

She pines away through grief *at His absence*

The woman pines away through grief *at His absence*, saying 'How shall I look upon Him ?'

¹ Mammon

Ornaments, dainty food, sensuous enjoyments are all
vain and of no account for her

Intoxicated with the wine of youth and melting with
pride milk cometh not to her breast

Nanak, she meeteth her Spouse when He causeth her to
meet Him, without Him no sleep cometh to her

The bride is unhonoured without her beloved Lord

How shall she be happy without embracing Him ?

Without a spouse there is no domestic happiness ask
thy friends and companions

Without the Name there is no love or affection, but
with the True One, woman abideth in happiness

They in whose hearts there is truth and contentment,
meet the Friend, under the Guru's instruction the Bride-
groom is recognized

Nanak, the woman who abandoneth not the Name shall
be easily absorbed in God through it

Come, friends and companions, let us enjoy our Beloved

I will ask my Guru and write His words of love

The Guru hath communicated to me the true Word, the
perverse shall regret *they have not received it*

When I recognized the True One, my roaming mind
became fixed

The wisdom of the True One is ever new, so is the
love of His Word

Nanak, true peace of mind is obtained from His look of
favour, meet Him, my friends and companions

My desires have been fulfilled, the Friend hath come
home to me

A song of rejoicing was sung at the union of Husband
and wife

His praises and a song of joy were sung the bride is
happy in His love and her heart is in raptures

Her friends are also happy, her enemies unhappy, true
profit is obtained by repeating the name of the True One

With clasped hands the woman prayeth that she may
night and day be steeped in God's love

Nanak, the Beloved and His spouse unite in dalliance,
my desires have been fulfilled

RAG ASA

✓ The Creator bestows good gifts —

If a beggar at God's gate cry aloud, God heareth him in His palace

God may give him consolation or repulse him, He alone bestoweth greatness

God knoweth man's virtues and inquireth not his caste, in the next world there is no caste

God acteth Himself and causeth to act

Thou, O Creator, payest heed to man's complaints

Since it is Thou alone who actest,

Why should we be dependent on any but Thee?

What is the world to us?

Thou Thyself didst create, Thou Thyself dost bestow,

Thou forbiddest evil inclinations

If Thou by the Guru's favour dwell in the heart,

Suffering and the darkness of ignorance shall depart therefrom

Thou givest truth to those whom Thou lovest,

Thou givest truth to none besides

If Thou give truth to any one, saith Nanak, there shall be no inquiry made of him hereafter

The following was addressed to a votary of Krishan, who was worshipping his god with music and dancing —

Make understanding thy life, the love of God thy drum,

By these joy and earnest desire are ever produced in the heart

This is devotion, this is austerity—

In this wise dance beating time with thy feet

Deem knowing how to praise God as beating time

Other dances are sensuous pleasures

Play truth and contentment as thy pair of cymbals,

Make the perpetual vision of God the bells for thy feet,

Make love for none but God thy measures and songs—

In this wise dance beating time with thy feet

Ever make the fear of God in thy heart and soul,
Whether sitting or standing, thy gyrations
Make the knowledge that thy body is ashes thy recum-
bent posture ¹—

In this wise dance beating time with thy feet

Thine audience shall be the disciples who love instruction,
Who hear the true Name from the Guru's lips,
And repeat it again and again—

Nanak, in this wise dance beating time with thy feet

The following was intended to show God's superiority to His creatures Ram and Krishan, who are now adored as gods by the Hindus —

God having created the atmosphere supported the whole earth and set bounds to water and fire

The fatuous Rawan ² had his ten heads cut off, what greatness was obtained by slaying him ?

What praise of Thine, O God, shall be uttered ?

Thou pervadest everything, Thou lovest all Thy creatures

Having created living beings, Thou holdest their ways in Thy hand What greatness was obtained by putting a nose-ring on the black serpent of *the Jamas* ? ³

Whose husband art Thou ? Who is Thy wife ? Thou pervadest all things

Brahma, the granter of favours, with his progeny went to ascertain God's greatness,

But could not find His limits, what greatness was obtained by slaying Kama ? ⁴

When the sea of milk was churned and its gems brought

¹ A part of an Oriental dance

² Rawan, king of Ceylon, abducted Sita, Rama's wife, and was killed by him

³ This was one of the feats of Krishan, who, in some ways, resembles the Hercules of Greece

⁴ Kama, king of Mathura, is called Krishan's maternal uncle It was foretold that the offspring of Krishan's mother, Devaki, should kill Kama, so he employed all his efforts to destroy her children Krishan, however, was not destroyed, but succeeded in fulfilling the terms of the prophecy

forth, the *demigods and demons* each claimed the merit thereof

What greatness was obtained by the distribution of the gems to each ? Saith Nanak, if men try to conceal Thy greatness, *O God*, how can it be concealed ?

The Guru in his anxiety to meet God compares himself to a bride who rejoices in her approaching marriage —

When the *Bridegroom* kindly came to my house,

My female companions met me and arranged for the marriage

My heart was glad as I gazed upon the play, the *Bridegroom* came to wed me

Sing, sing, *O ladies*, the *bridal* song with wisdom and reflection

The *Life* of the world hath come to my house as my *Bridegroom*

My marriage having been brought about through my Guru, when I met him I recognized my Spouse

Whose Word filleth the three worlds, when my pride departed my heart was glad

God arrangeth His own affairs, they are not arranged by others

They consist in bestowing truth, contentment, mercy, and faith—a few pious persons know this

Saith Nanak, God alone is the Spouse of all

She on whom He looketh with favour is the happy wife

In the opinion of the Guru human life is worthless without holiness —

A cow without milk, a bird without wings, and tillage without water are of no avail

What is an emperor to whom no obeisance is made ? Dark is the chamber in which Thy name, *O God*, is not

Why shouldest Thou forget me when I am in great affliction ?

When affliction befallerh me, forget me not

Man's eyes grow blind, his tongue loseth its taste, his ears hear not,

He can only move by being supported—these are the fruits of non-service

Make the Word the garden tree, plant it in good soil,¹ and irrigate with love

The one Name is the fruit of all such trees, how shall men obtain it without good works ?

All creatures are Thine, O Lord, none obtaineth his reward without devotion to Thee

Wee and weal are distributed according to Thy will, without Thy name real life remaineth not

How may man live except by dying by the Guru's teaching ? If one live otherwise, he shall not know the way

Saith Nanak Thou, O Lord, restorest life Thou preservest man as Thou pleasest

The following was addressed by way of admonition to a Brahman —

Making my body the loin-cloth, my heart the Brahman, Divine knowledge my sacrificial thread, meditation my grass² and leaves

I shall beg for God's name and prayers *instead of the alms of the Brahmins*,

And by the favour of the Guru be absorbed in God
O Brahman, so meditate on God

That His name may become thy purification, His name thy learning, and His name thy wisdom and good acts

The sacrificial thread is only on thy body as long as thou hast life

Make the remembrance of the Name thy loin-cloth and frontal mark,

And it shall abide with thee in this world and the next
Search for nothing but the true Name,

Make God's love thy worship, the burning of *the love of wealth thine incense*

Look only on the one God, search for none other

¹ The heart

² The *Junks* (*Poa cynosuroides*) used by the Brahmins in worship

He who repeateth God's name with his mouth and pondereth on it,

Beholdeth Him at the tenth door of the armament¹

His doubt and fear who liveth upon the love of God flee away

If the sentry be on the alert, thieves will not break in

Deem the knowledge of the one God thy frontal mark,

And the consciousness that God is within thee thy discrimination²

God cannot be overcome by other ceremonial acts

He who merely readeth religious books hath not found His worth

His secret is not known from the eighteen Purans or the four Veds

Nanak, the true Guru hath shown me God

The following was addressed to a pandit who inquired how salvation could be obtained —

The body like a frail earthen vessel is miserable, in birth and death it suffereth *further* pain

How shall the dangerous ocean of this world be crossed?

It cannot without the divine Guru

There is none but Thee O my Beloved, there is none but Thee, O God

In all colours and forms art Thou, Thou pardonest him on whom Thou lookest with favour

My mother-in-law³ is perverse, she will neither let me dwell at home, nor meet my Beloved

Since I have worshipped the feet of my companions and friends,⁴ my Beloved through the kindness of the Guru hath looked on me with favour

Reflecting on myself and chastening my heart I see that there is no friend like Thee

As Thou keepst me so I live, I endure woe and weal as Thou bestowest them

¹ In the brain in a state of ecstasy

² In the matter of eating, drinking, wearing, living, and worshipping

³ *Mamoon*

⁴ The saints

I have dispelled hopes and desires, and I no more long for mammon

The holy man who hath found shelter in the society of the saints, obtaineth the fourth state¹

He in whose heart the invisible and inscrutable God dwelleth, possesseth all divine knowledge, meditation, devotion, and penance

Nanak, he whose heart is dyed with God's name shall readily obtain devotion under the Guru's instruction

The following is supposed to have been composed by the Guru on the death of his father —

Abandon love of family and love of everything

Abandon worldly love, it is all sinful

Abandon worldly love and superstition, O my friends

Repeat the true Name with your tongues and your hearts

His children weep not and his mother afflicteth not herself for him²

Who possesseth the nine treasures of the true Name

The world is ruined by such love as *the worldly love*,

Only some rare pious man may be saved

Through such love as *that* one is born again

He who feeleth such love goeth to the city of Death

Practise acceptance of the Guru's instruction as thy devotion and penance

He who breaketh not with worldly love shall not be accepted

If God look on man with favour such love shall depart,

O Nanak, and he shall be absorbed in God

When Guru Nanak went to Gorakhmata—the present Nanakmata—he found religious men of

¹ Ancient Indian writers enumerate four states of life—*jāgrat*, waking, *swapna*, dreaming, *sukhopa*, deep sleep—*avastha* is *avasthā* *na* *śū* *śū* *śū* *śū* (Plato, *Apology*), and *nirya* mental absorption in God, in which state man is said to have obtained salvation during life. He then forgets the troubles of the world and is immersed in happiness

² The gītās also translate—His heart eneth not or longeth for mammon

several sects assembled there. The following was composed after a discussion with them —

He who meditateth on knowledge conferreth favour on others

When he correcteth his evil passions he dwelleth at a place of pilgrimage,

The tinkling bells of ecstasy resound for him when he turneth his heart to God

What can Death do to me in the next world ?

When man hath abandoned desires he is a Sanyasi

If a Jogi be continent, he enjoyeth his body ¹

He who in his heart meditateth mercy, is a Digambar ²

He tortureth himself, but not others

Thou, O Lord, art one, but many are Thy manifestations

Nanak knoweth not Thy wonderful play

As a wife fears that she is forgotten by her spouse, so the holy man fears that he is neglected by God —

I am not possessed of one virtue to cleanse my polluted body

My Lord awaketh, I sleep the lvelong night

How shall I thus become dear to my Spouse ?

My Lord awaketh, I sleep the lvelong night

Even though I approach His couch smitten with desire,

I know not if I shall then please Him or please Him not

How know I what shall occur, O mother ?

Without beholding God I cannot abide

I have not tasted love, my thirst is not quenched,

My youth hath fled, and I mourn *for what is lost*

Even now I awake smitten with desire

I have become sad, and remain without hope

If woman adorn herself with the rejection of pride,

Her Spouse will enjoy her on the couch

Then, Nanak, shall she please her Spouse's heart,

She will abandon pride and be absorbed in Him

¹ The ecstasy he feels from the practice of Jog is sufficient for him

² Who wanders naked

It is necessary to fear as well as love God so as to keep His commandments —

In this world woman is very silly
I know not the worth of my Spouse,
He is one, there is none other
If He cast a glance of favour on me, I shall meet Him
In the next world woman shall know the truth,
And easily recognize her Beloved
If she obtain such wisdom by the Guru's favour,
She shall please her Spouse's heart
Saith Nanak, if she adorn herself with fear and love,
Her Spouse will ever enjoy her on the couch

When man has parted with all worldly love, he has prepared himself for deliverance —

No one hath a son, no one hath a mother¹
Through deceitful worldly love man wandereth in doubt
O my Lord, I am Thy creation,
I utter Thy name when Thou givest it me
Man may wail aloud for his many transgressions,
But he shall only be pardoned if it be God's will
By the Guru's favour evil inclinations depart—
Wherever I gaze there is only one God—
Saith Nanak, if man attain such wisdom,
The True One will absorb that true one in Himself

The following was addressed to a worldly-minded Raja —

Thou mayest have lakhs of armies, lakhs of musical instruments and lances, lakhs of men may rise to do thee homage,

Thy dominion may extend over lakhs of *males*, lakhs of men may rise to do thee honour—

All that would be fruitless, wert thou not credited in God's account

Without God's name the world is only trouble

If the fool be never so much admonished, he remaineth the blindest of the blind

¹ Everything is illusion

Thou mayest earn lakhs of rupees, thou mayest amass and spend lakhs, lakhs may come and lakhs may go,

But, if thy soul obtain not credit in God's account, where else shall it obtain it ?

Lakhs of Shastars may be explained to thee, lakhs of pandits may read the Purans for thee—

All would be unacceptable didst thou not obtain credit in God's account

From the true Name—the Lord Creator's name—honour is obtained

If it dwell day and night in the heart, O Nanak, man shall be delivered by God's favouring glance

The temptations to which man is exposed by his senses —

The five evil passions dwell concealed within the heart,
Wherefore it remaineth not fixed, but wandereth like a pilgrim

My mind remaineth not fixed on the Merciful One
Avaricious, deceitful, sinful, and hypocritical, it is excessively attached to worldly love

When I meet my Beloved I will adorn myself,

And put on necklaces of flowers

I have five companions and one husband¹

It is ordained from the beginning that the soul depart

The five senses shall weep in unison,

Sarth Nanak, when the soul is arrested to give its account

ASA ASHTAPADI

Guru Nanak expatiates on the advantage of the Guru's instruction and the repetition of God's name —

Man may perform all devotion, all penance and resort to every expedient,

Yet he is as if he wandered in a wilderness, and could not find the way

Without knowing God, no one is acceptable

¹ This is the relation of the soul to the five senses or organs of perception

Without the Name man is despoised¹

The Lord is permanent, the world cometh and goeth
 Mortals shall be emancipated by being the holy man's
 slaves.

The world is bound by worldly love and many desires,
 Yet some reject it under the Guru's instruction

The lotuses of *the hearts* of those who have the Name
 within them bloom,

And they fear not Death.

The world which loveth women is overcome by them

Men attached to sons and wives forget God's name

They waste in vain their human lives and lose their game

To serve the true Guru is the best thing

They who utter words of pride in public,

Never apply the unction of salvation to their hearts

They who burn worldly love under the Guru's instruction,

And ever meditate on the pure Name in their hearts,

Hold and restrain their wandering minds

By God's favour the Guru associateth such persons with
 the congregation of the Sikhs

Without a guru man forgetteth God and suffereth trans-
 migration

Him whom God regardeth favourably He blendeth with
 Himself

If I speak of the beautiful One, I cannot describe Him

If I discourse of the Ineffable, I cannot find His worth

All pain and pleasure depend on Thy will, O God

All pain shall be erased by the True Name,

*And men shall hear instruments played without hands and
 anklets without feet*

If man understand the Word, he shall behold the True
 One

When the True One is in the heart, all happiness is there
 also

The Preserver preserveth men by His favouring glance

He who effaceth himself knoweth the three worlds

He who understandeth the Word, shall be absorbed in
 the True One

¹ Literally—has ashes thrown on his head

Nanak, the Creator will congratulate him
Who without respite meditateth on the Word

How deliverance may be obtained —

He who burneth his hopes and desires by the Word,
Who uttereth and causeth others to utter God's name,
Shall by means of the Gura find the way to God's own
abode

His body shall become gold by God's incomparable light,
And he shall behold God's form in the whole three worlds
I possess God's true name as wealth which shall never fail
God pervadeth the five *elements*, the three *worlds*, the
nine *regions*, and the four *quarters of the universe*

The Almighty supporteth the earth and the heavens

The wandering *man* He bringeth back

Whoever is a fool seeth not with his eyes ,

His language giveth not pleasure, and he understandeth
not what is told him

Intoxicated with evil passions, he quarrelleth with the
world ,

While on the other hand a man becometh good by association
with the good,

Pursueth virtue and purifieth himself from vice

Without serving the Gura peace is not obtained

The Name is diamonds, jewels, and rubes ,

It is the pearl of the heart, God's own wealth

Nanak, God assayeth man, and maketh him happy with
a glance

The following was addressed to a hypocritical
Jogi —

Men sang songs while meditating evil ,

They intone measures and style themselves knowing

Without the Name the heart is filthy and meditateth evil

Whither goest thou ? O man, remain at home

The pious are satiated with God's name, and by searching
easily find Him

The bodily sins of lust, wrath, and worldly love are in
the mind ,

So are painful greed, avarice, and pride
 How can the mind be satisfied without God's name ?
 They who have their hearts know the True One
 The holy man knoweth the condition of his heart

The mind obtains composure by devotion —

The apostate's mind is a furious elephant
 Which wanders distracted in the forest of worldly love
 Impelled by Death it rusheth here and there,
 While the pious search and find God in their hearts
 Without the Guru's word the mind is not at rest
 Remember God's very pure name and relinquish bitter
 pride

Say how shall this stupid mind be happy

Without understanding, it shall suffer the torture of
 Death

God will cause man to meet the true Guru, and will
 pardon him

The True One will thrust aside the tortures of Death

Wealth is perishable , devotion to God an abiding
 gain —

When the body perisheth, whose shall be its wealth ?
 Without the Guru how shall God's name be obtained ?
 God's name is wealth which accompaneth and assisteth us.
 Day and night he is pure who fixeth his attention on God
 What have we but God's name ?

Treating pleasure and pain as the same I forsake not
 the Name God will pardon and blend me with Himself

The fool loveth gold and woman ,

Attached to mammon he forgetteth the Name

Him whom Thou, O God, pardonest Thou causest to
 repeat Thy name

Death's myrmidons cannot overtake him who singeth
 Thy praises

O Hari, who art God, the great Giver,

Mercifully preserve us as Thou pleasest

Under the Guru's instruction God is pleasing to my mind ,

Disease is removed and pain averted

There is no other medicine, charm, or spell
 By remembering God, sin is destroyed
 As I behold creation I am amazed and astonished
 God is contained in the hearts of demigods and men
 God who filleth every place, I hold in my heart
 There is none equal to Thee, O Lord
 He who loveth worship hath God's name in his mouth
 In the company of such saints and worshippers
 Man breaketh his shackles and meditateth on God
 Pious men are emancipated by a knowledge of God
 through the Guru

Death's myrmidons cannot inflict pain on him
 Who awaketh in the love of God's name
 God to whom His saints are dear, abideth with them
 Nanak, salvation is obtained by bearing love to God

The following on the disregard of worldly things
 was addressed to a selfish Brahman —

He who serveth the Guru knoweth the Lord,
 His pain is erased who recognizeth the True Word
 Repeat God's name, my friends and companions
 On serving the true Guru ye shall behold God with
 your eyes

Entanglements are mother, father, and the whole world,
 Entanglements are sons, daughters, and women,
 Entanglements are religious ceremonies performed
 through ostentation,

Entanglements are sons, wives, and worldly love in the
 mind,

An entanglement is the tillage done by the tiller—

He suffereth for his selfishness when the King demandeth
 revenue—

An entanglement is traffic without meditating on God

Man is never satisfied, worldly love is everywhere
 diffused¹

An entanglement is the perishable wealth which merchants
 amass

¹ Also translated—Man is not satisfied with the extension of his
 wealth

Without devotion to God man findeth no place
 Entanglements are Veds, religious discussions and pride
 By the entanglements of worldly love and sin man
 perisheth—

Nanak taketh shelter in God's name —

He whom the true Guru preserveth is freed from his
 entanglements

The following was addressed to a mixed assembly
 of professedly religious men —

I have searched in every direction, but found no friend

If it please Thee, O Lord, Thou art mine and I am Thine

I have no other gate than Thine, whom shall I viltute ?

I possess Thee alone O Lord, Thy true name is in my
 mouth

The Sadhs strive for supernatural power, Pirs also desire
 wealth and supernatural power

May I not forget the one Name under the true Guru's
 instruction !

Why do the Jogis, the Bhogis,¹ and the Kaprias wander
 in foreign lands ?

They heed not the Guru's instruction or the Real Thing
 that is within them

Pandits, preceptors, and astrologers ever read the Purana,

But know not the Thing within them—God who is con-
 cealed within the heart

Some anchorites perform austerities in forests, others ever
 dwell at places of pilgrimages

Those beighted people know not themselves, why have
 they become ascetics ?

Some who are called Jains try to restrain their seed

Without the word of the Guru they shall not be saved, but
 shall wander in transmigration

Different persons are family men, worshippers penitents,
 but it is only they who are attached to the Guru's instruc-
 tions,

Who hold fast the Name, charity, and ablutions, and who
 awake in God's service

¹ A sect of Indian Sybarites.

Through the Guru the gate of Thy house, O Lord, is known, when men go there they recognise it

Saith Nanak, may I not forget Thy name, and may my heart be reconciled with the True One !

Precepts for salvation —

By restraining his mental desires man shall assuredly cross the terrible ocean

Thou, O Lord, wast in the beginning and in the primal age, Thou art the Merciful, *I have entered* Thine asylum

Thou art the Giver, we are Thy beggars, O God, grant us a sight of Thee

O man, meditate on the Name under the Guru's instruction, and thou shalt be happy in the temple of thy heart

Renounce falsehood and avarice, and then shalt thou recognise the True One

Be absorbed in the Guru's instruction, and thou shalt know what is best for thee

This mind is a grasping tyrant enamoured of greed

Under the Guru's instruction greed is removed and man arriveth at an understanding with God

If man sow a barren field, how shall he obtain profit ?

The obstinate man is not pleased with the truth, he is buried in falsehood

Renounce avarice, ye blind, it bringeth great unhappiness

If the true Lord dwell in the heart, the poison of pride shall be removed

For sake the evil way of mammon, my brethren or ye shall be plundered

Day and night praise the Name under the protection of the true Guru

The mind of the perverse is a stone or a rock, accursed and vain is his life

However much a stone be put into the water, it is dry at the core

God's name is wealth, the true Guru hath given it

Nanak, he who forgetteth not God's name drinketh distilled nectar

The advantage of domestic devotion —

Why should I go searching in the wood ? My heart is
a verdant forest

The true Word hath come quickly to my heart and
abideth there

Wherever I look there is God, no one else is seen

Whosoever doeth the Guru's work shall find God's court

The True One blendeth with Himself him who is pleasing
to His mind,

He blendeth with Himself him who ever walketh accord-
ing to His will

If the true Lord dwell in the heart, it becometh fixed

God then granteth greatness in which naught is wanting

How shall one reach God's court by occasional service ?

He who embarketh in a boat of stone shall be drowned
with his cargo ¹

An inculcation of devotion regardless of worldly
opinion —

He whose mind is imbued with God's name discourseth
of the True One

What care I for men if I please Thee ?

As long as there are life and soul, meditate on the True
One

The profit of singing God's praises is that man obtaineth
happiness

True is Thy work, grant it me, Thou Merciful One

I live by praising Thee, Thou art my prop and my
support

I am the servant and the porter at Thy gate, Thou
knowest my pain

I am astounded at Thy service which hath removed my
pain

Holy men through Thy name shall reach Thy court and
Thy presence ²

¹ Also translated—in the ocean

² Also translated—They who know the Name under the Guru's
instruction shall reach God's court

That time is auspicious when man recognizeth the true Word

Practice truth, contentment, and love, and then the worship of God's name shall be thy vaticum

Banish sin from thy mind, and the True One will bestow truth

The True One bestoweth true love on the true

What pleaseth Thee, O God, is the real justice

True are the gifts which the true and merciful One granteth

Serve Him day and night whose Name is priceless

Thou O God, art the most high, I who am Thy servant am low

Saith Nanak, O True One, look on me with favour that I who am separated from Thee may meet Thee

ASA CHEANT

It is said that Bhai Budha and Mula, a Sikh, went to the Guru and asked him what afforded the highest gratification. His reply was the following —

O woman in the prime of youth, my Beloved is playful

When a wife entertaineth great love for her Spouse, He mercifully taketh delight in her and enjoyeth her

The wife shall meet her Spouse if the Lord God Himself show her favour

Her bed is pleasant in the company of her Beloved, her seven tanks¹ are filled with nectar

Show me compassion and kindness, O Compassionate One, that I may obtain the true Word and sing Thy praises

Nanak, the young woman, having seen God her Spouse, is delighted and her heart is enraptured

O young woman, beautiful without art, pray only for the love of the one God

God is pleasing to my soul and body, and I am charmed with His companionship

She who is dyed with God's love and prayeth to Him, shall abide in happiness through His name

¹ The five organs of perception, with intellect and understanding

When thou embracest virtue thou shalt know God, virtue shall abide with thee and vice be put to flight

Without Thee I cannot abide for a moment, I derive no satisfaction from merely conversing of Thee

Nanak, she whose tongue and heart are moistened with God's essence, calleth for her Beloved

O my friends and companions, my beloved is a merchant
I have purchased from him God's name whose sweetness and value are infinite

If woman's house be pleasing to the inestimable, true, and beloved God, she shall be happy

Other women enjoy dalliance with God, I cry aloud standing at His door

Thou, Cause of causes, Omnipotent, Harbinger of prosperity, arrangeest man's affairs

Nanak, she on whom God looketh with favour is a happy wife, she treasureth up the Word in her heart

In my house is a true song of rejoicing, God my lover hath visited me

Imbued with love He enjoyed me, I have exchanged hearts with Him

I gave God my heart and took Him as my Spouse, He enjoyeth me as He pleaseth

She who offereth her soul and body to the Beloved is supremely happy through the Word, and obtaineth the ambrosial fruit in her own home

It is not obtained by intellect, or study, or by great cleverness, what the heart desireth is obtained by love

Nanak, God is my Beloved, I belong to none besides¹

As the deer is snared, the bumble-bee caught by the lotus, and the fish falleth into the net, so man's soul becomes the prey of Death

Hear, O black deer,² why art thou enamoured of the garden?³

The fruit of sin is sweet, but only for four days, it then groweth bitter

¹ Also translated—I conceal not the fact

² Man

³ The world

The fruit for which thou greatly cravest, shall become very bitter without the Name

That fruit is as a wave of the ocean, or as a flash of lightning¹

There is no protector but God, yet He hath been forgotten by thee

Verily, saith Nanak, think of it, thou shalt die, O black deer

O bumble-bee,² thou wanderest among the flowers, and very great shall be thy suffering, *when the lotus closeth on thee*

I have inquired of my Guru regarding the true knowledge of God

I have inquired of the true Guru regarding the knowledge of God, O bumble-bee, thou art enamoured of the flowers

When the sun riseth,³ the body falleth, and the soul shall be boiled in hot oil

O demon, without the Word thou shalt be bound and punished on the road of death

Verily, saith Nanak, think of it, thou shalt die, O black bee

My soul from a strange land,⁴ why fallest thou into entanglements?

When the true Lord dwelleth in thee, why shouldst thou be entangled in Death's net?

When the fisherman casteth his net, the fish leaveth the water with tears in its eyes

The love of mammon is dear to the world; all doubts on the subject shall at last be set aside⁵

Serve God heartily, and dispel thy mental anxieties

Verily, saith Nanak, think of it, O my soul from a strange land,

Rivers which separate in their course can only meet again by chance

In every age what is sweet is full of poison some rare holy man knoweth this

¹ That is, such fruit is very transitory

² The soul in another aspect

³ When death comes

⁴ Which has migrated from another body

⁵ Also translated—But at last it shall be delivered from its error

Some rare person who thinketh of the true Guru knoweth
divine knowledge and recognazeth God

Without God's name the fools and the heedless wander in
superstition and are ruined

They whose hearts contain not God's true name and
service, at last groan and weep

Verily, saith Nanak, they who have been long separated
meet by the True Word

RAG GUJARI

Guru Nanak orders man to repeat God's name
and engage not in idol worship —

If the heart be made the scraper,¹ the Name the sandal,
And good acts be mixed with it as lungu, that shall be
the real worship of God in the heart

Worship God by meditating on His name, for without
the Name there is no worship

If any one were to wash his heart as the surface of the
idol is washed,

His impurity should be removed, his soul should become
pure, and he should depart to deliverance

Even beasts have their merits, for the oil-cake they eat
they give milk, *but the Brahmans make no return for the
offerings made them*

Without the Name accursed is man's life and the acts he
performeth

God is near, think Him not distant, He ever careth for
and remembereth us

Eat what He giveth, said Nanak verily

The Guru's God is superior to the demagogs of
the Hindus —

Brahma sprang from the lotus of Vishnu's navel, and
having attuned his throat began to recite the Veds,

Yet he could not see God's limits, and remained in the
darkness of transmigration

Why should I forget the Beloved who is the support of
my soul,

¹ *Uras* A stone on which sandal for worship is scraped

Whom the perfect worship, whom munis serve, on whom
gurus meditate,

Whose lamps are the sun and moon, and whose one light
pervadeth the three worlds ¹

The pious have light day and night, but for the perverse
there is only sable darkness

The Sidh sitteth in meditative posture and ever argueth,
but can he see God even with both his eyes ²

They in whose hearts there is light are awakened by the
sound of the Word, the true Guru decideth their arguments

O Lord of demigods and men, infants, unborn, Thy true
palace is unrivalled

Sauth Nanak, O Life of the world, grant me peace and save
me by Thy favouring glance

GUJARI ASHTAPADI

The Guru's heart is ever filled with devotion —

I ask Thee, O God, for nothing at any time ¹ but the love
of Thy pure name, grant it to me, O Bright One

The chatrik Nanak prayeth for the nectareous water of
Thy name, mercifully grant him to sing Thy praises

There is no happiness without true devotion —

O Sire, how many people wear religious garbs to beg and
fill their bellies ¹

O mortal, there is no happiness without God's service,
without the Guru pride departeth not

O Sire, what shall I ask ² Nothing appeareth per-
manent, in this world are the ebb and flow of life

Sauth Nanak, grant me the Name as my wealth, that I
may wear it as a necklace on my heart

The Guru only claims to be a religious instructor
from the ranks of the people —

O Sire, I am not high, or low, or muddling, I am of God's
people, and I seek His protection

¹ *At sat* Also translated—I only look for Thy Pure name, not the
worthless things of this world

It is only they who are dyed with the Name who are free from worldly love and forget mourning, separation, and disease

My brethren, by the favour of the Guru God's service is obtained

He in whose heart is the Word of the true Guru, obtaineth the Pure God, heedeth not Death and oweth him nothing

The following instruction was addressed to Pandit Ram Chand at Banaras —

The saints worship God with love, they thirst for the truth, and hear it with excessive love

They who cry aloud in trouble obtain rest by prayer and heartily loving God

O man, repeat God's name and seek His protection

Repeat God's name and do good works, thus shalt thou cross over the ocean of the world

O mortal man, to repeat God's name under the Guru's instruction is a happy thought

By mentally repeating God's name one's mind obtaineth a treasure of real divine knowledge and peace

In this world man's fickle mind pursueth wealth and becometh intoxicated with worldly love.

But, on being imbued with the Guru's word and teaching, God's name and service become firmly implanted in the heart

Doubts which ruin the world by the disease of transmigration, cease not by wandering to *places of pilgrimage*

The place of God is the abode of unmixed happiness, he who is truly wise repeateth God's name as his penance

Every one is saturated with worldly love, and *therefore endureth* the great pain of birth and death

Man shall be saved by hastening to the asylum of the true Guru and repeating God's name in his heart

Man's mind becometh stable, and he *practiseth* divine meditation under the Guru's instruction

Pure is the heart which containeth truth and the excellent jewel of divine knowledge

O man, by fear, love, and service, and by fixing thine attention on God's feet shalt thou cross the terrible ocean

O God, put into my heart Thy name which is the purest of the pure, my body is in Thy sanctuary

Extricate me, O God, from the waves of avarice and covetousness, and put Thy name as capital into my heart

Chasten my mind Thou spotless One, saith Nanak, I seek Thy protection

BHAGRE KI WAN

Reflections on the Hindu idol-worshippers —

The Hindus have forgotten God, and are going the wrong way

They worship according to the instruction of Narad¹

They are blind and dumb, the blindest of the blind

The ignorant fools take stones and worship them

O *Hindus*, how shall the stone which itself sinketh carry you across ?

RAG WADHANS

The Guru enjoyed a vision of God in his dreams, and on awaking felt the pain of separation from Him —

The peacocks are crying with joy, O sisters, the rainy season hath come

The fervent woman, O God, is enamoured of Thy glances which bind her like a rope

I am a sacrifice to a sight of Thee, O God, to Thy name I am a sacrifice

Since Thou art my *Master* I am proud, without Thee what pride should I have ?

O woman, break thy couch with its frame and thine arm with their bracelets,²

Since, notwithstanding thy decorations, the Lord is enamoured of others

Thou needest not a bracelet-dealer, or silver, or glass bracelets

¹ Narad's *Pancharatra* inculcates idolatry

² Literally—break thy bracelets on thy couch and along with them its frame and thine arms

Burn the arm which embraceth not the Bridegroom
 All my companions went to enjoy the Bridegroom , whose
 door shall I, wretched that I am, approach ?

O Lord, *I think myself* well behaved and very clever, yet
 I have no charm to please Thee

I plaited my tresses with cosmetic and filled the parting
 of my hair with vermillion ,

Yet when I went before Thee I was not accepted , I shall
 die of excessive grief

I am weeping, the whole world weepeth , yea, even the
 birds of the forests weep for me

One thing weepeth not for me, the separation which parted
 me from my Beloved

He came to me in my dreams and again vanished, upon
 which I wept my fill

I cannot go to Thee, O Beloved, or send any one to Thee

Return, O happy sleep, perhaps I may again behold my
 Lord

What shall I give him, saith Nanak, who telleth me
 of Thee, O God ?

I will cut off my head and give it to him to sit on , without
 my head I will perform his service

Why do I not die and give up my life since my Lord hath
 chosen another ?

WADHANS CHILANT

The following was addressed to the Hindus, who
 set the highest religious value on ablutions —

Why wash the body defiled by falsehood ?

The practice of truth is the acceptable ablution

When there's truth in the heart, then man becometh true
 and obtaineth the True One

Understanding is not obtained without favourable destiny,
 man runneth himself by vain babbling

Wherever thou sittest speak civilly, and fix thine
 attention on God's word

Why wash the body defiled by falsehood ?

When Thou, O Lord, didst cause me to speak, I spoke

Thine ambrosial name is pleasing to my soul

Thy name is sweet to my soul , a load of sorrow hath
fallen from off me

When Thou gavest the order, happiness came and took
its seat in my heart

I pray to Thee, who didst create the world, for Thy favour
When Thou didst cause me to speak, I spoke

The Master granteth man his term of human life according
to his past acts

Fall not into a quarrel by calling any one evil

Enter not into a quarrel with the Lord , thou shalt only
run thyself

Why be jealous and vex him with whom thou associatest ?

Bear what God giveth thee , it is forbidden to remon-
strate , speak not nonsense regarding it

The Master granteth man his term of life according to
past acts

God created all things and looketh on them with favour

Nobody desireth what is bitter , every one desireth what
is sweet

Everybody may ask for what is sweet, but God will do
as He pleaseth

Alms-offerings and various good works are not equal to
the Name

Nanak, they who are the objects of God's favour from the
beginning, have obtained His name

God created all things and looketh on them with favour

WADHANS ALAHANIAN

Some one inquired why God, who is ever present,
is never visible The Guru replied —

The Lord who created the world and again drew it within
Himself, is known by His omnipotence

Search not for the True One afar off , He is in every
heart, and is known by the Guru's instruction

By the Guru's instruction know the True One who made
creation , think Him not distant

Meditate on the Name and thou shalt obtain happiness
without the Name man is not victorious in the arena of
the world

He who established the world knoweth its ways , what shall any one say ?

He who established the world spread the net of mammon , accept that Lord *with thy heart*

WADHANS KI WAR

Guru Nanak as usual pays no attention to ceremonial —

Perish the ritual by which I forgot my Beloved ¹

Nanak, that is the true love which preserveth me in honour with the Lord

RAG SORATH

The Guru's reflections on death and future punishment —

Death must come to all and all must part company ,
Go and ask the wise if men shall meet hereafter or not
They who have forgotten my God shall suffer great pain
Certainly praise that true Being,
From whose glance of favour happiness ever resulteth
Praise Him, for He is Great He is, was, and ever shall be
Thou alone, O God, art the Benefactor of all , no gifts are obtained from man

What pleaseth Thee taketh place , what avail womanly tears ?

How many kings have departed having exercised sovereignty over millions of fortresses on earth ²

They whom the world could not contain have had rings put on their noses ¹

If man thought of future torments why should he devote himself to enjoyment ? ²

Nanak, man shall have to wear on his neck as many chains as he hath sins

If he possess virtues, which are as brothers and friends, his chains shall be cut off

They who have no Guru shall not be accepted hereafter , they shall be beaten and expelled

¹ Have been made slaves

² Literally—Why should he eat sweet things?

The following is in opposition to all except deistic forms of religion —

There appeareth no partner of Thine, then whom shall I praise *but Thee* ?

Nanak, the slave of slaves representeth, God is known by the Guru's teaching

The Guru's conception of God —

The Unseen, Infinite, Inaccessible, Inapprehensible God is not subject to death or destiny¹

He is of no caste, unborn, self-existent, without fear or doubt

I am a sacrifice to the Truest of the true

He hath no form, or colour, or outline, He becometh manifest by the true Word

He hath no mother, father, son, or kinsman, He feelth not lust, and hath no wife

Or family, He is pure, endless, and infinite, all light is Thine, O Lord

God is concealed in every heart, His light is in every heart

He whose understanding's adamant doors are opened by the Guru's instruction, fixeth his gaze on the Fearless One

God having created animals made them subject to death, and retained all contrivances in his own power

He who serveth the True Guru obtaineth the real boon, and is delivered by repeating the Word

Truth is contained in pure vessels, few there are whose acts are pure

By seeking Thy protection, saith Nanak, the soul blendeth with the Supreme Soul

The condition of a man who has no Guru to communicate God's name —

As a fish without water, so is the infidel—dying of thirst

If thy breath be drawn in vain, O man, thou shalt die without God

¹ Also translated—God is not bound by the influence of His acts

O man, repeat God's name and praises ,

But how shalt thou obtain this pleasure without the Guru ? It is the Guru who uniteth man with God

Meeting the society of holy men is as a pilgrimage for the holy

The advantages of bathing at the sixty-eight places of pilgrimage are obtained by beholding the Guru —

As a Jogi without continence, devotion, truth, or contentment,

So is the body without the Name , Death will punish it since it containeth sin in its heart

God is not found by loving the infidel , He is found by loving the true Guru

Saith Nanak, he who is absorbed in God's praises obtaineth the Guru who is the dispenser of weal and woe

Man should cultivate true piety in his own home —

The nectareous water of life,¹ for which thou comest into the world, is with the Guru

Abandon garbs, disguises, and cleverness , this water ² is not obtained by devotion to mammon

O man, remain at home , go nowhere, my friend

By searching abroad thou shalt suffer much affliction , the water of life is in thy heart at home

Forsake vice and pursue virtue , thy vice thou shalt regret

Thou knowest not good from evil , thou shalt again and again wallow in the mire

Inside there is the great filth of covetousness and falsehood , why wishest thou thine outside ?

Ever repeat the Pure Name under the Guru's instruction, then shall thy heart be pure

Abandon covetousness and slander, forswear falsehood and thou shalt obtain the true fruit through the Guru's instruction

O God, preserve me as Thou pleasest , Nanak praiseth Thy Word

¹ That is, God's name

² Literally—this fruit

God is the invisible Benefactor and is pleased when men obey His behests —

All creatures are subject to destiny from the beginning , there is none not subject to it

God alone is not subject to destiny , He beholdeth the work of His own omnipotence , He causeth His order to be executed

O man, repeat God's name and thou shalt be happy ,

Day and night worship the feet of the Guru the Giver and the Enjoyer

Behold Him without thee as He is within thee , there is none other

Under the Guru's instruction regard all men as equal, since God's light is contained in the heart of each

Restrain in its place thy wandering mind , thou shalt know how to do this on meeting the Guru

On beholding the Invisible thou shalt be astounded , thou shalt forget thy misery and obtain happiness

Quaff nectar and thou shalt obtain supreme happiness and abide in thine own home

Sing His praises who destroyeth the fear of birth and death, and thou shalt not be born again

God¹ the First Principle, the Pure One, is in all things , of this there is no doubt

Nanak hath obtained God the Infinite Supreme Being as his Guru

SORATH ASHTAPADI

The Guru deprecates idolatry and then gives his notion of an ideal Bauragi, or renouncer of the world —

May I not fall under the power of mammon, worship any but God, or visit tombs and places of cremation !

May I not enter the strange house impelled by greed !² may the Name extinguish my greed !

The Guru showed me God in my own home , my heart became easily enamoured of Him, my brethren

¹ *Sekhas*, I am He Compare 'I am that I am'

² May I not go to worship in a heathen temple for the sake of mammon

Thou art wise, Thou art far-seeing, it is only Thou, O Lord, who givest wisdom

My heart hath no love for the world, it is tinctured with its hate, the Word hath penetrated my heart, O my mother

He who loveth the true Lord and continually repeateth His hymns, beholdeth His light in his own heart

Countless persons call themselves Bairags, but only he who is pleasing to God is a Bairagi

Such a Bairagi treasureth the Word in his heart he is ever absorbed in the fear of God and serveth the Guru

He thinketh on the one God, his mind wavereth not, and he restraineth its wanderings

He is intoxicated with God's love, ever absorbed in divine pleasure, and he singeth the praises of the True One

If the mind, which is like the wind, dwell even for a little on the name of Him who liveth at ease, happiness shall result, my brethren

My tongue, eyes, and ears are tinctured by the True One, Thou, O Lord, hast extinguished the fire that consumed me

He is a Bairagi who abandoneth desires and assumeth an attitude of contemplation in his own home

He who is filled with the alms of the Name is contented and quaffeth nectar at his ease

As long as there is a particle of worldly love, there is no contempt of the world

All the world is Thine, O Lord, Thou alone art the Giver, there is none other, my brethren

Perverse creatures ever abide in misery, God conferreth greatness on the holy

Infinite, endless, inaccessible, unapprehensible, Thy worth cannot be obtained by speaking

Sun Samadh,¹ Mahaparamarath,² and Lord of the three worlds are names of Thine

All animals born in the world have their destinies recorded on their foreheads, and must bear what is destined for them

¹ He who is in deep and silent meditation

² The great supreme Being

It is God who causeth man to perform good acts and maketh them steadfast in His service

When man feareth God, the filth of his soul and body departeth, and God Himself giveth him divine knowledge

Only he who hath tasted it, knoweth its flavour, as a dumb man enjoyeth sweets¹

How describe the Indescribable, my brethren? Ever walk according to His will

If God cause man to meet the generous Guru, understanding is produced, he who hath no Guru hath no understanding

Walk as God causeth you to walk, my brethren, what other device can man adopt?

Some are led astray in error, others love God's service, Thy play, O Lord, is incomprehensible

Men obtain the result of what Thou hast applied them to, Thou leadest them by Thine order

We can serve Thee if we have anything of our own, our souls and bodies are Thine

God is merciful to him who hath met the true Guru, the ambrosial Name is his support

He to whom the attributes of God, who dwelleth in heaven, become manifest, shall obtain divine knowledge and meditation from them

God's name is pleasing to him, he uttereth it himself and causeth others to utter it, and he only speaketh of the Real Thing

The Deep and Profound is obtained by the instruction of the Guru and priest, without such instruction the world would go mad

Nanak he whose heart is pleased with the True One is a perfect Bhai, and naturally fortunate

The following was the Guru's instruction to a Brahman —

Hopes and desires are entanglements, my brother, thy religious ceremonies are also entanglements

¹ The dumb man eating sweets enjoys a pleasure which is incommensurable

Man, my brother, is born in the world as the result of bad and good acts,¹ he perisheth when he forgetteth the Name

Maya bewitcheth the world, my brother, all thy religious ceremonies are worthless

Hear me, thou Pandit with the religious ceremonies—

Meditation on the Supreme Being is the only religious ceremony, my brother, from which happiness is derived

Thou standest chattering of the Shastars and Veds, my brother, and makest it a worldly affair

The filth of sin which is within thee shall not be washed away by hypocrisy

Like the hypocrite, the spider is ruined when her web is blown by the wind and she falleth headlong

By evil inclinations many are ruined, by love of mammon they are lost

Without the true Guru the Name is not obtained, and without the Name doubt departeth not

My brother, serve the true Guru and thou shalt be happy, and released from transmigration

True peace is obtained from the Guru When the mind is pure, man shall be absorbed in the True One

He who serveth the Guru knoweth the way, without the Guru it cannot be found

What religious acts can he perform who hath greed in his heart? He uttereth falsehood and eateth poison

O Pandit, if thou churn coagulated milk, butter shall be produced,

If thou churn water, thou shalt obtain but water, this is the way of the world

The unseen God dwelleth in every heart, yet without the Guru man is ruined by wandering

Maya hath bound this world on all sides with her cable

Without a guru its knot cannot be untied, man groweth weary in striving

¹ If a man's acts were totally bad, he could not obtain human birth. Human birth is only obtained when good and bad acts are in equipoise

This world is led astray by superstition , words are of no avail

By meeting the Guru, my brother, the fear of God entereth the heart To die is the fear of God is man's true destiny

In God's court the Name is superior to ablutions, alms, and similar religious acts

He who, by the Guru's goad, hath driven the Name into his heart to abide there, shall become free from hypocrisy

Man is a banker's shop, the unrivalled Name is his capital

The merchant who meditateth on the Guru's instruction secureth the capital

Nanak, blest are the merchants who on meeting *the Guru* engage in such traffic

Deprecation of idolatry —

My brethren, you worship goddesses and gods , what can you ask them ? and what can they give you ?

Even if a stone be washed with water, it will again sink in it

RAG DHANASARI

The Guru reposes his hopes in God and confirms his devotion to Him —

My soul is in fear , to whom shall I complain ?

I have served Him who causeth us to forget our sorrows , He is ever and ever the Giver

My Lord is ever young , He is ever and ever the Giver

Night and day serve the Lord, and in the end He will deliver thee

Hark, hark, my friend,¹ thus shalt thou cross over

O Merciful One, by Thy name shall I cross over , I am over a sacrifice unto Thee

In the whole world there is only one True Being , there is no second

He on whom God looketh with favour will serve Him

How shall I, O Beloved, abide without Thee ?

Grant me the favour to remain attached to Thy name

¹ Literally—woman

There is none other, O my Beloved, to whom I may go
to address myself

I serve my Lord, I beg from no other

Nanak is His slave and ever a sacrifice unto Him

O Lord, I am ever a sacrifice to Thy name, for which I
could bear to be cut to pieces

Life is but brief, and man ought to make the best
use of it —

We men live but for a moment, we know not *if we shall*
live the space of two gharas

Nanak representeth, serve Him to whom belong our souls
and lives

O fool, consider how many days thy life shall last

O Lord, my breath, body, and soul are all Thine, Thou
art very dear to me

The poet Nanak thus speaketh, O True Cherisher,

If Thou give nothing to any one, what pledge can he
give Thee ?¹

Nanak representeth, he who is destined from the beginning
to obtain something shall obtain it

The decent person who, instead of thinking of God's
name, practiseth decent,

Shall be led captive to the gate of Death, and shall then
as he is led along regret *lost opportunities*

As long as we are in this world, Nanak, hear somewhat
and speak somewhat *of God*

I have searched and found no resting-place, wherefore
in the midst of life be in death

The Guru moralized as follows on seeing a thief
arrested —

If a thief praise *the magistrate*, the mind of the latter is
not pleased thereby,

If he revile the magistrate, it cannot displease him in the
least

Nobody will be surety for a thief

¹ Man can obtain nothing from God except as the result of His
favour. If man receive nothing from God, no surety is needed

How can what a thief doeth be good ?

Hear, O fool, dog, and har,

The True One knoweth this, O thief, without thy speaking

A thief may be well dressed, a thief may be ingenious,

Yet he is only worth a double *paisa*, the price of a bad
rupee

If thou put a bad coin with others,

It will be found counterfeit on being assayed

As man acteth, so shall be his reward

He himself soweth and he himself eateth the fruit

Even though man praise himself, ~~but~~

Yet will he act according to his understanding

If he tell hundreds of lies to *conceal the truth*,

*He shall still be false even though the whole world call him
good*

If it please Thee, even a fool is acceptable

Nanak, God is clever to know man's secret

A Brahman, a Qazi, and a Jogi entered into discussion with the Guru, and he gave them the following instruction —

The body is the paper, the mind the order written thereon

Silly man readeth not the lines of destiny on his forehead

In God's court three destinies ¹ are engraved

Lo ² what is counterfeit is there of no avail

Nanak, if there be sterling silver within us,

Everybody will say that it is real

The Qazi telleth lies and eateth filth

The Brahman taketh life and then batheth

The ignorant Jogi knoweth not the way of *union with God*—

The whole three run the world ³

He is a Jogi who knoweth the way to God,

And who by the Guru's favour only recognizeth the
One

He is a Qazi who turneth away men *from the world*,

And who by the Guru's favour while alive is dead

¹ Superior, medium, and inferior destinies

² Literally—the three form the boundary of the wilderness, that is, preach the whole of what runs mortal

He is a Brahman who reflecteth upon God
 He shall be saved himself, and shall save all his relations
 Wise is he who cleanseth his heart
 A Musalman is he who cleanseth his impurity
 He who readeth and acteth on what he readeth, is acceptable
 He shall bear on his forehead the stamp of God's court

DHANASARI ASHTAPADI

God is pleased with love and service, not with
 idolatry or pilgrimages —

God maketh Himself manifest and beholdeth men
 He is not pleased by obstinate penance nor by many
 religious garbs

He who fashioned the vessel *of the body* and poured into it
 His ambrosial *gifts*,

Will only be satisfied with man's love and service

They who, though ever reading, forget God's name shall
 suffer punishment

And notwithstanding their great cleverness undergo trans-
 migration

He who repeateth the Name and thus eateth the food of
 fear,

Shall become a poor worshipper and be absorbed in God

He who worshippeth stones, visiteth places of pilgrimage,
 dwelleth in forests,

And renounceth the world, wandereth and wavereth

How can his filthy mind become pure ?

He who meeteth the True One shall obtain honour

DHANASARI CHEANT

They who utter falsehood are unhappy —

If a woman please her Spouse, she shall be honoured in
 His house

If she utter falsehood it is of no avail

If she utter falsehood it is of no avail, her Spouse will not
 look at her

Without merits, forgotten by her Spouse, and false, painful
 are her nights

RAG SUHI

Man ought to practise devotion at home —
 Man dwelleth not at home, but wandereth abroad
 Why doth he forsake ambrosia and eat poison ?
 Embrace such knowledge, O my soul,
 As may make thee a servant of the True One
 Although every one speaketh of divine knowledge and
 meditation,
 Yet the whole world wandereth bound by its own entangle-
 ments

He who performeth service is a servant of Him
 Who pervadeth the water, the dry land, the nether regions,
 and the firmament
 I am not good, there is nobody bad
 The representation of Nanak is—*As who thinketh so is saved*

SUHI ASHTAPADI

The Guru depreciates himself, and utters a prayer
 to the Almighty —

In me are all demerits, I have not one merit
 How shall I meet my Spouse ?
 No beauty or lustrous eyes are mine,
 No family, no manners, or sweet speech
 The woman who cometh adorned with divine knowledge,
 Shall be a happy wife if she please her Spouse
 O God, mercifully attach her to Thy feet
 Who hath neither beauty nor good features,
 Who remembereth not God at the last moment,
 Who hath no wisdom, understanding, or cleverness
 The woman, who though very wise pleaseth not her Spouse,
 Who attached to mammon is lost in superstition,
 Shall, if she dismiss her pride, be absorbed in her Beloved,
 And obtain Him who is her nine treasures
 I suffered through being separated from God in many
 births

O Beloved Sovereign, take my hand
 Saith Nanak, the Lord is, was, and shall be
 The Beloved will enjoy her who is pleasing to Him

Miscellaneous instruction of the Guru —

False and fleeting is the dye of the safflower, *lasting* for only four days

Without the Name man wandereth in error, the evil passions¹ rob him, false that he is

He who is tinctured with the True One shall not be born again

How canst thou who art dyed with the love of God, be *otherwise* dyed?

Serve *the* Guru who giveth God's dye, and apply thy heart to the True One

Even though man wander in every direction, he shall not obtain spiritual wealth without good fortune

If robbed by vice thou wander *in the forest* like a huntsman, thou shalt not find shelter

They whom the Guru protecteth are saved, their hearts are dyed with his instruction

They who wear white clothes, but whose hearts are filthy and hard,

Never utter the Name, but like thieves become absorbed in mammon

They who know not their own *humble* origin are beasts and cattle

Man though ever and ever engaged in pleasures, ever and ever desueth more enjoyment

He thinketh not of the Creator, so misery attacheth to him again and again

How shall he in whose heart the Dispenser of weal and woe dwelleth, want for anything?

They whose accounts are not adjusted shall be summoned, the executioner shall smite them on their heads

When the account is called for it must be given, it will be examined and considered

Man shall be saved by his love for the True One, the Pardoner will pardon him

If he make any one else *than* God his friend, he shall die and be blended with the dust

¹ Literally—*thaga*

Man beholding various phases of life is led astray, and going astray suffereth transmigration ,

But he shall be emancipated by a favouring glance from God, and God will blend him with Himself

O listless man who possessest not divine knowledge, search not for it without the Guru

Man is ruined by allowing himself to be drawn in different directions , *the effects of both evil and good acts remain with him*

The god of death speeth every one who is without the Word, and who feeleth not the fear of God

He who made and sustained the world giveth support to all
Why forget Him who is ever and ever the Benefactor ?

May Nanak not forget the Name which is the support of the supportless !

SURI CHHANT

The following is now sung by Sikhs at marriages and other festivities —

Friends¹ have come to my house

The True One hath caused me to meet them

When it pleased God He caused me to meet them without mine own effort , by meeting the elect happiness is found

I have obtained what I set my heart on

When I meet the ~~saints~~ my soul is happy , night and day my hearth and home look bright

The unbeaten sound of the five musical instruments playeth since saints have come to my house

Come, beloved friends,

Sing a song of rejoicing, O women

Sing a true song of rejoicing , then shall you be pleasing to God and rejoice through the four ages²

The Spouse hath come to my house, the place is adorned by Him His instruction hath adjusted mine affairs

I applied the great salve of divine knowledge to mine eyes, and saw God's form which filleth the three worlds

¹ Saints are meant

² Also translated—Then shall you be pleasing to God to whom songs of rejoicing are sung through the four ages

Meet me, O companions, sing with zest a song of rejoicing,
 since my Spouse hath come home to me

My soul and body are bedewed with nectar,

And in my heart is the jewel of love

In my heart is the precious jewel, and I ponder on the
 Primal Essence

To animals Thou art the opulent Giver¹, Thou givest to
 every individual

Thou art wise, Thou possessest divine knowledge, Thou
 art the searcher of hearts, Thou Thyself didst create the
 world

Listen, my friends, the charming Bridegroom hath fasci-
 nated me, and my soul and body are bedewed with nectar

O Supreme Spirit of the world,

True is Thy play

True is Thy play, O Incomprehensible and Infinite One,
 who can cause us to understand but Thee?

Without Thee how many can call themselves *Sadhs*,
Strivers, or wise?

The Guru hath stayed the soul which was maddened with
 the misery of death

Nanak, he who removeth his demerits by the Word,
 obtaineth God through his aggregate of merits

The Guru is waiting for God as a fond wife for
 her husband —

Come, my Friend, that I may behold Thee

Standing at my door I am watching for Thee in my
 heart is excessive longing,

In my heart is excessive longing, hear me, my Lord, I
 have reliance on Thee

On beholding Thee I have become free from desire, the
 pain of birth and death is at an end

In all things is Thy light, from it art Thou known, but
 Thou art found by love

Nanak, I am a sacrifice to the Friend, the True One is
 found *when my mind* cometh home

¹ Also translated—animals beg of Thee

SUHI KI WAR

God will assay man's qualities —

Nanak when a man bringeth and putteth money in his house he *examined* it ,

So in the Lord's court the counterfeit and the genuine shall be tested

Bathing at places of pilgrimage only renders men more impure —

Men of evil minds and thievish bodies go to bathe at places of pilgrimage

One part of their filth departeth by bathing, but they contract double more¹

A gourd may be externally washed, but it containeth undiluted poison within

Holy men are good without bathing , a thief is always a thief *whether he bathes or not*

Men should traffic in God's name from their earliest years —

There are two lamps for fourteen shops,²

And as many shopkeepers as souls

When the shops are opened, the traffic beginneth

Every one who cometh into the world is transient

Religion is the broker who putteth a mark *on the goods*

Nanak, they who profit by the Name are acceptable

For those who obtain the greatness of the true Name

Gratulations resound on their arrival at their own homes

In evil association there is no hope of amendment —

It is the habit of thieves, adulterers, prostitutes, and pimps

To contract friendship with the irreligious and dine with them

They take no thought for God's praises , the devil ever dwelleth *in their hearts*

¹ Their bodily filth departs, but their mental filth and hypocrisy increase

² There are the sun and the moon for the fourteen worlds

If sandal be rubbed on a donkey, he will still roll in the dust

Nanak, by spinning falsehood the web of falsehood is woven

False is the cloth therefrom and its measurement, false the raiment and the pride thereof

The repetition of God's name is superior to the call of the Muazzin¹ or the horn of the Jogi,

Whether the Muazzin repeateth the call to prayer or the Jogi bloweth horns, and the bards join the chorus,

Some are givers, others are beggars, to me Thy name alone is acceptable

Nanak, I am a sacrifice to those who have heard and accepted it

The following sloks in the *Suh Lī War* contain miscellaneous instruction and reflections of the Guru —

I am a sacrifice to those whose words consist of God's praises

Every night is for the married woman, let me who am separated from Thee, O God, obtain even one night

They who have not obtained the sweets of love or the delights of the Bridegroom,

Are like the guest of an empty house who goeth as he cometh

A curse on the lives of those who eat to distend their bellies

Nanak, without the true Name all love is turned into hate

You say, O Pandits—'As darkness is dispelled when a lamp is lighted,

' So by reading the Veds unful inclinations are destroyed '

I say, ' When the sun riseth, the moon is not seen

' Where divine knowledge appeareth mental ignorance is dispelled

' You, O Pandits, read the Veds and study them,

' But the reading of the Veds is a secular occupation

' Without understanding this every one shall be disgraced,

¹ Who calls to prayer from the top of a mosque

'Nanak, the man who listens to the Guru's instruction shall be saved

'They who delight not in the Word and who love not God's name,

'Speak offensively with their tongues, and shall ever be disgraced

'Nanak, they act according to their destiny which none can erase'

RAG BILAWAL

It would not redound to God's glory to call Him by the names of the Hindu incarnations

Thou art an emperor, if I call Thee lord, how will that be to Thy greatness?

If Thou inspire me, I will praise Thee, O Lord, I am foolish myself and can say nothing

Give me understanding to sing Thy praises,

That I may abide in truth according to Thy will

All that there is cometh from Thee, Thou lovest all

I know not Thy heart, O my Lord, what skill have I, a blind man?

What shall I say? while talking I see that I cannot describe the Indescribable

I speak as it pleaseth Thee, and thus is only in the smallest degree for Thy greatness

Among so many dogs I, a strange dog, bark for my belly's sake

Even though Nanak perform no service, he will still bear his Master's name

The Guru's faith in God

My body I have clothed with a Qalandar's dress, I have turned my heart into a temple, and I bathe in that place of pilgrimage

The one Word dwelleth in my heart, and I shall not be born again

My soul is pierced by the Compassionate One, O my mother,

Who knoweth another's pain ?
 I think of no one but God
 O inaccessible, imperceptible unseen, and boundless God,
 take thought for me
 Thou fillest sea and land, the upper and lower regions
 Thy light is in every heart
 My faculty of learning and my understanding are all
 Thine, I have built my heart as a temple to Thee
 I know none but Thee, O my Lord, I ever sing Thy
 praises
 Men and lower animals all seek Thy protection, all
 anxiety for them resteth with Thee
 What pleaseth Thee is good, thus is Nanak's sole repre-
 sentation

LUNAR DAYS

The Guru counsels disregard of mammon —
 What name shall I repeat except that of the Lord of the
 world ?
 Under the Guru's instruction God's court is seen in one's
 own home
 They who are attached to mammon shall regret it,
 They shall go in fetters to Death's gate and suffer trans-
 migration
 What have they brought and what shall they take
 away ?
 They shall receive blows from the god of death on the
 head
 No one can be emancipated without the Guru's instruction
 No one can be saved by the practice of hypocrisy

Heartfelt devotion is superior to all offerings and
 ablutions —

On the tenth day of the lunar month repeat the Name
 as your offerings and ablutions
 Night and day Love yourselves in the attributes and
 knowledge of the True One

When doubts and fears have fled, unpunty shall not cling
to the true heart

A trail cord will soon snap

Know that the world is as the cord

Fix thy mind firmly on the True One and thou shalt be
happy

RAMSALI

In his devotional enthusiasm the Guru indulges
in self-deprecation —

Some read the Veds,¹ some the Purans

Some repeat names² on their rosaries and meditate on
them

I know not and never knew anything, I recognize only
Thy name

I know not, O God, what my lot shall be

I am ignorant and devoid of divine knowledge, O Lord,
I seek Thy protection, mercifully preserve my self-respect
and honour

The mind sometimes riseth and sometimes falleth to the
nether regions³

The greedy mind remaineth not still, it searcheth for
mammon in all directions

Man entered the world doomed to die, yet he amasseth
wealth for long life

While others depart, O Lord, we see the burning fire
approaching us also

No one hath a friend, no one hath a brother, no one
hath a father or mother

Nanak representeth, if Thou give *Thy name*, it will assist
me at the last hour

After the death of a Hindu a lamp is kept burning
for several days to light the soul of the departed to
the next world. It is then floated on water. Guru
Nanak indites the following homily on the custom —

¹ Literally—Sanskrit

² Some invoke gods and goddesses

³ Sometimes man is elated and sometimes depressed

Adore God¹ in the following way—

Make thy body into a raft² by which thou mayest cross over

Put on it the fire of thy heart,

And the lamp shall burn untiringly day and night

Float such a lamp on the water

As shall procure thee all knowledge

The knowledge of God is a good material ,

God will accept a lamp made out of it

Make good deeds thy wheel, and mould *thy lamp on it* ,

It will accompany thee in this world and the next

When God looketh on him with an eye of favour,

Some rare pious man knoweth *how to make this lamp*

This lamp shall be permanent in his heart,

And shall not be extinguished when he dieth

Float such a lamp on the water

As shall not be shaken or put out by the wind,

And by whose light God's throne may be seen

Khatris, Brahmans, Sudars, and Vaisyas

Find not *such a lamp* by thousands of researches and calculations ,

But if any of *them* light such a lamp as *I have described*,

He shall, O Nanak, obtain deliverance

The following was addressed to a Jogi —

The Jogi runneth about begging for clothes and food ,

He burneth with the pangs of hunger, and he shall also have misery hereafter

He who hath not received the Guru's instruction, loseth his honour by, his own stupidity

Some rare man obtaineth God's service by the Guru's teaching

The Jogi who knoweth the way dwelleth in a peaceful home

He who is satisfied with the alms of love and the Word beholdeth all men with an equal eye

¹ Literally—fix thine attention on God

² The little raft on which the lamp is placed

The five oven¹ draw the carriage of the body
 The whole goeth well by the contrivance of God
 When the axle breaketh, the carriage turneth over,
 Its timber is scattered and it is burnt in the fire
 Meditate O Jogi, on the Guru's instruction

Consider weal and woe, union and separation of friends
 as the same

Let the Name and meditation on the Guru's instruction
 be thy dainties²

The wall of thy body shall remain permanent³ by repeat-
 ing God's name

By the practice of sahaj jog thou shalt be freed from
 entanglements,

And shalt repress lust and wrath under the Guru's ad-
 monition

Make the protection of God and the Guru earrings for
 thy heart

Nanak, it is by devotion to God man shall be saved

ASHTAPADI

God is in man's heart and ought not to be sought
 for elsewhere —

O Nanak, may I obtain the greatness of the Name¹ there
 is no religious work superior to it

If man go elsewhere to ask for what he hath at home, he
 shall be received with reproaches

It is said that Guru Nanak on his excursion to
 the Himalayas met a Jogi called Chetnath, who
 reproached him with not being a Jogi, a Sanyasi, or
 a saint, but only a pretended guru. The following
 was Guru Nanak's reply —

O Jogi, thou buidest a hut and preacheest to the world

If, abandoning thy devotional attitudes, *thou beg from door
 to door*, how shalt thou obtain the True One²

¹ The five organs of action

² Sweets are given to Jogis at the time of their reception into a
 monastery

³ There is a belief that the Jogis live for hundreds of years as the
 result of their austerities

Thou lovest mammon and woman,
 And art neither an anchorite nor a worldly man
 O Jog, keep thy seat,¹ and the pain of thy worldly love
 shall depart

Thou art not ashamed to beg from door to door,
 Thou singest songs, but knowest not thyself
 How shall the great fire which burneth thee be ex-
 tinguished?

If the love of God attach to thy heart under the Guru's
 instruction,

Thou shalt easily enjoy the aims of contemplation
 Thou hypocritically appest ashes to thy body,
 And shalt be punished for thy worldliness by Death's
 mace

The impure vessel² of thy heart cannot hold the aims
 of love

Thou art bound by bonds and shalt suffer transmigration
 Thou dost not restrain thy seed, and yet thou callest
 thyself continent

While saying 'Mother', thou beggest and faltest in love
 with woman

Thou art without compassion and God's light shineth
 not in thee

Thou art immersed in every species of entanglement

With a patched coat and a bag thou assumest many
 guises

Like conjurer thou performest many tricks to deceive men

The fire of anxiety burneth thy heart—

How shalt thou be saved without good works?

Thou makest rings of crystal for thine ears

Without the highest divine knowledge there is no emanci-
 pation

Thou art beguiled by the pleasures of the tongue and
 sensual organs

Thou hast become a beast, and the mark of it shall not
 be erased

¹ That is, go not a-begging

² *Khaper* A wooden vessel shaped like a skull. It is carried by
 Jogs for the alms they receive

There are three classes of people and three classes of Jog ¹
 He who meditateth on the Word shall need no mourning
 He who meditateth on the way of jog is a Jog
 By the true Word he shall become bright

The Guru in an address to a pandit rejects astrology —

Thou calculatest auspicious moments, but reflectest not
 That God is beyond auspicious moments
 He who meeteth the Guru knoweth them
 When there is the Guru's instruction man recogniseth
 God's will

Speak not falsehood, O Pandit, tell the truth,
 If pride depart by means of the Word, God's abode shall
 be attained

The astrologer after calculating draweth out a horoscope,
 He readeth it to himself and others, but knoweth not
 the reality

Deem the Guru's word the highest of all,
 Utter no other discourse, it were all in vain
 Thou bathest, and washest, and worshuppest stones,
 But without being imbued with God thou art the filthiest
 of the filthy

Abandon pride, and thou shalt meet God the real wealth
 Repeat God's name and thou shalt succeed in obtaining
 emancipation

Thou readest not thine epic poems nor reflectest on the
 Veds

Drowned thyself how canst thou save thine ancestors ²
 Few understand that God is in every heart
 When man meeteth the true Guru he obtaineth under-
 standing

By making calculations such as those doubt and sorrow
 enter the mind,

But, when the Guru's protection is sought, happiness
 resulteth

Having sinned we come to him for protection

¹ People and jog are subdivided according to the three qualities

According to man's acts in a former state the Guru
caught him to meet God

God cannot be obtained unless man enter the Guru's
protection ,

Otherwise he is led astray in superstition and suffereth
transmigration

He who hath not God in his heart and whose conduct is
not according to the Word,

Shall be bound at Death's gate and punished for his sins
Men call themselves Teachers, Pandits, and Musars ,¹

But they who are tainted with mammon shall not reach
God's mansion

He who by the Guru's favour hath the support of the
Name,

Is unequalled amongst millions

One man appeareth evil and another good , *but they are*
both contained in the True One

The learned man understandeth this by the aid of the
true Guru

A few holy men who know the one God,

Have ended their transmigration, and become absorbed
in Him

They in whose hearts is the one God,

Possess all excellences and meditate on the truth

They who act as pleaseth the Guru

Are true, O Nanak, and shall be absorbed in the True One

The following was addressed to a rich sinner who
visited the Guru —

O silly man, as thou comest so shalt thou depart , as
thou wert born so shalt thou die ,

As thy enjoyment so shall be thy suffering , through
forgetfulness of the Name thou shalt fall into the terrible
ocean

Thou art proud on beholding thy beauty and wealth

Thou hast extended thy love to gold and woman , why
hast thou forgotten the Name and gone astray ?

¹ A title applied to Brāhmins by Hindus

Not having practised continence, truth, self-restraint, or virtue, thou shalt suffer in the skeleton of a ghost

Alms-gifts, ablutions, and austerities are of no avail, without association with the saints, thou hast been corp in vain

Through the covetousness that attacheth to thee thou hast forgotten the Name, thy life hath been wasted in transmigration

Death will hasten to seize thee by the hair and punish thee, and, when he eateth thee, thou shalt have no consciousness *for repentance*

Day and night thou revilest others and art jealous of them, the Name is not in thy heart, and thou hast not universal benevolence

Without the Guru's instruction thou shalt not obtain salvation or honour, without God's name thou shalt go to hell

Thou practisest disguise for a brief period like a conjurer, while thou art steeped in worldly love and sin

Seeing the extension of thy wealth here and there, thou hast become intoxicated with worldly love

Thou committest sin on a large scale, and without remembering the Word hast fallen into error

Thou hast suffered great pain from the disease of pride, but it shall depart when thou receivest the Guru's instruction

The infidel seeing happiness and wealth coming to him becometh proud in his heart

He who owneth this body and wealth will take them back, he who feeleth anxiety regarding them shall have sorrow

At the last moment nothing shall depart with thee, whatever is seen is the result of God's kindness

God is the primal and infinite Being, by treasuring His name in the heart man shall be saved

Thou weepst for the dead, who heareth thy weeping? He *whom thou weepst for* might have fallen to the dragon in the sea of terror

The infidel beholding his family, wealth, houses, and mansions falleth into needless entanglements

Man cometh when God sendeth him, and he goeth away
when God calleth him

God continueth to do what is proper, the Pardoner
pardoneth

O brethren, search for the society of those who have
tasted God's elixir

When man taketh the Guru's protection, then wealth,
supernatural power, wisdom, divine knowledge, and the
boon of emancipation are obtained

The pious consider woe and weal as the same, and are
free from joy or sorrow

Nanak, he who chasteneth himself under the Guru's
instruction obtaineth God, and God absorbeth him in
Himself

DARHANI QAMGAR¹

Men who are generally impure cannot obtain
emancipation until their hearts are thoroughly
purified —

As borax melteth gold

So lust and wrath melt the body

The gold is drawn over the touchstone and must, *until*
thoroughly pure, endure the fire

When it assumeth a high colour² the Assayer is satisfied

The world is a beast, and pride is its butcher³

As thou testest with thine own hand, so shall be thy
recompense

He who made the world knoweth its worth

What else is to be said? Talking is doeth not

RAMEALI AT WAR I

The following is a satire on the professedly
religious men of the time —

They who call themselves virtuous, commit sin and
pretend that they are doing good

¹ This is a composition of Guru Nanak made in the south of India
in praise of God

² The body must be purified as gold is by melting. God the
Assayer is satisfied with it when it assumes a bright colour

³ Pride is killing the world

Gurus go to private houses to impart instruction
 A woman loveth man for the money he earneth for her ,
 Otherwise he may come or go as he pleaseth
 Nobody obeyeth the Shastars or the Veds ,
 Everybody worshippeth himself
 The Qazi sitteth to admanster justice ,
 He turneth over his beads and invoketh God,
 But he taketh bribes and doeth injustice
 If any one call him to account, he will read and
 cite texts

The Muhammadan creed filleth the ears and hearts of *the Hindus*

They carry tales to *the judge* and plunder the populace
 They make squares for cooking so as to appear pure
 See what the Hindus are like
 Jogs with long hair and ashes on *their bodies* keep wives
 Children scream before and behind them
 They miss the right road and obtain not union with God
 Why do they put ashes on their heads ?
 Nanak, this is the state of this degenerate age,
 That men only speak of themselves and think themselves
 the best

The following is also a satire on Brahmans, Muhammadan priests, and Jogs —

A Brahman goeth to the house of a Hindu,
 Readeth texts, and putteth the sacrificial thread on a *boy's*
 neck .

If the boy commit sin after putting on the thread,
 He shall not be accepted for all his ablutions and washings
 The Musalman may praise himself, .
 But without a guru or a priest he shall not be accepted
 Even when the road is pointed out, few travel by it
 Without good works heaven is not obtained
 Men seek the way in a Jog's monastery ,
 And on that account put rings in their ears *and become*
his disciples

With earrings on they wander about the world,
 While the Creator *they pretend to search for* is everywhere

All souls are travellers

When the death-warrant cometh for them there must be
no delay

• He who knoweth God in this world, shall recognize Him
in the next

All others, whether Hindus or Musalmans, are chatterers

All men's accounts shall be taken in God's court ,

And no one shall be saved without good works

He who repeateth the name of the Truest of the true,

Shall not, O Nanak, be examined hereafter

Only the good shall be saved when the final
reckoning is called for —

Nanak saith, O man, hear true instruction—

God seated in judgement will produce His book and call
on thee for thine account

The stiff-necked who owe anything shall be summoned ,

And the angel Azrael placed over them

They shall see no way of escape , they shall be entangled
in the narrow streets

Falsehood is at an end, O Nanak, and truth shall at last
prevail

The following was addressed to a proud Muham-
madan governor —

At thy waist is a handsome sword, thou art mounted on
a handsome steed

Be not proud, saith Nanak, lest thou fall on thy head

Only good men can remain in the society of the
saints —

Between the lake and the swan there is affinity from the
beginning , so it pleased the Lord

In the lake there are diamonds and pearls which form
the swan's food

Cranes and ravens, however cunning they may be, cannot
remain in lake *Mansarowar* ¹

They cannot subsist there , their food is different

¹ It is said that Lake *Mansarowar* in the *Himālayas* contains pearls,
which are food for swans, but not for cranes and ravens

By the practice of truth, truth is obtained , O false ones,
false is your pride

Nanak, they for whom it was so ordered from the
beginning meet the True Guru

My Lord is effulgent, if any one reflect on it

Nanak, serve Him who giveth ever and ever ,

Nanak serve Him by whose service sorrow departeth,
Sins are erased, merits take their place, and peace abideth
in the heart

RAG MARU ASHTAPADI

A hypocritical Sanyasi called Brahmputri was
mentioned to the Guru as a very worthy man. The
Guru, knowing his real condition, composed the
following —

The perverse having through avarice abandoned their
own homes, ruin themselves by casting covetous eyes on
the houses of others

They have ruined their state as householders, they have
not met the True Guru, and through their stupidity are
involved in a whirlpool

Of wandering in foreign countries and reading texts they
grow weary, and their covetousness increaseth

Of weak intellect, they know not the Word, they till
their bellies like cattle

O Sir, the way of the Sanyasi should be this —

He should under the Guru's instruction only think of
the one God, love His name, and be satisfied with it

But the hypocrite mixeth ochre, dyeth his dress with it,
and weareth the garb of a beggar ,

He teareth his clothes to make a patched coat, and
putteth money into his wallet

Blind that he is and bereft of shame, he beggeth from
house to house and preacheth to the world ,

Led astray by superstition he knoweth not the Word and
loseth the game

The fire which is within him is not extinguished without
the Guru, yet he heateth himself with external fires¹ also

¹ The penance of five fires is frequently spoken of and resorted to

There is no worship without serving the Guru, how can man of himself recognize God ?

He who slandereth others shall abide in hell, and be separated from the Supreme Spirit

* He who wandereth to the sixty-eight places of pilgrimage is ruined thereby, how can he wash away the filth of his sins ?

He sifteth dust, applyeth it to his body, and looketh for the way of mammon

He knoweth not the one God ~~who is with him~~ whether he be at home or abroad, if any one tell him the truth, he groweth angry

While reading texts his mouth uttereth falsehoods, that is all the wisdom a man without a guru possesseth

How can man obtain happiness without repeating the Name ? How shall he be honoured without the Name ?

Some shave their heads, some twist long hair round them or wear a top-knot, others through pride remain silent,

But without the love of divine knowledge their minds waver and hasten in every direction

Maddened by worldly love they reject nectar and drink deadly poison

They obey not God's order, their evil deeds shall not be effaced, and they shall enter the bodies of beasts

The Kapari with a bowl in his hand and excessive greed in his heart

Abandoneth his own wife, and filled with lust coveteth his neighbour's

While preaching he knoweth not God's word, and attacheth himself to a prostitute

With poison in his heart he pretendeth that he hath no doubts, but Death will disgrace him

He who serveth the True Guru and removeth pride from his heart, is a true Sanyasi,

He desireth not clothes or food, but taketh what is freely offered him,

by Hindu devotees during the sultriest time of an Indian summer
They light fires around them in the four directions, the sun over them is the fifth

He chattereth not , he amasseth the wealth of patience ,
and his passions he subdueth with God's name

Blessings on that man, who whether householder, Sanyasi,
or Jogi, fixeth his attention on God's feet

He who in the midst of desires is without desires, and
who loveth the one God is a Sanyasi

He who drinketh God's essence and preserveth a religious
attitude in his own home shall obtain peace

The mind of the pious man who knoweth God wavereth
not, but restraineth its wanderings

He who under the Guru's instruction searcheth the house
of the body, shall obtain the boon of the Name

Brahma, Vishnu, and Shiva are most exalted when they
are imbued with the contemplation of the Name

Thy light, O Lord, is in the sources of production, in com-
positions, in the firmament, in the lower regions, and in all
creatures

By repeating hymns containing God's true name and
clasping it to the heart, all happiness and final deliverance
shall be obtained

No one can be saved without the Name , Nanak, that is
the true way to swim across

The following was delivered in a fit of extreme
religious fervour to Mihaṇ and Sihaṇ —

Woman, however many friends she may make, wan-
dereth like an itinerant minstrel in transmigration

She who is separated from God obtaineth no access to
Him , how shall she be patient ?

My soul is imbued with the love of the Beloved

I am a sacrifice , I would cut myself in pieces for Thee ,
look at me even for an instant with a glance of favour

Separated as I am from my Beloved in my father's
house, how shall I meet him in my father-in-law's ?

I wear demerits round my neck , I am ruined without
the Beloved , I am pining to death

If in my father's house I remember the Beloved, I shall
find a dwelling in His

The wife who hath found her Beloved, the Lord of excellences, sleepeth in peace

She maketh a silken coverlet and mattress *for her couch*, and arrayeth herself in a *costly* robe

* The wife whom her husband abandoneth passeth the night in grief

Whatever dainties she tasteth and whatever dresses she weareth,

Her youth passeth in vain without her Beloved, she pineth away through separation from Him

Hear the song of the True One under the Guru's instruction

True is the throne of the True One, she on whom He looketh with favour loveth Him

The possessor of divine knowledge *applies* the salve of truth to her eyes, and then beholdeth Him who seeth all things

He who under the Guru's instruction dispelleth his pride and arrogance, shall understand and know God

They who please Thee, O God, are like Thee, how many *unhappy* *souls* there are like me

Nanak, their Spouse parteth not from those who are imbued with the love of the True One

God is the only true friend and relation —

Nor sisters, nor brothers, nor mothers-in-law *remain with one*,

But, O companions, the true relationship *with the Beloved*, when found through the Guru, shall never be sundered

I am a sacrifice to my Guru, I am ever a sacrifice unto him

I have grown weary of wandering so far without a guru, now the Guru hath united me with my Beloved

Paternal and maternal aunts, grandmothers, and wives of husbands' younger and elder brothers

Come and go, they tarry not but depart like relays of passengers

Maternal uncles and their wives, brothers, fathers, and mothers *abide not*

Assembled in great crowds at the river they depart with
their baggage like travellers

O my companions, my Husband is dyed with the 'true
colour

The true Husband never forsaketh, He enjoyeth one
with delight

All seasons are good for those who love the True One

The woman who knoweth her husband enjoyeth happi-
ness day¹ and night

The ferryman calleth out at the ferry, 'Come on, make
haste, you delay'

I have seen at the other side those whom the Guru put
into the boat

Some have loaded their baggage, some have set out with
it, and others are weighed down by their loads

They who have made true traffic are with the true God

I am not good, nor do I find any one bad

Nanak, he who effaceth his pride is as the True One

MARU SOLHE

God has no incarnations —

God's secret is not found in the Veds or the books of
the Musalmans,

He hath not father or mother or son or brother

There is no friend like God, who is to be obtained
through the Guru by those who lead a holy life —

I have no friend like God

Who gave me soul and body, and infused into me under-
standing

He cherisheth and watcheth over all creatures, He is
wise and knoweth the secrets of hearts

The Guru is like a lake, we are his beloved swans

In the water are many jewels and rubies

God's praises are pearls, gems, and diamonds, singing
them maketh soul and body happy

¹ *Deh* in the original, pronounced exactly like its English equivalent

God is inaccessible unfathomable, altogether distinct
from *His* creation

The great Sustainer of the earth hath no end

God saveth man through the true Guru's instruction,
He blendeth with Himself those who are absorbed in His
love

How can there be emancipation without the true Guru ?

He loveth the primal God who was before all time

Who mercifully granteth emancipation in His court, and
pardoneth the sins which man committeth

The true Guru is the giver and procurer of emancipation

He prescribeth nectareous essence and cureth all
diseases

He whose avarice is extinguished and whose mind is cool,
shall owe no tax to Death the tax-gatherer

The body greatly loveth the soul

The latter is a male Jogi, the former a beautiful woman

He enjoyeth her in dalliance day and night, but goeth
away without taking leave

God having created the world arrangeth it,

He speaketh in the wind, water, and fire

The mind of him who associateth with evil passions
wavereth, he suffereth the consequences of his acts

They who forget the Name shall have to endure pain
and misery

How can they tarry when they receive the order to
depart ?

They shall plunge into the pit of hell and suffer like
fishes out of water

The apostate shall undergo the pain of transmigration in
eighty-four lakhs of species

Man shall suffer according to his acts

There is no salvation without the true Guru, man shall
be seized and bound according to his acts

Very narrow is the way like the edge of a sword

Man's account shall be taken, and he shall be pressed
like sesame

There no mother, father, wife, or son will befriend thee,
without love for God there is no emancipation

However numerous one's friends and companions may be
in the world,

There are no *real* friends but the Guru and God

Salvation dependeth upon serving the Guru, and night
and day singing God's praises

Abandon falsehood, pursue truth,

And thou shalt obtain the fruit thy heart desireth

Few are they who traffic in true merchandise, they
who do so obtain profit

Depart with the merchandise of God's name,

And thou shalt easily obtain a sight of God's court

A perfect man under the Guru's instruction searcheth for
God, and thus beholdeth Him who looketh on all alike

God is infinite, but under the Guru's instruction is found
by a few

Who teach their hearts the Guru's word

Accept the true Guru's word as true, thus shalt thou be
absorbed in God

Narad and Saraswati are Thy servants, O Lord

The greatest of the great in the three worlds are Thy
servants

In all things is Thy might, Thou bestowest on all,
everything is Thy creation

Some worship at Thy gate, and thus dispel their sufferings

They who are emancipated by the true Guru, receive a
robe of honour in Thy court

The true Guru breaketh the entanglements of pride, and
hindereth the mind from wandering

Meet the true Guru, look for the way

To reach God, and thus have no account *against thee*

Efface pride and serve the Guru, O Nanak, and thou shalt
be dyed with God's love

Miscellaneous instruction of the Guru —

The Creator is the true Lord

Who carefully supporteth the globe of the earth

The Creator beholdeth the work of His hands, true and
independent,

He created the different species of animals

Two travellers¹ have struck out two roads
 There is no emancipation without the perfect Guru, it
 is profitable to repeat the true Name
 The perverse man readeth, but knoweth not the way
 Led astray by error he knoweth not the Name
 The false evidence the evil man giveth for a bribe becometh
 like a halter round his neck
 Brahmans read the Smritis, the Shastars, and the Purans
 They engage in disputations, but know not the Real
 Thing
 Without the true Guru they had not the Real Thing
 They who are purified by the True One walk in the true
 way
 Everybody praiseth God and speaketh of Him as he hath
 heard
 God is wise and assayeth the true
 They on whom God looketh with favour are holy and
 praise His word
 How many speak of God according to what they have
 heard¹
 They speak of Him according to what they have heard,
 but know not His heart
 He to whom the Unseen hath manifested Himself knoweth
 the story of the Ineffable
 When one is born gratulations resound,
 The ignorant sing songs of rejoicing,
 But he who is born shall assuredly die, and undergo the
 destiny allotted him
 It is my God who effecteth union and separation *of the
 soul and body*
 He who created the world assigned His creatures woe
 or weal,
 But the holy who wear the armour of mildness are un-
 affected by them
 Good are they who deal in the truth,
 By the Guru's wisdom they obtain the true merchandise
 He who possesseth the wealth of the true merchandise,
 is enraptured with the true Word

¹ The founders of the Hindu and Muhammadan religions

Loss accrueth from false dealings
 The pious carry on their dealings according to God's will
 Their capital remaineth intact, their stock-in-trade safe,
 and they escape from Death's noose

Every one speaketh of God according to his own
 pleasure

The perverse *who are attached* to mammon, know not how
 to speak of God

The understanding and utterance of the blind man are
 blind, he shall suffer the pain of transmigration

In pain he is born, in pain he dieth

His pain cannot be removed except by seeking the Guru's
 protection

In pain he is created, in pain he perisheth What hath
 he brought with him ? what shall he take away ?

True are the acts of those who are subject to
 the Guru,

They shall not suffer transmigration or feel the edge of
 Death's sword

He who abandoneth the branches of the tree of the world,¹
 and only knoweth God the essential root of all things,
 enjoyeth true delight in his heart

Death shall not punish godly people,

Nor shall they experience the pain of the difficult
 road

They worship God's name in their hearts and mention
 no other

They who repeat not God's praises shall be punished at
 last,

While they who please Thee, O God, shall abide according
 to Thy will

They shall go with a robe of honour to Thy court and
 be happy by the True King's order

Many describe Thine attributes, O Lord, what availeth
 my speaking ?

The greatest of the great find not Thy limit

Nanak, may I obtain the truth ! preserve mine honour,
 O Lord, Thou art the Monarch of monarchs !

¹ Worldly entanglements

The following is said to be instruction given to Tara and Bharu during the Baisakhi fair at Kartarpur —

* Put away from you lust, wrath, and slander ,

Abandon avarice, and covetousness, and you shall be free from care

He who breaketh the chain of superstition shall be free, and feel divine pleasure in his heart

The happy and incomparable perfect Guru sheweth man

Day and night the light within him, and he beholdeth it

Like a bright flash of lightning at night

Meet the true Guru, and God Himself

Who placed the lamps of the moon and sun in the firmament of heaven will save you

Continue to love God, and you shall behold the Unseen One pervading all three worlds

He who obtaineth the ambrosial essence loseth his avarice and his fear

He who effaceth himself obtaineth the fearless position

He who acteth according to the pure Word shall attain a lofty degree, the loftiest of the lofty

The Name of the Unseen and Inapprehensible is unequalled ,

The juice of the beloved Name is exceeding sweet

God's praises be given to Nanak, and in every age repeat ye His name whose end is not known

The heart which hath obtained the diamond of the Name

Shall obtain patience by repeating and reverencing it

Put the Destroyer of fear into thy stubborn heart, and thou shalt not be born again

Man is saved by love of devotion and the Guru's word

I crave the boon of the praise of God's name

If God be pleased, He will cause us to meet the true Guru and save the whole world

Death's myrmadons and Death himself worship the feet of those

Who repeat God's name under the Guru's teaching and directions

Man's state and condition become exalted by exalted company, and he crosseth over the terrible ocean of the world

This world which is a terrible ocean, is crossed over by the Guru's instruction

And by dispelling the heart's doubts

Let man take the five arrows,¹ put them on the bow of his brain and kill Death

How shall the apostate obtain knowledge of the Word ?

Without a knowledge of the Word man undergoeth transmigration

Nanak, salvation dependeth upon the instruction of the Guru whom God by perfect good fortune hath caused us to meet

The Fearless One, the true Guru is our protector

The great God is obtained by devotion

For him who obtaineth the Bright One under the Guru's instruction, the unbeaten strain of joy resoundeth

The Fearless One is He on whose forehead no destiny is recorded

He is invisible, but we behold Him through His omnipotence

He transcendeth the world, He is unborn and self-existent, O Nanak, and is obtained by the Guru's instruction

Only the True Guru knoweth the state of man's heart

He is fearless who recogniseth the Guru's instructions,

Beholdeth God within him, knoweth *that He pervadeth creation*, and alloweth not his mind to wander elsewhere

He in whose heart God dwelleth is fearless,

And day and night delighted with the bright Name

Nanak, God's praises are obtained from the society of *the saints*, and man is thus easily blended with Him

He who knoweth that God is with him whether at home or abroad,

Who remaineth attached to the world and bringeth home his wandering mind,

Shall obtain, O Nanak, the ambrosial essence of the True One who dwelleth in the three worlds, and who was before all things

¹ The five virtues

MARU KI WAR I

Man shall certainly be responsible for his acts —

Creation was by God's order, in His court the truth is accepted

The Lord will call for man's account, O man, stray not on beholding the world

Nanak, God will keep an account of the love and affection of him

Who watcheth over his heart, and is a pure-minded darwesh

The condition of really holy men —

For those who dwell apart and live on the bread of alms God is everywhere

The diamonds of *their hearts* are pierced with God's diamond, O Nanak, and their necks are gorgeous with jewels

True devotion and repetition of the Name secure salvation —

Recognize God's primal love,¹ and worship the great God
Shall Death then, O Nanak, strike thee on the head ?
Nay, the Name shall cause thee to meet God

Many sects appeal to the Veds, but it is heartfelt devotion which secures salvation —

The drum of the Veds loudly resoundeth for many a faction

Remember God's name, Nanak, there is none but Him
Where man is proud there art Thou not, where Thou art, there no pride is

O men of divine knowledge, understand this riddle—the story of the Ineffable One is in the heart,

But without the Guru the Real Thing cannot be found
It is concealed though it dwelleth in every heart

¹ Explained to be the love of God which disposes Him to protect the child in the womb

God is known by meeting the true Guru and implanting his instruction in the heart

When pride departeth, doubt, fear, and the pain of transmigration depart

By the wisdom of the Guru the Unseen is seen, Man's intellect becometh exalted, and he is saved

Nanak, repeat the spell of God in whom the three worlds are contained

BHAIRO

✓ To engage in ritualistic practices is of no avail —

To give a feast, make a burnt offering, offer alms, perform penance and worship, and endure bodily pain for ever are all of no avail

Without God's name salvation is not obtained, the holy man obtaineth it by the Name

Without God's name it is useless to be born in the world

To eat poison, to speak for the sake of poison (mammon) without the Name is to die an unprofitable death and wander in transmigration

To read books, discuss grammar, and pray three times a day are all of no avail

Without the Guru's instruction, O mortal, where is salvation? without God's name man is entangled and dieth

Even though man take up the beggar's staff and pot, and adopt the hair-tuft, the sacrificial thread, and the dhoti of the Hindus, go to places of pilgrimage, and wander far and wide,

Yet shall he not find comfort without God's name, he who repeateth it shall be saved

Even though man weave his hair into a crown, apply ashes to his body, doff his clothes, and wander naked,

Yet shall he be not satisfied without God's name, it is under the stress of prenatal acts man assumeth a devotional garb

Thou, O God, art in all creatures that are in the water, the dry land, the nether regions, and the firmament

By the favour of the Guru preserve Thy servant, Nanak stirring God's elixir hath drunk it

RAG BASANT

The following was written with buoyant feeling after the departure of a cold winter in the north of India —

All hail to the great month¹ in which spring ever beginneth
Ever and ever remember the Sustainer of the earth, and
thy heart shall rejoice

O silly man, forget thy pride,

Subdue thy pride and meditate on God in thy heart,
adopt the most excellent virtues

Good acts are the tree, God's name its branches, religion
its flowers divine knowledge its fruit,

Attainment of God its leaves, and the dispelling of mental
pride its dense shade

They who behold God's power with their eyes, hear it
with their ears and repeat the true Name with their
tongues,

Obtain the full wealth of honour and tranquilly meditate
on God

The great season hath come be careful and do good
works

Nanak, the pious who continue absorbed in God shall be
perennial and never wither

SARANG KI WAR

The following is a refutation of the general Indian
ideas on the subject of impurity —

There is no impurity in songs,² there is no impurity in
knowledge,³

There is no impurity in the moon's or sun's different
phases,

¹ *Basant*, the Indian spring, is generally considered to begin between the 13th and 14th of March

² As supposed by the Mussalmāns

³ The Brāhmins assert that the Veda should not be communicated to women and Śūdras. During the period of Brāhminical ascendancy in India the Śūdras were forbidden under pain of death to read the Veda—they might only repeat God's name. Among the Śūdras are included all women

There is no impurity in corn, there is no impurity in
ablution,¹

There is no impurity in rain which falleth everywhere,

There is no impurity in earth, there is no impurity in
water,

There is no impurity contained in air

There are no virtues, Nanak, in the man who is without
a guru

It is he who turneth away from God whose mouth is
impure

The Guru mentions things which confer purity on
men of different classes —

Nanak, the following handfuls² of water are pure if any
one know how to fill them—

Divine knowledge for the Pandit, continence for the Jogi,

Contentment for the Brahman, alms out of what he hath
himself earned for the family man,³

Justice for the king, meditation on the True One for the
learned

Although water when drunk will quench thirst, the heart
cannot be washed with it

Water is the generator of the world, and shall finally
destroy everything

. The futility of idolatry —

Thou in thy house keepest an idol with its attendant gods,⁴

Thou wastest it and worshippest it,

Thou offerest it kungu, sandal, and flowers,

Thou fallest at its feet and propitiatest it to the utmost,

Yet it is by continually begging of men thou clothest and
supportest thyself

¹ As supposed by the Jains, who avoid water

² *Chak*, as much water as can be taken in one hand. Water is
taken in handfuls by Hindus and drunk as grace before and some-
times after meals accompanied by sacred texts. Hindus also use
water in the same way when taking solemn oaths

³ As contradistinguished from the almsgiving of thieves out of
their plunder

⁴ Such as Lakshmi, Gauri, Ganesh, &c

For such foolish acts shalt thou receive the punishment
of the foolish

The idol giveth thee not when hungry, nor preserveth
thee from death

"It is like a foolish quarrel among the blind

✓ God has no partner, wherefore supplication should
be made to Him direct —

If Thou have any partner, *O God*, I will speak of Thee
in his presence

But Thou hast no partner, therefore will I praise Thee to
Thy face Thy name giveth sight to the blind

✓ One of the Gurn's reflections on this degenerate
age —

In the Kal age men have faces like dogs, and eat carrion.
They bark as they utter falsehood, and have no regard
for honesty

They who have no honour while alive, shall have an evil
reputation after death

What is destined taketh place, Nanak, what the Creator
doeth cometh to pass

✓ They who deceive men by selling them charms
and amulets shall not find salvation —

Accursed the lives of those who write God's name to sell it

They whose crop is spoiled require no place for a harvest-
heap

They who are devoid of truth and modesty will receive
no assistance hereafter

The ways of wisdom —

Call not by the name of wisdom the wisdom which is
spent in wrangling

By wisdom the Lord is worshipped, by wisdom honour
is obtained

It is by wisdom what is read is understood, it is by
wisdom alms are properly bestowed

Nanak saith, these are the ways of wisdom, all else are
ways of wickedness

✓ The virtues and practices which are most potent to secure deliverance —

They who make truth their fasting, contentment their place of pilgrimage, divine knowledge and meditation their ablutions,

Mercy their idol, and forgiveness their rosary, are foremost *in God's favour*

Nanak, few there are who make the right way their loin-cloths, meditation on God their cooking squares

Good deeds their frontal marks, and God's love their food

✓ Better to live by honest labour than by begging —

Men without divine knowledge sing hymns

The hungry Mulla maketh a home of his mosque¹

One man who earneth nothing shitteth his ears²

Another becometh a beggar and loseth his caste

Touch not at all the feet of those

Who call themselves gurus and pirs, and go begging

They who eat the fruit of their labour and bestow something.

O Nanak, recognize the right way

RAG MALAR

Some moral commandments —

Cease to covet another's wife and another's goods, shun the deadly sins of pride

Evil inclinations, slander, and lust and wrath the executors

✓ The inaccessible and illumitable God dwell-th in man's heart

He shall obtain nectar in his own heart, whose conduct is according to the Guru's precious instruction,

And who considereth woe and weal and the blame and praise of the world as the same

¹ He spends all his time in his mosque, so as to receive the more alms

² The Jogi

Wisdom, knowledge, and understanding are obtained from God's name, the love of God is obtained by association with the saints

Day and night profit is obtained from God's name given by the beneficent Guru

He on whom the Creator looketh with favour obtaineth instruction from the Guru's words

The body is the palace the temple, and the house of God, into it He putteth His eternal light

Nanak, the pious are invited to God's palace, He will blend them with Himself

MALAR ASHTAPADI

The Guru by familiar Indian examples expresses his love for God —

The chakwi will not sleep at night in the absence of her mate

When the sun riseth she gazeth on her beloved, and boweth, and toucheth his feet

O my Beloved, dear to me is Thy love, which shall be my companion

I cannot live for a moment in this world without Him, so much do I thirst for Him

The lotus on the lake on beholding the sunbeams of heaven naturally rejoiceth

O my Beloved, such is the longing I feel in my heart that my light may be blended with Thine

The chatrk without water crieth 'Prio, prio!' and screameth aloud

There is terrible thunder, it raineth on every side, but without its special raindrops the chatrk's thirst departeth not

The fish which is born and liveth in water, obtaineth weal and woe according to its previous acts

It cannot live for an instant without water, its death or life dependeth on it

Woman is separated from her Beloved who liveth abroad she sendeth Him a message through the true Guru

All cry out 'Prio, prio!', but they can only obtain their Beloved if it please the Guru

The Beloved is with us, He ever associateth with' the true, He blendeth with Himself those on whom He looketh with favour

God is the life within all lives, He pervadeth every heart
Through the Guru's favour He is manifest at home, and men become easily absorbed in Him

Arrange thine own affairs, O man, the Lord of the earth is the Giver of happiness

When by the Guru's favour man findeth God in his heart, then, O Nanak, his burning is extinguished

MALAR KI WAR

Prayers ought not to be offered for worldly advantages —

They who offer prayers shall die, and so shall they who are prayed for

Nanak it is not known where they shall be placed by God's order

The punishments that await the impenitent wicked —

Some have chains on their necks and are being led off to prison,

But by recognizing Him who is the truest of the true, they shall be freed from their bonds

He who obtaineth favourable destiny knoweth the True One

Man's fate is decided by God's order, when man goeth *before Him* he shall know this

Recognize the Word which will cause thee to cross the terrible ocean

Thieves, adulterers, and gamblers shall be pressed like *sesame*,

Slanderers and backbiters shall be carried away by the flood

The pious who are absorbed in the True One shall be known in God's court

✓ Worldly advantages distract men's minds from devotion —

Empire, wealth, beauty, nobility, and youth are five robbers,

These robbers have robbed the world without respect for any one

They who fall at the Guru's feet, however rob them ¹

✓ The Guru's humility, the transitory character of human life, and the efficacy of the Name —

The world is very transient like a flash of lightning,

Yet, foolish heart of mine, thou thinkest not of the grave

I am low and wretched, Thou, O God, art an ocean of *generosity*

Grant me only one thing—Thy name, the poisonous things of the world please me not

By the skill of God even a fragile vessel holdeth water ²

Thou art omnipotent, I have come into the world by Thy power

Nanak, the dog of Thy court, is growing madder every day *for Thy love*

The world is fire, God's name is what cooleth it

✓ The bliss of divine composition —

Blest the paper, blest the pen, blest the ink-bottle, blest the ink,

Blest the writer, Nanak, who writeth the True Name

He who batheth in the immortal water of divine knowledge taketh with him the sixty-eight places of pilgrimage

*

RAG PRABHATI

•A satire on Hindu sects and ritualists —

Jogis go to run in twelve sects, Sanyasis in ten

The Jogis, the Kaprias, and the plucked-headed *Sarasvatis* without the Word have halters round their necks

¹ That is, deprive them of the power of robbing

² A frail mortal may be possessed of divine knowledge

They who are tinctured by the Word are perfect Bairags,
Who beg to obtain alms in the *wallet* of their hearts that
their love may be fixed on God alone

The Brahmans read the epic poems before devotional acts,
and cause others to perform them,

But without knowing God they know nothing, the
perverse are separated from God and miserable

They who obtain the Guru's instruction are pure, and
shall be honoured at the true court

Night and day they love the jewel of the Name, and are
blended with the True One in every age

All religious acts, purifications, austerities, devotion,
penance, and pilgrimages abide in the Word

Nanak, if the true Guru be found, he will unite man with
God when sorrow and sin and death shall be no more

PRABHATI ASHTAPADI

✓ The feats of the Jogis and the tenets of the six
religious systems of the Hindus are ineffectual to
secure salvation —

The *mwali* feat,¹ the suspension of breath in the dorsal
chamber,² the turning the brain into a still, making
expiration and inspiration like the Jogis, and suspending the
breath *are of no avail*

Without the true Guru man knoweth nothing, he is led
astray in error, sinketh, and dieth

The fool is defiled, and the more he washeth, the more
is he defiled, the filth of his heart shall never depart

All religious acts are vain except the *repetition of the*
Name, they are like conjuror's tricks which deceive *the*
spectators

The six religious duties are contained in the 'name of the
Bright One

¹ This consists in passing a tape through the body to cleanse the
stomach and intestines—a feat of the Jogis

² The Jogis assert that they can draw breath from the lower
vertebral column to the brain, and suspend it when they please in its
passage. We shall further on find that the passage is called the
serpent's way. When the breath finally reaches the brain, it is said
to distil nectar which produces a state of exaltation

Thou art, O God, an ocean of merits, in me are dement
 The pursuit of worldly things is a foolish and sinful act
 The blockhead thinketh too highly of himself, and cannot understand his duty

* The perverse desire fascinating wealth, and their speech is evil

According to the Hindus foul is the ablution of the Chandal, and vain are his religious ceremonies and decorations

False is the wisdom of the perverse, their acts produce strife

In the impure man is pride, he obtaineth not the favour of the Lord

Inspired the pleasure of doing other than the repetition of God's name

ADDITIONAL SLOKS

When Guru Nanak visited Ceylon he gave the following advice to its queen, who was proud of her beauty and her state —

Hear, young woman with the gazelle eyes, hear my serious and weighty words

First examine thy goods and make thy traffic

Dismiss¹ the evil and welcome the good

Consider, O young woman, what proclamation to give by which thou mayest find friends

Give thy soul and body to thy friends, and thou shalt thus enjoy the utmost hilarity

Love not that which is transitory

Nanak, I am a sacrifice to those who understand thee

In spiritual matters consult the holy —

If thou art to cross the water consult those who have the skill to cross

They are very wise and will keep clear of the whirlpool

The dangers of the world —

There are continual showers, squalls, and torrents, hundreds of thousands of waves succeed one another

¹ *Deshi dhar* Literally,—make a proclamation to depart

Address the True Guru, and there shall be no fear that thy bark will founder

Another of the Guru's reflections on the sinfulness of his age —

Nanak, to what hath the world come ?
No companion or friend remaineth
Love hath ceased among brethren and kinsmen
Faith is lost on account of mammon

The following was composed by Guru Nanak on seeing women mourning —

They are saying ' *Hai hai* ' and ' *Oh Oh* ' ,
They beat their cheeks and pluck out the hairs of their heads ,
They utter God's name ¹ without meaning it if they were absorbed in it
Then would Nanak be a sacrifice unto them

The Guru went to visit a man of reputed sanctity, but on finding him a hypocrite composed the following —

The raven washeth and rubbeth itself in a small pool in the desert ,
Its mind and body are full of demerits and its beak of filth
The swan of the lake, not knowing that the raven was an evil bird, associated with him
Such is affection for the infidel , O man of divine knowledge, understand the allusion
Congratulate the congregation of the saints, and act like a holy man

Pure is the ablution, O Nanak, when the Guru is deemed the river of pilgrimage

The really holy are few —

The saints are few, not many, decent and wrangling *present* in the world ²

¹ *Oh Aur* He is

² Also translated—They who act as become factors are few in the world

The following has reference to the con cremation of widows —

Nanak, *the widow* followeth her *husband* and dieth, she hath no-power to live

But she who dieth struck by *the news of her husband's death* is acceptable

When the Allwise hath struck her with the arrow of love, it cannot be extracted

She whom God hath struck with it is struck, and being struck is acceptable

The body is frail and cannot be saved without God's grace —

Who can wash a vessel which is fragile in its construction ?

The body is a compound of five elements, it hath a false gilding

If it please God, the vessel shall be acceptable

The supreme light shall shine and God's praises resound in it

• Pride without merit —

Nanak, those men are the real donkeys who are proud without merit

A definition of a Brahman —

He is a Brahman who knoweth God,

Who performeth works of devotion, penance, and self-restraint,

And who observeth the religion of mildness and patience

Such a Brahman shall burst his bonds, obtain salvation,

And be worthy of worship

A definition of a Khatri —

He is a Khatri who is brave in good deeds

And who employeth his body in charity¹

The Khatri who inspecteth his ground before sowing his gifts,

¹ That is, who sacrifices himself for others

Shall be acceptable in God's court

The Khatn who practiseth greed, covetousness, and falsehood,

Shall suffer for his misdeeds . . .

• The Guru required complete self-sacrifice from his disciples —

If thou desire to play at love with me,

Come my way with thy head in the palm of thy hand

Put thy feet on this road ,

Give thy head and regard not human opinion

The Guru, faith, truth, and the capital of God's name are necessary for salvation —

Without the Guru there is no divine knowledge, without faith no meditation ,

Without truth there is no credit, and without capital no balance

If Ram had been God he would not have lost his queen Sita, and he would himself have healed his half-brother Lachhman instead of calling on Hanuman to do so —

Ram Chandar mourned in his soul for Sita and Lachhman

He remembered Hanuman,¹ and he came to meet him

The misguided demon *Raavan* did not know it was *not* Ram but God who did this

Nanak, God is independent Ram could not erase his destiny

A purse-proud person addressed improper language to the Guru When the Guru's disciples took this amiss, the Guru uttered the following —

Impute not blame to the Rai ,² his intellect is forsaking him in his old age

¹ See the story of Hanuman going for a plant to heal Lachhman, in Dowson's *Dictionary of Hindu Mythology*

² This word means a nobleman

The blind man talketh much and falleth into the pit
Whatever the Perfect One hath done is perfect , there is no
deficiency or excess in it

Nanak, the pious who know this, shall be absorbed in
the Perfect One

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