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GURU GOBIND SINGH

LIFE OF GURU GOBIND SINGH, THE TENTH AND LAST GURU[1]

CHAPTER I

AN account of the early years of Guru Gobind Rai has already been given in the life of Guru Teg Bahadur. Guru Gobind Rai, after his father's death, continued with even more diligence than before to prepare himself for his great mission. He procured a supply of sharp-pointed arrows from Lahore, and practised archery with great industry. The Guru's principal companions and bodyguard at

[1] The main authorities for the life of Guru Gobind Singh are the *Vichitar Nātak*, or Wonderful Drama, composed by the Guru himself; the *Gur Bilās*, by Bhāi Sukha Singh; and the *Sūraj Parkāsh*, by Bhāi Santokh Singh.

The *Vichitar Nātak* is a metrical composition divided into fourteen chapters, and written in archaic Hindi with a large admixture of Sanskrit in the Gurumukhi character. The date is probably about A. D. 1692.

Bhāi Sukha Singh, the author of the *Gur Bilās*, was born in A. D. 1766 in Anandpur, where Guru Gobind Singh long had his residence. He became a pupil of Bhāis Bhagwān Singh and Thākur Singh, and was subsequently a gyāni or expounder of the Granth Sāhib at Kesgarh, where the tenth Guru first administered his baptism. Bhāi Sukha Singh completed the *Gur Bilās* in A. D. 1797, and died in A. D. 1838. His work is also in old Hindi in the Gurumukhi character.

The author has also consulted with advantage Bhāi Gyān Singh's *Panth Parkāsh*.

There is a book called the *Sau Sākhi* which professes to be a conversation between Sāhib Singh and Gurbakhsh Singh on the sayings and doings of the tenth Guru. It is held in high estimation by the Kūkas—followers of the late Bhāi Rām Singh of Bhaini, in the Ludhiāna district of the Panjāb—and is relied on by them as the main authority for their heresy. Santokh Singh sometimes gives Bhāi Gurbakhsh Singh's communications to Sāhib Singh as the basis of his history of the Gurus from the time of Guru Angad, but he makes no mention of the *Sau Sākhi*. There appears nothing to establish its authenticity.

this time were his aunt Viro's five sons—Sango Shah, Jit Mal, Gopal Chand, Ganga Ram, Mahri Chand; his uncle Suraj Mal's two grandsons, Gulab Rai and Sham Das; Kripal, his maternal uncle; Bhai Daya Ram, the friend of his youth; and Bhai Nand Chand, an upright and favourite masand. The descendants of the Gurus, the masands, and the sons and grandsons of those who had served Guru Gobind Rai's father and grandfather gathered round his standard. He also entertained a number of singers, who sang the Gurus' hymns, and a number of bards who composed and sang in succession quatrains in praise of the Gurus. So great was the enthusiasm that the women of the city used to climb the top stories of their houses and chant the Guru's praises in extempore verses.

A man called Bhikhia residing in Lahore went to visit the Guru. Bhikhia, seeing him handsome and well-proportioned, thought he would be a suitable match for his daughter Jito. The Guru's mother was pleased at Bhikhia's proposal, and asked her brother Kripal to advise the Guru to accept it. The Guru did so, and there were great rejoicings at Anandpur on the occasion of the betrothal. Great too were the rejoicings in Bhikhia's domestic circle when he returned home with the good news. The twenty-third of Har, Sambat 1734 (A. D. 1677), was fixed for the marriage, and Bhikhia returned to Anandpur to inform the Guru of the glad day, and invite him to proceed with his marriage procession to Lahore. The Guru, contrary to the custom on such occasions, refused to go to Lahore, and said he would make a Lahore near Anandpur for the occasion. He sent written orders in every direction for assistance, and his wishes were amply gratified. The Sikhs thronged from the Panjab capital on the occasion, and with them came Bhikhia and his family. Shopkeepers and merchants opened shops and warehouses, and abode in Anandpur until the

completion of the nuptial ceremonies. After the marriage Bhikhia remained sometime with the Guru and performed all possible service for him.

The Guru, according to the custom of his predecessors, used to rise in the end of the night and perform his devotions. He particularly delighted to listen to the Asa ki War. After daybreak he gave his Sikhs divine instruction and then practised martial exercises. In the afternoon he received his Sikhs, went shooting, or raced horses; and ended the evening by performing the divine service of the Rahiras.

Once in the hot season when bathing with his cousins and other youths of the same age in the Satluj, the Guru divided the party into two opposing factions to play a game of splash-water. The Guru being endowed with superior strength reduced his cousin Gulab Rai to such straits that he with difficulty emerged from the water. In his confusion he began to put on the Guru's turban, believing it was his own. Bhai Sango ran to restrain him, for it would be a sacrilege for any one to put on the Guru's turban. Gulab Rai accordingly laid it down in consternation. The Guru saw the occurrence and begged Gulab Rai to bind the turban on his head, and it would some day obtain him honour. When in after days the Guru had to leave Anandpur for the Dakhan, Gulab Rai obtained possession of the city and established himself as Sikh priest there, thus fulfilling the Guru's prophecy.

The Guru delighted to wear uniform and arms, and practise, and induce others to practise, archery and musket-shooting. His handsome exterior was much admired both by men and women.

One day as he was seated in darbar some new converts to the Sikh faith came to do him homage. Among them was a Sikh, who had a daughter called Sundari, of marriageable age. He proposed to the Guru to wed her and make her the slave of his feet.

The Guru did not desire the alliance, but it was pressed on him by his mother, and not long afterwards the Guru's nuptials were solemnized.[1]

We have already seen that Raja Ram of Asam implored Guru Teg Bahadur's intercession for a son, and a prince called Ratan Rai was duly born to him. Raja Ram died when his son was only seven years old. When Ratan Rai attained the age of twelve, he felt an inclination to see the son of the Guru by whose mediation he had been born. He accordingly, with his mother and several of his ministers, proceeded to Anandpur. He took with him as an offering five horses with golden trappings, a very small but sagacious elephant, a weapon out of which five sorts of arms could be made—first a pistol, then by pressing a spring a sword, then a lance, then a dagger, and finally a club—a throne from which, by pressing a spring, puppets emerged and played chaupar, a drinking cup of great value, and several costly and beautiful jewels and raiment.

The Raja was received in great state. He offered his presents, prayed the Guru to grant him the Sikh faith and sincerity, so that his love might be ever centred in the Guru's feet. The Guru granted all his desires. The Raja exhibited the excellence and advantages of all his presents. He showed how five weapons could be made out of one, he unloosened the puppets from the throne and set them playing chaupar. He caused the elephant to wipe the Guru's shoes and place them in order for him. The Guru at the Raja's suggestion discharged an arrow. The elephant went and fetched it. The animal held a jug of water from which the Guru's feet were washed, and then wiped them with a towel. At the

[1] A learned Sikh informs us that Sundari, a word which means the beautiful, frequently applied to the heroines of Indian history, was an epithet of Jīto and not a second wife of the Guru. The same learned Sikh thinks that Jīto, who was generally known as Sundari, did not die in Anandpur, but lived in Dihli after the demise of Guru Gobind Singh.

word of command he took a chauri and waved it over the Guru. At night he took two lighted torches in his trunk, and showed the Guru and the Raja their homeward ways. In due time the Raja bade farewell to the Guru, and on his departure requested him never to let the elephant out of his possession.

Several men went to the Guru for enlistment, and his army rapidly increased. He now set about the construction of a big drum, without which he deemed his equipment would be incomplete. The work was entrusted to Nand Chand. When the masands found that it was nearly ready they said that when Bhim Chand, the king of the country, heard it, he would be wroth, and not suffer the Guru and his Sikhs to abide in the locality.[1] Afraid, however, to make a representation to the Guru himself, they went to his mother Gujari and expressed their sentiments: 'The Guru's expenditure on works of charity and philanthropy is already great, and now he is increasing his army and building a large drum. When the hill chiefs hear it beaten, they will regard it as a symbol of conquest and engage in battle with the Sikhs. He is daily adding to the number of his soldiers. Be pleased, O lady, to restrain him.' This speech convinced the Guru's mother. She sent for her brother Kripal, and begged him to dissuade her son from completing the drum. Kripal said he could not take it on himself to make any such representation to the Guru. She must do so herself. She accordingly spoke to her son next morning in the terms used by the masands to her. She added, 'Our business is with religion, for which humility is required. Even if thou complete the drum, beat it not in public.' The Guru replied, 'Mother dear, how long shall I remain in concealment? I am not going to take forcible possession of the hill rajas' territories. If they are jealous for nothing, and allow their hearts to rankle,

[1] In former times a rāja might not beat a drum within another rāja's territory, for beating a drum was a symbol of sovereignty.

I cannot help it. This is the Guru's castle where men shall obtain their deserts.'

On this the Guru rose and went to inquire if the drum were ready. If not, its completion must be expedited. The masands then made a direct representation: 'Great King, first consider the resources of the enemy. They are kings and possess armies, wealth, and munitions of war. It is therefore not advisable to contend with them. What a number of troubles befell thy grandfather in his military career! Wherefore thou hast need of peace. Our Guru's business is with the Sikhism of his country; war is the rôle of kings.'

The Guru replied, 'How shall I conceal myself from those hillmen? I have received the immortal God's order to disclose myself, and you tell me to remain in concealment. I must obey God's order, not yours. I have prepared the drum because my army would have no prestige without it. Even if Bhim Chand, Raja of Kahlur, and the other hill rajas grow angry, are we who sit here women? We too shall meet sword with sword. If they keep the peace, so shall we. We shall soon see what the hillmen intend. When we go hunting, we shall take the drum with us, and beat it aloud on arriving at the base of the mountain.'

The Guru celebrated with prayers and the distribution of sacred food the completion of the big drum, which he called Ranjit, or victorious on the battle-field. When it was beaten, the men and women of the city went forth to behold it, and there was great rejoicing. The Guru and his men, in full panoply, went hunting the same day. When the party arrived near Bilaspur, the capital of Kahlur, the Guru's drummer beat the drum with much energy and ostentation. It sounded like thunder to the hillmen, who at once apprehended that some potentate had come to take possession of their country. Raja Bhim Chand consulted his

prime minister who said, 'It is Guru Gobind Rai, the tenth Guru in succession to Guru Nanak, who hath arrived. His father purchased some land[1] at the base of the Tung mountain, and built a village thereon. Thousands of worshippers come to him from great distances. It is only recently that the Raja of Asam came to visit him and presented him large offerings. He hath constructed a drum and come shooting here. My advice is to keep on good terms with him. In the first place, he is worthy of worship, secondly, he maintaineth a large army and is greatly feared. Thirdly, he is very brave, and such men are sometimes useful as allies.'

On hearing this Raja Bhim Chand determined to go to meet the Guru, and dispatched his prime minister to arrange for the interview. The minister informed the Guru that his master, who was the head of all the hill chiefs, desired to meet him, and it would be well for the Guru to be on good terms with him. Bhai Kripal, the Guru's uncle, at a nod from the Guru replied, 'This is the Guru's castle. As any one treateth him, so shall he be treated. If any one come here with good intentions, he shall be well received; but if he come as an enemy, he shall be treated accordingly. For men to be on good terms with one another is very expedient and commendable. Wherefore go and bring your Raja. We shall receive him with great respect.' The minister taking with him a robe of honour—the Guru's gift—returned to his master, and recommended him to proceed immediately to the interview. The Raja accordingly went with his courtiers and escort to Anandpur.

Raja Bhim Chand was received in darbar with great honour by the Guru, who invited him to tell him the whole circumstances of the hill chiefs. Bhim Chand gave him the desired information, and then prayed the Guru to let him see the presents

[1] This is mentioned in the Life of Guru Teg Bahādur.

from the king of Asam. The Guru at that interview showed him all the presents, except the elephant. Next morning the Guru had a costly tent erected which had been sent him from Kabul by an enthusiastic Sikh named Duni Chand, and prepared to receive Bhim Chand in it at the second interview. With the Guru were his relations, courtiers, and principal wrestlers and warriors. When Bhim Chand saw the Kabuli tent he was astonished at its magnificence. In reply to his inquiry he was told that it had cost two and a half lakhs of rupees, and that it was the offering of a pious Sikh. During this conversation the elephant, beautifully decorated, was led forward. Bhim Chand expressed his unbounded admiration of all that he had seen and heard. On his homeward journey his mind burned with envy of the Guru's state and wealth, and he considered how he could take possession of all his valuables. On reflection, however, he came to the conclusion that he would be satisfied with the elephant, and he determined to have the animal whether by force or stratagem.

On his arrival in his capital he unfolded his design to his courtiers, and asked them to suggest how possession of the elephant could be obtained. After some discussion it was agreed that a message should be sent to the Guru to the effect that an embassy was coming from Srinagar in the present British Garhwal district, with the object of betrothing the daughter of its Raja, Fatah Shah, to Bhim Chand's son ; and Bhim Chand desired to borrow the elephant so as to make a display of wealth to his guests. It was accordingly decided that the Guru should be requested to lend the elephant for the purpose. When the Guru received this message he knew that it was simply a trick to obtain permanent possession of the animal. He thought to himself, ' If I refuse the elephant, it means war, and if I send him it also means war, as I must resort to force for his

recovery.' He accordingly replied to Bhim Chand's message, 'The raja who presented me with the elephant requested me not to let the animal go out of my possession; and it is a principle of the Guru's house to comply with such requests. I have another elephant, and should Raja Bhim Chand require him he may take him.' The messenger seeing that there was no chance of obtaining the desired elephant hastened to return to Bilaspur.

The Guru's message was delivered with the addition that he did not seem afraid of any of the hill chiefs. Raja Bhim Chand, much incensed, consulted his prime minister, who advised him not to provoke a quarrel with the Guru. Bhim Chand angrily retorted, and charged his minister with age and cowardice. The Guru had shown contempt for him, and was he to calmly endure it? Upon this the minister advised his master to become a Sikh, receive initiation from the Guru, and all would be well. Bhim Chand replied, 'I am an idolater. I daily perform the tarpan,[1] and repeat the sandhia[2] and the gayatri. How can I forsake my religion, and become a Sikh of the Guru? In the first place, I cannot as a Hindu be on good terms with a man who hath discarded our holy faith. Secondly, none of the hill rajas hath become a Sikh, and they would all laugh at me were I to change my religion. They would say that I did it with the mercenary object of obtaining the elephant. In the third place, no men of high caste have joined the Guru. His followers are carriers, barbers, fishermen, washermen, sweepers, and similar nondescript persons. I am a great king of distinguished Rajput ancestors. How can I become the Guru's follower and stand before him with clasped hands in supplication? If he give

[1] A daily ceremony of the Hindus, in which water is presented to the manes of deceased ancestors.

[2] Prayers read by pious Hindus at morning and evening twilight. Sometimes similar prayers are offered at noon.

me not the elephant by peaceable means, I will take the animal by force. The Guru is already on bad terms with the Emperor, and, if he fall out with me also, he cannot abide here. He is still a mere boy; arms are new to his hands. When I show him what I can do, he will know who I am and renounce his pride.'

Saying this Bhim Chand ordered his chief police officer to go to the Guru, and try to obtain the elephant by soft and persuasive words. If these failed, the Guru was to be threatened with the strength of Bhim Chand's army. The police officer went on his mission and addressed the Guru as directed. The Guru calmly replied, 'Thou givest one advice to me to lend the elephant, and another to Bhim Chand not to restore him.' Upon this the police officer knew that the Guru could divine the secrets of others and begged his forgiveness. The Guru then said, 'Tell the raja that if he have faith in the Guru and if his intentions be honest, the Guru can grant him what he desireth; but if he practise fraud and deceit, the Guru can protect his own interests. The Guru knoweth the secrets of men's hearts, and thou canst not deceive him. When thou talkest of the strength of the raja's army, know that there is nothing wanting on the Guru's side either. The Guru is already prepared for battle. The Sikhs are not women, and they have had long practice in martial exercises.' The police officer departed and delivered this message to Bhim Chand, who decided that he would wait till the time had actually arrived for his son's marriage, and then he would repeat his request for the elephant, and add to it an application for the magnificent Kabuli tent also.

Chapter II

The Guru continued to hunt and practise arms. Companies of Sikhs used continually to visit him and make him offerings. Those who came for military service were received without reservation, and taught the profession of arms. In this way the Guru soon collected a considerable army. The masands continued their opposition and again went to complain to the Guru's mother. They represented to her, 'The Guru is very young, and hath no worldly experience. He hath stirred up strife between himself and the hill Raja. He hath no ally, for the Emperor beareth him no love. He hath taken the unprecedented course of refusing on two occasions Bhim Chand's request for the loan of the elephant. These hill chiefs are not afraid to fight and die. Wherefore, advise thy son that it is not politic to contend with them. If war begin, how shall Sikhs come with their offerings? And where shall we procure supplies for our public kitchen?'

When the Guru's mother remonstrated with him as thus advised, he replied, 'Mother dear, I have been sent by the immortal God. He who worshippeth Him shall be happy; but he who acteth dishonestly and worshippeth stones shall receive well-merited retribution. This is my commission from God. If to-day I give Raja Bhim Chand the elephant, I shall have to pay him tribute to-morrow. He essayeth to terrify me, but I only fear the immortal God and know none beside.'

Nand Chand then joined in the conference: 'Lady, hath a lion ever feared jackals? Hath any one ever seen the light of the firefly in bright sunshine? What availeth a drop of water in comparison with the ocean? The Guru is a tiger brave and splendid as the sun. Shall he fear Bhim Chand? When the foolish hillmen who are like mosquitoes contend

with the Guru, they shall become acquainted with our strength and suffer the mortification of a late repentance.' Bhai Kripal then interposed: 'Sister dear, Nand Chand understandeth the Guru's pleasure.' The Guru ended the discussion by saying, 'Mother dear, heed not the evil advice of the masands. They have become cowards from surreptitiously eating the offerings of the Sikhs.'

The Guru, knowing Nand Chand to be brave and skilful in war, made him his finance minister. Moreover, Nand Chand's father had done service for Guru Teg Bahadur, and the family was known to be loyal to the Gurus. Pay was due to the troops, and tact and skilful management of them were necessary. Kripal accordingly highly approved of the Guru's resolve, and accepted Nand Chand as the Guru's finance minister. Nand Chand was invested with a robe of honour, and appointed to his high position with all due formalities.

The Guru and his troops continued to practise archery and devote themselves to the chase. When the other hill rajas heard of this and of the Guru's difference with Bhîm Chand, they began to fan the flame of enmity, thinking that they would be more secure themselves if the Guru and Bhim Chand exhausted their strength on contests with each other. Kripal, the Raja of Kangra, sent Raja Bhim Chand a message, 'Fear not, I am with you. The Guru is raising an army. Thou oughtest consequently to be on thy guard against him. There cannot be two kings in one state. Wherefore it is proper for thee to expel him with all expedition.' Bhim Chand replied that peace was the best thing if it could be maintained; otherwise he would welcome his friend's assistance and expel the Guru.

Raja Kripal then with exquisite treachery sent the following message to the Guru: 'Great king, fortunate are we that thou hast come to dwell in this land. I have heard that thou hast some dis-

agreement with Bhim Chand. That fool knoweth not thy greatness. Assert thyself and bring him to reason by the sword. I will be thine ally. Directly thine order reacheth me, I shall be found fully prepared.' To this the Guru merely replied, 'This is Guru Nanak's house, where men shall be treated as they deserve.' Raja Kripal's envoy took note of the Guru's intelligence, determination, and material strength, and on returning to his master informed him that the Guru would certainly not yield to Bhim Chand without a struggle.

The time for the marriage of Fatah Shah's daughter to Bhim Chand's son was now approaching, so Bhim Chand decided to ask the Guru again to lend him the elephant and other articles of display for the occasion. He accordingly sent his brother-in-law, Kesari Chand, Raja of Jaswal, and a Brahman, with orders to bring what he desired by all possible means. They requested the Guru to lend Bhim Chand the throne, the elephant, the Kabuli tent, and the five-fold weapon. The family priest promised that the loan should be returned with a present of 4,000 rupees. On this the Guru said, 'Am I a shop-keeper that I should take hire for what I lend?' Kesari Chand remonstrated, 'O Guru, thou livest by offerings. Thou art not a landowner, thou hast no kingdom, no fief from which thou mayest derive income, and offerings of this description have doubt-less often been made thee.' The Guru on hearing this declined further parley and abruptly dismissed the envoys.

The masands again complained to the Guru's mother: 'The Guru's action is impolitic. Bhim Chand's army will come and plunder Anandpur. The Guru is still a boy and hath never seen real warfare, though he ever babbleth of it. At one time he saith, "We will destroy the oppressive Turks." Again he saith, "I will give the whole country from Lahore to Peshawar as a kingdom to my

Sikhs." Advise thy son to cease uttering such irritating language.' His mother duly remonstrated with him : ' My son, why art thou stirring up strife ? Send thy minister Nand Chand and thy uncle Kripal to make peace, otherwise an army of hillmen will attack us immediately. Whither shall we go if we are obliged to depart hence ? Thy father purchased this land, and came here to live in retirement and peace.'

The Guru replied : ' The hillmen have now come to beg with the humility of goats, but when they have received what they have asked for, they will assume the bravery of tigers. On this account why should we not take measures for our own safety ? Mother dear, if we now betray fear of them, they will soon be ready to devour us. They will only respect us when we show them the sword. If thou show a stick to a barking dog, he will fear to continue his barking. We cannot remain subject to such people. If they play the part of aggressors, I will show them what the Guru can do. The immortal God hath sent me into the world to uproot evil and protect from tyranny the weak and oppressed.' On hearing this the Guru's mother retired in sorrow to her apartment, and the Guru proceeded to don his arms and coat of mail.

When Raja Bhim Chand's envoys returned to their master, they repeated the Guru's message with marginal additions of their own. Bhim Chand became very angry and addressed the Guru the following letter : ' If thou desire to dwell in Anandpur, send the elephant quickly. If thou agree not to this, I will take an army, plunder and assail thy disciples of both sexes, expel them from the country, and imprison thee. To save thyself, however, from all these painful consequences, thou mayest immediately depart from my state.' The Guru on perusing this letter smiled and said to his friends, ' I accept the alternative of war which he offereth me.' He

sent Bhim Chand a reply to this effect, and ordered Nand Chand to make immediate preparation for defence.

When Bhim Chand received the Guru's letter he called his brother hill chiefs to a council of war, and informed them of his negotiations with the Guru. He was himself, he said, for open hostilities. Raja Kripal, however, counselled deliberation. He urged, 'Thou hast now made all preparations for thy son's marriage, and it is not time for war. Should any relation of thine be killed, thy rejoicings will be changed unto mourning. It is not well to die at a time of festivity, or sing songs of joy at a funeral.' The other hill chiefs who were summoned to the council and also Bhim Chand's prime minister were precisely of the same opinion. The contemplated war was consequently adjourned. Raja Kripal then suggested that, when the bridegroom's party went to Srinagar, they should induce Raja Fatah Shah to ally himself with them and take up arms against the Guru.

Meantime the Guru himself was making all preparations to meet his opponents. He caused it to be publicly known that he would be grateful to all who brought him arms and horses, and his appeal met with a ready response.

Raja Medani Parkash of Nahan at this time sent an envoy to the Guru with an invitation to pay him a visit. He was sure the Guru would be pleased to see the Dun, or valley *par excellence*,[1] which enjoyed a cool climate and afforded abundant sport. Ram Rai, the Guru's relation, dwelt there, and found it a pleasant and agreeable residence. The Raja of Nahan had heard that Raja Bhim Chand was at enmity with the Guru, but Raja Bhim Chand knew not the Guru's greatness and would afterwards repent. The Raja of Nahan also desired the Guru's assistance, which would be useful to him in time of

[1] The Dūn lies between the Himālayas and the Siwālik range.

need, and accordingly warmly invited him to make a lengthened sojourn in his country. The Guru requested the envoy to wait a few days for an answer.

The masands were very pleased to hear of the Raja of Nahan's invitation and thought, if the Guru accepted it, there would be an end of the quarrel between him and Bhim Chand. They induced the Guru's mother to persuade him to visit the Raja. She told the Guru that after some time spent in Nahan he might return to Anandpur, after which she hoped there would be peace. The Guru accepted her advice and promised to start for Nahan on the morrow. By way of precaution he decided to take the whole of his trained army with him, and ordered Nand Chand to make all necessary arrangements for the march.

On the morrow the Guru caused his drum to be beaten as a signal for departure. He set out accompanied by his minister Nand Chand, his relations, and five hundred Udasi Sikhs. For the defence of Anandpur he left Suraj Mal's two grandsons, Gulab Rai and Sham Das, with a suitable guard. The Guru's first march was to Kiratpur, where he visited the shrine of his grandfather, Guru Har Gobind. After a few days' further journey he encamped at the foot of the Nahan mountain.

The Raja duly went to greet and welcome his distinguished guest. He took him to his palace, begged him to enjoy himself with the chase, and meanwhile design and superintend the building of a fort for the protection of the state. On one of the Raja's and the Guru's hunting excursions the subject was again mooted. The Raja explained that Raja Fatah Shah of Srinagar, the capital of Garhwal, had often quarrelled with him over the ground on which they were then standing. He would therefore be very pleased when a fortress was constructed on the spot for protection against all enemies.

The Guru erected a tent and in company with

the Raja held a darbar. It was unanimously agreed that a fort was necessary for the protection of the country. The Raja accordingly requested the Guru to allow his army to assist in its construction, and he would send his own workmen and labourers for its speedy completion.

The Guru caused sacred food to be prepared, and praying to the Creator distributed it. He then laid the foundation stone of the fort. Such was the zeal and energy of the workmen that it was completed in twelve days. The Guru gave it the name of Paunta. He abode there, and continued to increase his army and enlist all Muhammadans as well as Hindus who presented themselves for service. All recruits as well as disciplined soldiers rendered willing aid in the construction of the building.

CHAPTER III

Ram Rai of Dehra Dun heard of the Guru's visit and of the construction of Paunta which was only about thirty miles distant from his residence. He apprehended that the Guru had come to punish him for his previous misdeeds, and he communicated his suspicions to his masands. Gurdas, who had accompanied Ram Rai to Dihli when sent there by Guru Har Rai, and who had remained with him ever since, urged that Guru Gobind Rai was not so vindictive and base as to take revenge. If, however, he manifested any signs of aggression, Gurdas's brother Tara, who was a warrior and skilful archer, would be able to oppose him and protect the city of Dehra Dun. Ram Rai replied that no one could contend with the Guru in archery. Even Bhim Chand hid himself in his castle through fear of the Guru's arrows. Should the Guru decide to take action against them, whither should they go for refuge? Gurdas rejoined, that if Ram Rai fled before there was even a semblance

of an attack, there would be several tales circulated to his discredit. The Guru subsequently hearing of his anxiety and wishing to remove it, sent Nand Chand and Daya Ram to reassure him. Ram Rai on receiving the Guru's message was delighted, invested the envoys with dresses of honour, and decided to remain on friendly terms with the martial son of Guru Teg Bahadur.

Budhu Shah, a Saiyid, who lived in Sadhaura, went with his disciples to pay a visit to the Guru and make him offerings. Budhu Shah represented himself as a great sinner, said that he should certainly have to render an account of his transgression hereafter, and why should he not be pardoned now by the Guru's mediation ? The Guru replied, ' Thou shalt not have to render an account hereafter. Guru Nanak hath procured thy pardon.' Budhu Shah remained for some time with the Guru, who conceived a great affection for him and vouchsafed him religious instruction suitable to his circumstances.

Raja Fatah Shah of Srinagar in consultation with his ministers arrived at the conclusion that it would be politic to be on good terms with the Guru, and accordingly decided to visit him since he had approached so near his territory. When the Guru was apprised of his intention, he prepared a magnificent entertainment for his reception. Rich carpets were spread and minstrels engaged to contribute to the Raja's amusement and enhance his enjoyment of the feast. During the Raja's visit the Guru sent his uncle Kripal to him to suggest that it would be well if he and the Raja of Nahan also were on good terms. The Raja at once replied that he would act in all such matters as the Guru desired. The Guru then sent for the Raja of Nahan. He came and promised to forget his former enmity to the Raja of Srinagar. The Guru brought the two Rajas together in open court, caused them to embrace and promise eternal friendship.

Before the assembly was dissolved a hillman arrived with tidings of a fierce tiger which was destroying cattle in the neighbourhood. The messenger pressed the Guru to free the country from the pest. The Guru on the morrow took the two Rajas, together with Nand Chand and others, to where the tiger was reported to have his lair. The Guru asked the hillman who had brought the intelligence to lead the way. He guided the Guru and his party into a very dense forest. The tiger, which had been resting, awoke on hearing the tramp of the huntsmen's feet, and sat on his haunches looking at his pursuers with tranquil curiosity.

The Guru forbade a bullet or arrow to be discharged, and called on any one who deemed himself brave to engage the tiger with sword and shield. No one came forward in response to the challenge. Raja Fatah Shah addressed the Guru : ' Great king, this tiger is very strong and hath been for a long time in this forest. He hath destroyed several men and cattle. If any one had been able to cope with him, would he still be alive ? But as he is strong and thou too art mighty, why not engage him thyself ? Who but thee hath prowess to contend with sword and shield ? ' Hearing this the Guru alighted from his horse and drew himself together for the attack. The Raja of Nahan interposed : ' O true Guru, why confront such a tiger ? We will shoot him with our matchlocks.' The Guru replied, ' See how I will deal with this tiger. I shall have no difficulty in killing him.' Saying this he took sword and shield, advanced, and challenged the tiger. The tiger rose with a roar and sprang at the Guru. The Guru received him on his shield and striking him on the flank with his sword cut him in twain. The Rajas and the hunting-party were naturally astonished and delighted at the Guru's strength and bravery and the result of the encounter.

The Guru took the opportunity to instruct his

friends: 'The tiger hath died like a hero and obtained deliverance. It is cowards who suffer transmigration. The brave enjoy celestial happiness. If a man die in battle, it should be with his face to the foe.' Next morning the two Rajas, leaving the Guru in Paunta, departed to their several capitals.

On Budhu Shah's return to his home in Sadhaura five hundred Pathans in uniform presented themselves before him one morning. They stated that they had been soldiers of the Emperor Aurangzeb, but for some trivial offence had been disbanded. No one would now receive them through fear of the Emperor. It occurred to Budhu Shah that the Guru, who had no fear of anybody, would be likely to accept their services in his army. He accordingly took them to the Guru who was delighted to enlist them. The Guru fixed a salary of five rupees per day for each officer and one rupee a day for each trooper. The officers' names were Haiyat Khan, Kale Khan, Nijabat Khan, and Bhikan Khan, men of whom we shall hear much hereafter.

An envoy about this time arrived from Ram Rai. When he was allowed to approach the Guru on the morning after his arrival, he saw the Guru's troops—some fencing, some practising archery, and others performing miscellaneous military exercises. The envoy told the Guru that Ram Rai desired to meet him, but could not go to Paunta, and did not desire the Guru to come to Dehra Dun. They could meet at some intermediate spot. Ram Rai had then a large following, and did not desire that his disciples should think he went as an inferior to the Guru, but at the same time he never hoped that the Guru would proceed to visit him. Hence his unusual request. The Guru consented to meet him on the margin of the Jamna on Sunday, the second day of the following month. The interview accordingly took place. When Ram Rai's companions saw him touch the Guru's feet, they said, 'See, Ram Rai does obeisance

to his rival,' and they made many remarks derogatory to the rank arrogated to himself by their spiritual guide.

The Guru and Ram Rai conversed on various matters, particularly on the Guru's relations with Raja Bhim Chand. At the end of the colloquy Ram Rai said, 'I am fortunate to have obtained a sight of thee; I have now but a brief time to live. My masands are very proud. When I am gone, protect my family and property. Thou art the sun of our race, and hast for many reasons assumed birth. The holy Guru Nanak made the name of the one God the sole raft to ferry mortals over the world's ocean, and by means of it men have obtained deliverance. But when in time the wind of evil passions blew, the raft striking on the rock of pride was foundered, and many souls were lost. My father Guru Har Rai used to say that some one would be born from our family who would restore and refit the vessel for the safe conveyance of souls. Accordingly thou hast come into the world for this special purpose.'

When the Guru after hearing this looked round, he saw all Ram Rai's men standing with their backs towards him and their master. The Guru then observed, 'Ram Rai's Sikhs who turn their backs on us are fools. They are not pleased with the sight even of their own guru, so he will not render them assistance hereafter.'

The Guru by his occult power knew Gurdas's boast that his brother Tara would be a match for him and protect Ram Rai's city against any aggression he might meditate. The Guru accordingly said to Gurdas, 'Tell thy brother to discharge an arrow in my presence. Thou saidst that thy brother could shoot like the Guru, and that no Guru could be so powerful as he.' Gurdas on thus being taken to task, begged the Guru's pardon, and was duly forgiven. The Guru then returned to Paunta where he

abode for a time composing poetry in its pleasant environment and salubrious climate.

The author of the *Suraj Parkash* gives the method of the Guru's composition. He used to rise early, bathe, walk along the bank of the river Jamna sufficiently far to obtain complete privacy and ensure himself against interruption. He would then sit down and compose poetry for three hours. He first translated from Sanskrit the history of Krishan avatar.[1] The translation is generally in quatrains adorned with similes and metaphors. The Guru delighted to describe the sports of Krishan, the circular dances performed by him and the milk-maids, and his special devotion to Radhika his queen. It was further to the south, on the margin of the same river, that Krishan disported himself and performed those great feats which have secured him deification among the Hindus. The Guru in his 'Ras Mandal' or description of the circular dance of Krishan made an acrostic out of the thirty-five letters of the Gurumukhi alphabet. The letters do not begin but end the verses. At intervals in his literary labour he used to watch the river rolling over its shingly bed, and admire its sparkling foam and blue wavelets.

Some time after the Guru's visit Ram Rai fell into a trance, and in that state was cremated by the masands in defiance of the prayers and entreaties of his wife Panjab Kaur. The masands then proceeded to take possession of his property and of the offerings intended for him; and each began to proclaim himself guru. Panjab Kaur, through the agency of Gurdas, who had remained faithful to her, sent a letter to Guru Gobind Rai to inform him of the circumstances, and to pray for his advice and assistance. She then invited all the masands to

[1] *Sūraj Parkāsh*, Rut II, Chapter 4. Some learned Sikhs are of opinion that the translation was really made by one of the Guru's bards named Syām, whose name frequently occurs in it.

a feast on a certain day which she had fixed on for the appointment of a successor to her husband, and promised to the deserving dresses of honour on the occasion.

When the masands arrived they each presented a claim to spiritual authority. One man would say, 'I want to be appointed guru of a certain country.' Another would say, 'I want to be appointed guru of another country.' When all the masands had arrived, Panjab Kaur sent to inform the Guru. The Guru at once ordered his troops to prepare for an expedition. On the morrow he proceeded with them to Dehra, leaving sufficient men to guard Paunta. When the masands saw the Guru, their faces grew pale and they asked one another why he had come. The Guru and Ram Rai, they said, were in opposition to each other, but perhaps the Guru had come to condole with the widow on her husband's death. In any case the masands made certain that the Guru would only stay for a day or two, as Panjab Kaur would be unable to provide supplies for him and his army for any length of time.

Next day Panjab Kaur requested the Guru to punish the masands. Some of them suspected what was in store for them, but fate was too powerful to allow of their absconding. The Guru recalled to memory all their crimes and misdemeanours. They used to go to the houses of Sikhs to take intoxicants, and frequent the society of courtesans. They used to boast that the Guru was of their own making, and, if they did not serve him, no one would even look at him. They practised oppression in every form; they embezzled offerings made to the Guru and committed many other enormities. The Guru accordingly meted out condign punishment to the guilty among them, and rewarded those who had remained faithful to Panjab Kaur. He then returned to Paunta.

CHAPTER IV

The Guru set about extending Paunta and beautifying it with gardens and pleasure grounds. One day as he was sitting in his garden, he received an invitation[1] from Raja Fatah Shah of Srinagar to his daughter's marriage with the son of Raja Bhim Chand of Bilaspur. The Guru declined the invitation on the ground that Bhim Chand was at enmity with him and a disturbance might result were the two to meet. The Guru, however, promised to send his finance minister with some troops to represent him. He accordingly gave orders to Diwan Nand Chand to hold himself in readiness and at the same time to provide a necklace of the value of one lakh and a quarter of rupees as a marriage present for Raja Fatah Shah's daughter.

Nand Chand on his departure said to the Guru, 'I go in obedience to thine order, but if Raja Bhim Chand force a quarrel on me, it may be difficult for me to return.' The Guru replied, 'As the immortal God will take thee thither, so will He restore thee to me. Have no anxiety on that account.' Nand Chand set out according to order with five hundred horse for Srinagar. The Raja sent officers some distance to receive him, and offered him suitable quarters within the city. Nand Chand urged diplomatic reasons for not accepting the accommodation provided, but his real object was to encamp outside the city, so that he and his troops might be free to escape if treacherously attacked. Accordingly a spot on the road to Paunta was at his request assigned him for his camp.

Raja Bhim Chand, Raja Kesari Chand, Raja Gopal, Raja Hari Chand, and the Rajas of Kangra, Mandi, and Suket, proceeded in great state to Srinagar. On

[1] In former times an invitation to a marriage was made by sending a piece of red string and some sweets.

their way they halted on the margin of the Jamna not far from Paunta. There Raja Bhim Chand heard that the Guru with his forces was encamped at the ferry of Rajghat four miles distant, and had made preparations to obstruct his progress. Bhim Chand accordingly considered what was to be done under the circumstances. He knew the Guru to be very brave, and he also knew the enmity he bore him. If Raja Bhim Chand went straight on, he would have to contend with the Guru's troops ; and if he went by a circuitous route to another ferry, he could not arrive in time for the wedding.

In this difficulty Raja Bhim Chand consulted his brother rajas, and recalled to their memory all the circumstances connected with his negotiations with the Guru. He had deferred making war on account of his son's approaching marriage, but the very circumstance that he had apprehended now occurred, for the Guru was on the way to obstruct his progress and hinder his crossing the Jamna at Rajghat. Various counsels were given, which were all rejected. At last Bhim Chand decided to send his prime minister to the Guru to represent that his son's marriage was about to be celebrated, and it was no time for a clash of arms which would turn joy into sorrow. The prime minister received instructions to present all this in the form of a respectful request to the Guru. If it failed, he was then to inform him of the names of the rajas who were with the marriage procession. It was thus hoped that, even if the Guru rejected the respectful request, he would hesitate to attack so many powerful chiefs.

When the hill rajas' envoy reached the Guru he said, ' O true Guru, Raja Bhim Chand with the hill rajas hath come with his son's marriage procession, and they request thy permission to pass. They ordered me to entreat thee with clasped hands to consider this as the marriage of thine own son.' The Guru replied, ' O envoy, there is no reliance to

be placed on these false hill rajas. While uttering sweet words, they harbour enmity in their hearts. Therefore tell them from me that they may come this way if they are brave ; but, if they are cowards, they may take another route, in which case I will not molest them. Raja Bhim Chand threatened to come and attack me at Anandpur. I will myself proceed thither when I have vanquished him.'

When the Guru's determination was communicated to Raja Bhim Chand and the other hill chiefs, there ensued a long discussion as to the best course of action. It was at last decided that the bridegroom should be sent with a few high officials to request the Guru to allow him safe conduct for the purpose of his marriage, and that the rest of the marriage procession should go to Srinagar by a circuitous route. Bhim Chand vowed that after the celebration of the marriage he would take revenge on the Guru for his conduct, and bring Raja Fatah Shah to dislodge him from his position.

When Raja Bhim Chand's son with his escort reached the Guru, he said, 'O true Guru, thy name is cherisher of those who seek thy protection, and I do so now. Had my father thought that thou wert likely to molest me, he would never have sent me hither. As I am his son, so I am now thine. I am altogether at thy mercy.' The Guru compassionated the youth, and at once allowed him to proceed to Srinagar for the due performance of his marriage rites.

When the bridegroom and his small party informed Raja Fatah Shah of what had occurred, he felt sore grieved at the impediment placed by the Guru in the way of his daughter's marriage. Before the hill chiefs had yet arrived, Diwan Nand Chand desired to offer the Guru's wedding present, and then take his early departure. Raja Fatah Shah replied, 'You may offer me the Guru's present when all the rajas are assembled.'

When Raja Bhim Chand and the other hill chiefs arrived, Nand Chand was anxious to present the Guru's wedding gift and leave Srinagar as early as possible. The herald in attendance proclaimed: 'Guru Gobind Rai, who is seated on Guru Nanak's throne, hath presented jewellery to the value of a lakh and a quarter of rupees as dowry to Fatah Shah's daughter.' Raja Bhim Chand on hearing this became enraged and said, 'Witness all ye people. My *kurm*[1] is friendly to the Guru, and taketh a marriage present from him, though he is an enemy of mine. I must therefore refuse to accept Fatah Shah's daughter for my son.' The Raja of Kangra said to the speaker, 'It is not well to act in haste. Send thy minister to Raja Fatah Shah, and ask him if he will take the initiative in a war with the Guru. If so, he is one of us, and we will conclude the alliance with him. If, however, he refuse to attack the Guru, then we will not accept his daughter.'

On this Raja Kesari Chand and Raja Bhim Chand's minister went to Raja Fatah Shah, told him all the circumstances, and said that if he did not go to war with the Guru, he should be considered an enemy not only of Raja Bhim Chand, but of all the hill chiefs. Raja Fatah Shah was much perplexed on receiving this message, and saw that trouble awaited him on every side. He replied, 'It is a great sin to fight with a man who obviously manifesteth his friendship. The Guru is my greatest friend. How shall I engage in a conflict with him without reason? Raja Bhim Chand is at enmity with the Guru without any just cause. If one man make a request and another cannot comply, what ground of enmity is that? Come with me, and I will make peace between the Guru and Raja Bhim Chand.'

When Raja Bhim Chand was informed of this he caused the drum of departure to be beaten. When

[1] Son's father-in-law. There is no one word in English for this relationship.

his horses were saddled and all preparation made he sent his minister with an ultimatum to Fatah Shah, ' Raja Bhim Chand now breaks off his son's marriage with thy daughter. On this account thou shalt suffer much obloquy. The Guru is here to-day and gone to-morrow. Thou hast no kinship to break with him, so why break with thine affianced relations ? ' Fatah Shah was weakly overcome by this representation, and promised to act as Raja Bhim Chand desired. Raja Bhim Chand, who was already on horseback, alighted on hearing Fatah Shah's change of determination and went to him. Fatah Shah then renewed his promise to act according to Bhim Chand's wishes and join him in making war on the Guru.

Meanwhile Nand Chand managed to secure his property, including the Guru's unaccepted wedding present, and prepared for his homeward journey. On hearing this Raja Bhim Chand sent five hundred horse to intercept him and seize whatever he had in his possession. Raja Bhim Chand promised the leader of the detachment to send more troops to his assistance as soon as possible. When Nand Chand's troops found their way obstructed, they began to reflect that they were few, while the hillmen were many, and they meditated flight or coalition with the enemy. On this a brave Sikh spoke out, ' What are you soldiers meditating ? On your departure for Srinagar the true Guru promised that as the immortal God would conduct you to your destination, so would He restore you to your homes in safety. Put faith in the Guru's words.' This short speech inspired the Sikhs with courage, and shouting ' Sat Sri Akal ! Sat Sri Akal ! '—True is the immortal God, true is the immortal God—prepared for the conflict.

Nand Chand also addressed cheering words to his men. He assured them that the army in front of them was weak, and his men might fearlessly advance. They obeyed, and when within gunshot discharged

a volley at the hillmen which threw their ranks into disorder. Nand Chand then shouted to the hill troops, 'Why waste your lives in vain? The army which was to reinforce you hath not arrived. Fly!' On hearing this the hillmen dispersed in every direction. Their reinforcing army, which was approaching, heard the sound of the Sikhs' muskets and feared to advance. Moreover, Raja Bhim Chand's troops would never fight unless commanded by himself. The result was that Nand Chand and his troops safely returned to Paunta, and offered their obeisance and congratulations to the Guru. Nand Chand gave him an account of what had occurred since his departure for Srinagar, and advised him to hold himself in readiness, for the hill rajas with Fatah Shah would certainly repeat their aggression. Upon this the Guru ordered ammunition to be served out to his army. It now became a question whether the Guru would wait for the enemy near Paunta, or advance to intercept their progress. The Guru's uncle said that the enemy would come by Bhangani between the Jamna and the Giri,[1] and it would be best to select Bhangani, which was six miles distant, for the field of battle. The Guru approved of this plan of operations.

During Nand Chand's stay in Srinagar a merchant arrived there with one hundred horses which he had purchased in Kashmir for the Guru. Nand Chand had a difficulty in saving them from Bhim Chand's rapacity, and succeeded in taking them to Paunta. He now informed the Guru that the horses were present and at his disposal. The gift was a very opportune one, and the Guru expressed his highest satisfaction with the merchant. He distributed the horses among selected Sikhs. There was nothing now heard but warlike preparations and conversations. The Sikhs, who in the words of the Sikh chronicler, wàtched for the enemy as a tiger for his

[1] Not far from the city of Rājpura on the Mansūri (Mussoorie) road.

prey, enjoyed in anticipation the approaching battle, and vaunted that they would expel all the hill rajas and take possession of their territories.

Raja Bhim Chand reproached his troops for failing to arrest the departure of Nand Chand's detachment, and asked them if they had occupied their time in feasting on honey or doing their duty. He said, however, that he would forget the past if they promised amendment in the future. He then sent word to Fatah Shah to go and do battle with the Guru according to his promise. Fatah Shah, in order to please him, served out ammunition and beat the drum of war. His soldiers buckled on their swords, and slung their guns over their shoulders. Fatah Shah propitiated the goddess of his state, and putting himself at the head of his troops advanced to the combat.

As already stated, the Guru's army except the five hundred Pathans recently taken into his service on the recommendation of Budhu Shah, exulted in the prospect of battle. The Pathans took council with one another, and Bhikan Khan, one of their officers, said, 'The Guru's main dependence is on us. The rest of his army is a miscellaneous rabble who have never seen war, and will run away when they hear the first shot fired. Then the brunt of the battle will fall on us, and we shall be responsible for defeat. Why waste our lives in vain? Let us go to the Guru and ask permission to return to our homes.'

Kale Khan, another of the Pathan officers, stoutly resisted the proposal: 'You are untrue to your salt. Are you not ashamed to think of running away when your employer is involved in serious warfare? Nobody will trust you in the future; and when you die, you shall be condemned to the abode of sorrow of which our holy prophet tells. You are a disgrace to the Pathan race.' Bhikan Khan rejoined, 'O Kale Khan, remain thou loyal to the Guru. If any of us

have business at home, why should he not go there ? Why should he die an untimely death ? Stay thou with the Guru and earn such advancement as he may confer on thee.' On hearing this Kale Khan detached himself from the Pathans, and adhered to his allegiance to the Guru.

Nijabat Khan and Haiyat Khan sided with the majority under Bhikan Khan, and proceeded to the Guru to ask on behalf of themselves and their followers leave to depart to their homes. One man had a child born to him, another was to be betrothed, a third was to be married, the mother of a fourth was dead, &c., &c., and all would suffer irrevocable disgrace were they not to return to their homes at once. They accordingly requested the Guru to settle their accounts and pay the balance of their salaries due to them. The Guru replied, 'This is not a time to ask for leave. The enemy is upon us, and yet you desire to forsake me. If any one of you wish to marry, let him first marry battle, and then proceed to his home and celebrate marriage with his betrothed. In that case I will largely reward you.'

The Pathans again represented : 'It is incumbent on us to go to our homes in case of births, deaths, and marriages. Otherwise we could never show our faces again to our relations. We must therefore depart.' To this the Guru replied, 'Be loyal to your sovereign ; leave death and life in the hands of God. Desert not your posts, abandon not your duty, and you shall be happy in this world and the next. If you die in battle, you shall obtain glory to which not even monarchs can aspire. Shame not your sires and your race. He who forsaketh his master in battle shall be dishonoured here and condemned hereafter. The vultures, knowing him to be disloyal, will not touch but spurn his flesh. He shall not go to heaven hereafter, nor obtain glory here ; abundant disgrace shall light upon his head. Be assured of this that

human birth shall be profitable to him who loseth his life with his face to the foe. For all the drops of blood that fall from his body, so many years shall he enjoy the company of his God.'[1]

The Guru offered double pay, which the Pathans refused; then triple, then quadruple. All the Guru's overtures were rejected. The Pathans replied, 'Money is a thing to be distributed among relations; but if relations fall out, of what use is money?' Kripal then addressed them, 'O fools, you are afraid to fight, and are only inventing excuses. Having eaten the Guru's salt you are untrue to it, and are reflecting dishonour on the Pathan race. A curse on your pay and on yourselves!' Kripal then quoted the texts from Bhai Gur Das's Wars against ingratitude.

Finding all remonstrance useless, Kripal recommended the Guru to dismiss the wretches from his service. The Guru again addressed the mutinous men: 'You appear like tigers, but you have only the spirit of jackals.' The Pathans cast down their eyes and said in reply, 'O great king, say what thou pleasest. We will serve thee no longer. We are not thy prisoners. Why tauntest thou us?' The Guru replied, 'Leave my presence; the immortal God will assist me.' When the Pathans, having received their salary from the Guru, went to their tents to make preparations for their departure, Kale Khan again advised them to serve the Guru for one year more. At the end of that time they should be wealthy men. Bhikan Khan replied, 'The Guru is evidently afraid of the enemy. If we want money, let us go and fight on the side of the hillmen and obtain their permission to plunder the Guru. The hillmen have not the same information regarding his treasure as we have. Accordingly, we shall be at the rear during the battle and at the front during the plunder. We

[1] Sukha Singh's *Gur Bilās*, Chapter vi, and *Sūraj Parkāsh*, Rut II, Chapter 20.

will then go straight to our homes taking with us all we can seize.'

This advice of Bhikan Khan was applauded by the Pathans. They accordingly sent five of their men to negotiate with Raja Fatah Shah, and tell him they would all serve him without pay if they were allowed to plunder the Guru. Moreover, their leaving the Guru would ruin him as they were the only fighting men he had. In fact, on their departure there would be none to fight on his side, and Fatah Shah would gain a bloodless victory. Fatah Shah was highly pleased, and at once gave the Pathans written permission to appropriate the Guru's property. When the document was shown to the body of the Pathans, they set about saddling their horses to join Fatah Shah's standard. Kale Khan again remonstrated and threatened the mutineers, but in vain. Some further overtures of the Guru were also rejected. The upshot was that the Guru's soldiers, who were only waiting for his order, expelled the mutinous Pathans from his camp. Kale Khan remained with the troop of one hundred men of whom he had been originally in command.

The Guru lost no time in informing Budhu Shah of the misconduct of the mutinous Pathan soldiers whom he had introduced and recommended to him. Budhu Shah felt their behaviour a personal disgrace to himself. He sought to remove it, and also gain spiritual advantage by assisting the Guru. He accordingly placed himself, his brother, his four sons, and seven hundred disciples at the Guru's disposal.

CHAPTER V

When the Pathans joined Raja Fatah Shah, he asked them what the Guru, whose pay they had been receiving and whose salt they had been eating, must think of them after their desertion. Bhikan Khan

replied, 'Great king, the Guru is greatly afraid of thee. He only declared war on thee through reliance on us. He offered us shields full of rupees, but we refused and came to thee. He hath only eight men who know how to fight. These are his five cousins, his uncle Kripal, Diwan Nand Chand, and Bhai Daya Ram. The others who are with him are the dregs of the populace, and know not even how to handle a sword. We Pathans shall be too many for them, so it will not be necessary for thy troops to engage at all. The Guru hath treasure exceeding that of an emperor.' On this Fatah Shah remarked that Providence was kind to him in having already granted him victory. He repeated his promise to the Pathans that they might go and plunder the Guru, and, if he himself possibly could, he would generously reward them out of his own resources also.

The Guru's scouts, who had been sent to Bhangani, reported that the enemy were marching to the attack. He must therefore proceed at once to intercept them, otherwise they would enter Paunta on the morrow. The Guru sent orders to a body of Udasis to put on their turbans, take their arms, and prepare for defence. The Udasis too did not wish to lose their lives. They said that there were other countries where they might beg for their living, and that the Guru's kitchen from which they used to eat, was not the only one in the world which remained to them. It was not for the purpose of fighting they had left their homes and become pilgrims. They accordingly resolved to abscond during the night one by one, so that their departure might be unobserved.

Next morning the Guru was informed that the Udasis had all fled except their mahant Kripal, who remained in a state of abstraction. The Guru smiled and said, 'The root at any rate is left, and since there is the root the tree shall bear blossom and fruit. If the mahant had gone, the Udasis

would have been totally extirpated, and excommunicated from Sikhism.' The Guru then ordered the mahant to be sent for, and thus addressed him: 'O mahant, whither have thy Udasis fled? Hearken to me. Thy disciples eat our sacred food, but when they see a green field elsewhere, they go to graze on it like cattle. They have all absconded in the present hour of need.' The mahant calmly replied, 'All disciples of the Gurus are made by thee, and thou thyself canst pardon them.'

While the Guru was conversing with the mahant two Sikhs arrived to report that the army of the hillmen had arrived near Bhangani. The Guru gave orders to his five cousins to take troops and stop the entrance of the enemy into the town. Then making all arrangements for the defence of Paunta during his absence, he sent for his arms and armour and offered the following prayer to the Almighty :—

Eternal God, Thou art our shield,
The dagger, knife, the sword we wield.
To us protector there is given
The timeless, deathless, Lord of heaven ;
To us All-steel's unvanquished might ;
To us All-time's resistless flight ;
But chiefly Thou, Protector brave,
All-steel, wilt Thine own servants save.[1]

Then while repeating his orders he buckled on his sword, slung his quiver over his shoulder, took his bow in his hand, mounted his steed, and shouting 'Sat Sri Akal' in his loudest voice proceeded to confront his enemies. It is recorded that the hoofs of the Guru's horse in their quick movement raised clouds of dust which obscured the sun, and that the cheers of his men resembled thunder in the stormy and rainy month of Sawan.

When the Guru arrived at Bhangani, Bhai Daya

[1] This is freely translated from a version of the first lines of the *Akāl Ustat* found in Malcolm's *Sketch of the Sikhs*.

Ram pointed out the positions of the armies arrayed against him. 'Behold; there is Fatah Shah's army, and to the right of it are the faithless Pathans who have deserted us. Behind them all stands Fatah Shah himself. In the van is seen Hari Chand, the Raja of Handur, a brave and accomplished archer.'

Meanwhile a contingent was seen to approach, discharging firearms and committing great havoc among the hillmen. Diwan Nand Chand was puzzled and applied to the Guru for information. A soldier arrived in breathless haste, and said that Budhu Shah had arrived to wipe out the Guru's taunts for having introduced the Pathans to him. The Guru was of course overjoyed to receive Budhu Shah with his reinforcement, and at once gave the order to charge. Sango Shah, one of the Guru's cousins, who discharged bullets like hail and committed fearful destruction among the enemy, is specially mentioned on this occasion for his conspicuous gallantry.

Raja Fatah Shah soon learnt that the Pathans had misled him as to the character and strength of the Guru's army. Raja Hari Chand then suggested that the Pathans under Bhikan Khan, being in the Guru's secret and aware of his plan of operations, should be sent to the front. This was accordingly done. They charged the Guru's army and used their muskets with great effect. The Guru sent Nand Chand and Daya Ram with their troops to check their onset. Nand Chand and Daya Ram advanced with the rapidity of arrows shot from the Guru's bow-string. They and their men discharged missiles like winged serpents against the enemy. The Pathans too, fought well, the battle was hotly contested, and many brave men were untimely slain on both sides.

The struggle was continued by both armies with the eagerness of wrestlers striving for victory. Sango Shah continued his brave career and killed many of the enemy. He was well supported by his brother

Mahri Chand, who showered bullets with deadly precision on the Pathans, but was at last surrounded as his missiles were exhausted. Sango seeing his brother's perilous position put his horse at full speed to rescue him, and so deftly applied his arrows, that the Pathans soon surrendered their expected prey and fled.

Budhu Shah, his relations, and his disciples, fought with great bravery and devotion, and succeeded in slaying numbers of the enemy. The ground resembled a red carpet. His men shouted like thunder, and drove the enemy before them as a hurricane drives chaff. Raja Gopal of Guler now arrived with his troops to reinforce Fatah Shah. He called out to the fugitives, 'Why run away? I have come to your assistance.' On this the hillmen took courage and renewed the combat. They directed their attack principally against Budhu Shah's troops. Seeing this, Budhu Shah's sons fought with the greatest bravery, felled the enemy as a woodcutter fells forest trees, and warded off all return strokes, so that they piled up corpses on corpses. Raja Gopal, seeing the destruction of his allies, addressed his men, 'My brethren, now is the time for action. Maintain the honour of the hill rajas.' The result of this brief exhortation was that the enemy surrounded Budhu Shah's son. In this critical position he fought with great desperation. His bravery attracted the attention of the Guru himself who sent his uncle Kripal with troops to rescue him. Kripal's men showered arrows and bullets on the enemy, and succeeded in extricating the youth. He and Kripal then joined in a terrific charge on the hillmen. Raja Gopal seeing this discharged an arrow at Budhu Shah's son which struck him on the chest, and brought him to the ground. This led to a close engagement of the combatants on both sides for the possession of the body. Every form of weapon was plied and the carnage became

terrific. Such was the gallantry of Kripal and the spirit he infused into his followers, that the enemy fled, leaving the corpse of Budhu Shah's son to be borne away from the field by his father's disciples for honourable interment.

Raja Gopal, on seeing the confusion produced in his ranks by the brave Kripal, directed his horse at full speed against him. As Gopal advanced he discharged an arrow at him, which lodged in his horse's saddle. On this Kripal shouted, 'O Gopal, thou hast had the first shot. It is for me to shoot now.' On hearing this Gopal turned his horse round. Kripal at once discharged an arrow, which penetrated his horse's temple, and the animal fell heavily on the ground. Gopal, unhorsed, ran away with the rapidity of a thief who finds day dawning on him in the exercise of his calling, and took refuge at the rear of his troops. He there provided himself with another steed which he mounted for the battle.

The Rajas of Chandel and Handur now appeared on the scene, and desired to come to close quarters with the Guru himself. They and their troops were, however, kept at bay by the bravery of the Guru's five cousins, supported by the faithful Sikhs.

Raja Fatah Shah now called out to Bhikan Khan and his Pathans, and asked them why they were concealing themselves and saving their skins like dastards. Bhikan Khan had represented that the Guru's army was worthless, so Fatah Shah now called on him to put that worthless army to flight. He and his men might then return to their homes with such plunder as they could obtain from their victory. Bhikan Khan, thus roused from his lethargy, joined in the fight. Haiyat Khan too advanced and killed several of the Guru's troopers. Kripal, the mahant of the Udasis, now advanced on horseback, and asked the Guru's permission to engage Haiyat Khan. The Guru replied, 'O holy saint, thou canst kill him with thy words. Pray that I may

be victorious.' Kripal, the Guru's uncle, overhearing this conversation, and seeing that the mahant was filled with martial enthusiasm, prayed the Guru to let him engage Haiyat Khan. The Guru inquired with what weapon the mahant was going to contend with his adversary. The mahant replied, 'With this club.' The Guru smiled and said, 'Go and engage thine enemy.' It was a spectacle to see the mahant with his matted hair twisted round his head, his body only clothed with a thin plaster of ashes, and his belly projecting far in front of his saddle, proceeding to engage a practised warrior armed with the latest weapons of destruction.

When the mahant approached and challenged Haiyat Khan, the latter saw that he had no warlike weapon and consequently retreated from him, scorning to attack a defenceless man. The onlookers were amused and said, 'How can that faqir contend with a Pathan?' The mahant, however, continued to challenge Haiyat Khan. As when a snake is escaping into its hole it will come forth if its tail be trodden on and attack the aggressor, so Haiyat Khan, who had been retiring before the mahant, now advanced against him goaded by his taunts. He aimed a blow of his sword at the mahant, which the latter received on his club, when lo! Haiyat Khan's sword fell to pieces. The mahant then addressed him, 'Now hold thy ground and defend thyself from me.' The mahant rose on his stirrups, and wielding his club with both hands struck Haiyat Khan with such force on the head that his skull broke, and his brains issued forth and stained the battle-field.[1]

[1] The Guru himself gives the following description of this single combat and of the fighting which immediately followed :—

Mahant Kripāl, raging, lifted his mace and smote the fierce Haiyāt Khān on the head, upon which his brains issued bubbling forth as butter from the earthen vessel which Krishan broke. Nand Chand raged in dreadful ire, launching his spear, then wielding his scimitar. When the keen weapon broke, he drew forth his dagger for the honour of the

The mahant continued to display his skill and bravery to the Pathans, but was at last surrounded by them and placed in a very hazardous position. When Jit Mal, one of the Guru's cousins, saw this, he rained such a shower of arrows on the Pathans, that they retreated and left the mahant unmolested. He then made his way to the Guru, and received his approbation.

Ram Singh, a mechanic from Banaras, had made a cannon for the Guru from which balls were discharged with great effect during this battle. People on seeing the impression made on the enemy concluded that the Guru was destined to be victorious.

Bhikan Khan and Nijabat Khan taunted their men with being unable to cope with a rabble of villagers who did not even know how to handle a martial weapon. The result was that the Pathans made another desperate effort to brighten their gloomy prospects, and for a time caused the Guru's army to waver. One Sahib Chand, a captain of a troop, asked the Guru's permission to oppose the onset of the enemy. The Guru ordered him to act on his own responsibility. Sahib Chand and his men so deftly and rapidly plied their arrows that the Pathans found it necessary to take shelter behind trees. Bhikan Khan, seeing this, addressed his men: 'How now, jackals, you are attaching a stigma to the Pathan race. The hillmen are laughing at you, and saying that a faqir, having killed Haiyat Khan, hath put all the Pathans to flight.' Saying this,

Sodhi race. Then my maternal uncle, Kripāl, advanced in his rage. The brave man's body received many arrows, yet he emptied the saddle of many a Turkish chief. Sāhib Chand, as a true Kshatri, strove in the battle's fury and slew bloodthirsty heroes, shining lights of Khurāsān. Many excellent warriors were slain, and those who survived fled with their lives. Sango Shāh, lord of battle, gloriously acquitted himself, and trampled underfoot bloodthirsty Pathāns. Rāja Gopāl shouted as he stood in the battle-field, like a tiger in the midst of deer. The brave Hari Chand planted his feet firmly on the field and in his fury discharged sharp arrows which went through and through his adversaries. — *Vichitar Nātak.*

Bhikan Khan set an example of bravery to his soldiers, and discharged showers of arrows at the Guru's troops.

Sahib Chand, on the Guru's side, continued to fight with great determination, and caused great havoc among the enemy. Seeing this, Hari Chand, the Raja of Handur, became enraged and strove with equal valour against him. His archery was so unerring that the Guru's army again wavered. Sahib Chand then occupied himself in warding off Hari Chand's arrows and inspiriting his men. They were not, however, to be encouraged, but were on the point of retreat when the Guru heard a great tumult near him. He at once ordered Nand Chand and Daya Ram to stay the attack of the enemy. These brave heroes discharged such showers of arrows as effectually checked the onward progress of the Pathans. Nand Chand, taking his sword in his hand and putting his horse to full speed, rode into the thick of his enemies, and chopped off their heads like pumpkins severed from their stalks. In his left hand he held a lance with which as occasion served he impaled his antagonists. The Pathans, however, retreated not, but with their religious battle-cry, 'Ya Ali! Ya Ali!' firmly held their ground and fell upon Nand Chand. He by his bravery and skill in arms sent every one who approached him to the next world by the way of the sword. A Pathan ran his horse forward and received Nand Chand's sword on his musket. The sword fell to pieces and then Nand Chand drew forth his two-edged dagger. Daya Ram went to his assistance at that critical moment, and a hand to hand engagement with the Moslems ensued, in which they were worsted and put to flight. Raja Hari Chand still held his ground and was challenged by Daya Ram. Hari Chand avoided not the conflict, but continued to discharge arrows and bullets and inflict great damage on the Guru's army. His horse

was very swift and tractable, and he could turn him rapidly round so as to save himself from a hostile attack, while at the same time he could discharge fatal missiles at his opponents. Saiyid Budhu Shah was found to have lost during the last charge a second son in the battle.

There came a confectioner named Lal Chand to the spot on which the Guru stood directing the battle. He said, 'I feel greatly tempted to join in the fray, but I have never learned how to handle warlike weapons.' The Guru replied, 'If thou desire to fight, take and mount a horse.' The confectioner did so. Then the Guru gave him a sword and shield. He inquired how they were to be held. The Guru told him to take the sword in his right hand and the shield in his left. The Guru's soldiers laughed at the confectioner's ignorance and said, 'Well done! our Guru and great King wants to kill hawks with sparrows.'

The confectioner ran his horse into the Pathan army. Bhikan Khan on seeing him said to his friend Mir Khan, 'See, here comes an Arora.[1] He hath been all day weighing flour and salt, and now the Guru hath given him a sword and shield. Take his arms and his horse, and then slay him.' Upon this Mir Khan pounced on him like a hawk on a sparrow. When Mir Khan drew his sword the confectioner warded it off with his shield. Then meditating on the Guru he aimed a return blow at Mir Khan which separated his head from his body. The hillmen taunted the Pathans with not being able to contend with petty hucksters, and asked them if they were not ashamed of their cowardice. Provoked by these taunts, Nijabat Khan and Bhikan Khan urged their men to make a general charge and not die like jackals. Raja Hari Chand joined them in their onslaught. The Guru's brave Sikhs, however, firmly held their ground. In the action that

[1] A tribe of Khatris.

ensued Jit Mal and Hari Chand engaged in single combat. Jit Mal discharged an arrow at Hari Chand, but the latter by an adroit movement of his horse escaped it. Jit Mal became angry at having missed his mark, and discharged another arrow at his opponent. Hari Chand followed his example. The arrows lodged in their horses' foreheads and both horses fell. The combatants thus unhorsed continued to fight until they were both wounded. After a short breathing time, both again put forward their strength, when their swords simultaneously took effect. Hari Chand fell fainting to the earth, and Jit Mal dropped down dead with his face to the foe. His comrades blest the father who had begotten him and the mother who had borne him.

When the hillmen found that their bravest warrior had fallen into a swoon, they assembled to consider what should be done. On seeing the enemy huddled together, the Guru ordered Ram Singh to direct his cannon towards them. Ram Singh obeyed, with the result that several of the enemy were killed. On this the Rajas of Dadhwal and Jaswal became enraged and actively joined in the battle. Fatah Shah, however, saw that the day was lost and took to flight. The Raja of Chandel was astonished at the conduct of Fatah Shah, and continued to do valiant battle on behalf of the hill chiefs.

At the time when Jit Mal and Hari Chand were engaged in single combat, Sango Shah, the Guru's cousin, and Nijabat Khan, the Pathan leader, were similarly employed, and both fell by mutual slaughter. The Guru, on seeing the courage and fate of the hero who had performed for him such gallant deeds, changed his name from Sango to Shah Sangram—Lord of battle. The Guru, enraged at his loss, mounted his charger and rode into the thick of the combat. He so plied his arrows that sounds of woe arose on all sides from the Pathan ranks. The Guru, on seeing the renegade Bhikan Khan,

discharged an arrow at him. It missed him but killed his horse, upon which he took to flight. Nand Chand and Daya Ram now saw an opportunity in the demoralized state of the Pathans to make a final desperate charge and complete their discomfiture. The result was great slaughter of the treacherous Muhammadans. When the hillmen saw the total defeat of the Pathans, they too began to run away from the field of battle.

Raja Hari Chand, who swooned on being wounded by Jit Mal, had by this time recovered, and appeared on the scene with the heroic resolution to secure victory for his side. He addressed his troops: 'Hillmen, once so brave, why die like cowards? I have come to your assistance. Take courage.' Saying this the Raja stayed the fleeing hosts. Meanwhile showers of arrows continued to speed from the Guru's army. Raja Hari Chand shot many brave men with his own arrows. The Guru on seeing this confronted him, and afterwards thus described the combat that ensued:—

Hari Chand, in his rage, drew forth his arrows. He struck my steed with one and then discharged another at me, but God preserved me and it only grazed my ear in its flight. His third arrow penetrated the buckle of my waist-belt and reached my body, but wounded me not. It is only God who protected me, knowing me His servant. When I felt the touch of the arrow, my anger was kindled. I took up my bow and began to discharge arrows in abundance. Upon this my adversaries began to flee. I took aim and killed the young chief, Hari Chand. When he perished my heroes trampled their enemies under foot. The chief of Korori was seized by death. Upon this the hillmen fled in consternation and I, through the favour of the eternal God, gained the victory. Having thus held the battle-field, we raised aloud the song of triumph. I showered wealth on my warriors and they all rejoiced.

Raja Fatah Shah saw there was only safety in

flight, and hastened to retire to his capital. Praises of the Guru's valour and skill in warfare were sung throughout the country.

CHAPTER VI

After the battle the Guru went to where lay the bodies of Sango Shah, Jit Mal, and his other brave fallen Sikhs. He ordered the slain on both sides to be disposed of. The bodies of the Sikhs were cremated, of the Hindus thrown into the adjacent river, and of the Musalmans buried with all solemnity. Bards assembled and chanted their praises. Saiyid Budhu Shah presented himself and his two surviving sons to the Guru. The Guru said, 'I hail thee as a true priest of God. Thy human life is profitable unto thee. Deem not that thy sons are dead. Nay, they shall live for ever. Only those die who despise God's name and turn cowards on the field of battle.' Budhu Shah replied, 'True king, I mourn not for my sons who are slain, because, in the first place, they have gone to enjoy seats in paradise, and, secondly, because they have lost their lives in defence of thee. Such a boon is not obtained even by the greatest austerities.'

The Guru considered how he should requite Budhu Shah for his supreme devotion to his cause. He decided that, as worldly possessions were fleeting, the gift of God's name was the highest reward of all, and so that inestimable boon he duly conferred on him. But he made him other gifts also. The Guru at the time was combing his long hair, and a servant stood by holding his turban. When the Guru had performed his toilet, he laid his comb with loose hair in it upon the turban and presented them to Budhu Shah to preserve in remembrance of him. He also gave him a small knife which Sikhs usually carry, and finally a sum of five thousand rupees to distribute among his disciples. The Guru's turban,

his comb, hair, and knife are preserved as relics in the Sikh state of Nabha. They were acquired from Budhu Shah's descendants by Raja Bharpur Singh.

The Guru remembered his cousins Sango Shah and Jit Mal, and proclaimed them brave and puissant warriors who had taken their seats in heaven. He bade their brothers not mourn for them. The brothers replied, 'For whom should we mourn? Sango Shah and Jit Mal have fought and obtained the dignity of salvation. War means either to kill or be killed, and there is no need to mourn the consequences.' The Guru rewarded all those who had risked their lives for him and contributed to his signal and decisive victory.

When the Guru's fame extended after his recent success and prowess in arms, he was visited by many accomplished persons. Poets, singers, and musicians flocked to his court, and all who visited him he endeavoured to suitably reward. Now that the war was over, the Sikh soldiers formed various projects to occupy their time for the future. They would go and seize Raja Fatah Shah, and make him bow at the Guru's feet. And they would conquer and obtain the freedom of the country between Paunta and Anandpur, so as to remove the obstacles interposed in marching hither and thither. This last enterprise, as being the one that affected them most closely, they specially urged on the Guru's consideration.

The Guru remonstrated and restrained them. He bade them bide their opportunity. Their empire should yet extend far and wide. He knew, however, that his troops would not sit down idle, flushed as they were with their recent victory. Accordingly he gave them an order to return to Anandpur, an order with which they were delighted. They all set forth accordingly, taking their wounded and their baggage.

The Guru marched by way of Sadhaura and Laharpur. He encamped at the latter place, and was there met by the envoy of the Raja of Nahan, who desired to come to meet him. The Guru sent his army to Anandpur, and remained himself with only a few followers to meet the Raja. The Guru was fain to divert himself with the chase after his recent warfare, and ample opportunities were afforded him in that part of the country. During his stay in Laharpur, Budhu Shah often visited him, and held religious conversations with him. Though the Raja of Nahan very much desired to entertain the Guru, yet he apprehended the wrath of the other hill chiefs if he were known to be still on amicable terms with the high priest of the Sikhs, who had inflicted on them such a signal defeat. The Raja used to send a messenger daily to say that he was coming; but somehow he was accidentally prevented. He would, however, come on the morrow. The Raja carried on this method of procrastination from day to day. At last he asked the advice of his ministers, whether it was proper for him to meet the Guru or not. They advised him that it was not, seeing that the Guru was at enmity with all the hill chiefs. Were he now to meet the Guru, the chiefs would resent it and probably make war on him. On this the Raja sent a messenger to say he was very busy and could not go himself to meet the Guru, but he would send his chief minister to do him the honours of the state. The Guru did not conceal his knowledge of the Raja's motives, and sent him a message that he would now continue his journey to Anandpur, and the Raja need not give himself any further concern on the subject of an interview.

The Guru stayed altogether thirteen days at Laharpur. The principal inhabitants were Ranghars, thieves by instinct and profession, who stole two of his camels. When the Ranghars refused to give up the booty, the Guru sent for a faqir who lived near,

and told him to go, under pretence of begging, to the house of a certain Ranghar, and see whether the camels were there. The faqir went, saw the camels, and duly reported his discovery. The Guru sent for the Ranghar in possession, and told him to act as an honest man, and give up the camels, otherwise he would oust him from house and home. On this the Ranghar parted with the stolen property. The Guru called the Ranghars' village counterfeit, and the faqir's village genuine, and said the faqir's village should ever gain and the Ranghars' ever lose. The prophecy of the Guru has been fulfilled. A temple called Toka was subsequently constructed in Lahar-pur in honour of the Guru's visit.

As the Guru proceeded to Anandpur he was met by the Rani of Raipur,[1] who waited for him on his route. After making her obeisance she asked him to take rest at her capital. The Guru gladly accepted her invitation. She showed him the greatest hospitality and sent her son to him with an offering of a bag of rupees. At a subsequent interview she entreated the Guru to pray that her son's line might permanently endure. The Guru said that her son ought to allow his hair to grow and perfect himself in the practice of arms. The Rani replied that the Turks were in power, and she was afraid to allow her son to dress differently from them. The Guru exhorted her not to be afraid. The rule of the Turks should only last for a brief period. 'When my sect groweth more numerous and obtaineth possession of the empire of the Turks, it shall then adopt long hair as a distinction. And when the line of the Turks is extirpated, thine shall

[1] Rāipur is in the sub-collectorate of Narāingarh in the present district of Ambāla in the Panjāb. To Rāipur are attached about twenty-three villages, yielding a yearly income of Rs. 18,000. The present proprietor is Rāo Baldev Singh, a Hindu Rājpūt. His grandfather was a Sikh. In the fort of Rāipur is a Gurdwāra on the spot where Gobind Rāi dined as the Rāni's guest. There is also a Gurdwāra outside the fort on the spot where his tent was pitched. The Granth Sāhib is kept in both Gurdwāras.

remain in undiminished dignity. It shall then unite with the Khalsa and obtain all happiness.'

Upon this the Guru took his sword and shield and presented them to the Rani's son. He said, 'Take them and treat them with respect, so that when the time of trouble ariseth, thy wishes may be fulfilled, and thy life and property preserved.' The Rani was delighted with the Guru's presents and words, and thus addressed him: 'Great king, great are thy gifts. Who can deprive us of them? It is thy unswerving duty to hold thyself bound by the bonds of love for the human race, and thou art, moreover, merciful and compassionate.' The Rani, seeing that the Guru had made the gift with his own sacred hands, was filled with delight, and taking the sword and shield put them respectfully on her head and then touched her son's head with them. She bound a coverlet on a couch and placed the weapons reverently on it. After this the Guru continued his journey to Anandpur.

On the way the Guru halted at Kiratpur, where Gulab Rai and Sham Das, the grandsons of Guru Har Gobind, came to visit him. He there visited the shrines of his ancestors. When it became known that the Guru was returning to Anandpur, the inhabitants of that city came forth to receive him, and there were unusual rejoicings on his safe and glorious return.

Not long afterwards complaints began to be made against the Guru's troops to Raja Bhim Chand. Whenever the Guru's men did not accompany him to the chase, they used to go hunting in detached groups by themselves. The Guru at that time set about the construction of a fort, and made a strong and lofty battlement around it.

Raja Bhim Chand was greatly irritated by the numerous complaints he continually received against the Sikhs. He took counsel with his minister, 'What shall we do? We are not strong enough to contend

with the Guru, but how long are we to endure this annoyance ?' The minister replied, 'O Raja, I see no solution of the difficulty except reconciliation with the Guru.' All the other principal state officers who were consulted gave similar replies. Bhim Chand then decided that he would send an envoy to ascertain if the Guru had any intention of making an abiding peace with him.

The envoy, who was selected from the most polished officials of the state, duly delivered his master's message praying for peace and forgetfulness of the past. The Guru replied, 'I have not fallen out with Raja Bhim Chand, but he hath fallen out with me. See what deceit he exercised in his efforts to obtain my elephant. When his marriage procession went to Srinagar, he endeavoured to kill my minister and his troops. It was only by God's special favour they escaped. Even then thy Raja left nothing undone against us, for he incited Fatah Shah who had been my friend to make war on us. Here again God protected us and we obtained the victory. O envoy, our army hath taken possession of no fort or village of yours. My troopers are grievously in want of grass for their horses, and goats' flesh for themselves. These can only be obtained from your villages. If we do not obtain them on payment we must starve, but we do not desire to accept anything else from you.'

The envoy smiled and said, 'Consider Raja Bhim Chand's country as thine own. He is very anxious to meet thee, and if thou permit me I will conduct him here.' The Guru replied, 'In Guru Nanak's house men meet their deserts. If any one with lowly mind enter therein, he shall be happy ; but if any one, lifting his head too high, enter it, his life shall pay the forfeit. Then plainly tell thy Raja that if he entertain friendly intent, he may come to me, and he shall be received with due consideration.' The Raja was very pleased on receiving this message,

and at once made elaborate preparations for his visit to the Guru.

When Bhim Chand was introduced into the Guru's presence he said, 'O true Guru, thy name is cherisher of those who seek thy protection. I pray thee to pardon and forget any foolish words I might have uttered or any foolish acts I might have done.' The Guru replied, 'O Raja, I have not been thine aggressor. The aggression hath been all on thy side. If thou act fairly towards the Guru, he will act fairly towards thee.' Bhim Chand promised to act for the future according to the Guru's wishes. Upon this the Guru gave him a magnificent robe of honour, and dismissed him highly delighted with the interview.

The Guru's wife Sundari now presented him with a son named Ajit Singh on the fourth day of the bright half of Magh, Sambat 1743 (A. D. 1687).

CHAPTER VII

During the absence of the Emperor Aurangzeb in the south of India, whither he had gone to make war on Tana Shah, King of Golkanda,[1] there arose great administrative irregularities. At that time Mian Khan was viceroy of Jammu. He sent his commander-in-chief, Alif Khan, to levy tribute on Kripal, Raja of Kangra, Kesari Chand, Raja of Jaswal, Prithi Chand, Raja of Dadhwal, Sukh Dev, Raja of Jasrot, and others. Alif Khan first addressed himself to Raja Kripal, 'Either pay me suitable tribute or contend with me in arms.' Kripal made him certain presents, and then told him that Raja Bhim Chand of Bilaspur was the greatest of all the allied hill chiefs. Were he first to pay tribute, all the rest would follow his example, and then there would

[1] Golkanda was then the capital of the state of Haidarābād in the Dakhan.

be no necessity for warfare. If, however, Bhim Chand were to refuse and elect the alternative of war, Kripal would still support Alif Khan. Raja Dayal, the chief of Bijharwal, probably persuaded by Raja Kripal, also promised to meet Alif Khan's demands.

Alif Khan adopted Raja Kripal's suggestion and proceeded towards Bilaspur, Raja Bhim Chand's capital. Halting at Nadaun he sent an envoy to Bhim Chand with the same demand as he had previously made Kripal. Bhim Chand replied that he would rather defend himself than pay tribute. Having dispatched this message he called his principal officials to a council of war. His prime minister thus advised him—'If thou desire victory, it shall be assured on condition that thou obtain the Guru's assistance.' This advice pleased Bhim Chand, and he accordingly sent the prime minister to the Guru to request his active support.

The Guru pondered on the proposal and accepted it for the following reasons :—The friendship between himself and Raja Bhim Chand was duly ratified, and it would be a shame to him if, by his refusal to render assistance, his friend were defeated. Secondly, Bhim Chand's prime minister had put himself under the Guru's protection as a suppliant, and the Guru felt that he could not refuse his prayer. He accordingly sent Raja Bhim Chand the following message, 'I shall be with thee early on the morrow. Pay no tribute to the Turks. If thou pay it to-day, there will be another demand on thee to-morrow. But if thou fight and cause the Turks to retreat, then shall no one molest thee.'

Raja Bhim Chand on receiving this promise made certain of his victory. Raja Kesari Chand, Raja Prithi Chand, and Raja Sukh Dev took their forces to join his, and all proceeded to Nadaun to give battle to Alif Khan, Raja Kripal, and Raja Dayal's troops. These were encamped on an eminence, and

had therefore superiority of position. Bhim Chand ineffectually essayed to take them by surprise, but the arrows and bullets which his troops discharged only struck rocks and trees, and inflicted no loss on the enemy. Bhim Chand, much disheartened, invoked with all fervour, Hanuman, the monkey-god who had assisted Ram Chandar in his expedition against Ceylon, and called on his allies to join him in another charge. This was met by Raja Kripal and Raja Dayal's forces, who slew all the men that succeeded in scaling the eminence. Bhim Chand had now almost lost all hope when the minister reminded him that the Guru's troops had not yet entered the field. The Guru receiving Bhim Chand's summons, mounted his steed, and at once proceeded to his assistance.

Bhim Chand, after greeting the Guru, requested him, who was senior as well by virtue of his spiritual rank as by the bravery of his troops, to storm the enemies' position. The Guru and his troops discharged fatal arrows, rushed the stockades, and created dismay in the ranks of the enemy. Alif Khan, Raja Kripal, and Raja Dayal now thought it time to leave their fastnesses and come forth to confront Bhim Chand and the Guru. Their main attack was directed against Bhim Chand whom they caused to retreat. Prithi Chand endeavoured to restrain Bhim Chand's retreating forces, and single-handed, with drawn sword, set himself to oppose Alif Khan and Dayal's onset. So completely did he succeed that Alif Khan and his allies' troops turned to flee. Raja Dayal was enraged at seeing his troops retreating, and began to ply his arrows with such fatal effect on his opponents that Bhim Chand's troops again wavered. Upon this Bhim Chand again addressed himself to the Guru, 'O Guru, seest thou not that this brave man is destroying our army? If I am defeated, thou shalt have the odium thereof.' The Guru at once turned his steed

round and challenged Raja Dayal, ' If thou mean to strike, then deal the first blow. Say not hereafter that the Guru hath struck thee unawares.' This enraged Dayal, who at once made a desperate effort to kill the Guru. The Guru, seeing this, took steady aim with his musket and lodged a bullet in Dayal's breast. Dayal fell like a tree blown down by the wind.

When Raja Kripal saw his brave ally fallen, he knew that his cause was lost. He, however, put himself in the van and made a desperate effort to retrieve the disaster. The Guru, now in full martial temper, incessantly discharged arrows which took deadly effect on the enemy. The survivors again fled to their fastnesses. Upon this Alif Khan and Kripal held a council of war. They both accepted the fact that they had been defeated owing to the assistance given Bhim Chand by the Guru, and they resolved to escape at night. In this they succeeded. When the allied army next morning found the ground unoccupied, they were profuse in their praises and acknowledgements to the Guru. The Guru in order to take rest and enjoy retirement and contemplation remained for eight days after the battle on the pleasant and picturesque banks of the river Bias.

Raja Kripal proposed a reconciliation with Raja Bhim Chand, which, after some negotiations, was duly effected. The Guru on hearing this was greatly pleased. He decided on a speedy return to Anandpur, and caused his drum to be beaten as the signal for his departure. His party arrived at Alsun on their way. The inhabitants, having heard of Raja Bhim Chand's secret ill-will to the Guru, refused to sell his troops supplies. On this the Guru, owing to the necessity of travel, was compelled to order that supplies be forcibly taken after payment at current rates. When the Guru approached Anandpur he caused his drum to be beaten. The inhabitants on

hearing the once familiar sound joyously came forth to receive him.

The Guru's wife, Jito, presented him with a son on the seventh day of the month of Chet, Sambat 1747. The boy was called Zorawar Singh, or the powerful lion, to commemorate the battle of Nadaun.[1]

When it became known that the Sikhs had taken supplies forcibly at Alsun, some of the hill chiefs feared that the Guru would some day seize their territories also. Others were of a contrary opinion, and remained steadfast in their friendship for him. Some of the inhabitants of Anandpur who wavered in their loyalty, left the city lest they might suffer in any attack made on it by the Guru's enemies. In this movement, however, they were far from successful. Branded with infamy they could obtain no place of rest elsewhere, and were glad to return and sue for the Guru's pardon.

One Dilawar Khan, who had attained power in the Panjab during the insurrections which arose while Aurangzeb was employed in the Dakhan, became jealous of the Guru's fame and success, and sent his son with a force of one thousand men to exact tribute from him. If he refused, then Anandpur was to be sacked. When this was accomplished, Dilawar's son was to take tribute in a similar manner from all the hill rajas. The son hastened to obey the paternal command. When he reached the bank of the Satluj one of the Guru's scouts hastened to give information of the approach of a hostile force. The Guru was roused from his sleep at night to receive this intelligence and make hasty preparations for defence.

The Guru immediately ordered the drum to be beaten as the signal for his troops to take arms. His men fell into line almost immediately and marched to the Satluj. On their arrival they startled

[1] We here follow the *Sūraj Parkāsh* and the *Gur Bilās*. Others say it was Jujhār Singh who was born in the Sambat year 1747.

the enemy by peals of artillery, and thus gave an exaggerated idea of their numbers. Dilawar Khan's son, seeing that his men were suffering from the cold and unable to hold their weapons, yielded to the representations of his officers to beat a retreat. On their return march they plundered the town of Barwa. After that they marched to Bhalan, where they halted for two days and lived on the plunder of the village. They thence returned to Dilawar Khan. The son through shame durst not reply to his father when he censured him for his cowardice and the failure of his expedition.

Dilawar Khan had a slave called Husain, who boasted that if his master gave him an army he would plunder the Guru's city, Anandpur, exact tribute from Raja Bhim Chand, and return home either with tribute or the heads of the recusant hill chiefs. To effect these various objects, Dilawar Khan gave him command of two thousand men, with whom he promptly marched to Anandpur.

The Guru kept his troops in readiness to oppose the Muhammadans. Meanwhile the latter were plundering the towns and villages through which they marched. They also attacked and were victorious over the Raja of Dadhwal. Seeing this and also the strength of Husain's army, the faithless Raja Bhim Chand broke his treaty with the Guru, and threw in his lot with his enemies. Bhim Chand, following the example of Raja Kripal of Kangra, paid tribute to Husain, and in company with other traitorous chiefs proceeded with him to sack and destroy Anandpur. On hearing this the Guru's mother, Diwan Nand Chand, the Guru's three surviving cousins, and the masands, all waited on the Guru. His mother said, 'The brave Husain with a large army will soon be upon us, and thou hast not yet prepared for battle. My son, depute some masand to go and make peace with him.' The Guru replied, 'Mother dear, be not in haste. I am only

doing the work which the immortal God assigned me. The same immortal God will not allow him whom thou counsellest me to fear to approach me. He shall perish before he reacheth Anandpur.'

When Husain was on his way to Anandpur, Raja Gopal of Guler sent an envoy to say that he desired to meet him. Husain replied that he would be glad to see Gopal if he gave him a subsidy as Raja Bhim Chand and Kripal had done. Raja Gopal went with Raja Ram Singh to meet him. Gopal took some money with him, and went and sat in council with Bhim Chand and the other hill chiefs who were in Husain's camp. Husain was not pleased with Gopal's contribution, and told him to go home and bring as much again. Gopal set out for the purpose. On his homeward way he changed his mind, and decided that it would be more profitable to fight with Husain than give him more money. He accordingly sent a messenger to inform him of his determination. When Husain received this message, he changed his objective from Anandpur to Guler to do battle with Gopal. He vowed that he would first destroy Gopal's city and then march on Anandpur.

In pursuance of his vow Husain proceeded to Guler and invested it. The citizens were soon reduced to great straits, and the army asked permission to force their way out and contend with the Muhammadans in the open field. Raja Gopal replied, 'Have patience; I will at once send an envoy to make peace with Husain.' Husain's terms were the payment of ten thousand rupees, otherwise he would put Gopal and his troops to death and destroy their fortress. Gopal, unable to accept the terms, sent an envoy to the Guru to pray him to negotiate the desired peace with Husain. The Guru accordingly sent his agent Sangatia with an escort of seven troopers and orders to conclude such a peace between the combatants as would be advantageous to Gopal.

Sangatia first took counsel with Bhim Chand and

Kripal. Bhim Chand said, 'O Sikh, we have been waiting for thee. We advise thee to send for Raja Gopal at once, and effect a reconciliation between him and Husain.' In pursuance of this object, Sangatia, who knew that Bhim Chand and Kripal were on Husain's side, took an oath from them that if he could succeed in bringing Gopal to them for the purpose of arranging peace, they would not molest him. Sangatia then went to Gopal and stated all the circumstances. He promised Gopal that the Guru would conduct him to Bhim Chand and Kripal who were with Husain, and again take him back in safety to his fort. Sangatia added that if Husain did not agree to peace, but accepted the fate of battle, Gopal should by the Guru's favour be victorious.

When Gopal reached the allied chiefs, Bhim Chand told him that if he paid the tribute demanded all would be well. Gopal still refused to pay the money, and said Husain might do as he pleased. Upon this, Kripal plotted with Bhim Chand to arrest him and make him over to Husain. Gopal, who heard their intention, contrived to elude them, and having retired to the protection of his army sent a message of defiance to his enemies.

On one side were ranged Husain, Raja Bhim Chand of Bilaspur, and Raja Kripal of Kangra. On the other were Raja Gopal of Guler and Raja Ram Singh, a powerful chief who was in alliance with him. The fight began with indescribable vehemence. The Guru's envoy Sangatia and his seven Sikhs were slain. Husain having fought with great bravery perished on the battle-field. Raja Kripal of Kangra was slain. Himmat and Kimmat, two of Husain's officers, were also slain. On seeing this, Bhim Chand fled with his army. Gopal then went with large offerings to the Guru and thanked him for his support and his prayers for the victory.

Some masands escaped to the neighbouring hills

and proclaimed themselves gurus. In this they had a twofold object. The Emperor Aurangzeb sent his son Muazzim, afterwards known as Bahadur Shah, into the Panjab to collect tribute, and the masands feared that they should have to part with their wealth both to the Emperor and the Guru. It does not appear that the Emperor's son remained long in the Panjab or committed any depredations there. He was succeeded by General Mirza Beg, who peremptorily demanded tribute from the hill chiefs. They represented that the masands who had settled in their territories, were in possession of great wealth of which they had plundered the Guru and his Sikhs, and which they might be called upon to disgorge. Mirza Beg proceeded against them, stripped them of all they possessed, and subjected them to exquisite tortures. Any that escaped from him were afterwards punished by four other equally relentless officers who succeeded him.

A third son, Jujhar Singh, was now born to the Guru on Sunday, the first day of the second half of the month of Magh, Sambat 1753, A. D. 1697. This was his wife Jito's second son.

Among those who went to the Guru to congratulate him on the birth of his son were many bards, Sanyasis, Udasis, and Bairagis, who had often listened to the Guru's conversation. At that time too came a bard called Kuwar, son of a famous poet called Kesho Das of Bundhelkhand. Aurangzeb had tried to convert Kuwar forcibly to Islam, upon which he fled for protection to the Guru. He presented a very humble metrical petition, which the Guru was pleased to accept. The Guru took him into his service on a liberal salary, and in a similar way welcomed all bards who came to him for employment.

The practice of arms was never lost sight of at the Guru's court. Even his eldest son, Ajit Singh, though now only ten years of age, was duly instructed in the

use of offensive and defensive weapons. The Guru used to take Zorawar Singh in his lap while he watched Ajit Singh fencing. Jujhar Singh too used to be brought by his nurse to witness the performance and imbibe from infancy a love for martial exercises. The Guru used often to inform his children of what the country had suffered from the Turks, so it behoved them to learn how to protect themselves and their Sikhs.

Jito in due time gave birth to a third son, Fatah Singh, who was born on Wednesday, the eleventh day of Phagan, Sambat 1755, A. D. 1699. This was the Guru's fourth son in all.

CHAPTER VIII

One day the Sikhs asked a pandit who used to read epic poems to the Guru, 'Are the deeds attributed to Bhim, Arjan, and others, real or exaggerated?' The pandit, thus addressed, actuated by greed, decided to mislead his questioners, and replied, 'Bhim, Arjan, and the rest were really as powerful as they are described to have been. This was the result of their sacrifices and burnt offerings in honour of Durga which made her visible to them.' The Sikhs then prayed the pandit to show them how they could behold the goddess, and vanquish their enemies. The pandit, on hearing this, inwardly rejoiced that the Sikhs had at last fallen into his power, and, what he deemed more important, that he had found an opportunity of making a competence for himself. He replied, 'Although no god or goddess becometh visible in this Kal age, yet such a manifestation may be possible by a due expenditure of money and by the performance of certain acts of devotion. Were the goddess Durga to appear, she would fulfil all your desires. But a great feast must first be celebrated, and a trial made as to who

are the most holy Brahmans, so that they may perform sacrifice and burnt offerings with the object of ensuring the appearance of the goddess.' The Sikhs informed the Guru of this conversation. He said to the pandit, 'Your statement that the goddess becometh not manifest in the Kal age is not supported by proof. If she appeared in the past ages, why should she not also in this? And if she appear not in this age, then it is unlikely that she appeared in any former age. At the same time, I require not her blessings or curses. I am son of the Immortal, who is the King of gods and men, who controlleth millions of worlds, who is omnipotent, who cherisheth me; and I have no need to adore gods or goddesses.'[1]

The pandit again represented that if the Sikhs made Durga manifest, they should be successful in all their battles as Durga herself had been in all her contests[2] with the demons who had made war on the benign deities. The Guru being thus importuned, determined to demonstrate the hypocrisy of the Brahmans. He invited them all to a great feast. Every form of viands, including meat, was provided for the guests. When they were assembled, he made it known that he would give five gold muhars to each Brahman who ate meat, while to each of those who ate food cooked with clarified butter he would give five rupees. To eat meat is really forbidden to all Brahmans; yet several of them did so, induced by the promised reward. According to one account fourteen, and according to another twenty-one Brahmans refused the meat offered them. The Guru went to the Brahmans who had eaten it, and rebuked them, saying, 'You are setting a bad example to your people. You are not Brahmans but ghouls. It is to deceive men you wear the tilaks on your foreheads and pretend you are high priests

[1] Bhāi Gyān Singh's *Panth Parkāsh*, Chapter 25.

[2] These are related in the Mārkandeya Purān of the Hindus. The work has recently been translated by Mr. F. E. Pargiter.

of religion, but in reality you are merely Chandals, the lowest class of pariahs.' The Guru, however, gave them the promised reward.

On that occasion the Guru quoted the following words of Kabir :—

Kabir, where there is divine knowledge there is virtue ; and where there is falsehood there is sin ;
Where there is covetousness there is death ; where there is forgiveness there is God Himself.

The Guru also quoted the following slok of Guru Amar Das :—

As far as possible rely not on the covetous :
At the last moment they will plant thee where nobody will lend thee a hand.

The Brahmans who abstained from meat pressed the pandit's suggestion on the Guru, 'If thou by worship and austerities can behold Durga, who is the living burning light of this age, she will grant thee any boon thou mayest desire.' The Guru inquired, 'Can you render Durga manifest? What you propose is not according to my religion.' The Brahmans replied that there was a Brahman called Kesho at Banaras who had power to render the goddess manifest, but he would demand large remuneration. The Guru again asked how a man filled with greed, such as they represented Kesho to be, could possess such spiritual power as to cause Durga to appear. The Brahmans, unable to answer this question, took their departure.

The Guru utilized the assemblage at the Hindu festival of the Holi to organize on the following day a mimic warfare, which he called mahalla,[1] for the exercise of his troops. The object of the Guru has in recent times been obtained by the camps of exercise yearly established by the Indian Government.[2]

[1] A place for *halla* or contest.
[2] Sardār Kāhn Singh's *Gurumat Prabhākar*, p. 134.

Kesho, who was exceedingly avaricious, heard that the Guru was very open-handed, and accordingly went to him. He said he was on his way to behold the goddess of Jawalamukhi, but had halted to see the Guru whose greatness was universally recognized. He told the Guru that he had power to render the goddess manifest, but the ceremonies and burnt offerings which would have to be performed as a preliminary would be very expensive. Kesho was supported by the other Brahmans, who again pressed the Guru to have the necessary ceremonies and burnt offerings performed. The Guru in order to demonstrate Kesho's insincerity outwardly accepted his offer. The Brahman on ascertaining the Guru's wealth was highly pleased and promised all assistance. He made out a list of materials for a hom or burnt offering, which would cost a large sum of money. The Guru provided what was required, and asked where the hom was to be performed. The Brahman replied that it must be performed in a lonely spot. The Guru pointed to the beautiful hill of Naina Devi as a place where all ceremonies could be performed privately and without interruption. The Brahman was much pleased, praised the Guru's judgement and liberality, and said that the goddess would certainly appear at the place indicated. The Guru then ordered the ground to be cleared, after which the Brahman proceeded to perform the ceremonies necessary for the goddess's manifestation.

One day the Guru went out shooting and killed several forest birds. On his return Kesho told him the goddess would never appear to any one who took life. The Guru replied that animals were continually sacrificed to the Brahman's goddess at Jawalamukhi. He then ordered his servant to let go the birds. When the strings with which they had been fastened to the Guru's saddle were undone, it is said, the birds flew away. Kesho was astonished and

expressed himself happy at having been brought in contact with such a holy man as the Guru.

The Guru had many strange presents made him. One day a gardener presented himself. He had come all the way from Patna with a young mango-tree as an offering. The gardener narrated how he had planted a garden, and vowed in the hope of success to give the first tree it produced to the Guru. He now brought the tree, and asked the Guru where he would have it planted. The Guru said he would shoot an arrow, and where it fell the tree might be planted. The Guru's arrow fell far distant, and there the young tree was duly planted.

After nine months' worship and invocation of the goddess the pandit told the Guru that she would soon appear. There would be many indications of such a result. A disastrous earthquake would occur, there would be unusual lightnings, and several other formidable portents would appear in the heavens. The Guru pressed the Brahman to fix a date for the goddess's appearance. The Brahman fixed the first day of the Nauratar—a festival in honour of Durga held in the month of Assu and Chet—for the phenomenon. The first day of Chet passed, and she did not appear. The Brahman then said she would appear on the fifth of the Nauratar. The fifth day passed, and she did not appear. The Brahman then said that some holy person must be offered as a sacrifice to her, and she would afterwards undoubtedly disclose herself. The Guru replied, 'Who so worthy to be offered as a sacrifice as thou? Thou sayest there are none so holy as Brahmans.' The pandit on hearing this began to suspect that the Guru meant to sacrifice him to the goddess, and, if this occurred, what a sad recompense it would be for all his labours! He then said, 'If thou give me permission, I will go and fetch a human sacrifice. The Guru replied, 'No; the sacrifice is here.' On this the pandit's courage oozed forth from the

partitions of his brain. He immediately left the Guru's presence on the pretext of performing an office of nature, and never paused in his flight until he had arrived at a safe retreat.

After Kesho had thus absconded, the Guru ordered that the materials which had been collected for the ceremony should be thrown into the hom-pit. Upon this a great flame shot up towards the heavens. When this was seen from afar, all the spectators felt certain that the Guru himself had caused Durga to appear. The Guru drew his sword and set out for Anandpur. When the people asked if the goddess had appeared to him, he raised his sword aloft, inasmuch as to say that by God's assistance his sword would perform the deeds which the Brahmans attributed to Durga. The people then erroneously believed that the goddess had given him the sword.[1]

The Baisakhi festival was now approaching. The Guru gave a great feast to which he invited all who were assembled in Anandpur, but omitted the Brahman Kesho. He, however, sent for him when all the guests had partaken of the feast. Kesho angrily refused the invitation, and said he would not eat the leavings of a low-caste rabble. Diwan Nand Chand, on behalf of the Guru, recalled to Kesho's memory the fact that he had like a coward deserted him. 'Fine service thou didst perform for him, and thine anger and disappointment are the result!' Kesho on further reflection went to the Guru, but at the same time refused to eat the remains of the feast. The Guru composed the following on this occasion:—

Whatever God wrote in thy destiny thou hast obtained;
O Brahman, banish thy regret:
It is not my fault that it escaped my memory; think not of anger.
I shall send thee clothes and bedding to-day; be thoroughly assured of this.

[1] Gyān Singh's *Panth Parkāsh*, Chapter 25.

Kesho replied—All Khatris are made by the Brahmans.

The Guru—Look on my Sikhs here with a glance of favour.[1]

Here the Guru began to laud his Sikhs and acknowledge the powerful assistance he had received from them:—

My victories in battle have been through their favour; through their favour I have already made gifts;

Through their favour all my troubles have been removed; through their favour again my house is replenished;

Through their favour I have acquired knowledge; through their kindness all my enemies have been killed;

Through their favour I am exalted; otherwise there are millions of ordinary men like myself.[2]

To serve them pleaseth my heart; no other service is dear to my soul.

To bestow gifts on them is well; to make gifts to others is not profitable for my Sikhs.

To bestow upon them will bear fruit in the next world and will bring honour even in this: to bestow on others is altogether useless.

All the wealth of my house with my soul and body is for them.

The Brahman became angry and his heart began to fry and burn like dry grass.

He wept at the custom which had been established for the future.

Some writers are of opinion that the Guru, during the time the chroniclers state he was occupied in worshipping Durga, was in reality translating Sanskrit works in the seclusion and tranquillity of the mountain glades. These events occurred in Sambat 1755,

[1] This was said ironically. The Guru did not require Kesho's assistance for his Sikhs.

[2] That is, if the Sikhs had not assisted me I should be now in the same plight as millions of others.

A. D. 1698,[1] and it was on the fourteenth day of June of that year the Guru according to his own statement completed his translation of the Ram Avatar from Sanskrit into Hindi. He adds that it was completed at the base of the lofty Naina Devi on the margin of the Satluj waters.

CHAPTER IX

We have now arrived at a very critical stage of our biography of the Guru, and it is necessary to set forth with clearness and certainty what the Guru really thought of idolatry or the worship of inanimate objects.

On this subject the best evidence obtainable is the Guru's own acknowledged compositions. In the *Akal Ustat* he writes as follows :—

Some worshipping stones put them on their heads, some suspend lingams from their necks;

Some see God in the south, some bow their heads to the west;[2]

Some fools worship idols, others busy themselves with worshipping the dead.

The whole world entangled in false ceremonies hath not found God's secret.

Again in the same composition the Guru addressing an idolater wrote as follows :—

O great beast, thou recognizest not Him whose glory filleth the three worlds.

Instead of the Supreme God thou worshippest things the touch of which shall cause thee to lose heaven.

By way of doing good acts thou committest sin at which even the greatest sins are abashed—

[1] *Sūraj Parkāsh*, Rut III, Chapter 29.

[2] *Dakhan desh Hari ka wāsa, pachh'im Allāh mukāma*, Kabir. The God of the Hindus dwells in the south (in Dwāraka), of the Muhammadans in the west (Makka).

Fall at the feet of the Supreme Being, O fool ; He is not in a stone.

In the Vichitar Natak are found the following among other similar verses :—

I am not a worshipper of stones,
Nor am I satisfied with any religious garb.

In the thirty-three Sawaiyas the Guru expresses himself as follows :—

Some fasten an idol firmly to their breasts, some say that Shiv is God ;
Some say that God is in the temple *of the Hindus* ; others believe that He is in the mosque *of the Musalmans* ;
Some say that Ram is God ; some say Krishan ; some in their hearts accept the incarnations as God ;
But I have forgotten all vain religion and know in my heart that the Creator is the only God.

Why worship a stone ? God is not in a stone.
Worship Him as God by the worship of whom all thy sins shall be erased,
And by taking whose name thou shalt be freed from all thy mental and bodily entanglements.
Make the meditation of God ever thy rule of action ; no advantage can be obtained by the practice of false religion.

Again the Guru writes as follows in his celebrated letter to the Emperor Aurangzeb :—

I am the destroyer of the turbulent hillmen,
Since they are idolaters and I am a breaker of idols.

In further evidence of the Guru's sentiments on the subject of idolatry, we have a composition, either written or sanctioned by himself, which is found in his collected works, on which to base our conclusion.

There was a king called Sumat Sain married to a lady called Samarmati. They had four sons and an only

daughter called Rankhambh Kala. The children were put under the tuition of a Brahman. One day the princess went earlier than usual to the Brahman's house and found him worshipping and prostrating himself before a salagram and a lingam.[1] She smiled on seeing her tutor thus engaged, and asked him the reason of his extraordinary conduct.

The Brahman

This salagram, O lady, is a god whom great kings adore. What dost thou who art ignorant know about it? Thou deemest this salagram which is god to be a stone.

The Princess

O great fool, thou recognizest not Him whose glory filleth the three worlds. Thou worshippest this stone at whose touch man's future bliss is forfeited. Thou committest sin to attain thine own object—such sin as other sins would be aghast at. O beast, fall at the feet of the great God; He is not a stone. He liveth in the water, in the dry land, in all things, and in all monarchs. He is in the sun, in the moon, in the sky. Wherever thou lookest, thou mayest fix thy gaze on Him. He is in fire, in wind, and beneath the earth. In what place is He not? He is contained in everything. Were all the continents to become paper and the seven seas ink; were all the vegetables to be cut down and employed as pens; were Saraswati, the goddess of eloquence, to dictate and all beings to write for sixty ages, they could not in any way describe God. Yet, O fool, thou supposest Him to be a stone. O man, thou findest not God's secret. Thou deceivest the world in every way, and fillest thy coffers with wealth as the reward of thy deception. Thou art thyself called by the world a clever and wise pandit, but thou worshippest a stone and therefore thou appearest to me to have abdicated thy reason. While

[1] The lingam sacred to Shiv is the symbol of procreation. It was worshipped in ancient times in Rome as it is now in India. The author saw a lingam in the temple of Venus in Pompeii, and was informed by his Italian guide that it was a stone on which barren women used to sit in the hope of offspring.

uttering 'Shiv, Shiv' with thy mouth, thy heart is filled with greed. Thou practisest excessive hypocrisy before the world, and art not ashamed to beg from door to door. Thou remainest for nearly two hours holding thy nose as if thou wert practising Jog. Thou standest on one leg invoking Shiv. If any one pass by and give thee one paisa, thou pickest it up with thy teeth, and forgettest thy gods. Thou givest instruction to others, but meditatest not on God thyself. Thou ever preachest to people to despise money. Yet for that very money thou beggest at the doors of high and low, and art not ashamed to debase thyself before even the meanest of thy fellow creatures. Thou sayest that thou art holy, but thou art very unholy. Thou callest thyself contented, but thou art very discontented, and only leavest one door to go and beg at another. Thou makest a clay idol of Shiv, and having worshipped it throwest it into the river. When thou returnest home thou settest up another in its place. Thou fallest at its feet, and rubbest thy forehead on the ground for an hour. Think what it hath to give thee. Thou worshippest the symbol of procreation, and fallest before it believing it to be Shiv. Thou callest a stone God, but it will not avail thee. Since the stone belongeth to the lowest order of creation, say what shall it give thee even if propitiated and pleased with thee? Even if it at any time make thee like itself, thou shalt be no better than a stone. Great simpleton, be assured that, when thy life hath departed, it will be too late for thee to know anything of God. Thou hast passed thy childhood without prayer, but even in thy manhood thou hast not repeated God's name. Thou hast induced others to give charity, but never lifted thy hand to assist another. Thou hast bent thy head to stones, but never to God. O fool, entangled in thy domestic affairs, thy life thou hast passed in procrastination. Having read one or two Purans, O Brahman, thou art swollen with conceit. Thou hast not read the Puran through which all the sins of this life may be erased. It is for the sake of show thou practisest penance. Day and night thy mind is absorbed in lucre. Fools accept thy statements, but not I. Why practisest

thou so much hypocrisy? For what object adorest thou a stone? Thou hast forfeited thy happiness here and hereafter. Thou givest false instruction and gladly acceptest all payment which thou claimest. It is enough that thou hast given evil instruction to my brothers; instruct not me.

The Brahman

Hear me, O princess, thou hast not considered Shiv's greatness. Ever worship the gods Brahma, Vishnu, and Shiv. Thou knowest not their greatness, and that is why thou talkest in that way. Know that they are the oldest of all the gods, and do thou recognize them as the lords of the world. I am, O princess, a fasting Brahman, and love all both high and low. I communicate instruction to all and induce even great misers to practise charity.

The Princess

Thou communicatest spells in order to make disciples. Thou then takest money as offerings from them in whatever way thou canst, but thou teachest them not the truth, and marrest their happiness in this world and the next. Hear, O Brahman, thou plunderest in whatever way thou canst those to whom thou givest thine initiatory spell. The fools receive no divine knowledge from thee, but are fleeced for their pains. Thou tellest them that thy spell shall be advantageous to them, and that Shiv will grant them a boon. When the spells turn out unsuccessful, thou pretendest that they have omitted some necessary ceremony, and that is why they have not been successful. Thou next tellest them to give alms to Brahmans and perform the spell by which they might behold the god. Thou takest a fine from them when they ought to take it from thee for misleading them, and in return for their money thou givest them the same spell over again. Thou leadest them astray all along the line, and at last thou tellest them that they have omitted certain words, or that something interrupted the ceremonies to account for the non-appearance of the god and his failure to grant the desired blessing. On

this thou counsellest them to again give thee alms. O Brahman, that is the sort of spell thou teachest those whose houses thou designest to plunder. And when thy victims become poor, thou goest to spy out others. Were thine incantations and spells efficacious, thou wouldst sit as a monarch at home and not go about begging.

The Brahman filled with anger and heaping curses on the princess, said, 'How canst thou know mine affairs? Thou talkest as if thou hadst taken bhang.'

The Princess

Hear, O Brahman, it is thou who knowest not what thou sayest. Thou addressest me in an insolent manner. My senses are not stolen away by bhang. Whither have thine own senses gone without it? Thou callest thyself wise in that thou never takest bhang even by mistake, but when thou goest a-begging, thou insultest, as if under the influence of bhang, him whose house thou visitest. Why beg from door to door for the money thou pretendest to despise? Thou goest to rajas and takest morsels from them. Thou sayest thou hast abandoned all worldly things and preachest to everybody to do the same. Why stretchest thou forth thy hand to grasp what thou pretendest to renounce? To one man thou preachest to renounce wealth, to another thou sayest that he is under the influence of malignant stars, and therefore he ought to pay thee for deliverance therefrom. It is in the hope of cheating people thou wanderest from door to door. Thou recitest the Veds, the Shastars, and the Simritis, so that a double paisa may fall to thee from some one. Thou praisest him who givest thee anything and revilest him who refuseth. In this way thou hopest to obtain alms from all people. But thou reflectest not that praise and blame are every one's lot while alive, but affect not the dead. Thou canst not confer salvation on those who give thee alms, nor canst thou kill the son or father of him who giveth thee none. I only accept him as a Brahman who deemeth the givers and the refusers, praise and blame as the same. O Brahman, the man from whom

thou extortest money, or whom thou pleasest with thy varied flatteries, shall at last go to hell in thy company.

Brahmans, though they say they have abandoned the world, are lovers of wealth, and in quest of it go to die either in Banaras or Kumaun. Some through greed for money twist their matted hair round their heads. Others put on a wooden necklace and go forth shamelessly to the forest. Others again, taking tweezers, pluck out all the hair of their heads. The Brahmans practise hypocrisy in order to plunder the world, and they thus lose their happiness both here and hereafter. They make a clay lingam and worship it, but it hath no power for good or evil. Why do men who know that the lingam hath no light in it, light a lamp before it ? And why do very foolish and obstinate persons thinking it God fall down before it ? Thoughtless one, think of God and quickly cast away thy mind's indecision. They who have studied for a long time in Banaras go at last to die in Bhutan. Having acquired a little learning thou leavest thy home and wanderest from country to country. Thy father and mother thou hast left somewhere ; thy wife, thy son, and thy son's wife cannot find thee. No one hath passed beyond the goal of covetousness ; it hath beguiled all people.

Thou shavest the heads of some, on others thou imposest fines, and on others again thou puttest wooden necklaces. To one thou teachest spoken, to another written, and to a third other forms of incantations, yet thou conferrest no abiding spiritual knowledge. Some thou showest how to argue on learned subjects, but to all thou settest an example of covetousness in thine efforts to obtain wealth to the best of thine ability. Thou showest no mercy and never propitiatest God, O fool, but worshippest clay. It is on this account thou art doomed to wander begging. Think, thoughtless one, on Him who made men conscious ; why deemest thou Him unconscious ? Why call a stone God ? Why sellest thou thy precious soul under its value ? Thou knowest nothing, great simpleton, and yet thou callest thyself a superior pandit. Diest thou not of shame, O great boaster ? In thy pride thou forfeitest thine honour. Thou

callest thyself a prophet and pretendest to know the future, but yet thou knowest not even the past. Thou thinkest thyself very handsome and able, and claimest to be continent and physically strong. Thou sayest that Shiv is certainly in the stone, but, O great fool, thou knowest nothing. O clever man, consider in what part of the stone Parbati's lord is. Say what spiritual perfection thou attainest by bowing thy head to clay? He whom the world cannot please will not be pleased by thy offerings of rice. Thou burnest incense, blowest shells, and rainest a shower of flowers. Thou growest weary in thine endeavours, but findest not God in a stone. To those who accept not thine incantations and spells thou recitest songs and verses. In broad daylight thou stealest wealth from men's houses. Thieves, pickpockets, and robbers seeing thy cleverness are ashamed of their ignorance. Thou payest no heed to the magistrate or the judge. Thou livest by cheating thy disciples.

Rich people are like flowers, clever men like thee are the bumble-bees which, unmindful of their homes, continue to buzz over them. Every one is at last in Death's power, and yet men have departed without resigning the craving for wealth. There are no bounds to this desire. It is the only thing in this world that surviveth.

You shave the heads of some, you send others to places of pilgrimages, and at the same time ask for all they possess. Those thou seest wealthy thou entanglest in the narrow door[1] and leviest a tax at so much per head on them. Thou then lettest them pass. It is thirst for money not love of God that actuateth Brahmans.

[1] In Gaya, Kāmaksha, and other places of Hindu pilgrimage there is an aperture in a wall through which pilgrims are bidden to pass with the object of securing deliverance. When the pilgrim is a rich man, he is by some secret mechanism caught in the aperture and told that he cannot pass on account of his many sins and enormities. He is then obliged to vow to perform certain penances and make certain presents to the Brāhmans. He is only allowed to pass through the aperture when the promised money has been paid down.—*Thag Lila*, p. 34.

The Brahman

Hear, O my daughter, thou understandest not. Thou thinkest that he whom we call Shiv is a stone. All people bow their heads to Brahmans, and apply to their foreheads the water in which they have washed their feet. The whole world worshippeth them, while thou, O foolish girl, slanderest them. This salagram is the primal and ancient Brahm and is prized even by monarchs.

The Princess

Hear, O foolish Brahman, thou knowest nothing. Thou recognizest a stone as the Primal Light of the world. Thou thinkest it holdeth the Supreme Being. Thou hast taken leave of thy senses. Deceive me not, but take what thou desirest to take. Tell me not that a stone is God. While telling fools so, thou plunderest them to thy heart's content. Thou sendest men to rivers of pilgrimage to drown them in superstition. Thou makest unnumbered efforts to strip them of their wealth and not allow them to take a paisa home. Thou pretendest to find a number of inauspicious circumstances connected with a rich man, so that he may give thee feasts to bribe thee to intercede for him. When thou knowest that a man hath spent all his wealth, thou never lookest at him. Brahmans hover over money like ravens, and quarrel like kites over a fish or dogs over a bone. In public thou expoundest the Veds, but in thy heart is worship of money. Thou findest not God, thy money soon departeth, and vain is all thy service. Thou paradest thy learning, but knowest not how to unite men with God. Thou callest thyself wise and me a fool. What if thou, O idiot, eat not bhang, even still thou art not in thy senses. Everybody can see this for himself. Brave men taking bhang fight and draw elephant's teeth, and grasping the scimitar and lance fearlessly smite their enemies. Say, O tyrant, what couldst thou do even wert thou to take bhang? Thou wouldst even then, if engaged in combat, fall on thy face like a corpse through fright.

Hear, O Brahman, give instruction to fools, save me from thy lies, and preach thy falsehood to others. Why passest thou leather for metallic coin? Thou shalt go to terrible hell, and be born again as a pariah. Hung up by the heels thou shalt be tortured in the house of Death. When thou and all thy relations are suffering, what answer wilt thou make? Say what books wilt thou then read, and wilt thou then worship the lingam? Wilt thou find Shiv and Krishan there where God will send thee bound? Where thou hast no son, mother, father, or brother, will Ram come to thine assistance? Ever bow thy head to the great God whom the fourteen worlds fear, whom all recognize as the Creator and Destroyer, who hath no form or outline, whose dwelling, appearance, and name are unknown. By what name shall I speak of Him since He cannot be spoken of? He hath no father, mother, or brother, no son or grandson. Unlike Ram Chandar or Krishan He hath no male or female nurse. He needeth no army to give Him dignity. What He saith is true, and what He desireth He doeth. Some He regenerateth, and others He consigneth to perdition. He buildeth, fashioneth, createth, and again destroyeth. It is the great God I recognize as my Guru. I am His disciple and He is my priest. I am a girl made by Him. O Brahman, I worship the great God. A stone is not to my mind. I call a stone a stone. On this account people are displeased with me. I call what is false false—a matter which is disagreeable to all. I tell the truth, and pay no regard to any one. As for thee, O Brahman, art thou not ashamed of thy conduct? Fix thy thoughts even for a brief period on God.

The Brahman

God will consider him a sinner who saith that this stone is other than God, and will cast into hell any one who useth profane language regarding it. It is the primal and ancient God.

The Princess

I only worship the one great God. I regard not Shiv. Nor do I worship either Brahma or Vishnu. I fear not

your gods. Know that whoever invoketh them is already dead, but death will not approach him who meditateth on the Deathless One. He who meditateth on the Deathless One and even once invoketh His name, shall obtain wealth and perfection in every act. He who meditateth on the immortal God shall never suffer, but enjoy great happiness in the world. When death tortureth thee, O Brahman, what book wilt thou then read? Will it be the Bhāgavat[1] or the Gita? Wilt thou hold on to Ram or clutch at Krishan for protection? The gods whom thou deemest supreme have all been destroyed by Death's mace. None—not even Brahma, Vishnu, or Indar—may escape it. The gods were born as the demons were, and both are subject to transmigration. The Hindus and the Turks are the same, and death is potent over them all. Sometimes the demons killed the gods, and sometimes the gods the demons. The Being who destroyed both gods and demons is He who cherisheth me, and whom I have taken as my Guru. I bow to Him whose sovereignty is recognized in the fourteen worlds, who destroyed Indar, Vishnu, the sun, the moon,[2] Kuver, Varun, and Sheshnag.

The Brahman

Shiv removeth all the sins of him who worshippeth this stone. He who forsaketh this god and worshippeth another shall fall into hell. He who giveth money to a Brahman shall obtain tenfold in the next world. He who giveth to other than a Brahman shall derive no advantage therefrom.

The Poet

Upon this the princess took the lingam in her hand, struck the Brahman with it, and smashed all his teeth. She then took away all the Brahman's property.

The Princess

Say now, O Brahman, whither hath gone thy Shiv? He whom thou hast ever served hath broken thy teeth. The

[1] One of the eighteen Purāns.

[2] The Sikhs believe in the different creations and destructions of the world.

idol which thou hast spent thy life in invoking, hath at last entered thy mouth.

The Poet

All the property the Princess took from the Brahman she distributed among other Brahmans and then said to her antagonist, 'Never mind, thou shalt receive tenfold in the next world.'[1]

The Princess

Thou sayest to others, 'Bestow your wealth or spend it'—thou who art so miserly that thou puttest not turmeric into the dal thou eatest. Thou art very deceitful and goest about for the purpose of deceit. Thou publicly plunderest people in the market-place. Thou spendest not a kauri and art ever begging. Calling girls thy daughters thou deflourest them. Thy mother was greed, thy father avarice, and thou art the incarnation of meanness. While practising greed thou boastest of thy prodigality, so that people may think thee a monarch. Thou art utterly worthless. If any one knew the incantations thou pretendest to know he would not have to beg from door to door. By repeating even once such an incantation as thou boastest of, thou mightest fill thy house with wealth. Ram and Krishan of whom thou speakest, and those whom thou worshippest as Shiv and Brahma, were all destroyed by Death. In due time God will again give them birth. How many Ram Chandars and Krishans! How many Brahmas, Shivs, and Vishnus! The sun and moon—what are these poor wretches? Simply water-carriers at God's door. They were created in due time and Death shall destroy them all. The Vishnu who was cursed by Jalandhar's wife[2] and became a stone, thou callest a great god. Art thou not ashamed of thyself?

[1] The princess is here casting up the Brāhman's words to him.

[2] The legend is as follows:—Jalandhar was destroying the gods and none could withstand him as he had a virtuous wife. It was proposed to Vishnu to tempt her, and he accordingly simulated Jalandhar and approached her. Recognizing Vishnu by a particular mark on his side, the result of a kick given him by Bhrigu, a Rikhi, she cursed him, and he became the sālagrām stone. Vishnu in turn

The Brahman

I will go to the Raja thy father and have thee imprisoned.

The Princess

I will tell him a different story, and have both thy hands cut off. Then shall I be really the king's daughter.

The Brahman

I will promise to do what thou tellest me provided thou dismiss thy wrath.

The Princess

Worship not stones, fall at the feet of the great God.

The Poet

Then the Brahman fell at the feet of the great God, and threw his idols into the river.

Bhai Nand Lal,[1] who was a famous Sikh of Guru Gobind Rai, and wrote several works in the Persian language on the Sikh religion, thus delivered himself in his *Jot Bikas*: 'Thousands of Brahmas praise Guru Nanak, for his glory exceedeth that of them all. Thousands of Shivs and Indars place themselves at his feet, for his throne is more exalted than theirs. Thousands of Vishnus, many Rams and Krishans, thousands of Durgas and Gorakhs sacrifice themselves at his feet.' Bhai Nand Lal further on writes that as Guru Nanak, so were all the Gurus his successors, including Guru Gobind Rai. It is therefore inferred that, so far from Guru Gobind Rai worshipping or doing homage to the goddess Durga, she was an insignificant entity who did homage to him.

cursed her, and she became the tulsi plant, and grew where the sālagrām fell.

[1] An account of Bhāi Nand Lāl will subsequently be given.

CHAPTER X

What is called the Granth of the tenth Guru is only partially his composition. The greater portion of it was written by bards in his employ. The two works entitled Chandi Charitar and the Bhagauti ki War found in it are abridged translations by different hands[1] of the Durga Sapt Shati, or seven hundred sloks on the subject of Durga, an episode in the 'Markandeya Puran' on the contests of the goddess Durga with the demons who had made war on the gods.

CHANDI CHARITAR I[2]

The poet in the Guru's employ, who translated this, states that he did it for amusement, but adds: 'The man who heareth or readeth this for any object shall assuredly obtain it.' This line is an abstract of the eleventh and twelfth sloks of the ninety-second canto of the original. The translator then darkly refers to a special object of his own. 'I have translated the book called the Durga Sapt Shati, the equal of which there is none. O Chandi, grant the object with which the poet has translated.' The translator's object, however, is not stated. Whether he imbibed some of the principles of Sikhism or not from the Guru cannot be ascertained, but it is clear that he was largely tinctured with Hinduism.

CHANDI CHARITAR II

At the end of this translation is found the couplet:—

The saints who continually meditate on thee, O Chandi,
Shall at last obtain salvation and find God as their reward.

[1] Any one even moderately acquainted with Hindi can tell from the internal evidence of style that these translations have been done by different persons.

[2] European readers not familiar with Indian words, and not interested in the Hindi translations of the *Durga Sapt Shati* (Devi Mahātamya) or their object, may omit the remainder of this chapter.

This is not in the original Sanskrit, but the general sense may be inferred by a believer in Chandi from her own self-glorification in the ninety-second canto.

The first Chandi Charitar begins as follows: *Ek oamkar, Sri Wahguru ji ki fatah. Ath Chandi Charitar ukt bilas*—Now the tale (bilas) of the deeds of Chandi will be told (ukt). The second Chandi Charitar begins in the same way but without the words *ukt bilas*. The Bhagauti ki War begins as follows: *Ek oamkar Sri Wahguru ji ki fatah! Sri Bhagauti ji sahai! War Sri Bhagauti ji ki Patshahi das*—There is one God. Victory to the holy Wahguru! We implore the favour of the holy Bhagauti (Sword)! The paean of the holy Bhagauti of the tenth Guru. It thus appears that the Bhagauti ki War was written by the tenth Guru himself.

The Hindus maintain that in the tenth Guru's writings the word Bhagauti means Durga. In the two Chandi Charitars the word Bhagauti does not occur at all, and even in the Bhagauti ki War it is only found three times—once in the title of the composition, a second time in the first line, and a third time elsewhere. In the latter instance, *Lai Bhagauti Durg shah,* it is clear that the word Bhagauti means a sword—'The goddess Durga took up the sword.' This is also attested by Gur Das. In the sixth pauri of his twenty-fifth War he refers to the manner in which the signification of words is often altered, and writes—*Nam bhagauti loh gharaya*—Man hath fashioned what is called the sword (*bhagauti*) from iron.

In further proof that Bhagauti does not mean Durga in the Sikh scriptures the following line in the Ad Granth is cited—*Bhagauti mudra man mohiya maya,* the translation of which is—Men wear God's marks while their minds are fascinated with mammon.

The following are the first two pauris of the 'War Sri Bhagauti ji ki.'

Having first remembered the Sword, meditate on Guru Nanak;

Then on Guru Angad, Amar Das, and Ram Das; may they assist me!

Remember Arjan, Har Gobind, and the holy Hari Rai;

Meditate on the holy Hari Krishan, a sight of whom dispelled all sorrows.

Remember Teg Bahadur and the nine treasures shall come hastening to your homes.

Ye holy Gurus, everywhere assist us!

God having first fashioned the Sword created the whole world.

He created Brahma, Vishnu, and Shiv, and made them the sport of His omnipotence;

He made the seas and mountains of the earth, and supported the firmament without pillars;

He made the demons and the demigods, and excited dissension among them.

Having created Durga, O God, Thou didst destroy the demons.[1]

From Thee alone Ram received his power, and slew Rawan with his arrows.

From Thee alone Krishan received his power, seized Kans by the hair, and dashed him on the ground.

Very great munis and gods mortified their bodies for many ages,

But none of them found Thy limit.

The last line of the Bhagauti ki War is :—

He who sang this was not born again, that is, he obtained deliverance.

This line gives the meaning of the twenty-second slok of the ninety-second canto of the 'Markandeya Puran'.

The train of thought by which the Guru made

[1] This line shows that the Guru believed Durga to be a creation of God and not an independent divinity co-equal or co-powerful with Him and worthy of human worship.

God and the sword one was as follows: In the 'Shastar Nam Mala' is read:—

I first mention the word shatru (an enemy) and then the word daman (subduer).

Know that the words compounded mean the Lord of the world: be assured of this.

The meaning is—God subdues enemies, so does the sword; therefore the sword is God, and God is the sword.

At that time it was the custom to recite on the eve of battle the praises and warlike deeds of the brave, so that the hearts even of cowards might be inspired with eagerness for the fray. On that account the tenth Guru maintained fifty-two bards to translate the Mahabharat, the Ramayan, and the gallant achievements of Ram, Krishan, Chandi, and others. It does not follow from this that the Guru worshipped those whose acts were thus celebrated; this was only done for the purpose of inciting to bravery, dispelling cowardice, and filling the hearts of his troops with valour to defend their faith. This the Guru himself declares in his translation of the tenth canto of the Bhagawat, in which are recounted the chivalrous exploits of Krishan. He says, 'I have rendered in the vulgar dialect the tenth chapter of the Bhagawat with no other object than to inspire ardour for religious warfare.'

Secondly, the Guru himself specially translated the praises of Chandi so that they might be chanted for warlike purposes, and that even cowards on hearing her story might obtain courage and the hearts of the brave beat with fourfold enthusiasm. Such being the achievements of a woman, what ought not a brave man to accomplish? The Guru maintained that if a man became a coward and turned away from the battle-field, he would not only become ashamed of himself, but also forfeit his advantages here and hereafter.

In the third place, the Guru desired that his Sikhs, on becoming acquainted with the Hindu sacred writings, might be able to form their own estimate of them and their inferiority to the compositions of the Gurus. Among the fifty-two bards employed by the Guru there must have been several who had suffered for their religion under the persecutions of Aurangzeb; and for their opinions the Guru cannot be held responsible.[1]

CHAPTER XI

The Guru directed all the masands to appear with their Sikh constituents before him at Anandpur at the Baisakhi festival, held about the middle of the month of April. They collected large sums of money as a preparation for their journey. Half they kept for their own use, and half they placed before the Guru. The Guru then addressed them, 'O brother masands, you have been the servants of the Guru's house since the time of Guru Ram Das. You used formerly to collect large sums of money. Why have you brought so little this year for the support of the faith?' The masands replied, 'O true Guru, the rich Sikhs are all dead, and we must take what we can obtain from the survivors.' The Guru rejoined, 'Say not that my Sikhs are poor. I am going to make them all kings. If you desire your welfare, disgorge the offerings you have received from them.' The masands became angry, and began to say among themselves, 'The Guru is of our own making. Did we not contribute the money necessary for his maintenance, no one would call him a Guru.'

The masands left the Guru's court and went to complain to Bhai Chetu, the eldest member of their body who had survived since the days of Guru Ram Das. They represented to him that no Guru had previously found fault with them, but now Guru

[1] Bhāi Dit Singh's *Durga Prabodh.*

Gobind Rai had threatened them with serious consequences. Chetu promised to speak to the Guru on their behalf, but at the same time reminded them that he was at the youthful age when men utter praise and blame without due discrimination.

Chetu kept his promise and spoke to the Guru on behalf of the masands, 'True king, the masands are all thy servants. I beg thee to treat them with respect, so that the Sikhs may follow thy example. The next time they come they will bring a larger amount of money for the supply of thy public kitchen.' The Guru replied, 'Ask their brother Sikhs here what language the masands have been using regarding me. They have stolen the Guru's money and deposited it in their own homes. They are very proud. They admit not the Guru's power. They have called my Sikhs poor, whereas I am daily advancing them and bestowing on them the sovereignty of the country. And, finally, the masands are telling me falsehoods.' Chetu begged the Guru to pardon them. The Guru then said that Chetu had countenanced them in embezzling the offerings, and that he too deserved punishment like his fellows. At this Chetu began to storm and pretend innocence. The Guru was now thoroughly satisfied that the masands had arrived at a pass where they did not believe in any Guru, and that their insolence must be checked. He therefore decided that, as the human Guruship must end with himself, so must his Sikhs be freed from the tyranny of the masands.

Chetu went to the Guru's mother, and threatened that if the Guru disowned the masands, the Sikhs would go in a body to Dhir Mal, and the Guru would be left without any means of support. When the Guru heard this, he said, 'Be not anxious, O mother, my public kitchen belongeth to the immortal God, and He will supply it with provisions.'

It happened that at that time a man arrived at Anandpur from Chetu's district. He had given

Chetu a set of bracelets made of rhinoceros hide as a present for the Guru's mother. When Chetu was questioned, he said he had duly given her the bracelets, but it was satisfactorily proved that he had not, and that he had been prevailed on by his wife to bestow them on her. Chetu was duly punished for his dishonesty.

The Guru continued to receive many complaints against the masands. One of them in particular billeted himself on a poor Sikh, and claimed sweets instead of the crushed pulse and unleavened bread which formed the staple food of his host. The masand took the bread, threw it into his host's face, and dashed the crushed pulse on the ground. He then began to abuse the Sikh, and would not cease until the poor man had sold his wife's petticoat to provide him with sweets. When the Guru was informed of this he set about punishing the masand. He ordered that henceforth the Sikhs should themselves present their offerings, and that the employment of the masands for the purpose should cease.

One day a company of mimes went to perform before the Guru. He ordered them to imitate the masands. One of them accordingly dressed as a masand, two as a masand's servants, and a fourth as a masand's courtesan riding behind him on horseback as he went to collect offerings for the Guru. The mimes portrayed to life the villanies and oppression practised by the masands. The Guru upon this finally resolved to free his Sikhs from their tyranny. He ordered that all the masands should be arraigned for their misdemeanours. He listened in every case to their defences and explanations, punished those whom he found guilty, and pardoned those who succeeded in establishing their innocence. Among the latter was a masand called Pheru, of whom mention has been made in the life of Guru Har Rai. Pheru lived in the country then called Nakka, between the rivers Ravi and Bias. The Guru ordered

that he should be brought before him. The Guru remembered an expression used by Guru Har Rai to Pheru, 'My purse is at thy disposal. Spend what thou pleasest from it.' Guru Gobind Rai added, 'The purse is thine, and its disposal is also thine.' Pheru replied, 'Great king, thine is the purse and thine also its disposal: whether I am bad or good I am thine.' The Guru knowing him to be without guile acquitted him, and with his own hands invested him with a robe of honour. Some other masands too were acquitted as the result of Pheru's pleadings on their behalf.

Once a company of Udasis brought the Guru a copy of the Granth Sahib, written with great elegance, for his attestation and signature. At that time no Granth was accepted as correct unless countersigned by the Guru. But petitioners had first to approach his minister, Diwan Nand Chand, and submit the work to him for approval. The latter observing the beautiful penmanship of the volume formed the dishonest intention of appropriating it. He told the Udasis to come in a month's time, and he would meanwhile find some means of obtaining the Guru's signature. When they returned after the expiration of that period, he told them he had not yet had an opportunity of speaking to the Guru on the subject, and suggested their waiting for another ten days. By similar subterfuges he kept the Udasis going backwards and forwards in suspense for six months. At the end of that time he asked them to take the price of the Granth Sahib from him, and prepare another for the Guru's approval. The Udasis refused, whereupon he had them forcibly expelled from Anandpur.

One day, when the Guru went hunting, the Udasis found an opportunity of complaining to him of Nand Chand's conduct. The Guru at once ordered that their Granth should be restored to them. Nand

Chand sent a message to the Guru that he was ready to return the book, but at the same time told the Udasis to leave the place at once if they valued their safety. If they made any further complaint to the Guru, they should be imprisoned and put to death. The Udasis were, however, not so easily deterred. They bided their time to approach the Guru on another occasion. They complained that Nand Chand had disobeyed his order, forcibly expelled them from the city, and threatened them with death in the event of their return and making a further complaint against him. The Guru sent a severe message to Nand Chand, 'Evil days have come for thee. As I treated the masands so shall I treat thee. If thou desire thine own welfare, restore their Granth Sahib to the Udasis.' When the Guru's message was communicated to Nand Chand, he said, 'Go away; I will not return the Granth Sahib. See, my friends, how the Guru seeketh to frighten me. Were I to shake the dust off the skirt of my coat, I could make many Gurus like him.' The Sikhs replied, 'Very well; let the Guru come to thee, and thou shalt see. He will draw no distinction between thee and thy brother masands.'

Nand Chand, shrinking from the consequences of his temerity, fled with the Granth Sahib to Kartarpur. When the Guru heard that he had fled through fear of death, he replied, 'Death will reach him there too.' When Nand Chand reached Kartarpur, he sent a message to Dhir Mal, 'Hundreds of thousands of Sikhs adhere to thy cause; they will all worship thee, and make thee the Guru of the world. It is in my power to-day to raise thee to that eminence.' Nand Chand was, however, seriously distrusted at Kartarpur. It was suspected that he had come from the Guru to practise some treachery—either to kill Dhir Mal or take possession of the town. Dhir Mal consulted his masands as to what was best

to be done. They advised that Nand Chand should be put to death according to the following stratagem. As he came to pay a visit, a musketeer should be hidden within the house to fire at him. This was agreed on. When Nand Chand entered Dhir Mal's anteroom, he received a bullet in the thigh. As he staggered, the doors were closed to prevent his escape, and he then received several fatal bullets from the roof which had been opened for the purpose.

One day the Guru saw two horsemen pass his place and then make a diversion towards the Satluj. They were Gurdas and his brother Tara, great-grandsons of Bhai Bahilo and masands of Ram Rai, who had come to seek the Guru's protection, but whose courage failed them at the last moment. The Guru caused them to be brought before him. In reply to his messenger's questions they had said that they were Bairars. When they appeared before the Guru, he detected their disguise and asked why they had falsely represented themselves as Bairars. They told their history. The Guru on his visit on a former occasion to Dehra, believing them to be trustworthy, allowed them to remain there with Panjab Kaur, Ram Rai's widow, for her protection. The other masands had poisoned Panjab Kaur's mind against them, and they now fled to the Guru for protection. On arriving at Anandpur they had heard of the Guru's treatment of other masands, and through fear turned aside to avoid him. The Guru complimented them as the descendants of Bhai Bahilo on their finally confessing the truth to him, and mentioned the respect in which Bhai Bahilo had been held by the preceding Gurus. After their repentance the Guru entertained them for some years, and then allowed them to depart to their homes.

The Guru always held the belief that it would be proper and advantageous to his Sikhs to wear long hair and otherwise not alter man's God-given body,

and he often broached the subject to them. On one occasion they replied that, if they wore long hair, they would be subjected to the banter and annoyance of both Hindus and Muhammadans. The Guru then suggested that they should wear arms, and be at all times ready to defend themselves. This advice was adopted.

In ancient times the Guru said it was the universal custom to wear one's natural hair, and he instanced the cases of Ram Chandar, Krishan, Christ, and Muhammad. 'Why should hair grow if God had meant it to be cut off? A child's hair groweth in the womb.'[1] The Guru therefore hoped that his followers would never be guilty of the sin of shaving or cutting off their hair, and those who obeyed his injunctions he promised to consider true members of his faith.

It is recorded that at this time the Sikhs lived in great social love and harmony. They regarded themselves as brothers. They used to feed one another, shampoo one another when tired, bathe one another, wash one another's clothes, and one Sikh always met another with a smile on his face and love in his heart.

A company of Sikhs came to visit the Guru and made the following representation: 'We have found it very difficult to approach thee on account of the violence of the Muhammadans. Some of our company have been killed by them on the way. Others have been wounded, and have returned to their

[1] Several texts from Hindu writings are cited on the importance and sanctity of hair. Thus in the Institutes of Manu—Even should a man be in wrath, let him never seize another by the hair. When a Brāhman commits an offence for which the members of other castes are liable to death, let his hair be shaved off as sufficient punishment.' In the *Mahābhārat* it is stated that when Arjan was, according to the laws of warfare, on the point of killing Aswatthāma for murdering the children of the Pāndavs, he appeased his wrath by merely cutting off Aswatthāma's hair. And when Krishan defeated Rukmin, who had resented the abduction of his sister Rukmini, he merely cut off his hair—a punishment deemed worse than death itself.

homes. To whom can we look for assistance but to thee?' The Guru on hearing this remained silent, and reflected that the tyranny of the Turks had certainly become intolerable, and that all religion was being banished from the land.

The Guru invited all his Sikhs to attend the great Baisakhi fair at Anandpur without shaving or cutting their hair. On finding them assembled, he ordered that carpets should be spread on a raised mound which he indicated, and that an adjacent spot should be screened off with qanats or tent walls. When this was done, the Guru ordered a confidential Sikh to go at midnight, tie five goats in the enclosure, and let no one know what he had done. The goats were duly tied, and separate orders were given to the Guru's orderlies not to go within the tent walls.

Next morning the Guru rose a watch before day, performed his devotions, and put on his arms and uniform. He then proclaimed that there should be a great open-air gathering. When all were seated he drew his sword, and asked if there was any one of his beloved Sikhs ready to lay down his life for him. No reply was given. All grew pale on hearing such a proposal. The Guru asked a second time, but with the same result. A third time he spoke in a louder voice, 'If there be any true Sikh of mine, let him give me his head as an offering and proof of his faith.' Daya Ram, a Sikh of Lahore, rose and said, 'O true king, my head is at thy service.' The Guru took his arm, led him within the enclosure, and gave him a seat. He then cut off a goat's head with one stroke of the sword, went forth and showed the dripping weapon to the multitude. The Guru again asked, 'Is there any other true Sikh who will bestow his head on me?' The crowd felt now quite convinced that the Guru was in earnest, and that he had killed Daya Ram, so no one replied. At the third time of asking Dharm Das of Dihli answered, 'O great king, take my head.' The Guru,

assuming an angry mien, took Dharm Das within the enclosure, seated him near Daya Ram, and killed another goat. The Guru then looking very fierce came forth and said, 'Is there any other Sikh who will offer me his head? I am in great need of Sikhs' heads.'

On this some remarked that the Guru had lost his reason, others went to the Guru's mother to complain, and said that he had undergone a complete change, and was no longer responsible for his actions. They instanced his sacrificing two Sikhs with apparently no object. His mother was advised to depose him and confer the Guruship on his eldest son. She sent a messenger for him, but he was too intent on his own purpose at the time to receive messengers of any description. He called out for a third Sikh ready to offer him his life, whereupon Muhakam Chand of Dwaraka offered himself as a sacrifice. Upon this the Guru handed him into the enclosure and killed a third goat. He then came forth showing his dripping sword as before. When the Guru called out for a fourth Sikh for sacrifice, the Sikhs began to think that he was going to kill them all. Some ran away and many hung down their heads. Sahib Chand, a resident of Bidar, clasped his hands in an attitude of supplication, and said he placed his head at the Guru's disposal. The Guru took him behind the tent walls and killed a fourth goat. When he came forth as before, he asked for a fifth Sikh who was prepared to lay down his life for him. On this there was a general flight of the remaining Sikhs, and only those who were very staunch in their faith ventured to stay. Himmat of Jaggannath answered the Guru's last call, and said he might take his life also. The Guru then took him inside the enclosure and killed the remaining goat.

The Guru was now ready to sacrifice his own life for the five Sikhs who showed such devotion to him.

He clad them in splendid raiment, so that they shone like the sun, and thus addressed them: 'My brethren, you are in my form and I am in yours. He who thinketh there is any difference between us erreth exceedingly.' Then seating the five Sikhs near him, he proclaimed to the whole assembly, 'In the time of Guru Nanak, there was found one devout Sikh, namely, Guru Angad. In my time there are found five Sikhs totally devoted to the Guru. These shall lay anew the foundation of Sikhism, and the true religion shall become current and famous through the world.' The people became astonished at the Guru's expedient, and fell at the feet of the five devoted Sikhs, saying, 'Hail to the Sikh religion! You, brethren, have established it on a permanent basis. Had we offered our heads like you, we too should be blest.'

The Guru again addressed his Sikhs: 'Since the time of Baba Nanak charanpahul hath been customary. Men drank the water in which the Gurus had washed their feet, a custom which led to great humility; but the Khalsa can now only be maintained as a nation by bravery and skill in arms. Therefore I now institute the custom of baptism by water stirred with a dagger, and change my followers from Sikhs to Singhs or lions. They who accept the nectar of the pahul shall be changed before your very eyes from jackals into lions, and shall obtain empire in this world and bliss hereafter.'

According to the Persian historian Ghulam Muhai ul Din, the newswriter of the period sent the Emperor a copy of the Guru's address to his Sikhs on that occasion. It is dated the first of Baisakh, Sambat 1756 (A. D. 1699), and is as follows: 'Let all embrace one creed and obliterate differences of religion. Let the four Hindu castes who have different rules for their guidance abandon them all, adopt the one form of adoration, and become brothers. Let no one deem himself superior to another. Let none

pay heed to the Ganges, and other places of pilgrimage which are spoken of with reverence in the Shastars, or adore incarnations such as Ram, Krishan, Brahma, and Durga, but believe in Guru Nanak and the other Sikh Gurus. Let men of the four castes receive my baptism, eat out of one dish, and feel no disgust or contempt for one another.'

The newswriter, when forwarding this proclamation to his master, submitted his own report: 'When the Guru had thus addressed the crowd, several Brahmans and Khatris stood up, and said that they accepted the religion of Guru Nanak and of the other Gurus. Others, on the contrary, said that they would never accept any religion which was opposed to the teaching of the Veds and the Shastars, and that they would not renounce at the bidding of a boy the ancient faith which had descended to them from their ancestors. Thus, though several refused to accept the Guru's religion, about twenty thousand men stood up and promised to obey him, as they had the fullest faith in his divine mission.'

The Guru caused his five faithful Sikhs to stand up. He put pure water into an iron vessel and stirred it with a khanda or two-edged sword. He then repeated over it the sacred verses which he had appointed for the ceremony, namely, the Japji, the Jāpji,[1] Guru Amar Das's Anand, and certain Sawaiyas or quatrains of his own composition.

The Guru in order to show his Sikhs the potency of the baptismal nectar which he had prepared put some of it aside for birds to drink. Upon this two sparrows came and filled their beaks with it. Then flying away they began to fight, the chronicler states, like two rajas struggling for supremacy, and died by mutual slaughter. The inference was that all animals which drank the Guru's baptismal water should become powerful and warlike.

[1] The Japji is Guru Nanak's, the Jāpji the tenth Guru's own composition.

Bhai Ram Kaur, a descendant of Bhai Budha, went and told the Guru's wife, Mata Jito, that he was inaugurating a new form of baptism. He also gave her an account of the incident of the sparrows. Mata Jito, taking some Indian sweetmeats called patasha, went out of curiosity to the Guru. He said she had come at an opportune moment, and asked her to throw the sweets into the holy water. He had begun, he said, to beget the Khalsa[1] as his sons, and without a woman no son could be produced. Now that the sweets were poured into the nectar the Sikhs would be at peace with one another, otherwise they would be at continual variance.

The five Sikhs, fully dressed and accoutred, stood up before the Guru. He told them to repeat 'Wahguru' and the preamble of the Japji. He then gave them five palmfuls of the amrit[2] to drink. He sprinkled it five times on their hair, and their eyes, and caused them all to repeat 'Wahguru ji ka Khalsa, Wahguru ji ki Fatah.' On this he gave them all the appellation of Singhs or lions. He then explained to them what they might and what they might not do. They must always wear the following articles whose names begin with a K, namely, *kes*, long hair; *kangha*, a comb; *kripan*, a sword; *kachh*, short drawers; *kara*, a steel bracelet. They were enjoined to practise arms, and not show their backs to the foe in battle. They were ever to help the poor and protect those who sought their protection. They must not look with lust on another's wife or commit fornication, but adhere to their wedded spouses. They were to consider their previous castes erased, and deem themselves all brothers of one family. Sikhs were freely to intermarry among one another, but must have no social

[1] This word comes from the Arabic *khālis* pure, and was applied by Guru Gobind Singh to the Sikhs who accepted the baptism of the sword, which will presently be described.

[2] Nectar. The consecrated water used in the baptism of Sikhs is so called.

or matrimonial relations with smokers, with persons who killed their daughters, with the descendants or followers of Prithi Chand, Dhir Mal, Ram Rai, or masands, who had fallen away from the tenets and principles of Guru Nanak. They must not worship idols, cemeteries, or cremation-grounds. They must only believe in the immortal God. They must rise at dawn, bathe, read the prescribed hymns of the Gurus, meditate on the Creator, abstain from the flesh of an animal whose throat had been jagged with a knife in the Muhammadan fashion, and be loyal to their masters.[1]

When the Guru had thus administered baptism to his five tried Sikhs, he stood up before them with clasped hands, and begged them to administer baptism to himself in precisely the same way as he had administered it to them. They were astonished at such a proposal, and represented their own unworthiness and the greatness of the Guru, whom they deemed God's vicar upon earth. They asked why he made such a request, and why he stood in a suppliant posture before them. He replied, 'I am the son of the immortal God. It is by His order I have been born and have established this form of baptism. They who accept it shall henceforth be known as the Khalsa. The Khalsa is the Guru and the Guru is the Khalsa. There is no difference between you and me. As Guru Nanak seated Guru Angad on the throne, so have I made you also a Guru. Wherefore administer the baptismal nectar to me without any hesitation.' Accordingly the five Sikhs baptized the Guru with the same ceremonies and injunctions he himself had employed. He thus invested his sect with the dignity of Gurudom. The Guru called the five Sikhs who had baptized him his Panch Piyare, or five

[1] In the present day an injunction is added at the time of baptism to be loyal to the British Government, which the neophytes solemnly promise.

beloved, and himself Gobind Singh, instead of Gobind Rai, the name by which he had been previously known.

Upon this many others prepared to receive baptism. The first five to do so after the beloved of the Guru were Ram Singh, Deva Singh, Tahil Singh, Ishar Singh, and Fatah Singh. These were named the Panch *Mukte*, or the five who had obtained deliverance. After them many thousands were baptized. A supplementary ordinance was now issued that if any one cut his hair, smoked tobacco, associated with a Muhammadan woman, or ate the flesh of an animal whose throat had been jagged with a knife, he must be re-baptized, pay a fine, and promise not to offend any more : otherwise he must be held to be excommunicated from the Khalsa. The place where the Guru administered his first baptism is now known as Kesgarh.

The Sikh chronicler, Bhai Santokh Singh, has composed the following on this memorable event :—

God's Khalsa which arose is very holy. When its followers meet, they say ' Wahguru ji ki fatah ! '

The Khalsa hath abolished regard for pirs, spiritual rulers, and miracle-workers of other sects, whether Hindu or Musalman.

The world on seeing a third religion was astonished ; enemies apprehended that it would deprive them of sovereignty.

The Guru inaugurated a new custom for the establishment of the faith, the effacement of sin, and the repetition of God's name.

CHAPTER XII

We now come to further objections made by the Hindus to the Khalsa. They said, ' It is impossible to observe the rules of the Khalsa. How can the four castes dine together ? Were we to accept the Guru's words, there would be no trace of caste left

in the world. The Guru hath confounded the four castes. He hath stirred water with a dagger and called it nectar. No matter who cometh to him, he associateth with him without distinction of caste and without regard for the duty prescribed for his stage of life. He hath renounced the Veds and the popular beliefs, and only believeth in Asidhuj,[1] of whom we have never before heard, and who is not known even to pandits. The learned men among the Hindus preach of Ram, Krishan, and the other incarnations recorded in the Purans, and adhere to the ancient religions. Brethren, this Khalsa is a new-fangled institution for which we have no scriptural authority. It is the Guru who hath introduced this absurdity, and informed the world that there is only one caste. He hath broken the sacrificial thread of Brahmans and Khatris, and by causing them to eat together hath brought discredit on ancient customs sanctioned and hallowed by religion. He hath ordered us not to give our daughters in marriage to any one who cutteth his hair. So smitten is he with affection for his Khalsa, that he hath rejected not only the Hindu but the Muhammadan religion. He hath prohibited tobacco, pilgrimages, and periodical oblations to the manes of ancestors.'[2]

The Guru wrote to his Sikhs wherever they resided to come and accept baptism, and become members of the Khalsa. He warned those who failed to do so that they should afterwards regret it. When they met with affliction, they would be glad to seek the protection of the Khalsa, but this could only be obtained by their acceptance of baptism and by their repentance and submission. The holy Khalsa would then remove their entanglements and accept them as brothers in the faith.

[1] A name of God. He who hath the sword on his banner—an epithet invented by the tenth Guru.

[2] *Gur Bilās*, Chapter 12.

On this great occasion the hill chiefs, including Raja Ajmer Chand, the successor of the late Bhim Chand, went to visit the Guru. Ajmer Chand said, 'It is thou who hast instituted the Khalsa religion. By thy power and greatness all the Turks shall be destroyed.' The Guru replied, 'If thou be baptized and become a Sikh, thy glory shall increase tenfold.' Ajmer Chand inquired what the marks of the Guru's Sikhs were, that is, how they could be recognized. The Guru replied, 'My Sikhs shall be in their natural form, that is, without the loss of their hair or foreskin, in opposition to ordinances of the Hindus and the Muhammadans.' In reply to Ajmer Chand's further inquiries, the Guru informed him of the acts allowed and disallowed his Sikhs. Ajmer Chand replied, 'Great king, we must worship our idols and shave on the occasions of deaths in our houses. This is ordained by our religion.' The Guru replied, 'If hair were not pleasing to God, why should he have caused it to grow? In giving the baptismal nectar I change you from jackals to tigers. My Singhs shall destroy all oppressive Pathans and Mughals, and rule in the world.' Ajmer Chand said, 'That is impossible. Each Turk can eat a whole goat. How can we who only eat rice, cope with such strong men?' The Guru replied, 'My Singhs too are permitted to eat flesh, and one of them shall be able to hold his ground against one hundred thousand Turks. I will kill hawks with sparrows. O Raja, have no anxiety. I shall make men of all four castes my Singhs (lions) and destroy the Mughals. If thou too embrace my faith and become a Singh, thy realm shall abide.'

The Guru's teaching had the magical effect of changing a pariah or outcast through an interminable line of heredity into a brave and staunch soldier, as the history of the Sikh Mazhabi regiments conclusively proves. This metamorphosis has been accomplished in defiance of the hide-bound preju-

dices and conservatism of the old Hindu religious systems. Prior to the time of the Sikh Gurus no general ever conceived the idea of raising an army from men who were believed to be unclean and polluted from their birth; but the watchword and war-cry of the Sikhs 'Wāhguru ji ka Khālsa, Wāhguru ji ki fatah', and the stimulating precepts of the tenth Guru, altered what had hitherto been deemed the dregs of humanity into warriors whose prowess and loyalty never failed their leaders.

The Guru continued to address the assembled rajas: 'How has your religious, political, and social status deteriorated! You have abandoned the worship of the true God and addressed your devotions to gods, goddesses, rivers, trees, &c. Through ignorance you know not how to govern your territories; through indolence and vice you disregard the interests of your subjects. You place over them officials who not only hate you, but are besides your mortal enemies. In your quarrels regarding caste and lineage you have not adhered to the ancient divisions of Hinduism into four sections, but you have made hundreds of subsections and subordinate minor castes. You despise and loathe one another through your narrow prejudices, and you act contrary to the wishes of the great Almighty Father. Your morals have become so perverted that through fear and with a desire to please your Musalman rulers, you give them your daughters to gratify their lust. Self-respect hath found no place in your thoughts, and you have forgotten the history of your sires. I am intensely concerned for your fallen state. Are you not ashamed to call yourselves Rajputs when the Musalmans seize your wives and daughters before your very eyes. Your temples have been demolished and mosques built on their sites; and many of your faith have been forcibly converted to Islam. If you still possess a trace of bravery and of the ancient spirit of your

race, then listen to my advice, embrace the Khalsa religion, and gird up your loins to elevate the fallen condition of your country.' Upon this the rajas took their departure without accepting the Guru's proposal to substitute his Khalsa for existing Indian religious systems.

A Sikh called Ude Singh appeared before the Guru without any offering. He said he had one, but was unable to lift it. He had killed a tiger, but was not strong enough to bring its body to the Guru. The Guru sent for the tiger, skinned it, and clothed a potter's donkey with the skin. The donkey thus arrayed being let loose frightened all animals and rejoiced in his unmolested freedom. Several complaints and requests to kill him were made to the Guru. One day the Guru and some Sikhs went to shoot him. On hearing the noise made by the Guru's party the donkey fled for protection to his old master. The potter, seeing the animal's behaviour and movements those of a donkey and not of a tiger, and moreover hearing him bray, approached him, took off the tiger's skin, gave him a sound drubbing, and employed him as before to carry burdens. The Sikhs on hearing this asked the Guru what he meant by such a stratagem. The Guru replied, 'As long as you were bound by caste and lineage you were like donkeys and subject to low persons. I have now freed you from these entanglements and given you all worldly blessings. I have clothed you in the garb of tigers, and made you superior to all men. Enjoy happiness in this world, and the Guru will take care of you in the next, and grant you the glorious dignity of salvation. When the donkey wore a tiger's skin he was formidable, but when he fell into the potter's power he was beaten and a load put on his back. In the same way, as long as you preserve your tiger's exterior, your enemies shall fear you, and you shall be victorious, but if you part with it, and return to caste observances, you shall

revert to your asinine condition and become subject to strangers. Moreover, I have made you really tigers, and not merely given you their garb, and it is for you not to resume your caste habiliments. As I have raised you from a lowly to a lofty position by imparting to you spiritual knowledge, so if you revert to evil ways and Hindu superstitions from which I have delivered you, your last condition shall be worse than your first, for then there will be no hope of your amendment.'

Some Sikhs went to the Guru and told him that the Ranghars and Gujars of the village of Nuh had been plundering their property, but that those who were armed had successfully defended themselves. The Guru took this as a text to preach to his people the advantage of wearing arms. They who practised their use should develop their martial instincts, enhance their prestige, and defend their property, while those who remained in the slough of ancient apathy should lose all they possessed. But in addition to arms men should also come to him to be baptized, and should for the purpose appear before him with their hair uncut, with drawers, daggers, and complete armour, and retain all these objects of defence as long as they had life.

A man named Nand Lal now visited the Guru. He was son of a Vaishnav Khatri and disciple of a Bairagi. At the age of twelve years the Bairagi desired to put on his neck a wooden necklace, one of the outward symbols of his sect. Nand Lal refused, and asked to be invested with the necklace of God's name, which he might repeat to obtain future happiness. The Bairagi dismissed him, and subsequently explained his action to Nand Lal's father. He had not the particular necklace which Nand Lal had asked for, and so he set him free to select another spiritual guide.

Nand Lal was an accomplished Persian scholar. There is a tradition preserved among his descendants,

that when the King of Persia sent a dispatch to Aurangzeb, his chief courtiers were invited to draft a reply. Nand Lal's draft was deemed the most suitable, and it was accordingly selected for dispatch to Tuhran. Aurangzeb sent for Nand Lal, and after an interview remarked to his courtiers that it was a pity such a learned man should remain a Hindu. Nand Lal on being apprised of the emperor's desire to convert him to Islam, and ever thinking of the spiritual guide suitable for him, decided to flee from court and take refuge with the Guru. He communicated his intention to a friend of his, a high Muhammadan official. They resolved to go together to Anandpur and place themselves under the Guru's spiritual guidance. Nand Lal presented the Guru a Persian work called *Bandagi Nama* in praise of God, a title which the Guru changed to *Zindagi Nama*, or 'Bestower of eternal life.' The following are extracts from the work :—

Both worlds, here and hereafter, are filled with God's light ;
The sun and moon are merely servants who hold His torches.[1]

If, my friend, thou associate with the holy,
Thou shalt obtain abiding wealth.

Evil is that society from which evil resulteth,
And which will at last bring sorrow in its train.

As far as may be, remain servants and claim not to be Master : [2]
A servant ought not to search for aught but service.

Hence, my dear friend, thou oughtest to distinguish between thyself and God. Even if thou art united with

[1] This was addressed to those who held the sun and moon to be gods and objects of worship.

[2] Some Vedantists with their pantheistic ideas claim to be God Himself.

Him, utter not one word which doth not express thy subjection to Him. When Mansur said, I am God, they put his head on the gibbet.

This heart of thine, O man, is God's temple :
What shall I say ? This is God's ordinance.

Since thou knowest that God abideth in every heart,
It is thy duty to treat every one with respect.

Though thy Lord sitteth and converseth with thee,
Yet through thy stupidity thou runnest in every direction to find Him.[1]

The Omnipotent is manifested by His omnipotence.

Sweetness trickleth from the words of the holy ;
The water of life drippeth from every hair of their bodies.

The saints are the same without and within ;
Both worlds are subject to their orders.

They who search for God are ever civil.

Courtesy pointeth out the way *that leadeth to* God.
The discourteous are beyond God's kindness.[2]

In the following extract from Nand Lal's Diwan Goya, a clear distinction is drawn between God and man : —

Although the wave and the ocean both consist of water, yet there is a great difference between them. I am one wave of Thee who art an endless sea. Thou art as distinct from me as heaven is from earth.

[1] That is, thou goest on idolatrous pilgrimages

[2] After the death of Aurangzeb Bhāi Nand Lāl found a patron in his son the Emperor Bahādur Shāh, under whom he found leisure to write his works on the Sikh religion.

CHAPTER XIII

About this time the Guru, thinking that his kitchen was not well served, paid a visit to it in disguise, and asked for something to eat. He received various refusals from the cooks. One of them said that prayer must first be offered. Another, 'We must first give the Guru his dinner.' When the Guru had received several similar excuses and nothing to eat, though he urged that he was hungry, he went to Nand Lal to beg his dinner. Nand Lal at once brought forth flour, vegetables, salt, and clarified butter, and handed them to the supposed mendicant, who took them and departed. Next day the Guru in open court told how he had paid a visit in disguise to his kitchen, and how he had been treated. The cooks were very much ashamed and craved forgiveness. He then gave orders that every wandering Sikh who came to his door should at once receive food, whether raw or cooked, without excuse or delay. The Guru continued: 'There is nothing equal to the bestowal of food. Blest is the man who giveth to the really hungry. Let no one fix a time for the exercise of this virtue. It is not necessary to consider whether it is night or day, evening or morning, whether the moon is dark or full, or if there is a particular anniversary. Nor is it necessary to consider what the social position of the applicant may be. Avoid all delay in such a matter. Charity is of all gifts the greatest, for it saveth life.'

The Guru had an opportunity of making further trial of the masands. Some Sikhs of Patna, Manger, and other parts of Bengal came to see him. These were accompanied by Chaia and Maia, sons of Bulaki, the masand of Dhaka. One of the Sikhs presented a piece of Dhaka muslin to the Guru as an offering. His courtiers began to admire it, and said they had never before seen such a beautiful

fabric. On inquiry it was discovered that the same Sikh had previously made a similar present through the masands to the Guru's mother, but it had never reached her. Chaia and Maia were scourged as a punishment.

The Guru heard that the Ranghars and Gujars of a town called Bajrur, beyond the Satluj, had plundered some Sikhs. The Guru took occasion during one of his hunting excursions to proceed thither with a small force. The town was invested and exemplary punishment meted out to its inhabitants, so that no one might afterwards be tempted to annoy the Guru's followers.

A story is told which illustrates the Sikh view of sacred music. A Sikh complained that the musicians on one occasion began to chant before he had quite finished reciting the Sukhmani. The Guru said that reciting the Gurus' hymns bore the same comparison to chanting them to musical accompaniments as coarse pulse to sweet sacred food. The gyanis supply another comparison, and say that recitation is to chanting with music as well water, which only benefits the owner of a few fields, to rain water which sheds blessings on all.

There is an anecdote told of a Sikh who in the Guru's presence mispronounced a word in the Granth Sahib, and so gave a wrong meaning to the line in which it occurred. The Guru took the mistake as a text to preach the advantages of correct reading of the Sikh sacred hymns. 'O Sikhs, listen to what I have to tell you on this subject. Read the Gurus' hymns correctly. There is the greatest advantage in such reading, for it will ensure bliss here and hereafter. If a hymn be written incorrectly, correct it and then read it, as one may mend and use a household article which hath been broken. The man who thus correcteth not the Gurus' hymns hath no love for them.'

It will be remembered that Guru Teg Bahadur,

when in prison in Dihli, prophesied the advent of the English. One day the conversation between Guru Gobind Singh and his disciples turned on this subject. His disciples asked him what the condition of the Sikhs would be when the English arrived. The Guru replied, 'The English shall come with a great army. The Sikhs too shall be very powerful, and their army shall engage that of the English. Sometimes victory shall incline to my Sikhs, sometimes to the English. As long as the religion of the Sikhs remaineth distinct, so long shall the glory of those who profess it increase. But when the Sikhs become entangled in the love of mammon, think of nothing but their own children, their wives, and their homes; when those who administer justice oppress the poor and take bribes; when those who sit on carpets sell their daughters and sisters; when Sikhs abandon the Gurus' hymns and in lieu of them follow the Shastars and adopt the religion of the Brahmans; when Sikh rajas forsake their Gurus and fall under the influence of the priests of other religions; when they scruple not to consort with courtesans, and allow their states to be governed by evil influences, then shall the English rule and their glory increase.'[1]

The Sikhs asked the Guru what should become of the great empire of the Turks. The Guru replied, 'Aurangzeb relying on Makkan oracles is destroying the Hindu religion, and in his insane career will stop at nothing short of a miracle. He is even preparing to contend with me. He respecteth not the religion of the Gurus, but we shall gain the victory, and the glory of the Turks shall fade away. Such of them as survive shall become common labourers and suffer indignities from their masters. At the end of the Sambat year 1800 (A.D. 1743) the Sikhs shall take possession of many countries. Three years after that Sikhs shall spring out of every bush, and there

[1] *Sūraj Parkāsh*, Rut III, Chapter 37.

shall subsequently be terrible warfare between the Sikhs and the Muhammadans.

'A powerful monarch shall come from Kandhar[1] and destroy countless Sikhs. Their heads shall be piled in heaps. He shall continue his progress of destruction to Mathura in Hindustan, and alarm many lands. None shall be able to withstand him. As prophesied by Guru Arjan, he shall raze the temple of Amritsar to the ground, but the Sikhs shall plunder his camp on his retreat from India.

'In the Sambat year 1900 (A.D. 1843), the Turks who survive shall lose their empire. A Christian army shall come from Calcutta. The Sikhs who are at variance with one another will join them. There shall be great destruction of life, and men and women shall be expelled from their homes. The Sikhs who abandon their arms and join the Brahmans against the English, shall have great sufferings. The real Sikhs shall hold their ground and survive.'

A Sikh called Kahn Singh was once plastering a wall and let a drop of mud fall on the Guru. The Guru ordered that he should receive one slight stroke as punishment. The Sikhs exceeded their orders, and several of them beat the man severely. The Guru on discovering this wished to make reparation, and the reparation was to provide the sufferer with a wife. The Guru asked his Sikhs if any of them would give his daughter in marriage to the plasterer. All remained silent. The Guru said, 'You found it easy to obey my order to strike this man. Why not obey my present order? I find you are Sikhs only for your own advantage.'

It happened that at that time a Sikh called Ajab Singh from Kandhar was present with his virgin daughter in darbar. He said, 'O true king, my daughter is at thy disposal.' The Guru complimented him and said, 'O Sikh, thou hast to-day

[1] This refers to an invasion of Ahmad Shāh in A.D. 1762 when he blew up the Har Mandar, or Golden Temple, at Amritsar.

proved that thou art a true member of the Khalsa.' The plasterer represented that he would not marry on account of the endless troubles attending wedded life. The girl on hearing this said to him, 'By the Guru's order I am already thine. If thou accept me not, I will not wed another, but remain here to do service at the Guru's feet.' The Guru then interposed and urged the plasterer to wed the girl. He accordingly did so by Sikh marriage rites known as Anand. The Guru promised that he should have five distinguished sons as the result of his marriage, a prophecy which was duly fulfilled.

The Guru now became frequently silent, a matter which caused his mother great anxiety. Seeing him one day alone, she approached him, and after the usual blessing said, 'Blest am I that such a son hath been born from my womb; but I am now anxious regarding thee. People say that thou art completely altered. Explain why thy spirits are depressed, and thou art no longer cheerful as before.' The Guru replied, 'Mother dear, I will tell thee my secret. I have been considering how I may confer empire on the Khalsa.'

The Guru prescribed convivial rules as a preliminary to his great enterprise. Wherever he had a kitchen, it should be considered God's own, and the Sikhs should eat therefrom. Should any of them object on the ground of caste prejudice, he should be deemed beyond the pale of Sikhism. Before the distribution of sacred food a prayer should first be uttered. After meals the first stanza of the fifth Ashtapadi of the Sukhmani should be recited as a thanksgiving. When a man had satisfied himself at the Guru's kitchen, he should take no food away with him. When a Sikh invited another to dine with him, he should accept his hospitality and not find fault with his viands. Whenever a Sikh was hungry, he should be fed and treated with respect.

After this the Guru prescribed some general rules

for the guidance of his Sikhs. At the beginning of every work or enterprise they should recite suitable prayers. They should always assist one another, they should practise riding and the exercise of arms. If the Sikhs remembered the Guru's instruction, he promised to make all the inhabitants of India subject to them. He who cast a covetous eye on his neighbour's property should go to hell. He who assisted a Sikh to complete any worthy or noble undertaking or study, should obtain spiritual reward.

Being questioned on the subject of marriage relations, the Guru uttered the following: 'When I received understanding, my father Guru Teg Bahadur gave me this instruction, "O son, as long as there is life in thy body, make this thy sacred duty ever to love thine own wife more and more. Approach not another woman's couch either by mistake or even in a dream. Know that the love of another's wife is as a sharp dagger. Believe me, death entereth the body by making love to another's wife. They who think it great cleverness to enjoy another's wife, shall in the end die the death of dogs."'

Once when there was scarcity in the land the Guru's mother, without consulting him, ordered that food should be cooked only once a day, and even then be sparingly distributed. Upon this the Sikhs complained to the Guru. He said, 'Some evil persons have induced my mother to issue orders contrary to my wishes, but, O Khalsa, the Guru's kitchen shall be ever open. The Turks shall flay those who have given evil advice to my mother.' The Guru's mother on hearing this became much distressed, and with tears in her eyes implored her son's pardon. The Guru pardoned her, but added, 'If thou close the Guru's kitchen, my curse shall avail, but if thou keep it ever open, my curse shall be retracted.' From that day forth, twofold, nay fourfold supplies poured into the Guru's kitchen.

CHAPTER XIV

A handsome young goldsmith one day presented himself before the Guru and began to fan him. He said that his father had taken the *charanpahul* in vogue at the time of the preceding Gurus, and he himself had received baptism according to the new rite. The youth's mother accompanied him, and the Guru invited them both to stay with him. The Guru, to make trial of the goldsmith's skill, gave him ten gold muhars to convert into ornaments. When the work was subsequently submitted for the Guru's inspection he was pleased, and ordered his treasurer to keep the young artisan supplied with gold, and store all the ornaments he made from it in his treasury. The Guru asked the goldsmith if he had any faults. He replied, 'O great king, I am the slave of thy feet, I only seek the society of the saints.' Upon this the Guru replied, 'He who hath great talents must ever possess some fault. What is thine? The man possessing talent who hath no fault must be in God's own image.' The young man, however, would not admit any imperfection.

After this he was allowed to take as much gold as he pleased to work upon. It was never weighed to him, and he was never asked how much he had taken. One day the Guru told his treasurer to weigh for the future, without the goldsmith's knowledge, all the gold dispensed to him. Upon this the treasurer weighed him out twenty tolas of gold. When the goldsmith presented the ornaments made therefrom, they were found to weigh only seventeen tolas. Upon this the Guru ordered all the ornaments the youth had made since his arrival to be produced and weighed. The treasurer found them to be far short of the amount of gold taken from the treasury. On this the Guru remonstrated with the young goldsmith. 'Thou impliedst

that thou hadst no fault. What greater fault can there be than to misappropriate what is entrusted thee? Didst thou not receive thy wages from the Guru's house, and was that not sufficient remuneration for thee? Thou art as evil as the masands whom I have been punishing. I am pleased with those who, though they may wear coarse garbs, eat what they lawfully earn.' It is said that on this censure the youth reformed his ways.

The Guru being asked by a devout Sikh what he should do to cross over the world's ocean, that is, to be saved and obtain deliverance from rebirth, gave the following recipe. 'My brother, repeat the name Wahguru. Eat what thou hast diligently earned. As Baba Nanak hath said, "He who bestoweth a little out of his earnings recognizeth the right way." Bear no one enmity. Know that God is with thee at all times and remember death. Recognize the world as unreal, and God alone as real.'

A Sikh went to the Guru and told him that he had abandoned the world, as it contained only trouble and anxiety. He added that he had come in quest of rest, and requested the Guru to point out the way to him. The Guru congratulated him on having diverted his attention from the wickedness of men, and inquired if he could read. The Sikh replied in the negative. The Guru then said, 'It is necessary that thou shouldst read little or much so as to acquire understanding and improve thy mind. Thou shalt thus learn the difference between good and evil, and what thou oughtest and what thou oughtest not to do. There are besides many other advantages in reading. Thou mayest thereby obtain everything beginning with the knowledge of God. The heart of him who is uninstructed remaineth in blind ignorance. He who readeth Gurumukhi is the best and obtaineth good understanding. There is great merit in reading the Japji and the other hymns of morning and evening divine service, for they

erase the sins of many births. He who orally or mentally fixeth his attention on the Name, who worketh with his hands, who gladdeneth the hearts of holy Sikhs, who ever performeth noble deeds, and preserveth his mind humble, is very dear to me, and it behoves me to minister unto him.'

The Sikh expressed his earnest desire to learn, if he could only find a tutor. The Guru appointed his own Granthi, or reader, to instruct him. When the Sikh read as far as the line in the Anand, 'Joy, my mother, that I have found the true Guru!' he brought his tuition to an end, and never afterwards pursued his studies. The Guru, after some months, asked his Granthi how the pupil was progressing. The Granthi replied that he had not seen him since he had read that particular line of the Anand. Upon this the Guru sent for him, and asked him why he had ceased to attend his tutor. He replied that he had read enough, and had attained happiness on meeting the Guru. The Guru smiled and said, 'Even with this little learning thou hast obtained a knowledge of God, and shalt eventually find deliverance.'

The Guru once asked his Sikhs to tell him who was emperor of India in Kabir's time. One Sikh said Humayun; a second, Alexander the Great; a third, Madanpal. In short none of them could tell the emperor's name. The Guru made this a text from which to preach the advantages of knowledge, as well as holiness, and the good repute obtained from them in both worlds—'Every one, even down to ignorant women, knoweth the name of Kabir, though he was only a weaver. That is because he repeated God's name and practised true devotion. Sikandar Lodi was then emperor; but none of you even knoweth his name, and there is no trace of him left in the world, while Kabir's fame is blazoned in every country and his memory is universally honoured. Wherefore, members of the Khalsa,

remember the true Name, serve the saints, be humble, lay your love and devotion at the feet of the immortal God, and you too shall be honoured here and hereafter.'

As the Guru's power daily increased, the hill chiefs thought it expedient to send a resident to his court who would inform them of his movements and proceedings. A man called Paramanand was accordingly selected for that delicate mission. When he came to the Guru he told him that his object was to be in a position to behold him continually, and thus gain spiritual advantages. He added that he desired to send the rajas occasionally accounts of the Guru's good health and welfare, and to preserve the amicable relations which already subsisted.

Some Sikhs asked the Guru how *karah parsad* or sacred food should be prepared. He replied: 'Wash and clean the cooking-place, then procure equal portions of refined sugar, fine flour, and clarified butter. Boil the sugar in water and render it liquid. Put the clarified butter and flour into another vessel, and boil them until they assume a reddish colour. Then mix the liquefied sugar with the clarified butter and flour, and boil all together. When this is done a Granthi must repeat certain prescribed prayers. The mixture then becomes sacred food (*karah parsad*) and is fit for use.'[1] The cook must be a Sikh who has bathed in the morning and who can repeat at least the Japji from memory.

A Sikh married couple came to the Guru in order to complain against their son. They said they were satisfied with the wealth God had given them; their only trouble arose from their son's contumacy. He was ever in attendance on religious men, and paid no regard to what he ate or what he wore. If

[1] The Hindus in the preparation of their sacred food use the same ingredients, but add coco-nut as a *bonne bouche* for the goddess Durga, and anise seed as a relish for the monkey-god Hanumān.

the subject of marriage, so natural to a young man, were mentioned to him, he was ready to die as if poisoned. When pressed on the subject, he said that the Guru had forbidden his marriage. When they represented to him that the Guru himself was a married man, the youth would only say, 'He can do what he pleaseth himself. He hath forbidden me.' The Guru sent for the youth and asked when he had forbidden him. He replied, 'O Guru, in the Anand which thou wrotest as Guru Amar Das for the instruction of the Sikhs, there is the following passage :—

O dear man, do thou ever remember the True One.
This family which thou seest shall not depart with thee ;
It shall not depart with thee ; why fix thy thoughts on it ?
Never do what thou shalt have to repent of at last.
Listen thou to the instruction of the true Guru, *it is that which* shall go with thee.
Saith Nanak, O dear man, ever remember the True One.

'This instruction,' said the youth, 'is imprinted on my mind.' The Guru was so pleased on hearing this that he embraced him, and said to his parents, 'Men are continually warned, but none taketh heed. Blest is he who hath forsaken mammon. It is his good fortune that he hath awakened to contempt of the world. This son of yours shall save both your families, and you shall have another son besides to gladden your hearts.' The Guru detained the youth, and dismissed his parents. He was pleased that the spontaneous love of God had sprung up in the young man's heart, and he instructed him in the duties both of a husband and a hermit. After a comparison of both, he embraced domestic life.

Once in the sultry weather, as the Guru was perspiring, his servants took his bed from the ground floor to the top of his house. From there he heard an altercation between two Sikhs regarding a debt

of seven rupees. Mala Singh had lent this sum to Lahaura Singh, but the latter would not return it. When, at the suggestion of Mala Singh's wife, Lahaura Singh was further dunned, he composed this couplet :—

O Sikh, eat the wealth of a Sikh without anxiety ;
Thou hast come to annoy me at which I am very angry ;

and added:—

A Sikh shall receive whatever is written in his destiny.

Mala Singh replied, ' Thou embezzlest my money, and then lecturest me ; thou forgettest what hath been said :—

They whose acts are deceitful shall be punished in God's court :
Death shall smite them ; they shall greatly weep and regret when they enter hell.'

Lahaura Singh capped this with another :—

No one shall ask for an account as long as God pardoneth.[1]

The Guru overhearing this interchange of verses cried out, ' They who live and spend money by deceiving others shall be bound in God's court. Ponder on all your acts so as to preserve your honesty.' The Guru then quoted for the disputants the lines of Baba Nanak against dishonesty.

After hearing the Guru, Lahaura Singh began to speak civilly to Mala Singh, and promised to give him his money on the morrow. Lahaura Singh kept his promise, and then went to the Guru to solicit his pardon. The Guru upon this repeated for the first time his ' Muktnama ', or means of salvation. The following are its principal injunctions : ' O Sikhs, borrow not, but, if you are compelled to borrow, faithfully restore the debt. Speak not falsely and associate not with the untruthful. Associating with

[1] *Guru Arjan, Māru ki Wār II.*

holy men, practise truth, love truth, and clasp it to your hearts. Live by honest labour and deceive no one. Let not a Sikh be covetous. Repeat the Japji and the Japji before eating. Look not on a naked woman. Let not your thoughts turn towards that sex. Cohabit not with another's wife. Deem another's property as filth. Keep your bodies clean. Have dealings with every one, but consider yourselves distinct. Your faith and daily duties are different from theirs. Bathe every morning before repast. If your bodies endure not cold water, then heat it. Ever abstain from tobacco. Remember the one immortal God. Repeat the Rahiras in the evening and the Sohila at bedtime. Receive the baptism and teaching of the Guru, and act according to the Granth Sahib. Cling to the boat in which thou hast embarked. Wander not in search of another religion. Repeat the Gurus' hymns day and night. Marry only into the house of a Sikh. Preserve thy wife and thy children from evil company. Covet not money offered for religious purposes. Habitually attend a Sikh temple and eat a little sacred food therefrom. He who distributeth sacred food should do so in equal quantities, whether the recipients be high or low, old or young. Eat not food offered to gods or goddesses. Despise not any Sikh, and never address him without the appellation Singh. Eat regardless of caste with all Sikhs who have been baptized, and deem them your brethren. Abandon at once the company of Brahmans and Mullas who cheat men out of their wealth, of ritualists who lead Sikhs astray, and of those who give women in marriage with concealed physical defects, and thus deceive the hopes of offspring.

'Let not a Sikh have intercourse with a strange woman unless married to her according to the Sikh rites. Let him contribute a tenth part of his earnings for religious purposes. Let him bow down

at the conclusion of prayer. When a Sikh dieth, let sacred food be prepared. After his cremation let the Sohila be read and prayer offered for his soul and for the consolation of his relations. Then sacred food may be distributed. Let not the family of the deceased indulge in much mourning, or bevies of women join in lamentation. On such occasions let the Gurus' hymns be read and sung, and let all listen to them.

'Worship not an idol, and drink not the water in which it hath been bathed. The rules of caste and of the stages of Hindu life are erroneous. Let my Sikhs take care not to practise them. O Sikhs, listen to me and adopt not the ceremonies of the Hindus for the supposed advantages of the manes of ancestors.

'My face is turned towards him who calleth out to a Sikh "Wahguru ji ki Fatah!" my right shoulder towards him who returneth the salutation with love, my left shoulder towards him who returneth it as a matter of custom, and my back towards him who returneth it not at all.[1] To him who abideth by these rules I will grant a position to which no one hath yet been able to attain, and which was beyond the conception of Shankar Acharya,[2] Dattatre, Ramanuj,[3] Gorakh, and Muhammad.

'As, when rain falleth on the earth, the fields yield excellent and pleasant fruit, so he who listeneth to the Guru and attendeth to all these injunctions shall assuredly receive the reward thereof. Whoever accepteth the Guru's words, and these rules which he hath given, shall have his sins pardoned; he shall be saved from transmigration through the eighty-four lakhs of animals, and after death shall enter

[1] Mani Singh's *Gyān Ratanāwali*.

[2] The great expounder of the Vedānt or pantheistic philosophy and opponent of the Buddhists. He lived in the eighth century.

[3] An account of this saint will be given in the final volume of this work.

the Guru's abode. If any very worldly man devoted to pleasure tell you to the contrary, listen not to him, but ever follow the Guru's instruction.'

CHAPTER XV

A Sikh went to the Guru, to complain that his wife having been enchanted by a Muhammadan desired to embrace Islam. He prayed the Guru to perform incantations whereby his wife might adhere to her faith and conjugal duties. The Guru replied, 'Charms, incantations, and spells are useless. The Gurus' hymns alone are of any avail. No jin,[1] fairy, or demon shall approach her who daily reciteth or heareth the Japji. It is the duty of all Sikhs to give their wives religious instruction. Thy wife on receiving it shall return to her religion and allegiance to thee.'

One day the musicians were singing the story of Gopi Chand in presence of the Guru. The story being affecting, the audience were moved to tears. One man said that the musicians ought to be fined because they had in the Guru's presence sung the epic of Gopi Chand instead of the hymns of the Gurus, and it was written in the Anand that all compositions except the Gurus' were inadmissible. The Guru replied, 'Only those compositions are forbidden which lead men astray from God. When simple men sing verses which lead to a reconciliation with Him, it is not thy duty to spurn them. It cannot harm thee to listen to a story which containeth a moral.'

The Guru thought it prudent to be ever prepared for war, and he continued to enlist all who offered themselves for service. He provided them with horses and arms, and often represented to them that the power of the Turks had now grown beyond all endurance.

[1] The genius of Arabian tales.

One day as the Guru was on a hunting excursion in the Dun, Balia Chand and Alim Chand, two hill chiefs, seeing him with only a small retinue, resolved to surprise and capture him. A fight ensued, but the Sikhs were too few in number to cope with their assailants and were obliged to retreat. A Sikh trooper came upon the Guru, who had lost his way in the *mêlée*, and thus addressed him: 'As a forest hath no beauty without a tiger, so a Sikh army hath no ornament without its Guru. If thou assist us not in our present difficulty, it will be a matter of eternal reproach to thee.' The Guru then discharged five arrows at the enemy which took fatal effect. Upon this the Sikhs, though few in number, were encouraged to return to the combat. Blood was spilled on both sides like red powder at the Hindu festival of the Holi. Balia Chand, on seeing the destruction of his men, rushed forward, but found himself opposed by Ude Singh, one of the bravest soldiers of the Guru's army. Alim Chand also advanced to support the hill army, but was confronted by Alim Singh. Both sides fought desperately, and men fell like trees cut down by the woodman's axe. Alim Chand aimed a blow of his sword at Alim Singh, who received it on his shield, and then with his return blow struck off Alim Chand's right arm. Alim Chand, however, contrived to escape, leaving Balia in sole command of the hill troops. Balia Chand did not long enjoy that honour, as he was soon shot dead by Ude Singh. The hill troops, finding that one of their chiefs had fled with the loss of his arm, and that the other was dead, took to flight, leaving the honours of victory to the Guru and his Sikhs. After the battle the Guru, undismayed, continued his hunting excursion.

After this defeat, the hill chiefs thought it highly dangerous to allow the Sikhs to increase in power and number. They remarked that the Sikhs were to-day in thousands, but in a short time they

would be in millions, therefore immediate measures ought to be taken for their repression. An Indian fig-tree when small can be easily destroyed, but, if allowed to grow, it becomes a forest and cannot be eradicated. The hill chiefs therefore thought it desirable to complain to the Dihli government against the Sikhs. The Emperor Aurangzeb was still engaged in warfare in the south of India. In his absence the Subadar or viceroy of Dihli heard their representations. The hill chiefs, having traced the Guru's history from the time he had left Patna and settled with a humble following in Anandpur, thus continued: 'Knowing that he was a successor of the holy Guru Nanak, we made no objection to his residence among us. When he obtained power and we essayed to restrain him, he went to Nahan and there formed an alliance with its raja. He then came into collision with Raja Fatah Shah of Srinagar, which ultimately led to the battle of Bhangani, where there was great destruction of human life. After his return to Anandpur, the Guru established a new sect distinct from the Hindus and Muhammadans, to which he hath given the name of Khalsa. He hath united the four castes into one, and made many followers. He invited us to join him, and promised, if we consented, that we should obtain empire in this world and salvation in the next. He suggested to us that if we rose in rebellion against the Emperor, he would assist us with all his forces, because the Emperor had killed his father, and he desired to avenge his death. As we did not think it proper to oppose the Emperor, the Guru is displeased with us, and now giveth us every form of annoyance. We cannot restrain him, and have accordingly come to crave the protection of this just government against him. If the government consider us its subjects, we pray for its assistance to expel the Guru from Anandpur. Should you delay to punish and restrain him, his next

expedition will be against the capital of your empire."[1] This representation was duly submitted by the Subadar to the Emperor.

A Qazi called Salar Din came to visit the Guru, reminded him of the Sikh and Muhammadan belief in destiny, and upbraided him with having reversed the judgement of heaven. 'They on whose foreheads unfavourable destiny was written,' he said, 'have been blessed and have received from thee all bounties and good gifts in return for their services and their fidelity.' The Guru replied, 'Destiny is as the reversed letters on a seal. I bless those who bow to the Guru. The letters of their destiny then present their ordinary appearance.' This shows that the Sikhs need not implicitly believe in the controlling power of destiny.

In October, when the cold season was approaching, his troops represented to the Guru that they required warm clothing. He requested them to be patient. A Sikh, he said, was bringing him a bag of money to relieve all their necessities. A rich merchant, who had been originally a follower of Sakhi Sarwar, soon arrived with an offering of two thousand rupees, and related his story: 'While I was a follower of Sakhi Sarwar, I invested a large sum of money in merchandise, but failed to dispose of it to advantage, notwithstanding a large offering of sweets to my patron saint. That and other mercantile ventures of mine having failed, I set about finding a religious guide who possessed influence with the supreme powers. I then heard that the tenth Guru occupied the seat of the holy Guru Nanak, and I vowed that in the event of commercial success I would give him a tithe of my profits. I have accordingly brought this bag of rupees, and I promise that I will no longer be a follower of any Muhammadan, but a Sikh of the Guru.' The Guru duly baptized him and accepted his offering. The Guru was

[1] *Gur Bilās*, Chapter 14.

thus enabled to provide warm clothing for his troops, and their devotion to him and their belief in his prophetic and divine power increased in consequence.

One day when the Guru felt thirsty, he asked a Sikh to fetch him water. Before the Sikh had time to do so, a young boy, who had come to see the Guru, volunteered to perform the service. The Guru noticing that the boy's hands were soft and clean, asked him if he had any occupation. He replied in the negative. That was the first time he had ever offered to fetch water for any one. When he brought it the Guru refused to drink, saying it was impure. The boy remonstrated and insisted on its purity. The Guru replied, 'Hear me, O Sikhs, it is an important article of the Guru's faith that performing service for saints contributeth to man's salvation. The hands are purified by serving them. The feet are purified by going to behold the Guru. Without serving holy men[1] man's body is as unclean as the limbs of a corpse from which all shrink and which all fear to touch.'

The Guru quoted the following from Gur Das's Wars :—

Curses on the head which boweth not to the Guru and which toucheth not the Guru's feet ;

Curses on the eyes which instead of beholding the Guru look at another's wife ;

Curses on the ears which hear not and pay no attention to the Guru's instruction ;

Curses on the tongue which repeateth other spell than the word of the Guru ;

Curses on the hands and feet which serve not the Guru : all other work is fruitless.

His disciples are dear to the Priest ; happiness is obtained by seeking the shelter of the Guru.[2]

After this the boy placed himself under the Guru's instruction and learned to know God.

[1] The youth had not previously served any one.

[2] Wār XXVII, 10.

In due time the orders of the supreme government were received on the representation of the hill rajas' envoy to the viceroy of Dihli. An army would be sent to assist them against the Guru, if they paid its expenses, but not otherwise. They accordingly sent the necessary funds, and further represented that they had no hope except in the Emperor's assistance. The viceroy sent for Generals Din Beg and Painda Khan,[1] both commanding divisions of five thousand men, and ordered them to take their troops to resist the Guru's encroachments on the rights of the hill chiefs. When the imperial troops arrived at Ropar, they were joined by the hill chiefs at the head of their contingents. They decided to expel the Guru if he offered resistance, but, if he undertook to be a loyal subject for the future, they were prepared to allow him to abide in Anandpur.

A Sikh, hearing of the force proceeding against the Guru, hastened from Kiratpur to Anandpur to give him information. The Guru's men were soon under arms. He appointed the five whom he had first baptized, as generals of his army. The Sikh chronicler states that, when the engagement began, the Turks were roasted by the continuous and deadly fire of the Sikhs. The Guru went into the midst of his troops and gave them every form of encouragement. They never retreated, but staunchly confronted the enemy.

General Painda Khan, seeing the determined resistance of the Sikhs, shouted to his men that they were engaged in religious warfare, and called on them to fight to the death against the infidels. Upon this his troops discharged clouds of arrows, which obscured the sky. Painda Khan himself formed the design of engaging in single combat with the Guru, and thus deciding the battle. The Guru, on hearing his challenge, advanced on horseback and said, 'O Pathan, I am Guru Gobind Singh, the

[1] This is not the Painda Khān who was killed by the sixth Guru.

enemy of thy life.' On hearing this Painda Khan's eyes became bloodshot, and he vowed to fight to the death against the priest of the Sikhs. He invited the Guru to strike the first blow, so that he might not afterwards have cause for regret. The Guru refused the rôle of aggressor and said he had vowed never to strike except in self-defence.

Painda Khan whirled his horse round and round to find an opportunity of attacking the Guru and breaking his guard. At last both warriors and their horses stood still, and both sides began to speculate on their chances of victory. Painda Khan discharged an arrow which whizzed past the Guru's ear. The Guru ironically complimented him on his archery, and invited him to shoot again so that he might have no cause for remorse. Painda Khan discharged another arrow which also missed its mark. Upon this he was on the point of retreating through shame and vexation, when the Guru addressed him: 'O jackal, wait a little. Whither goest thou? It is now my turn.'

The whole of Painda Khan's body except his ears was encased in armour. The Guru knowing this discharged an arrow at his ear with such unerring aim that he fell off his horse prone on the ground, and rose no more. This, however, did not end the battle. Din Beg now assumed sole command, and urged on his troops. Maddened by Painda Khan's death they fought with great desperation, but were unable to make any impression on the solid ranks of the Sikhs. On the contrary the Sikh forces caused great destruction among them. Ajmer Chand, seeing this, prepared for flight. The other hill chiefs followed his example. By this time Din Beg was severely wounded, and began to ask himself why he should try to keep the field any longer, since all those whom he had come to assist had ingloriously fled. He accordingly beat a retreat, and was pursued by the Sikhs as far as Ropar.

The Guru sent an officer to recall his troops as he did not think it became Sikhs to take the trouble to pursue cowardly and fugitive enemies. The Sikhs returned with horses, arms, and a vast quantity of other booty taken from the Muhammadans. The Sikh chronicler states that the enemies' heads remained on the field like so many pumpkins, and that kites, ravens, and jackals hovered round them impatient for a feast.

The Guru continued to keep his troops in readiness for defence whenever attacked. He sent for armourers to make muskets, swords, and arrows, and filled his magazine with gunpowder and lead. He issued a proclamation that all Sikhs who came to see him should bring offensive and defensive weapons as offerings. Numbers, hearing of his bravery and piety, flocked to his standard. He baptized all comers and thus infused into them the spirit of the Khalsa.

The hill chiefs again took alarm and said to themselves that the Guru who had defeated Painda Khan and Din Beg, though commanding an army of ten thousand men, would be soon emboldened to oust them altogether from their territories. They must therefore either kill him or expel him from Anandpur, and with this object they again thought it necessary to seek the assistance of the Dihli government. Raja Ajmer Chand was deputed as envoy, and it was resolved to provide him with costly presents for the Emperor.

Raja Bhup Chand, now Raja of Handur, braver than his fellows, opposed the dispatch of an envoy. He said that nothing could be gained by again seeking the assistance of the Emperor. They ought to be able to defend themselves. If all the hill chiefs concerned were to contribute reasonable contingents, they could muster a large army which would be more than sufficient to annihilate the Guru and his Sikhs. He, however, proposed as the most

simple and feasible measure, to invest the Guru's capital, Anandpur, and starve its occupants into submission. Should any hill chief not join in this enterprise, the others were to hold no intercourse with him, but treat him as an enemy. The Ranghars and Gujars, who were their subjects and were at ancient enmity with the Sikhs, would now be valuable allies against the Guru. The Raja of Handur concluded his address, 'O Ajmer Chand, a reed is a frail support, but a handful of reeds bound together is not easily broken. If we all join together, the Sikhs will be powerless to offer us resistance.'

Raja Ajmer Chand was gained over by the proposal, and both he and Raja Bhup Chand sent envoys to all the hill chiefs. Upon this the Rajas of Jammu, Nurpur, Mandi, Bhutan, Kullu, Kionthal, Guler, Chamba, Srinagar, Dadhwal, and others came with their contingents. When they met in council, Raja Ajmer Chand thus addressed them: 'Hear me, O rajas, the Sikhs are not merely my enemies. They are the common enemies of all. No one is able to withstand them. They cannot even be bribed by money into submission. We know not what their Guru's designs may be. He baptizeth Sikhs, and they beget Sikhs as wicked as themselves. We know not what the Guru whispereth into their ears, that night and day they think of nothing but harrying and slaying. Give me your counsel as to what you deem best to be done.'

The rajas were unanimous in promising that they would agree to any proposal made by Raja Ajmer Chand. If the Guru, they said, were put to death they might all reign in peace. Accordingly ammunition was served out to the allied army over night, and before daybreak all were on their march to Anandpur. On arriving near the city the rajas drew up the following letter and dispatched it to the Guru: 'The land of Anandpur is ours. We allowed thy father to dwell on it, and he ever paid us rent,

but thou payest us not a single kauri. Nay, thou hast originated a new religion, and laid our country waste. We have endured this up to the present, but can now endure it no longer. Wherefore we have come to blockade thy town and destroy thee and thy Sikhs. This is the time for thee to pay arrears of rent for the occupation of our land. We call on thee to do so, and undertake to pay it regularly every year for the future. If thou art not disposed to accept these terms, then prepare for thy departure from Anandpur or take the consequences.'

To this the Guru sent reply, ' O Ajmer Chand, thou and thine allied rajas desire to take money from me ; but my father purchased and paid for the land and now the only further payment you deserve is with the sword. If you can deprive me of Anandpur, you shall have it with bullets added thereto. Seek my protection, and you shall be happy in both worlds. Seek the protection of the Khalsa too, and abandon pride. Part not with your senses and come to terms with us. This is the Guru's house, in which men shall be treated as they deserve. It is like a mirror. As men make themselves so they appear in it. If you proceed to hostilities with the Sikhs, they will not allow you to drink even a drop of water. Now is the time for a settlement. I shall act as a mediator between the Khalsa and you. You may then rule your states without apprehension.'

Chapter XVI

It was now abundantly clear to the rajas that the Guru would neither make peace nor surrender. Next morning they beat the drums of war, and, as they had anticipated, large numbers of Ranghars and Gujars under one Jagatullah flocked to their standard. The allied armies then proceeded with banners flying to Anandpur. In the van rode Kesari Chand,

the haughty chief of Jaswan, bearing himself, it was said, like a mighty elephant. The Guru prepared for defence and briefly addressed his men: 'O Khalsa, I am ever your companion and succourer. If you die fighting, you shall enjoy all the happiness reserved for martyrs, and if you survive and gain the victory, empire shall be yours.' The Sikhs were further encouraged by the arrival of five hundred men of the Manjha under Duni Chand, grandson of Bhai Salo, a distinguished Sikh who lived in the time of the fourth and fifth Gurus. Reinforcements from other quarters also arrived at this conjuncture.

The names of the weapons served out by the Guru to the Sikhs are given with minute detail: bows and arrows, *teghe* (cutlasses), *katars* (small daggers), *jamdhars* (two-edged dirks), *sarohis* (flexible swords), *sangs* (pikes), lances, *bichhuas* (daggers, literally scorpions), *jambuas* (daggers), scimitars, *selas* (spears), pistols, and muskets.

Within Anandpur were two forts, one called Fatagarh, the other Lohgarh. The Guru ordered his men not to advance beyond the city, but remain as much as possible on the defensive. Sher Singh and Nahar Singh, each commanding five hundred men, were told off to guard Lohgarh. The defence of Fatagarh was entrusted to Ude Singh, who received from Duni Chand command of the reinforcements of the Manjha. Meanwhile the allied armies advanced and fell on Anandpur like a flight of locusts.

Ajit Singh, the Guru's eldest son, now grown up to manhood, went to his father to offer him military service. He was, however, too shy to speak in his father's presence, and requested Ude Singh to speak for him. The Guru replied that it was the duty of all true Sikhs to fight for their religion, their country, and a good cause, and he was glad to see his son adopting their hereditary profession. The Guru conferred on him the command of a company of one hundred, and advised him, as he was still in-

experienced in warfare, to remain behind cover and await events.

Raja Ajmer Chand, reminding his fellow chiefs that this was really the most important engagement with the Guru, advanced with his troops. The hill chiefs opened fire with large guns on the Guru's fortresses. Raja Kesari Chand of Jaswan with his troops attacked Ude Singh's outposts. Arrows and bullets discharged from both sides fell like rain in the Indian months of Sawan and Bhadon.[1] The Ranghars and Gujars, who appear to have fought with much determination, were now reduced to half their numbers, and showed a disposition to retreat. Raja Ajmer Chand went to Jagatullah, their leader, and remonstrated with him. He called on him to avenge the sack and destruction by the Sikhs of the Ranghars' towns of Nuh and Bajrur. Jagatullah succeeded in rallying his men, and they again began to fight with great valour. Ude Singh on seeing this brought forth the Guru's son and with a strong force led an attack on the enemy. Ajit Singh displayed great heroism and address, and the Sikhs following his example chopped off the heads of the enemy, as if they were water-melons. The Guru surveyed the battle from an eminence and continued to direct his arrows with fatal precision against the allied hosts.

Several brave Sikhs made a determined stand against the enemy and forced them to retreat. On seeing this the allied chiefs held a brief council of war, wherein it was decided to dispatch Kesari Chand to attack the right flank and Jagatullah the left flank of the Guru's position, while Ajmer Chand himself and his troops made a front attack on Anandpur. Jagatullah was soon shot in the chest by a bullet discharged from Sahib Singh's musket, and fell lifeless to the earth. Man Singh, one of the bravest of the Guru's Sikhs, arrived

[1] These are the principal months of the Indian rainy season—from the early part of July to the early part of September.

bearing the Guru's standard, and planted it on the spot as an indication to the enemy that the Sikhs would not retreat a single pace, or allow them to remove Jagatullah's body.

Raja Ghumand Chand, now chief of Kangra, came and sought to uproot the Guru's standard and hinder the Sikhs from taking possession of the body of the fallen chief of the Ranghars. Upon this the allied armies rallied, and then ensued terrific slaughter. Ghumand Chand and his troops plied their arrows incessantly, but failed to cause the Sikhs to retreat. The latter defended themselves until nightfall and retained possession of Jagatullah's body. The opposing armies then retired to their respective quarters for rest. The Guru complimented his son and Sahib Singh, the slayer of Jagatullah, on their successful valour. It is stated that the leaves of the sal[1] tree were employed overnight to heal the injuries of the wounded.

The hill chiefs were in great dismay at the result of the battle, and held a council of war during the night. Raja Ajmer Chand apprehended from the resistance offered by the Sikhs to the removal of Jagatullah's body, that it would be useless to prolong the contest. If they had the same ill-fortune on the morrow, there would be little left of the hill armies. The Raja of Kangra professed himself ready to acquiesce in Raja Ajmer Chand's decision. The Raja of Mandi too was for peace, and advised suing for the Guru's pardon, seeing that he occupied Guru Nanak's spiritual throne, and there would be no indignity in appealing to him as suppliants. The Raja of Handur, however, did not consider that any reason for effecting a reconciliation. Raja Kesari Chand of Jaswan affected to despise the Guru's power, and promised to fight with more determination on the morrow and expel him from Anandpur.

[1] The *Shorea robusta*. Natural order, Dipterocarpaceae.

Next morning, when the hill armies proceeded to re-invest Anandpur, the Sikhs offered valiant resistance. The allied troops contented themselves with concentrating their attack on one particular part of the city. The fighting continued with varying fortune until the afternoon, when Ajit Singh prepared to renew the contest, and requested his father to observe how he comported himself in it. The Guru counselled caution, and forbade him to expose himself unnecessarily. At the same time he sent thousands of Sikhs to support him in what he declared was a war for the defence of their religion. The allied armies rushed against them with the violence of a torrent issuing from the Himalayas in the height of the rainy season.

Whithersoever Ajit Singh discharged his arrows, they were messengers of death. When his horse was killed under him he fought on foot, and inflicted great destruction on his opponents. He communicated his martial enthusiasm to his Sikh warriors, with the result that the hill armies began to retreat. Raja Kesari Chand, seeing this, addressed them severe reproaches, whereat they rallied and again began to ply their weapons. At the same time the enemy now clearly saw that they could not overpower the brave Sikhs, but must trust to time and the starving of the garrison for the success of their enterprise.

The siege lasted for about two months, with the usual incidents appertaining to that mode of warfare. The Sikhs at one time determined to remove the entrenchments of the enemy, and put them all to the sword without firing a shot. They accordingly made a night sortie in which several of the hill leaders were slain.

As the hill chiefs unsuccessfully prolonged the blockade, Raja Kesari Chand prepared to intoxicate an elephant and direct him against the city. Kesari Chand compared the defences of the city to paper

and sand, which would fall to the ground at the touch of the elephant's trunk. The Raja of Mandi again raised his voice in favour of peace and submission to superior force. Kesari Chand, however, swore that if he did not take the fort by evening, he was no true son of his parents. All the future punishments attaching to great crimes against the Hindu religion should be his, if he failed in his enterprise. He represented that in point of numbers the Sikhs were not even as salt in the porridge of the hillmen.

When the Guru heard of Kesari Chand's boasts he said that Duni Chand, who had brought the reinforcement of Manjha troops, was his elephant, in comparison with whom Kesari Chand's elephant was as an ant. Duni Chand, however, had no such confidence in his own strength and prowess, and counselled peace with the hill chiefs. He complained that the Guru was violent and quarrelsome, not mild and patient like his father. He therefore advised the Sikhs to fly from such a leader. None of the Guru's immediate followers would listen to such advice, but Duni Chand succeeded in persuading the troops he had brought with him to promise to desert to Dhir Mal in Kartarpur and adopt him as their guru. The plan of escape proposed was to descend by scaling-ladders. When Duni Chand was in the act of descending, his scaling-ladder gave way, and he fell heavily to the ground and broke his leg. This interfered with his design of going to Kartarpur to place himself and his troops under Dhir Mal's orders, and he consequently thought it advisable to return to his own home in Amritsar.

The next morning the Guru after his devotions observed that no soldier of Duni Chand's contingent was present. In reply to his inquiries, his Sikhs told him of the flight of Duni Chand and his followers during the night. The Guru calmly remarked, 'He

who hath run away through fear of death shall find death awaiting him at home.' The conduct of Duni Chand, notwithstanding his efforts to conceal it, became known in Amritsar. All the Sikhs of that city were thus enabled to avoid intercourse with him, and he became an object of social as well as religious detestation. One night as he rose from his bed he was bitten by a cobra, and died almost immediately. His grandsons with his leading soldiers afterwards went to the Guru to pray him to efface the stigma attached to the family—a prayer which the Guru graciously granted.

As proposed by Raja Kesari Chand, an elephant was intoxicated and prepared for the attack on Anandpur. All his body except the tip of his trunk was encased in steel. A strong spear projected from his forehead for the purpose of assault. Thus arrayed and prepared for offence and defence, he was directed towards the gate of the fort. After him came the hill rajas with their armies. They were overjoyed as they joined in the unwonted procession, and made certain that on that very evening the fort would fall into their possession. The Guru asked Vichitar Singh, one of his bravest and most powerful soldiers, to become his elephant, and he cheerfully consented. The Guru gave him a trusty lance and said that as Vichitar Singh was prepared to resist the mad elephant, so some Sikh should now go to cut off Kesari Chand's head. Ude Singh offered his services for the purpose, and received the Guru's blessing and a sword. On this he dashed into Kesari Chand's ranks like a tiger into a herd of deer.

Kesari Chand's elephant was specially directed against the fort of Lohgarh. On his way he killed some Sikhs, and so alarmed the sentries at the gate, that they deserted their posts and fled within the city for protection. Vichitar Singh found means of opening the gates and went forth to meet the furious

animal. He raised his lance and drove it through the elephant's head armour.[1] On this the animal turned round on the hill soldiers, and killed several of them with the offensive weapons attached to his trunk. Some he trod under foot and others he impaled on his tusks, so that he became a powerful ally of the Sikhs. The hillmen made great efforts to stop his career, but in vain.

Meanwhile Ude Singh continued to advance against Kesari Chand, challenged him, called him a great jackal, and asked why he was fleeing from his fate. Ude Singh vowed that he would take vengeance on him for all the Sikhs slain. Kesari Chand, infuriated at his taunts, discharged an arrow which lodged in Ude Singh's saddle-cloth. Ude Singh on this dashed forward sword in hand, and with one blow cut off Kesari Chand's head. Then poising the head on his spear, he rode into the fort to exhibit it as a tangible proof of his victory. Upon this the Sikhs rallied, and cut off all the foot soldiers of the hill army within reach. Muhakam Singh, one of the Guru's five beloved, shore off the mad elephant's trunk with one blow of his sword. The animal then hastened to the Satluj to bring his pains and his unsuccessful career to an end by self-destruction.

What remained alive of the hill army now took to flight pursued by the bravest of the Sikh warriors who slew them in numbers. In this retreat the Raja of Handur was severely wounded by the brave Sahib Singh, who thus added another to his long catalogue of triumphs.

On the morrow the hill army rallied owing to the

[1] In former times in India men were trained to contend and grapple even without weapons with elephants. In the *Mahābhārat* such a contest is described. The warrior Bhīma is represented as crouching under the body of Bhagadatta's elephant and causing the animal to whirl round and round by the deft application of his powerful arms.

encouragement given it by Ghumand Chand, the Raja of Kangra. He disdained to retreat, and called on Ajmer Chand to witness his prowess. He said that death and life were the ordinary concomitants of warfare, and bravely maintained that neither should be taken into consideration. Ajmer Chand said, 'Thou art the pilot to take us across the sea of mourning. We depend on thee to kill the Guru and thus put an end to these protracted and unsatisfactory operations.' The Raja of Mandi for the third time counselled peace. Meantime the homes of the hill rajas resounded with female lamentation for their husbands slain. Kesari Chand's ranis plucked out their hair for the loss of their brave spouse, and heaped reproaches on Ajmer Chand as responsible for all this sanguinary and unavailing warfare.

On the following day Ghumand Chand directed the efforts of his troops against the city, but the Sikhs behind their embrasures and defences were fully prepared to withstand them. The horse Ghumand Chand rode was killed by a bullet from the musket of Alim Singh. There was a sharp *mêlée* round Ghumand Chand when he fell, but his party succeeded in keeping the Sikhs at bay and rescuing their chief. The battle lasted with varying success until evening, when Ghumand Chand, as he was proceeding to his tent to take rest after the day's exertions, was mortally wounded by a chance bullet. All the hill chiefs now became disheartened and demoralized. Raja Ajmer Chand was the last to remain, but he too left Anandpur, and marched home in the dead of night.

Ajmer Chand, notwithstanding the disastrous defeat of the allied armies, determined to allow no repose to the Guru. As early as possible he dispatched an envoy to Wazir Khan,[1] the Emperor's viceroy in Sarhind, to complain that the Guru would not suffer

[1] This is, of course, not the old friend of the Guru.

His Majesty's unoffending subjects to abide in peace. He prayed the viceroy to assist the hill chiefs in destroying the Guru's power and expelling him from Anandpur. Another envoy was dispatched to the viceroy of Dihli to make a similar complaint. The two viceroys then made a joint representation to the Emperor against the Guru. It happened that at that time some wandering mimes visited the Emperor's camp. He ordered them to imitate the Sikhs, and they accordingly did so. Though their performance was obviously a travesty, the Emperor could very clearly gather from it the love the Sikhs bore one another in popular estimation; and he concluded that they had become a formidable power, which it would be expedient to crush. The viceroy of Dihli had enough to do to protect the capital during the Emperor's absence in the distant Dakhan, so orders were issued to the viceroy of Sarhind to proceed at once with his army to expel the Guru from Anandpur.

CHAPTER XVII

After the Guru's victory over the hill chiefs his disciples rapidly increased, and thousands of recruits were added to his army. To enhance his style and dignity he ordered that his body-guard should for the future be provided with arrows tipped with gold to the value of sixteen rupees each.

Bhai Ram Kaur, came to visit the Guru. The Guru's mother, it is said, had been expecting some holy man and was anxiously awaiting him. The Guru expressed the pleasure he felt to receive the representative of a family which ever since the days of Baba Nanak had been true and faithful to the Guru and the Sikh cause. The Guru baptized him and named him Gurbakhsh Singh. This man is principally remarkable for having, it is said, dictated

to a scribe called Sahib Singh the work entitled *Sau Sakhi*, some account of which has already been given.

One Joga Singh came from Peshawar to visit the Guru, and remained with him until the time for his marriage to a beautiful girl, when he departed to his own country. The Guru unwilling to lose his companionship, and wishing at the same time to make trial of his devotion, sent a letter to be delivered him in the midst of the marriage ceremony. It contained an order that whether Joga Singh was standing or sitting, sleeping or waking, he should on receiving it at once return to the Guru. The messenger presented the letter when only two of the marriage circumambulations had been completed. Joga Singh at once stopped the marriage ceremony, and forthwith proceeded to the Guru. On the way he plumed himself on his obedience, and thus committed the sin of pride. In further forgetfulness of the Guru's teaching, he on arriving at Hoshiarpur thought he would visit a courtesan to drown in her company his regret for the interruption of his marriage. Whenever he presented himself to the woman, a servant was found at her door to warn him away. Having waited until the early morning, he at last bethought him that he was violating the commands of the Guru, and he consequently determined to proceed on his journey. The Guru smiled on seeing him. When Joga Singh told the Sikhs the incidents of his journey, they knew that he had been saved from sin by the miraculous interposition of the Guru.

The Guru about this time heard that a large imperial army was on its way to attack Anandpur and assist the hill chiefs, so he deemed it expedient to advance to meet them on open ground. He accordingly went to Nirmoh, a village over a mile distant from Kiratpur.

Raja Ajmer Chand and the Raja of Kangra said that now was their time to seize the Guru. He

had no fort to protect him and no further means of withstanding them, and it was not necessary to await the arrival of the imperial army. Both sides were prepared for battle. The Guru and his troops took up a post on an eminence, and the hill chiefs also took up what seemed to them advantageous positions. A fierce combat ensued in which the Sikhs were ultimately victorious

One afternoon as the Guru sat in court the hill chiefs engaged a Muhammadan gunner to kill him for adequate remuneration. Ajmer Chand undertook in the event of the assassin's success, to give him Rs. 5000 and the proprietary rights of a village. The other rajas too promised proportionate rewards. The Muhammadan assured them that all preparations for his design would be ready by the morrow.

Next day, as the Guru sat in the same place, he was warned by a Sikh of the plot against his life, and advised to take precautions. The Guru replied, 'How long am I to remain in concealment? Whatsoever the Creator hath decided shall take place.' During this conversation a cannon ball from the enemy's camp took away the servant who was fanning him. The Guru took up his bow and arrow and shot the gunner while in the act of reloading. With a second arrow the Guru killed the Muhammadan gunner's brother who also was serving the gun. On seeing these two skilled artillerymen slain, the hillmen took to flight. The Muhammadans were buried on the spot called Siyah Tibbi or black hill, and a votive temple was erected by the Sikhs to commemorate the Guru's escape.

The army of Wazir Khan, the viceroy of Sarhind, in due time proceeded against the Guru. The Guru now found himself in a very dangerous position between the hill chiefs on the one hand, and the imperial army on the other. He resolved, however, to defend himself where he was, and his Sikhs resolved to stand faithfully and valiantly by him.

They discharged arrows with fatal effect on the imperial troops as they advanced, so that corpse rolled over corpse. Wazir Khan gave an order to his troops to make a sudden rush and seize the Guru. The Guru was ably and successfully protected by his faithful son Ajit Singh and his other brave warriors. They stayed the advance of the imperial troops, and cut them down in rows, as if they had lain down to sleep in their beds. The carnage continued until night rendered it no longer possible for the adversaries to see one another.

After a council of war held during the night the crafty hill chiefs represented to Wazir Khan that the cause of enmity between the Guru and themselves was that he had tried (to) forcibly convert them to his religion. They also stated that the Guru had offered to join them in making war on the Emperor, whom he proposed to kill, and whose empire he promised to transfer to them. Continuing their falsehoods, they further informed Wazir Khan that they had spurned all the Guru's offers on account of their loyalty to the Emperor.

Next day the imperial army and the contingents of the hill chiefs made such a furious assault on the Guru's forces that he felt obliged to give way. For him to return to Anandpur would have been injudicious under the circumstances, and would only lead to its destruction, so he decided on retiring to Basali whose raja had frequently invited him to his capital. Then marched in the van Ude Singh, Alim Singh, Daya Singh, and Muhakam Singh in command of two thousand men. They were accompanied by the Guru's son Ajit Singh. Sahib Singh marched next with one thousand of the bravest of the Sikhs. The Guru himself took command of the rear guard.

The Guru's departure was the signal for an attack by the imperial army and a general *mêlée* ensued in which dust obscured the sky. Cries of 'Kill him!' 'Seize him!' 'Allow not the Guru to

escape!' resounded. Wazir Khan bit his thumb, and said he had never before witnessed such desperate fighting. Though the Sikhs were escaping, they were destroying his army. He urged the hill chiefs to support him, but they were unable to render effectual help. Until the Guru's army reached the Satluj there was stubborn fighting, in which the brave Sahib Singh was slain. The Guru then told his men to make a firm stand, while his son Ajit Singh crossed over with the baggage. The Guru with his troops then crossed over taking with them Sahib Singh's body. The hill chiefs were overjoyed at being, as they thought, delivered from the Guru. They made presents of elephants to Wazir Khan and departed to their homes.

The Guru having succeeded in crossing the river proceeded to Basali, and took up his residence with its hospitable raja. Wazir Khan did not avail himself of his opportunity to pursue the Guru, but returned to his viceroyalty of Sarhind. After resting himself and his troops in Basali, the Guru amused himself with the chase as of yore. He occasionally crossed over to the left bank of the Satluj and made desultory attacks on Ajmer Chand's army.

One day during the chase the Guru was met by an envoy of the Raja of Bhabaur. The raja followed close behind, and pressed the Guru to pay a visit to his capital. The Guru, to the regret of the Raja of Basali, accepted the invitation. The Raja of Bhabaur had such faith in him, and was so favourably impressed with the general repute of the excellence of his religion, that he washed his feet, and performed for him all the duties of hospitality. The raja pressed him to remain with him for some time, a request with which the Guru complied.

A company of Sikhs who had sought to make offerings to the Guru represented to him that the Ranghars and Gujars of Kalmot had violently seized

what they had intended for him. They cried for justice in the name of the Guru, but the Ranghars and Gujars heeded not their adjurations. The Guru found it necessary to punish these turbulent tribes who had never allowed him peace. His troops disarmed them and captured and destroyed their fort.

The Sikhs having now enjoyed sufficient rest began to feel time drag slowly. Their trusted leaders Daya Singh and Ude Singh represented to the Guru that it was a disgrace to have evacuated Anandpur. The Guru was not long in determining to return and ordered the drum to be beaten for the march. The hill chiefs appear to have been unprepared for his return and offered no resistance. The inhabitants of the city were delighted on seeing the Guru again among them. Buildings were repaired and decorated, and offerings of every description were made to the great spiritual and temporal leader. It was one magnificent scene of rejoicing.

Raja Ajmer Chand, the Guru's most persistent enemy, finding him again firmly established in Anandpur, thought it expedient to sue for peace. Daya Singh recommended the Guru to return a favourable answer to Ajmer Chand's prayer. The Guru accordingly wrote to say he was willing to come to terms with Ajmer Chand, but would punish him if he were again guilty of treachery. Ajmer Chand was glad to have a promise of peace for a time even with the threat held out to him; and he sent his family priest with presents and congratulations to the Guru. The other hill chiefs on hearing of Ajmer Chand's reconciliation with the Guru followed his example, and sent him tangible indications of their good-will and friendly intentions.

Chapter XVIII

In a conversation regarding the fabulous bird called *anal* in Hindi and *huma* in Persian poetry, some one remarked that arrows winged with the bird's feathers would reach a prodigious distance. The Guru remarked that, as it was the peculiarity of the bird's feathers to carry arrows to its home in the sky, so the repetition of one of the Gurus' hymns would take the soul to heaven. 'He', continued the Guru, 'who speaketh truth, who serveth the congregation of saints, and who hath confidence in the Gurus' hymns is my Sikh, and shall for ever abide in bliss.'

Several Sikhs from the north of the Panjab came to visit the Guru and present their offerings. A Sikh residing in Rohtas in the present district of Jihlam[1] thought that the most suitable offering he could make the Guru was his daughter Sahib Devi. He accordingly took her to him in a palki. The Guru, in response to this offer, said he had relinquished family life. The girl's father on hearing this became much disappointed and distressed. He pointed out that he had long since dedicated her to the Guru, that in consequence every one called her mother, and now no one would wed her after her rejection. On the other hand, if she remained single, great sin would in the estimation of pious persons attach to her parents. He accordingly pressed the Guru to reconsider his decision.

The Guru then told him to ask her if she would consent to serve him. She replied in the affirmative. The Guru upon this baptized her, gave her the name Sahib Kaur, and consigned her to his mother's apartments. There she made a vow that she would

[1] Bhāi Sukha Singh makes this event occur when the Guru was on his way to the South of India. In that case the father of the girl might have come from Rohtās in Bihār.

not touch food until she had seen the Guru. The Guru could not allow her to die of hunger, and accordingly visited her. One day as she was shampooing him, he asked her if she had any request to make. She replied, that as her two co-wives had sons, so she also desired a son to call her own. The Guru replied, 'I will give thee a son who will abide for ever. I will put the whole Khalsa into thy lap.' The lady on hearing this was much pleased, and prostrated herself before her master. It is still not an uncommon thing for a Sikh to say, when asked regarding his parentage, that his father is Guru Gobind Singh, and his mother Sahib Kaur. Such a Sikh would also say that he was born in Patna, and resided in Anandpur. Indeed, Sikhs are enjoined to give these answers at the time of baptism.

One Jagga Singh performed most assiduous service for the Guru, and was consequently much envied by his fellow servants. Some said that several men had done similar service and gone away ungrateful, and Jagga Singh was not superior to any of his predecessors. Others again said that he being a new servant was no doubt diligent, but his zeal would soon evaporate. The Guru overhearing these remarks sent for a vessel of water, a stone, and some sweets. He put the stone and sweets into the water. After a short time he ordered them to be taken out. The stone of course came out whole, but the sweets had all dissolved. The Guru read his servants a moral lesson from what they had seen. He said that those who served him well and heartily, blended with him as the sweets had done with the water; while those who served him for show and appearance, had hearts like the stone which never dissolved. He then ordered that no one should for the future molest or speak evil of his faithful servant Jagga Singh.

Raja Ajmer Chand, though outwardly professing

peace, determined to again expel the Guru from Anandpur. He accordingly sent a Brahman as an ambassador, but really as a spy on the Guru's proceedings. The Brahman on being introduced to the Guru used very mild and plausible language. The Guru, however, soon discovered that he was a very dangerous person, in no way to be trusted, soft to the touch like a snake, but filled with concealed poison. The man duly set himself to the task of ferreting out the Guru's secrets. The Guru well understood his designs, but at the same time maintained a semblance of friendship towards him. The Brahman wrote to his master to describe the excellent and confidential relations that subsisted between him and the Guru, and at the same time suggested that some dexterous persons should be sent to steal the Guru's horses. The Brahman also kept his eye on the Guru's treasury with the object of ascertaining how much it contained, and how its contents could be abstracted. In due time Raja Ajmer Chand dispatched some of the most expert thieves he could find in his state, and they succeeded in depriving the Guru of two of his favourite chargers.

The Brahman suggested to the Guru to go to the approaching fair of Rawalsar near Mandi. The other chiefs would attend, and it would be a good opportunity of cementing friendly relations with them. At the same time, he told the Guru's Sikhs as an inducement that if they went there they should see stones swim. The Guru's mother, his wives, and his sons all pressed him to visit the fair. He yielded to the wish of the majority, and ordered all preparations to be made for his departure.

The Brahman informed all the hill chiefs of the Guru's intention to appear at the fair, and suggested that they should be present also. The Guru prepared a magnificent reception for them, and they were all charmed with his engaging manners. The rajas entreated him to forget and forgive their former

offences. They were assured in reply that the Guru would treat them as they deserved at his hands.

The Guru received the wives of the rajas in a separate tent. He gave them instruction suitable to their status and position, and they were entranced with the interview. The Guru noticing their admiration told the eldest among them that it was time for their departure. The ranis were, it is said, loth to move, but the eldest lady convinced them of the propriety of terminating their visit. One of them, Padmani, daughter of the Raja of Chamba, with her father's permission, sent the Guru a letter in the form of a riddle—'What is that which is complete? What is its three-fourths? What is duality? What is departure? What are the two houses for human beings? They ate some and took the rest to sleep with them. O Guru, riddle me this.' The Guru replied:—

A god's body is complete; a man's is only three-quarters thereof.

People run after wealth; men and women are but dust.

People wander in both worlds after eating and spending their wealth in this.

When the world is destroyed every one goeth to sleep; this is the answer to thy riddle, O child.

The princess was much pleased on receiving this answer, and with her father's permission went again to visit the Guru. When she made her obeisance before him he patted her on the shoulder with his bow. She said, 'I am thy worshipper; why hast thou not patted me with thy hand?' The Guru replied he never touched any woman except his own wives with his hand.

As the Guru was returning home from the fair, he was met by the Raja of Mandi who besought him to pay a visit to his capital The Guru readily accepted the invitation. During his stay the Guru

promised the raja that Mandi should for ever remain in his line.

While the Guru was occupied with the hill chiefs, the Brahmans were counteracting his religious efforts. Sikhs who before their conversion had been Brahmans and Khatris now came in fewer numbers to visit him. They did not wish that their sacrificial threads should be thrown away among the bushes, or that they should have to part with their loin-clothes[1]. It was in vain the Guru told them that Sikhs should spring from every bush on which their sacrificial threads had been thrown. He said that they who had no faith in him might or might not come as they chose. The paltry fellows who wore threads the Guru thought of no use to him. His Sikhs should become very powerful, if they freed themselves from Brahmanical prejudices and influences, and adopted the Sikh ritual when there were births, marriages, or deaths in their families.

The Guru upon this prepared a general feast both for Sikhs and Brahmans, but the latter refused to attend, and reproached him with having taken away the distinguishing marks of the Hindus. When the Sikhs were feasting he said that as the Brahmans had forsaken him, so he would forsake them, and break off all relations with them. To some of his own people who manifested symptoms of dissatisfaction, he said that if they remained on good terms with the Khalsa, they should always be happy; otherwise sorrow should be their portion. He had given everything to the Khalsa—spiritual and temporal power, enterprise, glory, self-devotion, skill in arms, and by these should they acquire empire. His speech was heard by his first wife, and when he went to his private apartments she inquired what he had left his family. He replied that he

[1] For the *dhoti* or insecurely fastened loin-cloth worn by the Hindus the Guru substituted the short drawers called *kachh*.

had given to her children the stable empire of heaven.

His Sikhs were one day discussing idolatry. The Guru when asked to give his opinion said, 'All worship is valueless without love. The worship of images is unreal: the worship of God alone is real. Nothing can be obtained by image-worship They who place images before them and worship them are fools. Let my Sikhs ever meditate on the Immortal God and worship none besides. Let them ever practise arms, that they may be enabled to defend themselves against their enemies.'

On another occasion the Guru gave the following reply to questions put him by his Sikhs :—

He who ever thinketh of the future is accepted as the Guru's disciple.

Famine is bad, and bad is cold; bad is the love of a courtesan;

Bad are debt and falsehood; utter the truth, my friends.

The Guru further advised his Sikhs not to employ an enemy as a doctor, not to listen to astrologers, to avoid greed, and to consider wealth unreal as a dream. Winding up his discourse he said, 'Let my Sikhs eschew evil, adopt what is good, and have confidence in me.'

Bishambhar of Ujjain had once fallen under the influence of the Guru's teaching and made him an offering of one hundred rupees. He now sent his son, a Vaishnav called Har Gopal, with an offering of five times that amount. The son on seeing the Guru eat meat became disgusted. The Guru said in his presence, that all relishes were pleasing to the mind. A Sikh replied that a relish was only pleasing to the tongue. Others also gave their opinions, and when it came to Har Gopal's turn, he said that the real relish was faith in Sikhism. The Guru knowing that he was not uttering his real sentiments, said, 'Thou enjoyest no such relish, for thou hast no

faith in the Sikh religion.' When the Guru addressed him further reproaches, he fell at his feet and implored his pardon. He then laid his father's present of five hundred rupees before the Guru. The Guru in return gave him a steel bracelet[1] to wear, and promised that the love of God should abide in his family.

Har Gopal, not at all satisfied or convinced by the Guru's teaching or example, took his departure. On his way home he stopped at Chamkaur where he met an earnest Sikh named Dhyan Singh. He confided to him how he had wasted five hundred rupees in making a present to a Guru who ate meat. Dhyan Singh said he would restore him the money, if he in return gave him the steel bracelet and the love of God bestowed on him by the Guru. Har Gopal was delighted on receiving such an offer, and took the money in exchange for what he believed to be the worthless gifts of the Guru. He traded with the money and made a large profit. When he reached home he told his father Bishambhar all the events of the journey. Bishambhar was much distressed at his want of faith in the Guru, and remonstrated with him. Har Gopal continued his pecuniary speculations, and in the end lost all his money. He was then satisfied that this was the result of his want of faith in the Guru, and he prayed his father to take him again to the spiritual and temporal head of the Sikhs. The father was pleased to do so, and set out with his wife and all his family. On the way the party called on Dhyan Singh at Chamkaur and induced him to accompany them on their journey.

Bishambhar on reaching the Guru begged forgiveness for his unworthy son. The Guru baptized

[1] In the time of the Guru men who could afford the expense, wore gold and silver ornaments. The Guru desired to wean his followers from the practice, and counselled them to depend on steel both for ornaments and defensive weapons.

them all, and thus addressed Har Gopal—'Thou oughtest to have had confidence in my words. He who believeth that the ten Gurus are all the same is a Sikh of mine. Look on the hymns of the Granth as the embodiment of the true Guru. Put faith in the Guru, and becoming a Sikh perform thy worldly duties. With humble words induct others into the faith, and give thy daughter to a Sikh. Let him who is a Sikh according to the old rites, marry his daughter to him who is a Sikh according to the new rites. If a Sikh cannot find a husband according to the new rites for his daughter, then let him give her to him who is a Sikh according to the old rites, but willing to receive Sikh baptism. Let a Sikh receive instruction from another Sikh, and not consider whether he is of high or low degree. Look on him as a good Sikh who thinketh not of caste or lineage. Let a Sikh be honest in his dealings, and pray for him who affordeth him maintenance. Whoever of the rank of Sikh committeth treachery shall find no place of rest.

'Love the Name; repeat it in thine innermost heart; teach the Name. In the Name is happiness; the Name is a generous companion. He who liveth for his religion, who eateth only to support his body, who walketh in the Guru's way, and who is not enamoured of the world, is my friend. As when a traveller goeth to a foreign land and is ever hoping for the end of his journey, so should man hope for his soul's final repose by doing good works and remaining estranged from the world. Listen to me, my friend, and be ever ready to leave this life. Thou and I shall depart. This is not a new ordinance.'

After this the father and son proceeded rejoicing to their home. In the course of a short time their wealth increased, and Har Gopal recovered all that he had lost. Dhyan Singh told the Guru that, as he was ploughing in his field on the day after he

had received the bracelet and God's love from Har Gopal, his plough exposed a buried treasure of great value. The Guru congratulated him and called him a devout Sikh who would always possess God's love and favour.

One day Mata Jito, the Guru's wife, appeared before him and said, 'Thou bestowest on thy Sikhs deliverance, union with God, and worldly blessings. Let me also be a partaker of thy gifts.' The Guru told her to continually repeat Wahguru with fixed attention, and she should obtain what her heart desired. After some time she acquired by her devotion a knowledge of the future, and went to the Guru in great tribulation. She said, 'Mercifully save thy children, for I foresee thou art going to make them martyrs to thy cause.' The Guru replied, 'Is it to reverse God's decree thou didst receive instruction from me? I intended that thou shouldst abandon worldly love, but it hath increased all the more. I have already granted thy sons high rank in God's court. Wherefore anticipate not their fate.' Jito, understanding that the Guru did not intend to save the lives of his children, said she was going to abandon her body for she could not bear to behold their death. The Guru replied, 'It is well; thou mayest go; thy children shall follow thee. Death is the law of all bodies. Some may perish four days before and some four days after; but all must sooner or later pay the debt they owe.' Upon this, it is said, Jito permanently suspended her breath, and her soul took flight to heaven.

One day the conversation turned on an expression used by Guru Har Rai, that the vessel which Baba Nanak had constructed for the salvation of the world had almost foundered. Guru Gobind Singh vowed that he would repair it for the deliverance of his Sikhs. On that occasion he gave the following instruction to his assembled Sikhs—'I have established the Khalsa for the advancement

of true religion. Let not my Sikhs live on religious offerings. He who bound by greed obeyeth me not in this, shall be born again as a hog. Religious offerings have the same dissolving effect on men's minds as borax on gold.' He then quoted the following lines from Gur Das :—

As it is the custom of Hindus to abstain from the flesh of kine,
As swine and interest are solemnly forbidden the Muhammadans,
As it is sinful for a father-in-law to drink even water in his son-in-law's house,
As even a sweeper though hungry will not eat hare's flesh,[1]
As a fly gaineth no advantage but dieth in the clasp of honey,
So is greed for sacred offerings which are like poison coated with sugar.[2]

'Let those who are baptized according to my rites bear arms and live according to their means. Let them remain true to their sovereign in the battle-field, and not turn their backs to the foe. Let them face and repel their enemies, and they shall obtain both glory in this world and the heroes' heaven in the next. He who fleeth from the battle-field shall be dishonoured in this world, and when he dieth shall be punished for his cowardice, and nowhere shall he obtain a state of happiness. Let the members of the Khalsa associate with one another and love one another irrespective of tribe or caste. Let them hearken to the Guru's instruction, and let their minds be thoroughly imbued with it.'

[1] The Shiāh Muhammadans will not eat hare. In the Qurān blood is forbidden as food, and it is believed by Shiāhs that blood does not separate by any process from hare's flesh. Lāl Beg, the sweepers' Pīr, was a Shiāh Muhammadan, so they adopt his prejudice in this matter.

[2] Wār XXXV, 12.

It is said that, as the Guru was one day hunting, he came on a field of tobacco. He reined in his horse and gave expression to his hatred of the plant. He maintained that it burned the chest, induced nervousness, palpitation, bronchitis, and other diseases, and finally caused death. He therefore counselled his Sikhs to abstain from the destructive drug, and thus concluded his discourse—'Wine is bad, bhang destroyeth one generation, but tobacco destroyeth all generations.'

The custom of sale and barter of horses and other animals at religious fairs prevailed even in the time of the Guru. He went to a fair held in Kurkhetar on the occasion of a solar eclipse in order to purchase horses to replace those which had been stolen or killed in the previous warfare. Among other admirers Madan Nath, a superior of Jogis, waited on him. On seeing the Guru he remarked that he had the external appearance of a lion, but that he was inwardly a saint. The Guru explained that his external appearance had been assumed with the object of inspiring terror into the Turks, who had inflicted great misery and hardship on his country.

CHAPTER XIX

Two Muhammadan generals, Saiyad Beg[1] and Alif Khan, were on their way from Lahore to Dihli. They were each in command of five thousand men. Raja Ajmer Chand having heard of them thought he would try to secure their assistance to attack the Guru. The generals on receiving a promise of one thousand rupees a day promised Ajmer Chand their assistance. Saiyad Beg, however, on subsequently hearing favourable accounts of the Guru

[1] The word Saiyid (سيّد) is different from *saiyād* (صيّاد), which literally means a hunter, and forms the first part of the name of the general above mentioned.

and his Sikhs, changed his determination and withdrew from the Muhammadan army. The battle which ensued began with great fury between the Guru's and Alif Khan's troops. At a critical moment Saiyad Beg approached the Sikhs, and said that as they believed in the Guru, so did he, and he would therefore fight on their side. Alif Khan, on seeing that Saiyad Beg had joined the Sikhs, concluded that he had no chance of victory, and retired from the contest. He was hotly pursued by the Sikhs and Saiyad Beg. On the return of the latter from the pursuit, he alighted from his horse and went to offer his obeisance to the Guru. Having broken with the Emperor, whose servant he had been, he threw in his lot with the Sikhs, gave them all his wealth to assist them in their struggles with the Muhammadans, and remained with the Guru as a trusty and powerful ally.

A Brahman appeared one day in the Guru's court, and with a loud voice invoked his assistance against some Pathans who had forcibly abducted his bride at Bassi near Hoshiarpur. The Guru directed his son Ajit Singh to go with one hundred horse, fall suddenly on the Pathans at night, and restore the Brahman his bride. The expedition was carefully planned and courageously executed. In the early morning Ajit Singh produced before the Guru the Brahman's bride and the offending Pathans. The latter received condign punishment.

Raja Ajmer Chand again summoned his allies with the object of chastising the Guru. There came to him Raja Bhup Chand, Raja Wazir Singh, and Raja Dev Saran. Raja Ajmer Chand made a speech in which he warned his brother chiefs of the fate in store for them from the Guru, and advised them to join him in another expedition to crush him. They all expressed themselves in favour of immediate measures, and addressed the Guru a joint letter to the effect that they had lived peace-

ably for some time, but found he would not cease his aggression, and they were therefore obliged to declare war against him. The Guru briefly replied—'My Sikhs have only come into collision with those who wantonly annoyed them. The Khalsa are ever awaiting battle. To fight and die is the duty of the brave. Come and see the power of the Khalsa.'

The hill chiefs on receiving this reply took the field without delay. It is said that they marched against Anandpur with ten thousand men. Saiyad Beg had not been able to induce his large force to remain with him, so the Guru's available force at this time did not exceed eight hundred men. In the former battles of Anandpur the Sikhs appear to have remained behind their battlements and embrasures. On this occasion different tactics were adopted. They met the enemy in the open field outside Anandpur. The Sikhs fought with their usual courage and determination. Raja Ajmer Chand, on witnessing their prowess and the carnage they caused, retired from the battle in despair. The other hill chiefs continued the fight, but put themselves in the rear of their troops. Alim Singh and Ude Singh displayed their usual valour on behalf of the Guru. They wished to charge the hill hosts, but the Guru restrained them, and ordered them to use their muskets and arrows from where they stood. They obeyed the Guru, and plied their offensive weapons with signal success. The hill troops on seeing their own van stricken down retreated.

The Guru surveyed the battle from a distance. He was delighted as he saw the enemy fleeing in every direction. The Sikhs now flushed with victory forgot his orders and pursued the retreating hill troops. The Guru was displeased at the temerity of his men, and mounting his horse rode back to Anandpur. The Sikh force, on finding the Guru had left them, lost heart, retreated, and were in

turn pursued by the enemy. On their return to Anandpur they tried to obtain the Guru's forgiveness, but he refused to speak to them. At last, yielding to the entreaties of Naurang Singh, one of his foremost warriors, he resolved to receive and pardon them. He said the Guru was the Khalsa and the Khalsa the Guru, and the old friendly and affectionate relations were renewed. He then ordered his troops to return to the field and oppose the enemy. He took up his own bow and effected the usual destruction in the hostile ranks. This was the signal for the Sikhs to second his efforts and fall on the hill army like tigers on deer. Then ensued fearful carnage, upon which the hill troops again took to flight. Their leaders tried to restrain them, but in vain. The battle was at an end, and both sides departed to their homes.

Raja Ajmer Chand, however, was not satisfied. He proposed to his brother chiefs that they should again make war on the Guru, this time with the assistance of the imperial troops. They accordingly sent an envoy to Aurangzeb, and prayed him to protect them against Guru Gobind Singh. They represented that they were ancient subjects of His Majesty, and would give him large tribute as the price of his assistance and protection.

Meantime there were great rejoicings in the Guru's camp, and the wounded were carefully attended to. Bir Singh, Madan Singh, a Rajput chief, and Sham Singh visited the Guru. Sham Singh pointed out to him that the Muhammadans and Hindus were very numerous, and how could the Sikhs who were so few contend against them, much less hope to obtain empire? The Guru replied, 'What God willeth shall take place. When the army of the Turks 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, virtue, 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 shall 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 Sikhs shall be very powerful as long as they rule with united councils. The empire of the English shall vastly increase, and they shall in every way attain prosperity. Wherever they take their armies they shall conquer, and bestow thrones on those who assist them. Then in every house shall be wealth, in every house happiness, in every house rejoicing, in every house religion, in every house learning, and in every house a woman.[1] The English shall rule for a long time.'[2] At the conclusion of the Guru's apocalypse the Sikhs respectfully bowed.

The Guru was asked to describe the state of the baptized Sikhs, whereupon he gave Alim Singh as an example. 'He was', the Guru said, 'originally a Brahman, but on adopting the religion of arms he now shineth like Indar. He ever worshippeth the Sword. He never accepteth gifts or invitations to feasts. I took away his sacrificial thread because if he retained it, he would still be a Brahman, and subject to Brahmanical superstitions.'

The Guru continued to instruct his Sikhs—'He who weareth long hair without receiving baptism is a hypocritical and foolish Sikh. I will not show myself to him. It is best to adopt one religion and not distract one's mind with others. They who call themselves my Sikhs and stray to other creeds are

[1] Under Muhammadan rule the Muhammadans used often to deprive the Hindus of their wives and daughters. In many cases, too, the subjects were too poor to purchase wives for themselves. The Guru possibly also meant that his Sikhs should embrace domestic lives, and cease to demean themselves by religious mendicancy.

[2] *Sūraj Parkāsh*, Rut V, Chapter 36.

sinners. Let no Sikh associate with, much less offer presents to, those who worship Sarwar, Gugga,[1] and similar pirs, or with the misguided men who by order of their wives visit male and female Brahmans to have their fortunes told. He who giveth alms to Brahmans, who slandereth the Guru and his Sikhs, shall lay up for himself suffering. Put away from among you the hypocritical Brahman who, though he receive my baptism, removeth his hair in the fashion of the Hindus.

'Let not any Sikh of mine worship Hindu or Muhammadan cemeteries and places of cremation, or give alms to one who weareth a religious garb for ostentation. I have forsworn such a person, if any there be, and let him who stupidly worshippeth false gods forswear me. He who feedeth the traveller, who giveth alms on the occasion of the Gurus' anniversaries, and who hath faith in the Guru shall hereafter go to the Gurus' abode. Let not my Sikhs look at Brahmans who reside at places of pilgrimage, or at those who don religious garbs and strut foppishly. Let my Sikhs abide apart, and be ever full of thoughts of God.

'He who giveth his daughter in marriage to a Sikh and taketh no money for her, is a Sikh of mine, and shall after his death reach mine abode. Let Sikh men and women sit together and hold divine discourse. Let them worship God themselves, and teach their children to do so. My Sikhs may receive a voluntary offering for reading the Granth, or for copying it, but must not demand remuneration. Let the Sikh priest who receiveth an offering of money feed the poor before he feedeth himself. Let not my Sikhs be covetous. They who disobey this order shall receive punishment from God. I love

[1] Gugga is the name of a saint who is supposed to have become a serpent and vanished beneath the earth. In the Panjāb he is worshipped by Hindus of the lower classes on the ninth day of Bhādon.

neither religious garbs nor castes. Men's observance of the Sikh tenets is dear to me, but still dearer is their observance with sincerity. Let my Sikh love not the world, but pass his time as if he were to die to-day or to-morrow. Let him be ever true to his sovereign. Let him cherish his neighbour, and seek after righteousness. Let him eat and worship at fixed times. Let him shake off sloth and sing the Gurus' hymns. Hear me, O Sikhs, practise not selfishness. Assist men whether of high or low degree, but contract not friendship with the evil. False is he who maketh promises without intention of fulfilment.

'Let him who calleth himself a true Sikh of mine, accept baptism and do good acts, so shall his previous sins all depart on his seeking the Guru's protection. Let him renounce the service of demons and sprites, and not worship stones or false gods. The hypocrites who stop their noses under pretence of meditation and count their beads are very impure. Why do the fools into whose hearts God's love entereth not, wander to places of pilgrimage?'

On another occasion his Sikhs requested the Guru to give them further instruction that would aid them in their temporal affairs and ensure their deliverance from transmigration. At that moment the Guru was engaged in other affairs, and he delegated Daya Singh to deliver the necessary instruction. Daya Singh thus spoke, 'Act as follows and you shall be happy—Clothe and feed the Sikhs as far as your means allow, shampoo them, and bathe them, wash their clothes, fan them when they perspire, wipe their shoes, wash their feet, scour the dishes from which they have eaten, draw them cool water from the well, and cook their food with the utmost attention and cleanliness. Let them perform night and day these and other similar offices for the Sikhs, commit to memory the Gurus' hymns, and repeat the True Name.

'On seeing any person involved in trouble take compassion on him, and remove his sufferings to the best of your ability. The exercise of mercy and compassion is very meritorious. He who practiseth these virtues becometh the greatest of the great, and the primal supreme Being will be merciful unto him.

'Speak the truth. This bringeth great comfort. Renounce falsehood which bringeth great misery in its train. On seeing another's happiness be not envious thereof; why attach sin to yourselves for no sufficient reason? In the first place, your jealousy will cause you annoyance, and you shall gain nothing therefrom; and, in the second place, God will be angry with you and say, "It is I who gave, and yet this man is burning with envy." There are also other evils attendant on this passion.

'Abandon covetousness, practise contentment, covet not another's wife, another's wealth, or another's children. If you do, you shall assuredly suffer. My friends, practise not oppression on those whom you know to be weaker than yourselves. Be not proud of the possession of learning, beauty, great intellect, untold wealth, or similar fleeting advantages. Above all deem the bountiful Creator One alone.

'If he who doeth good acts practise pride, they shall be as futile as the bathing of an elephant. Indulge not in praise of yourselves or dispraise of others. If you do, it will be a great sin. If ever you make a gift, boast not of it, but rather strive to conceal it. Speak civilly and satisfy everybody. Use not harsh language and annoy no one. Obtain wealth by honest means and share your meals with strangers.

'Wear not dirty clothes, so shall your bodies be ever clean. Associate not with thieves, adulterers, highway robbers, gamblers, ingrates, thags, deceivers, or men of bad livelihood. Remember the sinner is worse than the sin, for he is the cause thereof.

When you see an evil man, avoid him at once like red-hot iron which cannot be held in the hand. Associate with the good, for in such association vice is put to shame. Listen to the history of the lives of the Gurus. Afterwards where there is discourse of God, listen to it with rapt attention.

'Bathe in holy Amritsar. Behold God's temple where the Gurus' words are ever repeated. Sit down therein respectfully, and allow your minds to think of nothing but God. Ever look with devotion on where His light is resplendent, whether you go there on the occasion of the Gurus' anniversaries, or visit the place every six months, or once a year if you live at a distance. If he who deemeth himself a Sikh behold not Amritsar, why did he take birth in the world? Unprofitable was his advent, and he shall afterwards regret his negligence.'

The Guru kept fifty-two bards permanently in his employ and others occasionally visited him. They wrote on all the nine subjects which in the opinion of Orientals are suitable themes for poetry;[1] but the composition of eulogies on the Guru occupied most of their attention. The Guru once had the curiosity to weigh their compositions. They amounted to about two and a half hundredweight. The Guru included them in a compilation which he called *Vidyadhar*. He so valued the book that he ever kept it by him—even when he went into battle—but it was lost in one of his engagements. Some of the bards' compositions are preserved in the *Suraj Parkash*, where they may be perused by the curious

[1] The nine subjects are love, mirth, pity, anger, heroism, terror, hate, wonder, and contentment.

Chapter XX

Owing to the repeated representations of the hill chiefs, the Emperor sent a large army under Saiyad Khan to reduce the Guru to submission. The Guru received intelligence that the imperial army had arrived in Thanesar, and would soon reach Anandpur. On hearing this he mustered his troops, and found they were only five hundred strong. The rest of his army had dispersed to their homes. Nothing now remained for the Guru but to make the best defence he could with his present force. In a few days Saiyad Khan's troops appeared in sight singing a war hymn to stimulate their spirits.

Maimun Khan, a faithful Musalman who had attached himself to the Guru, said that he was indebted to him for many favours, and asked permission to show his prowess. The Guru gave him a bow, and told him he would do well to kill even his own co-religionists on account of their misdeeds. The brave and faithful Saiyad Beg also came forward to continue his services to the Guru, Both Musalmans went like tigers into the battle, and were followed by the Sikhs. The latter represented to the Guru that it was futile to contend with such a large army as had now appeared. The Guru in reply encouraged them, and they advanced boldly against the enemy. The early part of the battle was signalized by a fierce single-handed combat between a hill chief and Saiyad Beg. After they had repeatedly missed each other, Saiyad Beg at last struck off the hill chief's head. On seeing this Din Beg of the imperial army rushed at Saiyad Beg, for whom he cherished a double hatred as the slayer of the hill chief, and as a deserter from his sovereign, and mortally wounded him. Saiyad Beg died praising the Guru. Then ensued a general engagement of both armies. The Sikhs performed pro-

digies of valour, and the Musalmans are said to have fallen to the earth like minarets toppling from their heights. Maimun Khan charged on horseback in every direction and committed great havoc among the imperial troops.

An unexpected circumstance now occurred. Saiyad Khan, the general of the imperial troops, had long been a secret friend of the Guru, and when he heard that an expedition was to be sent against him, contrived to be put in command of it, so that he might at last be able to behold the great priest of the Sikhs, and do him signal service. The Guru knew what was passing in Saiyad Khan's mind, and advanced ostensibly to challenge him, saying, 'If thou attack me not, I will not attack thee.' Saiyad Khan on obtaining the wish of his heart to behold the Guru, said that he was the Guru's servant and slave, and that he would never fight against him. The Guru replied, 'I am a poor man. It is only rich men who have slaves. To conquer in war is ever held honourable.'

Saiyad Khan dismounted and fell at the Guru's feet. The Guru conferred on him the true Name and the supreme reward of salvation. Saiyad Khan, however, did not actively assist the Sikhs, but turned aside from the battle as he was unable to restrain his troops or divert their energies to the Guru's assistance. They made a fierce onslaught on the Guru's soldiers, who began to retire, overpowered as they were by a multitudinous host. But at a critical moment the Sikh war-cry was raised, upon which the Sikhs rallied and presented a bold front to the enemy. After Saiyad Khan's defection from the imperial cause, Ramzan Khan took command and fought with great bravery against the Sikhs. The Guru seeing this let fly an arrow at him which killed his horse.

The Guru on closely observing the combat saw that there was no chance of retrieving his position,

so he decided to evacuate Anandpur. The Muhammadans then captured the city and plundered the Guru's property. On obtaining this booty they proceeded in the direction of Sarhind. Some Sikhs not yet satisfied with warfare asked the Guru's permission to pursue them. The Guru replied that as his Sikhs were subservient to him, so was he subservient to God. He repeated on the occasion the third slok of the Asa ki War. By this he meant that it was God's will that he should be defeated, and as all creation feared God, so did he himself at all times.

The Sikhs feeling their defeat, again pressed their request. The Guru at last yielded, and allowed them to pursue their enemies. The latter were unprepared for attack, and fell into great confusion on finding themselves pursued by the very men whom they already thought they had vanquished. The Turks who turned to oppose the Sikhs were killed, and only those who took to flight escaped the vengeance of the Guru's pursuing army. In addition to killing and dispersing the Muhammadans, the Sikhs deprived them of all the booty they had captured at Anandpur. The remnant of the Muhammadan army finally made their way to Sarhind. On this the Guru returned and took possession of Anandpur.

The Emperor called on his fugitive troops to account for their cowardice. They pleaded that they had been waylaid by the Sikhs and taken at an unfair advantage. This excuse seems to have been accepted, for the Emperor then turned the conversation in another direction, and asked what sort of person the Guru was, and what forces he possessed. A Muhammadan soldier gave highly coloured accounts of the Guru's beauty, sanctity, and prowess. He was, he said, a young handsome man, a living saint, the father of his people, and in *war equal to one hundred thousand men.*

The Emperor was much displeased on hearing this panegyric of the Guru, and ordered that the panegyrist should be excommunicated. The Court qazi advised that the Guru should be brought to the Emperor's presence by some stratagem. Accordingly the Emperor sent him the following message. 'There is only one Emperor. Thy religion and mine are the same. Come to see me by all means, otherwise I shall be angry and go to thee. If thou come, thou shalt be treated as holy men are treated by monarchs. I have obtained this sovereignty from God. Be well advised, and thwart not my wishes.'

To this the Guru replied, 'My brother, the Sovereign who hath made thee emperor hath sent me into the world to do justice. He hath commissioned thee also to do justice, but thou hast forgotten His mandate and practisest hypocrisy. Wherefore how can I be on good terms with thee who pursuest the Hindus with blind hatred? Thou recognizest not that the people belong to God and not to the emperor, and yet thou seekest to destroy their religion.' When dispatching this reply to the emperor the Guru conferred a robe of honour on his envoy.

The Sikhs of the Malwa and Manjha districts now thronged to the Guru in great numbers, and began to study the science of war under his tutelage. Raja Ajmer Chand was distressed on seeing the power and glory of the Sikhs daily increase, and prevailed on the other hill chiefs to join him in another mission to the Emperor to make further complaints against the Guru. The Emperor was at that time in the south of India, and thither the raja proceeded in person to lay the petition of the allied chiefs before him. It described the foundation of Anandpur by Guru Teg Bahadur, whom the Emperor had executed, and the martial and troublesome proclivities of his son the present Guru Gobind Singh. It then proceeded to give the rajas' own *version of the Guru's proceedings, and how he had*

asked them to embrace his new religion and join them in waging war against the Emperor.

Aurangzeb fearing that the Guru would become too powerful, and also displeased at the state of unrest that prevailed in the Panjab, ordered all available troops under the viceroys of Dihli, Sarhind, and Lahore to be dispatched against the Guru. The hill chiefs who complained should also assist in repressing the common enemy. At the conclusion of the campaign the Guru was to be captured and brought before the Emperor. It would appear from an interview which Raja Ajmer Chand subsequently had with the Dihli viceroy, that the latter, in view of the safety of the capital of the empire, was not at the time in a position to dispatch any troops against the Sikhs.

The Guru was informed by a faithful Sikh of the result of Raja Ajmer Chand's mission to the Emperor. He harangued his troops on the duty of religious warfare against the Muhammadans, and on this subject he had much to say. From the time of the persecution of Guru Arjan up to the present the emperors had been open or covert foes of the Gurus and their Sikhs. The Guru affirmed that death on the battle-field was equal to the fruit of many years' devotion, and ensured honour and glory in the next world.

The time for the Diwali fair was now approaching. Sikhs came in large numbers to make offerings. The Guru issued orders to absent Sikhs to come with their arms and assist him. The Guru's orders were generally obeyed, and warlike preparations began at Anandpur.

The hill chiefs who arrayed themselves against the Guru were Ajmer Chand of Bilaspur, Ghumand Chand of Kangra, Bir Singh of Jaspal, and the Rajas of Kullu, Kionthal, Mandi, Jammu, Nurpur, Chamba, Guler, Srinagar, Bijharwal, Darauli, and Dadhwal. They were joined by the Ranghars and the Gujars,

and all formed a large and formidable host. The imperial army, however, amounted to double their number. Wazir Khan, who had been put in supreme command by the Emperor, mustered his troops at Sarhind for parade and inspection.

Some faithful Sikhs ever kept the Guru informed of the movements of his enemies. He read in darbar the last letter of information he had received, and vowed to destroy his enemies and put an end to the sovereignty of the Mughals. The Sikhs were delighted at the prospect of battle, and congratulated themselves on their good fortune in being allowed to die for their Guru and their faith. Several of them put on saffron-coloured clothes in token of rejoicing, and said, 'We have only four days to live in this world. Why should we not endeavour to obtain the exalted dignity of martyrdom which will ensure salvation?'

Every variety of warlike weapon was served out to the Guru's followers, and no one was left unarmed. The Guru took the precaution of laying in supplies for the maintenance of the garrison in the event of a siege. He addressed his troops, 'Consider the hill chiefs as well as the Muhammadans your enemies. Fight bravely, and they shall all flee away.' The Guru then repeated the following quatrain of his own composition :—

Blest is his life in this world who repeateth God's name with his mouth and meditateth war in his heart.

The body is fleeting and shall not abide for ever; man embarking in the ship of fame shall cross the ocean of the world.

Make this body a house of resignation; light thine understanding as a lamp;

Take the broom of divine knowledge into thy hand, and sweep away the filth of timidity.

The chronicler judiciously remarks that the Khalsa ought to be congratulated because, though few in

number, they had confidence in themselves to fight for their religion, and delighted by anticipation in the approaching conflict.

CHAPTER XXI

Wazir Khan's troops advanced from Sarhind like a surging sea. Drums sounded and banners flew at the head of every regiment. In similar formidable array came the troops of Zabardast Khan, the viceroy of Lahore. The two viceroys joined their forces at Ropar. There they were met by the troops of the allied Hindu rajas, and all proceeded against the Guru to Anandpur.

The Guru on seeing the enemy approach in a body ordered his artillerymen to light their fuses and discharge their cannon into the hostile army where thickest. When fire was opened, the enemy made a charge to seize the artillery, but were quickly restrained by the fatal accuracy with which the Guru's men served their guns. Meanwhile the Sikh cavalry advanced and discharged their muskets at close quarters. They were well supported by the infantry who manned the embrasures. The allied army had no protection, and consequently fell in heaps before the city.

The battle continued with terrific violence. The sun was obscured by the smoke from the Guru's garrison guns. Heroes were all stained with blood, and cries of 'Strike, strike!' 'Kill, kill!' everywhere resounded. Riders lost control over their horses, which fled in every direction, and the battlefield presented a truly ghastly spectacle.

The Guru sent for his two brave generals, Ude Singh and Daya Singh, encouraged them, and gave them renewed orders. The two chiefs courageously advanced with their troops and cut down the enemy as reapers a cornfield. Dust flew into the eyes

of their opponents, and rendered them powerless for action. They had no power to withstand the forces now ranged on the Guru's side, and consequently fell in large numbers.

The two viceroys were astonished at the unwonted destruction of their armies. They rallied their men, but again the same evil fate attended them. At last it was resolved to storm the fortress. The Muhammadan troops were told that the Guru was only a faqir, that he had no power to offer long resistance, and must soon capitulate. The carnage began anew. Many brave Muhammadans were dispatched to wed the soul-delighting nymphs of paradise. The contest continued with the greatest obstinacy, and horse and foot for the space of three hours were mingled in indiscriminate slaughter.

The Muhammadans hazarded different opinions as to the cause of the success of their enemies. Some said that the Guru was a miracle-worker, and that supernatural forces fought on his side. Others maintained that the Guru's success was owing to the fact that his men were protected behind their ramparts. While such conversation was being held, the viceroys asked the hill chiefs to show them how they were to obtain victory. If the same ill success attended them to the end, the Sikhs would never allow them to escape.

The hill chiefs suggested that they should then cease fighting, and next day bring cannon to batter down the fort. 'It is true,' the hill chiefs said, 'the Guru's army is a low rabble, but very brave.' On a muster being taken, it was found that nine hundred of the Muhammadan troops lay dead on the field of battle after the first day's engagement.

Next day the Guru mounted his charger, and put himself at the head of his troops. The viceroys observed a warrior mounted on a sable steed with a gold embroidered saddle. He carried a bow painted green, and his crest set with jewels glittered

on his turban. They inquired of Raja Ajmer Chand who it was, and he answered that it was the Guru. Every effort was now made to destroy him, but the first fire of the enemy was aimed too high and took no effect. The Muhammadan gunners were then ordered to fire low, and promised large rewards if they killed the Guru. They were equally unsuccessful when they fired low. The allied armies finding their guns useless resolved to charge the Guru and his Sikhs. The Guru seeing this began to discharge his arrows with marvellous effect. The fearful carnage of the preceding day was again renewed. Horses fell on horses and men on men. The Hindus and the Muhammadans entered on mutual recriminations, each sect blaming the other for its ill-success. Upon this they combined and made a further effort to conquer, but were so vigorously and successfully repulsed, that they were obliged to suspend hostilities for that day also.

The viceroys and the hill chiefs took counsel at night and resolved on the morrow to encompass the city, and cut off all external supplies, so that the Guru and his troops might be starved into submission. While they were thus discussing, they apprehended a night attack from the Sikhs, and accordingly kept vigil.

Next morning a watch before day the Guru and his Sikhs were found at their devotions. When divine service was finished, the Guru ordered his men to remain behind their embrasures and barricades, and not be tempted to advance or come to close quarters with the enemy. Meantime the Muhammadans and Hindus contented themselves with watching the city gates and hindering all ingress or egress. At the same time they remained at a safe distance from the missiles of the Sikhs.

The allied forces made another assault on Anandpur. They espied the Guru at a distance and again ordered their artillerymen to direct their cannon

towards him. The Sikhs were much disconcerted by the enemy's fire, and requested the Guru to take up a less exposed position. The Guru replied that he wore the armour of the immortal God, and consequently no weapon could harm him. God was his protector and had stretched forth His hand to save him from all assaults of his enemies.

While the Guru was thus speaking, cannon balls from the enemy hurtled in the air. They were again aimed high and missed the Sikhs. When the artillerymen were ordered to lower the muzzles of their guns, their fire fell short of the Sikhs, and struck the base of the eminence on which the city stood. The allied armies discharged their cannon hundreds of times, but, whether they fired high or low, their missiles failed to have the desired effect. Thus the day passed until night terminated the conflict.

On the morrow skirmishes were renewed on both sides, and the Sikhs inflicted severe chastisement on the enemy. The Guru called his son Ajit Singh, and told him to hold that part of the city called Kesgarh and not venture forth. He gave him further orders to kill any one who approached, to remain on the alert at night, and to keep his guns loaded. The Guru directed Nahar Singh and Sher Singh to hold the fort called Lohgarh. For this purpose five hundred men were placed at their disposal. Alim Singh with another detachment of five hundred men was ordered to hold the fort of Agampur [1]. Ude Singh also received command of five hundred men to defend another part of the city. Daya Singh was ordered to guard the northern ramparts.

The Muhammadans and the hill chiefs had now completely invested the city, and the Guru's supplies were failing. The enemy noticed that the Sikhs on

[1] This was a fortification within Anandpur, and not the town so called which is at a distance.

guard went twice a day from their embrasures to pray and do homage to their Guru. The Guru in turn kept an eye on the proceedings of the allied armies. One day he saw the generals playing Indian draughts. Raja Ajmer Chand and others were watching the game. The Guru taking up his bow discharged an arrow into their midst, but without striking any one. They examined the arrow and knew by its golden point that it had been discharged by the Guru. They admitted that only a miracle could have sent it such a distance. The Guru knew by his occult power what they were saying, and wrote them the following letter. 'O Viceroy, that was not a miracle. Miracle is a name for the wrath of God. I was merely practising archery. The brave men who have obtained skill in it, conceal not their accomplishments. Everything is in God's hands, whether He desireth to make what is difficult easy, or what is easy difficult.' The Guru attached this letter to an arrow, and then discharged it. It lodged in a branch of a tree under which the allied generals were seated. On perusing the Guru's letter they were astonished that he could have divined what they were saying; and it is said that they admitted his supernatural power and prayed to heaven to preserve them from his too unerring shafts, and his unsurpassed knowledge of warfare.

On one occasion it was observed that the enemy had come very close to the city and far away from their defences. Sher Singh accordingly suggested to Nahar Singh that it would be expedient to make a night attack, and thus take them unawares when they should of necessity become an easy prey. If the Sikhs waited until morning, the enemy would be far away, and it would be impossible to reach them. The night was dark and favoured the enterprise. Nahar Singh did not at first approve of the suggestion, but subsequently altered his mind.

The Sikh troops were awakened at dead of night, and arms served out to them. Having performed their ablutions, they sallied forth two hours before daybreak. Sher Singh commanded them to make but one charge and then return. They did great havoc among the Muhammadans, killing them in numbers, and succeeded in returning to Anandpur by daybreak. The enemy on being aroused could not see whence destruction had overtaken them, and began to turn their arms against one another. Father attacked son, and son attacked father, and with mutual reproaches there resulted internecine slaughter.

The Muhammadan generals were greatly distressed on learning what had occurred. They blamed Ajmer Chand for the disaster, and asked how he could again show his face to the Emperor. He had told the Emperor that the Sikhs were very few, and now whence had so many men sprung forth on a sudden ? The Muhammadan generals threatened to leave Ajmer Chand and his people to the mercy of the Sikhs, but Ajmer Chand and Bhup Chand offered them large presents, and thus prevailed on them to renew the conflict.

Next day the allied forces advanced to take the citadel by storm. The Sikhs on seeing this put their two great guns called Baghan (tigress) and Bijai-ghosh (sound of victory) in position. The guns were then charged, the fuses lighted, and aim taken at the enemy where most thickly massed together. The tents and standards of the Muhammadans were first blown away. Their two generals on seeing this retreated. As the guns committed further destruction, both the Muhammadan and the hill armies took to flight. That evening the Guru offered thanksgiving, beat the drum of victory, and put his cannon into a place of shelter.

The Guru was informed that a man called Kanaiya used with absolute impartiality to draw water both

for his Sikhs and the enemy. The Guru asked him if it was so, and he replied in the affirmative. He quoted the Guru's own instruction that one should look on all men with an equal eye. The Guru mused on his reply, and dismissed him with the compliment that he was a holy man. His followers, called Sewapanthis, form an orthodox and honourable sub-sect of Sikhs who live by honest labour and accept no alms or offerings of any description. The Sewapanthis are also called Adanshahis from Adanshah, a rich banker who devoted his wealth and his leisure to the propagation of their doctrines.

When provisions were running short, the Sikhs made several night sorties and took supplies from the enemy's camp. On such occasions they were often attacked, but they generally contrived to return with scant loss. When any one of their party was cut down, they took his body and carried it into Anandpur. In one of these sorties a Sikh fainted. The Muhammadans seized him, cut off his hair, made him eat their food and repeat their creed, and finally circumcised him. They then, strange to say, allowed him to escape, probably because they thought they had accomplished a sufficiently pious work in forcibly converting him. He informed the Guru of what had happened to him, and prayed to be received again into the Sikh fold. The Guru inquired if he had cohabited with a Muhammadan woman. He replied in the negative. The Guru then ordered him to prepare sacred food and distribute it among the Sikhs, and his reconversion should be complete. The Guru explained that a Sikh who was forcibly converted to Islam was still a Sikh, but that a Sikh who became a Muhammadan from motives of sensuality, should forfeit his happiness here and hereafter.

Several of the inhabitants now deserted Anandpur on account of the difficulty of maintaining them-

selves. Provisions became excessively dear, a pound of flour selling for a rupee. The Guru's troops, however, remained to endure hunger and every form of hardship. They had already decided to sacrifice their lives for him, and they could not leave him in this extremity. Complaints were made to his mother by some of the malcontents, but she only ventured to speak to him when her own private servants rebelled against their fate. She said, 'Thy Sikhs who were foremost in the fight are now dying of hunger, and the enemy are at thy gates. Each of thy soldiers hath now but a quarter of a pound of corn daily. How can men fight on such a pittance? Their patience is exhausted.' The Guru replied, 'Having obtained the order of the immortal God, my object is to increase and not diminish the numbers of my religion. It is by enduring hunger and hardships my Sikhs become strong and brave.'

One day there was an alarm that the hillmen were advancing in force. The Guru having caused his great drum to be sounded, proceeded to the spot whither the assault was directed. Bullets and arrows poured from both sides, and the Sikhs being now reduced in numbers had to retreat. The Turks and hillmen inflicted great damage on them as they did so, and took from them a large quantity of booty. The Sikhs struggled, but their efforts were ineffectual against overpowering numbers. Ude Singh and others went to the Guru, and told him that the Sikhs were defeated and their property plundered. At this critical moment all his troops prayed to the Guru for protection. The Guru said they ought to feel no pleasure in the possession of wealth which was not permanent, and no sorrow at its departure.

Until now the beleagured garrison had been supplied with water from a hill stream. This was discovered by Raja Ajmer Chand, and he cut off the supply.

When the Guru was informed of this, he said the Satluj would for the future supply him with water, and the enemy should gain no advantage from the stream they had diverted. The Guru promised that water should come in time, and the name of the stream should be the Himaiti Nala, or stream of assistance.

Chapter XXII

As the siege was protracted the hardships of the troops and of the other inmates of Anandpur painfully increased. Rations were now reduced to less than a quarter of a pound of corn daily, and sometimes none at all were served out. The Sikhs occasionally made foraging expeditions at night, and fought hard for small booty. When this was exhausted, they ground the bark of trees and converted it into bread. They also lived on leaves and whatever fruit and flowers they could collect. It is related that, notwithstanding their terrible sufferings, they never lost heart or relaxed in the defence of their city.

The enemy heard of the Sikhs' forays, and appointed several scouts to watch their operations. One night, as the Sikhs sallied forth, they were observed and information promptly given to the allied army. No action, however, was taken until the Sikhs on their return approached the city. They were then attacked by both Hindus and Muhammadans in great numbers. The Sikhs threw down their bundles and determined not to die like jackals. 'As long as there is breath in our bodies,' they said, 'let us wield our swords and place ourselves beyond the fear of transmigration.' Although they were faint with hunger, yet each of them killed two or three of the enemy. Finally overpowered by superior numbers, and unable to receive assistance from

within the city, they all perished fighting to the last.

The rajas now formed a plan to induce the Guru again to leave Anandpur. They promised that, in the event of his doing so, their armies would withdraw, and the Guru might afterwards return whenever he pleased. The Guru heeded not this proposal. It was repeated several times, but the Guru still refused to accept it. The Sikhs never heard of these overtures until one day in darbar Raja Ajmer Chand's envoy produced his master's letter. Raja Ajmer Chand stated that it contained no deception, but was honestly intended. It would, he said, be well if the Guru and his troops evacuated the city as early as possible. They might take all their property with them. The Sikhs who heard this proposal went to the Guru's mother to urge it on her, and she promised to use her influence with him. She said, 'My son, this is a propitious offer. Take us with thee and leave Anandpur. I am thy mother, and I ask thee to obey me and seek shelter elsewhere. Thus shalt thou restore life to thy starving Sikhs. My son, fighting were perhaps well if we had wherewithal to maintain ourselves; but now we are involved in poverty and hardships of every description. If thou let the opportunity pass, it will not return again. The hillmen and the Turks are prepared to swear that they will grant us safe conduct, so it is well that we should depart. Moreover, Khwaja Mardud hath now arrived from the Emperor with a message, that he hath vowed to capture thee or die in the effort. All the rajas are on his side. Wherefore, my son, let us withdraw from Anandpur. There is nothing more precious or dearer than life.' The Guru replied, 'Mother dear, the hillmen are idolaters and false. Their intellect is like that of the stones they worship. There is no reliance to be placed on their promises. The Turks are equally evil. Their very falsehood

will destroy them all. The Khalsa shall extend and wreak vengeance on its enemies.' The Guru was unable to convince his mother or his Sikhs of the wisdom of the course he was following. He then hit on a plan by which they should be convinced that the overtures made to him had been treacherously intended.

The Guru sent for Raja Ajmer Chand's Brahman envoy, and told him he would evacuate Anandpur if the allied armies would first allow the removal of his property. He asked for pack-bullocks for the purpose. These with the necessary sacks were readily supplied him. The Hindus swore on the salagram and the Muhammadans on the Quran, that they would not deceive him or molest his servants departing with his property. The Guru then ordered his treasurer to collect all the old shoes, worn-out clothes, bones of dead animals, broken utensils, horse dung, and similar offal that could be found in the Anandpur bazar, and load the sacks therewith. On each sack was to be placed a piece of brocade to make it appear that the contents were valuable. To the bullocks' horns were attached torches, so that the excellence of the cloth with which the sacks were covered, and also the departure of the bullocks might not escape the observation of the enemy. It was arranged that the bullocks with their loads were to start in the dead of night. Naturally, the brilliancy of the procession did not escape the enemy's notice, and they rejoiced like a parched field on receiving rain. Six thousand of them were in ambush to plunder the supposed property of the Guru. The Sikhs on discovering this discharged their cannon and caused great destruction among the serried ranks of the Hindus and Muhammadans. The sacks were, however, all seized by the enemy, and carefully guarded until morning, as it was then too late to examine their contents. It was only on the morrow the enemy discovered the Guru's strata-

gem, and painfully realized the fact that they had committed perjury for the sake of the sweepings of the Anandpur market-place! The Guru availed himself of the incident to demonstrate his own forethought and the treachery of the enemy. He told his troops that everything they had endured had been by the will of God, and he quoted Guru Nanak—'Happiness is a disease, the remedy for which is unhappiness.'

At last came an autograph letter from the Emperor to the Guru—'I have sworn on the Quran not to harm thee. If I do, may I not find a place in God's court hereafter! Cease warfare and come to me. If thou desire not to come hither, then go whithersoever thou pleasest.' The Emperor's envoy added on his own account, 'O Guru, all who go to the Emperor's court praise thee. On that account the Emperor feeleth certain that an interview with thee will add to his happiness. He hath sworn by Muhammad and called God to witness that he will not harm thee. The hill rajas have also sworn by the cow and called their idols to witness, that they will allow thee safe conduct. Bear not in mind anything that hath occurred. The attack on thine oxen was not prompted by any raja. The attackers have been generally punished, and the ringleaders are in prison. No one now, O true Guru, dareth do thee harm, wherefore evacuate the fort, at any rate for the present, and come with me to the Emperor. Thou mayest afterwards do what thou pleasest.' The Guru on hearing this said, 'You are all liars, and therefore all your empire and your glory shall depart. You all took oaths before this and then perjured yourselves. Your troops, whose business it was to fight, have become robbers, and therefore you shall all be damned.'

The Sikhs went again to the Guru's mother to complain of his refusal to listen to reason. Upon this she told him that if he did not leave Anandpur,

he would be deserted by his Sikhs and even by his family, and he would be then left alone to the mercy of the hostile armies. Some Sikhs also made a direct representation to him, and pleaded that through hunger they were unable to endure any longer the fatigue of the siege and the brunt of war. And if they were now in their weak and emaciated condition to make an effort to force their way through the enemy's ranks, they would all be inevitably massacred. They therefore advised capitulation.

The Guru on hearing these representations said to his Sikhs, ' My brethren, they who leave the garrison now will all be killed, and I do not desire to be held responsible. Wherefore give me a statement in writing that you have totally renounced me, and then you may act as you please. But if, on the other hand, you wish to abide by my advice, I will support you, and the immortal God will extend His protecting arm over us all. Adopt whatever alternative you please.' On hearing this the Sikhs and the Guru's mother hesitated. Her son was dear to her, but so was her own life. She resolved, however, that she would not separate from him. The Sikhs too felt that having vowed never to leave the Guru, they could not abandon him or make a formal declaration that he was not their Guru, and they were not his Sikhs.

When the Turks and the rajas heard from the imperial envoy of the failure of his negotiations, they decided to send the Guru's mother an embassy with a request that she and her grandchildren should abandon the fort. This was in the hope that when the Guru found himself alone he would follow them. The envoy first proceeded to the Guru and endeavoured to persuade him to evacuate. The Guru replied that he could not rely on any promise made by the idolatrous rajas or the hypocritical Muhammadans. He then expatiated on the villanies and inherent turpitude of Aurangzeb—a man who

had no regard for an oath, and whose god was money, as was apparent from his persecution of the King of Golkanda, against whom his operations were now directed.

The envoy seeing there was no hope from the Guru then proceeded to the Guru's mother, and employed all his arguments to convince her that it was expedient for the Guru and his Sikhs to leave Anandpur—'O lady, save thyself and all thy family. What will it avail thee to remain here; and if thou depart what harm will it do thee? The Guru's Sikhs are everywhere ready to receive thee, and, whithersoever thou decidest to go, thou mayest abide in happiness. This city will still be thy property, but leave it now and end the quarrel. Hundreds of thousands are waiting to behold thee. Explain matters to thy son and persuade him to obey thee. If not, then prepare to go thyself, and he will follow thee of his own accord. If thou listen not to this advice, great sufferings will result.' The Guru's mother promised to use all her efforts to persuade her son, and said she would place confidence in the oaths of the Turks and the hill rajas.

The Sikhs, sore stricken with hunger, supported the envoy's representation. 'O true Guru, knowing us to be thine own, grant us the gift of life. If thou agree not to this, let us retire to some forest where the Turks cannot reach us. Here shut up in this fort many have died, and many more will die. No food can come to us from outside, and we have now been fighting for a long time. O great king, how can we who are famished with hunger continue to do battle. Accept our advice. Oblige us not to renounce thee, and expel us not from thy faith. If thou adhere to thine own resolve, we must part company, for life is dear to every one, and what will a dying man not do? Nay, we pray thee to assist thy sect and save our lives.'

The Guru replied, 'My brethren, waver not. I only desire your welfare. You know not that these people are deceivers and design to do us evil. If you hold out a little longer as you have done, you shall have food to your heart's content. I ask you to wait only three weeks.' When the Sikhs refused to wait so long, the Guru asked them to wait at least for five days, and the great God would send them succour.[1] The Sikhs refused to wait even a single day, and said it was impossible for them to do so in their dire distress. The Guru repeated his request, and said that the enemy would then retire, and they should all be happy. If his Sikhs were to leave now they would inevitably be killed. 'As a child,' continued the Guru, 'on seeing fire, trieth to grasp it while his parents restrain him, so, O dear Khalsa, you are rushing to your destruction, while I am endeavouring to save you.'

The Sikhs replied, 'O great king, we cannot be in a worse plight outside the city than we are within. We shall all die of hunger here, and if we sally forth we may escape and kill some of the enemy. We cannot remain with thee an instant longer.' These arguments were recommended for adoption by the Guru's mother—'My son, be not obstinate. It is best to leave the fort and save thy people. The Turks and the rajas will give thee solemn oaths of safe conduct, and what more can they do? Now is the time, my son; thou shalt not again have this opportunity. If the enemy come and take the fort by storm, what wilt thou do? Thy Sikhs are dying of hunger, and they will all soon be dead.'

The Guru replied, 'O mother dear, thou knowest not the Turks and the hill rajas. I have already shown thee their deceit, but yet thou art not satisfied. Thou desirest to save thy family, but how will the

[1] The Guru was then expecting reinforcements of the Mālwa Sikhs and hence his request for delay. In fact the reinforcements did come, but arrived too late for the defence of Anandpur.

enemy allow you all to pass? Thou thinkest what is good is evil, and what is evil is good.' The Guru then turning to the Sikhs said, 'My brethren, they who desire to go may now renounce me and depart.' On hearing this the Guru's mother was greatly distressed, and rose and sat apart to give vent to her grief. The Sikhs went and sat around her. The Guru's wives then came forth and joined the sorrowing group. The Guru's mother, wiping away her tears, broke silence—'The Guru deemeth it not proper to leave the fort. O holy Guru Nanak, dispel my sorrow, assist us now, and give my son right understanding that he may protect his people! I have given him much advice, but he heedeth it not. Even if the Sikhs renounce him and depart, he telleth them they shall all be killed. What he saith is never uttered in vain, and of this I have abundant proof. Yet if we remain in Anandpur, the enemy will soon come and put us all to death.'

The Sikhs began to reflect—'We have spent all our lives in the Guru's service. How can we leave him now? It is he who assisteth us both here and hereafter. He asketh us to remain with him for five days more. What will happen in five days? We shall only lose our lives in vain. We will certainly go forth. It is better to fight and die than to starve. We will not formally renounce the Guru. Were we to do so, we should incur great obloquy, and the seed of Sikhism would perish.' After much reflection and hesitation, however, the Sikhs changed their minds and said, 'It is better for us to break with him, and write a document to the effect that he is no more our Guru and we are no more his Sikhs. If we again meet him alive, we shall induce him to pardon us.'

The allied armies too, hearing that the Guru's mother was in favour of evacuating the fort, lost no time in their negotiations. They called a Saiyid (or reputed descendant of Ali the Prophet's son-in-

law), and a Brahman, both of whom were to swear, on behalf of the allied armies, solemn oaths of safe conduct for the Guru should he evacuate Anandpur. The likeness of a cow was made in flour, a salagram and a knife were placed in front of it, and these articles were sent to the Guru with a letter to the effect that whoever meditated evil against him, should be deemed a cow-killer or the worst form of assassin. All the Hindu chiefs put their seals to this letter.

The Saiyid took the Emperor's letter and the Quran on his head and, accompanied by several Muhammadan officers, proceeded to the Guru. The Guru refused to listen to them. They then went to Mata Gujari and repeated their representations. They asked her to leave Anandpur, in which case her son would assuredly follow. She was, however, unable to prevail on him. Gulab Rai and Sham Singh (Sham Das), grandsons of Suraj Mal addressed the Guru and advised him to obey his mother. The Guru still proved obdurate. Upon this his mother prepared to depart with her two youngest grandsons, Jujhar Singh and Fatah Singh. On seeing the Guru's mother take her departure, the Sikhs began to waver in their allegiance to the Guru. Paper, pens, and ink were produced for those who wished to write letters of renunciation, and in the end only forty Sikhs decided to remain with their religious Chief and share his fortunes. The Guru told them that they too might desert him. They refused, and said that, if they did so, the service they had already performed for him would prove unavailing. They would either remain within the fort or force their way out as the Guru directed. The Guru then knew that the seed of his religion would germinate and flourish. He kept the deeds of renunciation, and also took from the envoys the documents they had brought. He then dismissed them and requested to be left alone.

When the Guru found himself alone, he set fire to his tents and other inflammable articles. What was non-inflammable he buried in the earth. He now finally determined to leave Anandpur, and gave orders to his men that they were all to march at night and during the darkness proceed to the east as far as their strength would allow them. When the Guru's mother, wives, and two youngest children had set out, the Guru went to visit his father's shrine and entrusted it to one Gurbakhsh, a holy Udasi, telling him that he should never suffer distress as long as he remained its custodian.

When the Guru was ready to depart, Daya Singh and Ude Singh walked in front of him, the second batch of baptized Sikhs on his left, Muhakam Singh and Sahib Singh on his right. His sons Ajit Singh and Zorawar Singh followed with bows and arrows. Then came Bhai Himmat Singh carrying ammunition and matchlocks. Gulab Rai, Sham Singh, and other friends and relations of the Guru accompanied him. The rest of the Guru's servants and camp followers, about five hundred in all, brought up the rear.

Chapter XXIII

The Guru marched by Kiratpur and thence to Nirmoh. While at Nirmoh he gave Gulab Rai and Sham Singh a letter to the Raja of Sirmaur, which contained a request that he would give them a village to abide in. From Nirmoh the Guru and his party proceeded to Ropar. When the allied troops attacked the rear guard under Ajit Singh, Ude Singh asked and obtained permission to relieve him. The enemy surrounded and killed the dauntless Ude Singh, the hero of many a desperate battle, the bravest of the Guru's brave warriors, believing that he was the Guru himself.

The Guru sat down on the margin of a stream

called Sarsa to await the issue of the conflict. When Ajit Singh delayed coming, the Guru sent Jiwan Singh to fetch him. Jiwan Singh was killed in the endeavour. Before arriving at Ropar, the Guru met his mother and two youngest children, and exhorted them to proceed quickly on their journey. A Sikh who resided in Dihli also met the Guru on the way, and asked if he could perform any service for him. The Guru said that he might take his family to Dihli. The Sikh said he had a relation in Ropar who would keep the Guru's family there for the present. The Guru's mother met a Brahman, a native of Kheri near Sarhind, and discharged cook of the Guru, who offered to entertain her party, and she decided to take her grandsons with her and accept his shelter and protection. Her daughters-in-law remained at Ropar for the night, and next day set out for Dihli under the trusty Sikh's protection.

The allied forces continued to harass the Guru's retreat. He left some of his men at Ropar to arrest their progress, and went himself with thirty-five chosen Sikhs towards Chamkaur. On the way at a place called Baru Majara he received information that a fresh contingent of the imperial army was close at hand to capture him. In no wise dismayed he continued his journey towards Chamkaur. On arriving near that town he took refuge in a garden, and was joined by five of the Sikhs he had left at Ropar. All the others had been slain.

The Guru sent to a Jat agriculturist to ask him for a place of rest. The Jat tried to put him off with excuses, but the Guru placed him under arrest for the moment. He then took the Jat's house, and turned it into a miniature fort where he took shelter with his men. The allied forces could find no trace of him, and were much distressed at his disappearance. But the troops marching from Dihli discovered the Guru's residence and

proceeded thither. The united forces now concentrated their attack on the Guru and were joined by his ancient enemies the Ranghars and Gujars.

The Guru then addressed his men, 'You would not listen to my advice to remain in Anandpur. When you took your departure, you did not calculate that this time of peril would ever arrive. You trusted to the oaths of Muhammadans on the Quran and of the hillmen on their gods and cows, and this is the result. There is no opportunity now of employing the traditional means of dealing with enemies. We can only defend ourselves. There are hundreds of thousands against us. Die not the death of jackals, but fight bravely as you have hitherto done, and avenge the deceit practised by those great sinners. The more you strive, the greater shall be your reward. If you fall fighting you shall meet me as martyrs in heaven. If you conquer you shall obtain sovereignty, and in either case your lot shall be envied by mortals.'

Having thus addressed his Sikhs, the Guru appointed eight men to guard each of the four walls of his extemporized fort. Kotha Singh and Madan Singh held the door, he himself, his two sons, Daya Singh and Sant Singh the top story. Alim Singh and Man Singh were appointed sentinels. Thus was made up the number of forty who accompanied the Guru. Five Sikhs went forth to contend with the enemy. After fighting with great bravery they were killed. Then Khazan Singh, Dan Singh, and Dhyan Singh went forth, and after killing several of the enemy, were killed themselves. The brave Muhakam Singh, following the example of his fellows, went forth and fell pierced by scores of bullets.

While the Guru was lauding Muhakam Singh's valour, and saying that he should be emancipated, Himmat Singh, who was one of the first Sikhs baptized, asked permission to go forth to repel the

enemy. When he was slain the second batch of five Sikhs baptized by the Guru went forth, and sold their lives dearly. Ishar Singh and Deva Singh were the next to contend with the Muhammadans. While these were alive and fought, the enemy thought they were endowed with supernatural power.

Daya Singh and others prayed the Guru to escape by some means, and leave them to contend with the enemy. If the Guru were saved, the seed of religion would remain. Six more of the Guru's warriors, Muhar Singh, Kirat Singh, Anand Singh, Lal Singh, Kesar Singh, and Amolak Singh asked permission to go forth and try their strength with the Turks. The six brave warriors were all killed. Nahar Khan, one of the recently arrived imperial officers, attempted to scale the little fort, but was shot down by the Guru. Ghairat Khan, another officer of the new army, then advanced, and was also slain by the Guru. After this none of the Muhammadan officers had the courage to attempt the fatal ascent. They formed a plan, however, to rush and seize the Guru. In this they utterly failed, for the Guru shot them down in numbers and held at bay the multitudinous Muhammadan host.

The Guru's son Ajit Singh now asked permission to go forth and fight single-handed with the enemy. He said he was the Guru's Sikh and son, and it was incumbent on him to fight even under desperate circumstances. The Guru approved of this proposal. Ajit Singh took with him five heroes, namely, Alim Singh, Jawahir Singh, Dhyan Singh, Sukha Singh, and Bir Singh. Ajit Singh performed prodigies of valour, and Muhammadans fell before him as shrubs before the wind. His companions all fought bravely and desperately. Zabardast Khan, the Lahore viceroy, was greatly distressed on seeing so many of his men slain, and called on his army to at once destroy the handful of Sikhs who were causing such havoc in the imperial ranks. When the

swords of the Sikhs were broken and their arrows spent, they spitted the enemy with their spears. Ajit Singh broke his spear on a Muhammadan. The enemy then made a fresh attack and fatally wounded him, defenceless as he was. He realized, however, that he had acted as befitted his race. He fell and slept the sleep of peace on his gory bed. The Guru on his death said, 'O God, it is Thou who sentest him, and he hath died fighting for his faith. The trust Thou gavest hath been restored to Thee.' The five Sikhs who accompanied him were also slain.

Zorawar Singh, the Guru's second son, on seeing his brother's fate could not restrain himself, and asked his father's permission to go forth and fight as Ajit Singh had done and avenge his death. The youth took five more Sikhs with him and proceeded to commit havoc among the enemy. The chronicler states that Zorawar Singh made his way through the Muhammadan army as a crocodile through a stream. The enemy dropped like rain in the month of Sawan and Bhadon, until Zorawar Singh and his five companions fell overpowered by numbers.

His remaining Sikhs, seeing that all hope was at an end, again advised the Guru to effect his escape. He agreed, seated near him Daya Singh, Dharm Singh, Man Singh, Sangat Singh, and Sant Singh, who alone remained of the army, and proceeded to entrust the Guruship to them. He said, 'I shall ever be among five Sikhs. Wherever there are five Sikhs of mine assembled they shall be priests of all priests. Wherever there is a sinner, five Sikhs can give him baptism and absolution. Great is the glory of five Sikhs, and whatever they do shall not be in vain. They who give food and clothing to five Sikhs, shall obtain from them the fulfilment of their desires.' Saying this the Guru circumambulated them three times, laid his plume and crest in front of them, offered them his arms, and cried out, 'Sri Wahguru ji ka Khalsa! Sri Waghuru ji

ki fatah!' Sant Singh and Sangat Singh offered to remain in the fort while Daya Singh, Dharm Singh, and Man Singh determined to accompany the Guru. The Guru gave his plume to Sant Singh, clothed him in his armour, and seated him in the upper room which he was about to vacate. The Guru and his three companions escaped during the night. He told them, if perchance they separated from him, they were to go in the direction of a certain star which he indicated.

When the Guru was escaping he bade his men stand firm. He said he was going to awaken the enemy, so that they might not say he had absconded. The Turkish sentries were immediately on the alert. He discharged two arrows at them. The arrows at first struck torches which they held in their hands and then passed through their bodies. In the darkness, which followed the extinction of the lamps, the Guru and his companions escaped, but did not travel together. He proceeded barefooted on his journey, and on becoming tired sat down to rest, on the margin of a lake in the Machhiwara forest between Ropar and Ludhiana.

Sant Singh and Sangat Singh, who were left behind in the little fort, inflicted great loss on the enemy. The Muhammadans, however, succeeded in scaling the building and believed they were going at last to capture the Guru whose plume and arrow Sant Singh wore. Khwaja Mardud gave orders that Sant Singh and Sangat Singh should be beheaded and their heads sent to regale the Emperor's eyes. The Muhammadans were much disappointed to subsequently learn that Sant Singh was not the Guru, and that the Guru had escaped. They sent men to the known abodes of all faqirs in the country to search for him, but in vain.

After this the armies dispersed. Zabardast Khan who was wounded in the recent battle retired to his viceroyalty of Lahore. Wazir Khan departed

for Sarhind, and Khwaja Mardud went with the remnant of his army to reinforce the Emperor who was still campaigning in the south of India.

The Guru's three Sikhs followed the star he had pointed out to them, and they all four met at the place now called Bir Guru in the Machhiwara forest. His Sikhs found him sleeping with a waterpot for his pillow. They awakened him and told him that the Muhammadan army would probably be on them by daybreak. The Guru said he could not save himself, as his feet were blistered. He told the Sikhs that they might seek shelter in a neighbouring garden. Man Singh took the Guru on his back and proceeded thither. The Guru found there a Sikh called Gulaba, who treated him and his faithful attendants with kindness and hospitality.

Gulaba gave the Guru shelter in a top story which he had recently built to his house. The Guru wanted meat the next day, and a he-goat was provided for him which he killed by shooting. Gulaba was alarmed lest some of the neighbouring Brahmans and Saiyids might have heard the report of the gun. As a matter of fact one Brahman did hear it, and suspected the presence of the Guru in the village. He looked and saw the Guru on the top story of Gulaba's house. It turned out, however, that the Brahman was friendly. He had previously visited the Guru in Anandpur and enjoyed his hospitality. He now in return put some sweets and a sacrificial thread of the Hindus on a plate, and sent them as an offering to the Guru. The offering of the sacrificial thread was a delicate hint to the Guru that the Brahman would like to lead him back to the ancient religion of India. The Guru returned the sweets and the thread with a present of five gold muhars from himself. Gulaba consulted with his brother as to the disposal of the Guru. They feared for their own safety should it be further known that he was among them.

To Gulaba's house now came two Muhammadans, Ghani Khan and Nabi Khan, who had previously known and visited the Guru. On hearing that the imperial troops were scouring the country in quest of him, they determined to go and offer him their humble services. The Guru requested them to remain with him, and they readily consented.

Gulaba and his family spent an anxious night. In the early morning he waited on the Guru with a present of five gold muhars, which he meant as a parting offering. He represented the danger he had incurred in entertaining his guest, and begged him to take compassion on him and arrange for his departure.

It happened that while the Guru was in Gulaba's house a Sikh woman also came to visit him. She had previously seen him and vowed that she would spin and weave cloth for him, which she would keep until his arrival in her village. The Guru had the cloth dyed blue, and a robe and sheet made from it in imitation of the dress of a Muhammadan pilgrim. He then departed from Gulaba's village. He was borne on a litter which Ghani Khan and Nabi Khan lifted in front, and Man Singh and Dharm Singh in rear, while Daya Singh waved a chauri over him. They informed all inquirers that they were escorting Uch ka Pir. The expression Uch ka Pir meant either high priest as a general religious title, or priest of Uch, a well-known Muhammadan city in the southern part of the Panjab. The Guru and his carriers on arriving at Lal in the Patiala State accidentally came on a detachment of the imperial army which had been searching for him. The general suspected that the pilgrim was no other than the Guru, and determined to make trial of him by what he ate. A sumptuous dinner was prepared for the party. The Guru told his Sikhs that they might eat what the Musalman cooks had prepared, and they did so after touching the food

with their swords. A friendly Saiyid from Nurpur near Machhiwara who was at the time an officer in the detachment, stated that the Guru was really Uch ka Pir. Upon this the general gave an order for the Guru's immediate release.

CHAPTER XXIV

The Guru no longer travelled with the imperial army, but proceeded to Kanech in the eastern part of what is now the Ludhiana district. There one Fatah came to pay him his respects and ask if he could do him any service. The Guru asked for his best mare to aid him in his escape. Fatah, who had not been sincere in his protestations of friendship, put him off with excuses. It is said that when he left the Guru and went home, he found the mare had died of snake-bite. This was understood to be the result of his hypocrisy and churlishness to the Guru.

The Guru thence proceeded to Hehar, also in the Ludhiana district, where lived Kripal, the Udasi Mahant who had so distinguished himself in the battle of Bhangani. The Guru on meeting him dismissed Ghani Khan and Nabi Khan, after giving them presents and a letter recommending them to the consideration of the faithful. Though Kripal had been previously so devoted to the Guru, he now feared to entertain him lest the Muhammadans should be informed that he was sheltering an outlaw. He accordingly advised the Guru to move on towards the villages of Lamma and Jatpura.

On the way thither the Guru met a Muhammadan called Kalha, a rich and important person who was Chaudhri of Jagraon and Raikot, two considerable towns of the Ludhiana district. Kalha entertained him at Jatpura. The Guru requested him to send a messenger to Sarhind to inquire the fate of his mother and his two youngest sons. The Guru

remained at Jatpura until the messenger's return. Jatpura is about fifty miles distant from Sarhind. This distance the messenger is said to have traversed in an incredibly short space of time.

The following is the messenger's story, one of the most painful in history. It has been already stated that the Guru's mother entrusted herself and the two grandsons, who accompanied her, to a Brahman. He with sweet words took them to his house and induced them to put faith in him. When the Guru's mother went to sleep, he stole her money, which she carried in a saddle-bag and buried it. He then went to her and told her there were several thieves prowling about the neighbourhood, and she must be careful of her valuables. He said he gave her this information so that she might not afterwards blame him. She called her servant and told him what she had heard. He almost immediately afterwards informed her that her saddle-bag was missing. As no one had entered the house but the lady's party and the Brahman, she interrogated the latter on the subject. He pretended to be furious at suspicion having been directed against him, and said that that was the result of doing good and of entertaining homeless wayfarers and outlaws. He had saved the Guru's mother and children from death, and the return they made him for his trouble and hospitality was to charge him with theft as if he were a vulgar malefactor. Then saying that he could not trust her and her children, he ordered them to leave his house.

The Brahman with loud cries proceeded to the Chaudhri, or chief civil official of Kheri, and informed him that the Guru's mother and sons had just come to his house, and both he and the Chaudhri would obtain a large reward for delivering them to the imperial authorities. The Brahman and the Chaudhri then went to the next highest official, a Ranghar, the governor of Murinda. He proceeded

with them to the Brahman's house, and thence they took the Guru's mother and her two grandsons to Wazir Khan, Viceroy of Sarhind. He ordered them to be confined in a tower. People thronged next day to see them, and cursed and abused the treacherous Brahman to their hearts' content. Wazir Khan ordered the children to be brought before him. When the Guru's mother heard the order, it stung her like a sharp arrow.

One Suchanand Khatri, who had vainly sued for one of the Guru's sons as a husband for his daughter, now came forward and said the children were certainly the progeny of the serpent, that is, sons of the Guru, and that when they grew up they would be as destructive as their father. The governor of Murinda told Mata Gujari, in order to pacify her, that he would send the children back after showing them to Wazir Khan. Not believing him, she put one of them at each side of her, and tried to conceal them with her dress. The Guru's son Jujhar Singh on hearing the Ranghar's voice stood up and said to his grandmother, 'The Turks have ever been our enemies. How can we escape from them? Therefore let us go to the viceroy.' Saying this he took his younger brother Fatah Singh and went with the Ranghar. When they reached the viceroy's court, the Ranghar, in order to add to their sufferings, told them that their father, their two eldest brothers, and their companions had all been killed in Chamkaur. He added, 'Your only hope of escape now is to bow before the Viceroy and accept Islam; and perhaps he will spare your lives.'

Jujhar Singh when confronted with the viceroy thus addressed him: 'My father, the holy Guru Gobind Singh is not dead. Who can kill him? He is protected by the immortal God. If any one say that he can tear down heaven, how is that possible? Were a storm to attempt to drive a mountain before it, could it ever do so? Were any one to try to

grasp the sun and moon, it would be a feat impossible to accomplish. Were the Guru to desire it, he could destroy every trace of you, but he deemeth it his first duty to obey the laws of heaven. When we have dedicated our heads to our father who is such a Guru, why should we bow them before a false and deceitful sinner?' On hearing this the people all cried out that the children ought to be allowed to go unharmed. The misnamed Suchanand now interposed, and repeated that these were the offspring of a cobra, and from their heads to their feet filled with venom. 'See my friends,' he said, 'they have not the least fear, and are so proud that they even insult and defy the Viceroy'.

Wazir Khan then reflected that if the children became Muhammadans, it would be a gain and glory to his faith. He told them that, if they would accept his faith, he would grant them an estate, marry them to the daughters of chiefs, and they would become happy and be honoured by the Emperor. Jujhar Singh then looking at his younger brother said, 'My brother, the time to sacrifice our lives, as our grandfather Guru Teg Bahadur did, hath now arrived. What thinkest thou?' Fatah Singh replied, 'Brother dear, our grandfather parted with his head but not with his religion, and he ordered us to follow his example. Now that we have received the baptism of the spirit and the sword, what care we for death? Wherefore it is best that we should give our lives, thus save the Sikh religion, and bring down God's vengeance on the Turks.'

Jujhar Singh again spoke on the same subject: 'My brother, our grandfather Guru Teg Bahadur spurned the Muhammadan religion. Here is this noble family of ours—a man like Guru Gobind Singh our father, a man like Guru Teg Bahadur our grandfather, a man like Guru Har Gobind our great-grandfather. We, who are their descendants, cannot attach a stigma to their memories.' The young

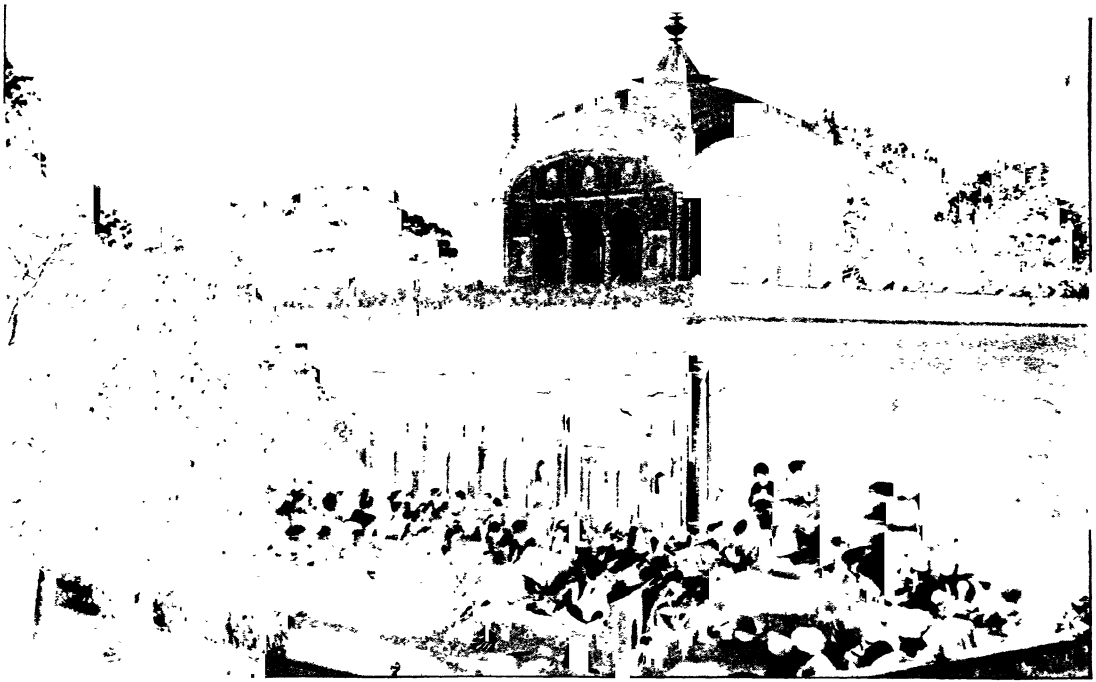
boy waxing still more angry, continued, 'Hear, O viceroy, I spurn thy religion and will not part with mine own. It hath become the custom of our family to forfeit life rather than faith. O fool, why seekest thou to tempt us with worldly ambition? We will never be led astray by the false advantages thou offerest. The indignities inflicted by the Turks on our grandfather shall be the fire to consume them, and our deaths the wind to fan the flame. In this way we shall destroy the Turks without forfeiting our holy faith.'

The Muhammadan viceroy could not endure outspokenness of this description, and, in the words of the chronicler, began to burn like sand in a fiery furnace. He said he must put the children to death. They had no fear of any one, and their words were liable to cause disaffection and religious apathy in others. Suchanand was ready to support the viceroy, and suggested additional reasons for putting the children to death. He said they had spoken insolently before the Viceroy, and when they grew up they would follow their father's example and destroy armies. What good could be expected from them? They would be always exciting revolts. They were prisoners with no right of pardon; and, if they were released, no one knew what they would do. There were no means for their repression but death.

Then out spoke the Nawab of Maler Kotla, 'O Viceroy, these children are still drinking milk in the nursery, and are too young to commit an offence. They know not good from evil. Wherefore be pleased to allow them to depart.' This representation the Viceroy heeded not, but cast about for some one to kill the children. His servants who were present said they were willing to sacrifice their lives for him, but they were not executioners. He turned to right and left, but all his staff hung down their heads in token of refusal and pity for the children. At last looking behind him he espied a Ghilzai who,

with the cruelty of his race, offered to do the sanguinary deed. It is a general belief among the Sikhs that the children were bricked into a wall and suffered to die in that position, but the authors of the *Suraj Parkash* and of the *Gur Bilas* both state that the children were put to death in the order of their ages by the sword of the Ghilzai executioner. They vied with each other as to who should first have the honour of martyrdom. The two children Jujhar Singh and Fatah Singh, aged nine and seven years respectively, perished on the 13th of Poh, Sambat 1762 (A. D. 1705).

A rich Sikh called Todar Mal, as soon as he heard of the imprisonment of the Guru's children, hastened to the viceroy with the intention of ransoming them, but arrived too late. The children had been already put to death. He then proceeded to the Guru's mother Mata Gujari, who had not yet heard of the execution of her grandchildren, but was at the same time suffering extreme mental agony. She every now and again would pray to the Gurus to protect her little ones: 'O Guru Nanak, may no hair of my grandchildren's heads be touched! O my son, Guru Gobind Singh, pardon my sins and protect me now! Woe is me! I know not what may happen to my grandchildren to-day.' Todar Mal sought to break the sad intelligence to her, but his voice was stifled in his throat. On seeing this, Mata Gujari became extremely alarmed, and standing up at once said, 'Tell me the truth. Why art thou sorrowful? When will they allow my grandsons to return, and what questions have they put them?' Todar Mal then strengthening his resolve, addressed her: 'I have made my heart harder than a stone, and come to tell thee of the death of thy grandchildren. O mother, the light of thine eyes, the support of the world, the life of the Sikhs, the darlings of the Guru have been to-day massacred by the Turks.' On receiving this news Mata Gujari



FATAHGARH

was struck down as if a mountain had fallen on her. Todar Mal began to fan her in her swoon with the skirt of his dress.

On recovering consciousness to some extent she began to call upon her grandsons, 'O Jujhar Singh, O Fatah Singh, after such love for me whither have you gone? Take me with you. Who will call now me mother or grandmother? Who will come and sit on my lap? How shall I now behold you? O youthful warriors, light of my courtyard, sun of my family, I know not what your sufferings must have been to-day. O my grandchildren, on whom I have never turned my back even when asleep. To-day, alas! alas! the Muhammadan tyrants have killed you, the darlings of mine eyes, my beautiful ones. I concealed my grandsons from the gaze of others, and behold what hath happened to-day! What have I done to you, O children, that you should have abandoned me to misery?' Saying this, she fell heavily to the ground, and gave up her spirit. Todar Mal cremated the bodies of the Guru's mother and her grandchildren, and buried their ashes.[1] A Sikh temple, now called Fatahgarh, was subsequently erected on the spot.

When the Turks heard that the Brahman who had betrayed the Guru's mother and children possessed much wealth, they arrested him and all his family, and forced him by torture to tell where he had concealed his treasure. He pointed out the spot where he had buried Mata Gujari's money, but it was not found there. The Turks believing that he was only deceiving them continued to torture him until his soul took flight to the infernal regions.

While the Guru was listening to the narrative, he was digging up a shrub with his knife. He said, 'As I dig up this shrub by the roots, so shall the Turks be extirpated.' He inquired if any one

[1] In the *Sūraj Parkāsh* it is stated that it was Tilok Singh and Rām Singh who cremated the bodies of the Guru's mother and sons.

except the Nawab of Maler Kotla had spoken on behalf of the children. The messenger replied in the negative. The Guru then said that after the roots of the oppressive Turks were all dug up, the roots of the Nawab should still remain. His Sikhs should one day come and lay Sarhind waste.

Before the Guru had set out from Jatpura he presented his host Kalha with a sword to preserve in memory of him. He was to honour it with incense and flowers. As long as he did so, he and his family should flourish, but, if ever he wore it, he should lose his possessions. Kalha during his lifetime treated the sword according to the Guru's injunctions, and so did his son after him. But his grandson put on the weapon, and employed it in the chase. In endeavouring to kill a deer with it he struck his own thigh and died of the wound. The author of the *Suraj Parkash* wrote that this incident actually occurred when he was a boy, and he still remembered it.

CHAPTER XXV

The Guru continued his retreat from the Turks, and proceeded on his litter from Jatpura to Dina. On the way he met a Sikh who presented him with a horse and saddle. On arriving at Dina, the Guru met Shamira, Lakhmira, and Takht Mal, grandsons of Jodh Rai, who had rendered material assistance to Guru Har Gobind in the battle of Gurusar. Jodh Rai's family at first lived at Kangar. His grandsons had now left that village and gone to Dina. The Guru represented to the young men that they incurred danger in entertaining him, but they felt no apprehension, and gave him hospitable treatment. While there the Guru gathered some fighting men to his standard.

During the Guru's stay at Dina he was visited by Parm Singh and Dharm Singh, descendants of

Bhai Rupa, of whom mention has been made in the life of the sixth Guru. Parm Singh and Dharm Singh made the Guru an offering of a horse and a dress. The Guru took special notice of Shamira, and gave him the horse and the dress which Parm Singh and Dharm Singh had presented him. The Guru told Shamira that he should own land as far as he could course his steed. Shamira mentioned this in his household. His maternal uncle laughed at the Guru's promise, and said that if the Guru had been able to work miracles, he would not now be a fugitive. Shamira was partially convinced by this argument, and merely coursed his steed round his own village. As the result of his want of faith, he only remained in possession of the land within the circle he thus described.

The Viceroy of Sarhind heard that the Guru was being entertained by Shamira and his brothers in Dina. He wrote to Shamira on the subject, and ordered him under pain of his highest displeasure to arrest and surrender the Guru. Shamira replied that he was only entertaining his priest, as the Viceroy himself or any one else might do. The Guru was merely visiting his Sikhs and molesting no one. While sending this reply, Shamira feared that the Viceroy would send troops and arrest the Guru, so he sent a spy to obtain information of the Viceroy's movements and proceedings. The Viceroy kept troops ready, but did not send them immediately. Meanwhile the Guru enlisted several men and prepared for his defence. The Guru's stay at Dina appears to have been somewhat protracted, for it was there he wrote his celebrated 'Zafarnama', or Persian epistle to Aurangzeb. It begins, as usual in such compositions, with an

INVOCATION TO GOD

'O Thou perfect in miracles, eternal, beneficent, Bestower of grace, maintenance, salvation, and mercy; Dispenser

of bliss, Pardoner, Saviour, Remitter of sins, dear to the heart, King of kings, Bestower of excellence, Indicator of the way, without colour and without equal, Lord, who giveth heavenly bliss to him who hath no property, no retinue, no army, and no comforts. Distinct from the world, powerful, whose light is everywhere diffused, Thou bestowest gifts as if Thou wert present in person. Pure Cherisher, Bestower of favours, Thou art merciful, and Provider of sustenance in every land. Thou art Lord of every clime, the greatest of the great. Perfect in beauty, merciful, Master of knowledge, Support of the unhappy, Protector of the Faith, Fountain of eloquence, Searcher of hearts, Author of revelation, Appreciator of wisdom, Lord of intelligence, Diviner of secrets, Omnipresent God, Thou knowest the affairs of the world. Thou resolvest its difficulties, Thou art its great Organizer.

Address to Aurangzeb

'I have no faith in thine oath to which thou tookest the one God as witness. I have not a particle of confidence in thee. Thy treasurer and thy ministers are all false. He who putteth faith in thine oath on the Quran is thereby a ruined man. The insolent crow cannot touch him who hath fallen under the shadow of the huma. He who taketh the protection of a powerful tiger cannot be approached by a goat, a buffalo, or a deer. Had I even secretly sworn on the volume of my choice faith to accept thy religion, I should not have had to withdraw my infantry and cavalry from Anandpur.[1]

'As to my defeat at Chamkaur, what could forty men do when a hundred thousand came on them unawares? The oath-breakers attacked them abruptly with swords, arrows, and muskets. I was constrained to engage in the combat, and I fought to the utmost of my ability. When an affair passeth beyond the region of diplomacy, it is lawful to have recourse to the sword. Had I been able to repose

[1] The preceding part of this address refers to Anandpur; what follows to Chamkaur.

confidence in thine oath on the Quran, I would not have abandoned my city. Had I not known that thou wert crafty and deceitful as a fox, I would never on any account have come hither. He who cometh to me and sweareth on the Quran ought not to kill or imprison me. Thine army came clothed like blue-bottles, and all of a sudden charged with a loud shout. Every soldier of thine who advanced beyond his defences to attack my position, fell deluged in blood. Thy troops who had committed no aggression received no injury at our hands. When I saw that Nahar Khan entered the fight, I quickly gave him the taste of my arrow. Many soldiers who came with him and boasted of their prowess ignominiously deserted the field of battle. Another Afghan officer advanced like a rushing flood, an arrow, or a musket ball. He made many assaults, received many wounds and at last, while in the act of killing two of my Sikhs, was killed himself. Khwaja Mardud remained behind a wall and came not forth like a man. Had I but seen his face, I would certainly have bestowed an arrow on him too. At last many were killed on both sides by showers of arrows and bullets, and the earth became red as a rose. Heads and legs lay in heaps as if the field were covered with balls and hockey-sticks. The whizzing of arrows, the twanging of bows, and a universal hubbub reached the sky. Men, the bravest of the brave, fought like madmen. But how could forty even of the bravest succeed when opposed by a countless host? When the lamp of day was veiled, the queen of night came forth in all her splendour, and God who protected me showed me the way to escape from mine enemies. There was not a hair of my head touched, nor did I in any way suffer.

'Did I not know that thou, O faithless man, wert a worshipper of wealth and perjurer? Thou keepest no faith and observest no religion. Thou knowest not God, and believest not in Muhammad. He who hath regard for his religion never swerveth from his promise. Thou hast no idea of what an oath on the Quran is, and canst have no belief in Divine Providence. Wert thou to take a hundred oaths on the Quran, I would not even then trust thee in the slightest.

Hadst thou any intention of keeping thine oath, thou wouldst have girded up thy loins and come to me. When thou didst swear by Muhammad and called the word of God to witness, it was incumbent on thee to observe that oath. Were the Prophet himself present here, I would make it my special object to inform him of thy treachery. Do what is incumbent on thee, and adhere to thy written promise. Thou shouldst have cheerfully fulfilled it, and also the verbal promises of thine envoy. Everybody ought to be a man of his word, and not utter one thing while he meditateth another. Thou didst promise to abide by the words of thy qazi. If thou hast spoken truly, then come to me. If thou desire to seal thy promise on the Quran, I will gladly send it to thee for the purpose. If thou come to the village of Kangar, we shall have an interview. Thou shalt not run the slightest danger on the way, for the whole tribe of Bairars[1] are under me. Come to me that we may speak to each other, and that I may utter kind words to thee.

'I am a slave and servant of the King of kings, and ready to obey His order with my life. Should His order reach me, I will go to thee with all my heart. If thou have any belief in God, delay not in this matter. It is thy duty to know God. He never ordered thee to annoy others. Thou art seated on an emperor's throne, yet how strange are thy justice, thine attributes and thy regard for religion! Alas a hundred times! alas for thy sovereignty! Strange, strange is thy decree! Promises not meant to be fulfilled injure those who make them. Smite not any one mercilessly with the sword, or a sword from on high shall smite thyself. O man, be not reckless, fear God, He cannot be flattered or praised. The King of kings is without fear. He is the true Emperor of earth and heaven. God is the master of both worlds. He is the Creator of all animals from the feeble ant to the powerful elephant. He is the Protector of the miserable and Destroyer of the reckless. His name is the Support of the unhappy. It is He who showeth man the way he ought to go. Thou art bound

[1] From whom the Phūlkiān chiefs and people are descended.

by thine oath on the Quran. Bring the matter to a good issue according to thy promises. It is incumbent on thee to act wisely, and be discreet in all thine actions. What though my four sons were killed, I remain behind like a coiled[1] snake. What bravery is it to quench a few sparks of life? Thou art merely exciting a raging fire the more. How well spoke the sweet-tongued Firdausi,[2] "Haste is the devil's work!" I would have gone many times to thee had thy promise been kept when the bullocks were plundered. As thou didst forget thy word on that day, so will God forget thee. God will grant thee the fruit of the evil deed thou didst design. It is good to act according to thy religion, and to know that God is dearer than life. I do not deem thou knowest God, since thou hast done acts of oppression. Wherefore the great God knoweth thee not, and will not receive thee with all thy wealth. Hadst thou sworn a hundred times on the Quran, I would not have trusted thee in the slightest even for a moment. I will not enter thy presence, nor travel on the same road with thee, but, if God so will it, I will proceed towards thee.

'Fortunate art thou Aurangzeb, king of kings, expert swordsman and rider. Handsome is thy person, and intelligent art thou. Emperor and ruler of the country, thou art clever to administer thy kingdom, and skilled to wield the sword. Thou art generous to thy co-religionists, and prompt to crush thine enemies. Thou art the great dispenser of kingdoms and wealth. Thy generosity is profuse, and in battle thou art firm as a mountain. Exalted is thy position; thy loftiness is as that of the Pleiades. Thou art king of kings, and ornament of the thrones of the world. Thou art monarch of the world, but far from thee is religion.

'I wanted to kill the hillmen who were full of strife. They worshipped idols, and I was an idol-breaker. Behold the power of the good and pure God who by means of one man killed hundreds of thousands. What can an enemy do when

[1] *Pechīda*, twisted, convoluted. The more coils a snake has the more poison it contains. The Guru here distinctly threatens the Emperor.

[2] A famous Persian poet, author of the *Shāh-i-Nāma*.

God the Friend is kind? His function it is, as the great Bestower, to bestow. He giveth deliverance and pointeth out the way to His creatures. He teacheth the tongue to utter His praises. In the hour of action he blindeth the enemy. He rescueth the helpless and protecteth them from injury. The Merciful showeth mercy to him who acteth honestly. God bestoweth peace on him who heartily performeth His service. How can an enemy lead astray him with whom the Guide of the way is well pleased? Should tens of thousands proceed against such a person, the Creator will be his guardian. When thou lookest to thine army and wealth, I look to God's praises. Thou art proud of thine empire, while I am proud of the kingdom of the immortal God. Be not heedless; this caravansary is only for a few days. People leave it at all times. Behold the revolution which passeth over every denizen and house in this faithless world. Even though thou art strong, annoy not the weak. Lay not the axe to thy kingdom. When God is a friend, what can an enemy do even though he multiply himself a hundred times? If an enemy practise enmity a thousand times, he cannot, as long as God is a friend, injure even a hair of one's head.'

The Guru sent the above to the Emperor by Daya Singh and Dharm Singh, who had survived the battle of Chamkaur and escaped to Dina with the Guru. They disguised themselves as Muhammadan pilgrims, and proceeded on their journey to the south of India. On reaching Dihli they took shelter in the Sikh temple and received the visits of several admiring Sikhs. Next morning they set out for Agra. Thence they crossed the river Chambal and proceeded to Ujjain, whence they crossed the Narbada and travelled by Burhanpur to Aurangabad. Thence they proceeded to Ahmadnagar, where the Emperor was encamped. There Daya Singh and Dharm Singh met a Sikh called Jetha Singh, who told them it would be very difficult for them to obtain an audience of the Emperor. They

said it did not matter, and asked him to summon all the Sikhs who were there to meet them and hear their story. Daya Singh and Dharm Singh told the Sikhs of their mission, and read a letter specially addressed to them by the Guru.

CHAPTER XXVI

Meanwhile the Guru was preparing for his defence at Dina, but in order that the innocent villagers might not suffer from warlike operations directed against him, he pitched his tent in the neighbouring forest. It would appear that he approached, if he did not actually enter, the present village of Jalal, for it is recorded that the inhabitants of that village gave him supplies and a lance for defence. They complained that the inhabitants of a neighbouring village bore them enmity. There were always affrays between the two villages, and the inhabitants of Jalal were always worsted. The Guru told them to obey and believe in him, and they should always be victorious. They trusted him and obtained several victories. Subsequently, however, the inhabitants of Jalal forgot their promises to the Guru, and stole horses belonging to the Sikhs. The offenders were punished and expelled from their village by those whom they had wronged. They subsequently begged the Sikhs' pardon, and were allowed to dwell at Gurusar[1], where the Guru had encamped.

The Guru thence proceeded to the village of Bhagta in the present state of Faridkot. The village had been called after Bhai Bhagtu, a grandson of Bhai Bahilo, who was a distinguished Sikh in the time of Guru Arjan. Bhagtu had five sons, Gurdas, Tara, Bhara, Mihra, and Bakhta. They presented a fully caparisoned steed to the Guru. Gurdas and

[1] This is not the Gurūsar the scene of Guru Har Gobind's engagement with the imperial army.

Tara are the men we have already described as masands of Ram Rai. By this time they had returned to their native village. The Guru remained in Bhagta for three days, and on the fourth travelled to Wandar in the present district of Firozpur. Thence he proceeded into a dense forest where he met a nephew of Kapura, the Chaudhri of several villages round Kot Kapura in the present state of Faridkot. The nephew complained that his uncle had expelled him. He was, he said, marching to do battle with him, but, on hearing of the Guru's arrival, he first went to pay him his respects, that being a more holy object than making war on his uncle. The Guru said that Kapura's troops would arrive on the morrow, but his nephew must not at present engage in a combat with them. His troops would subsequently conquer those of Kapura. The nephew following the Guru's advice decided to remain at home on the morrow. His wife, however, on seeing him thus ingloriously inactive, asked for his sword and turban, offered him her petticoat, and said she would go and fight herself. This taunt roused her husband to action. In disregard of the Guru's advice he went to battle and was killed by his uncle's forces.

The Guru thence proceeded to Bahiwal and Sarawan and billeted his Sikhs on the villages. One Sikh, named Maliagar Singh, was fed by a poor villager on pilun, the tiny fruit of the jal-tree. He told the Guru that he had had an excellent dinner. The Guru on subsequently discovering that he had dined on pilun and thus received only indifferent food, complimented him on his contentment, and said that Sikhs ought ever to act as he had done, and never dispraise food offered them. The Guru continued, 'If any one come to a Sikh, and receive not food from him, know that that Sikh hath sinned. If any one beg food from a Sikh, he too hath sinned because of his greed.'

The Guru then visited Kot Kapura, and put up outside the city under a pipal-tree, which is still pointed out to the traveller. It is in a little promontory in the centre of a lake formed by the excavation of earth to build the town. Kapura came to see him, and brought him a fully caparisoned horse and other presents. Next day Kapura again visited him and found him seated on one couch, while his weapons were laid before him on another. He reverenced arms because, he said, they who wore them and practised their use became brave and conquered their enemies.

The Guru begged Kapura's permission to take shelter in his fort. Kapura replied that he had no power to withstand the imperial army, and no desire to wander a fugitive like the Guru. The Guru then said the Muhammadans would take his fort, put his head into a bag of ashes, and then hang him. Kapura left in anger, and going home closed the gates of the fort, so that the Guru might not enter by surprise.

The Guru heard that Wazir Khan's army was now in hot pursuit. He accordingly set out from Kapura, and sought shelter in Dhilwan, a village about four miles to the south-east of it. There Prithi Chand's descendants had been settled for some time. One of them called Kaul, now a very old man, visited the Guru and made him a present of a suit of clothes. Upon this the Guru threw off and burned the greater part of the blue dress which he had been using for disguise. In the Asa ki War occurs the line :—

Nil bastar le kapre pahire Turk Pathani amal kiya.
The Turks and Pathans put on blue clothes and reigned.

For this the Guru read :—

Nil bastar le kapre phare ; Turk Pathani amal gaya.
I have torn the blue clothes which I wore ; the rule of the Turks and Pathans is at an end.

The Guru meant the alteration as a curse on the Turks and Pathans. It was deemed an impious act to alter any part of the Granth Sahib. This the Guru did not deny, but said he hoped that the murder of his father and of his own children and the grievous sufferings of his Sikhs were a sufficient atonement. A piece of his blue clothes which the Guru did not consign to the fire he preserved in memory of his troubles. It is said to have subsequently suggested the blue dress of the Akalis or Nihangs.

The Guru soon left Dhilwan and pitched his tent in a forest between Maluka and Kotha. Thence he proceeded to Jaito in the present state of Nabha. There Kapura arrived on a hunting excursion. He complained of perturbation of mind on account of the curse the Guru had uttered. The Guru, however, refused to retract his words. On the contrary he said that Kapura should ever remain a puppy of the Muhammadans, and have great suffering in consequence.

While the Guru was in this locality, a messenger arrived with the news that Wazir Khan's army was marching hither, and would arrive in a few days. The Guru asked Kapura for a guide. Kapura sent an officer called Khana and some troopers with instructions to show him the way as far as Khidrana, but not engage in any combat, and if possible hinder the Guru from doing so. Next morning the Guru escaped to Ramiana in the Faridkot state. On the way he found a man gathering the fruit of the wild caper. The Guru tasted, but not relishing it, told the man to throw it away. The man would not do so altogether. The Guru said it had been his intention to banish drought from that part of the country, but now he could not do so owing to the man's obstinacy and disregard of his orders. From Ramiana the Guru proceeded towards Khidrana.

All the contests and sufferings of the Guru became



AN AKALI

known in the Manjha, and the Sikhs who dwelt there censured themselves for having listened to Duni Chand and abandoned the Guru at Anandpur. They now began to consider how they could make reparation and assist their spiritual master in his dire extremity. They were, however, of the opinion of the Sikhs of Lahore that the Guru should adopt the way of Baba Nanak and cease all hostilities. They sent a large deputation to press their advice on him, and promised that, if he accepted it, they would use influence with the Emperor to pardon him; otherwise they would not consider themselves his Sikhs or him their Guru.

The Guru on the way to Khidrana arrived at a village owned by a Khatri called Rupa, who warned him off through fear of the Emperor's displeasure. The Guru had a Bairar named Dan Singh as his clerk and chamberlain. Dan Singh's son saw the enemy approaching, and duly informed the Guru. The Guru took no notice, but continued to walk his horse. The warning was repeated, but the Guru heeded it not. The youth then struck the Guru's horse with the object of quickening his pace. At this the Guru became angry and uttered words of censure. Dan Singh interceded for his son. The Guru replied that he treated Dan Singh's son as his own, and a father's censure would not affect his children. The Guru instanced the case of a tigress removing her cubs from a burning forest. When she takes them in her mouth, every one thinks she is going to devour them, but this is not so. Her act is prompted by love.

The deputation of the Manjha Sikhs found the Guru after much search. On hearing their representation he said, 'If you were my Sikhs, you would receive and not give me instruction. I do not require you. You deserted me formerly. Who hath sent for you now? You have come to adjust my quarrels, but where were you when I needed your

assistance? You used no influence with the Emperor when Guru Arjan was tortured to death, or when Guru Teg Bahadur was beheaded. On this account, my brethren, I cannot listen to your advice. When I am again in difficulty, you will betray me as before. Put on record that you renounce me and go to your homes.' Upon this the deputation drew up a formal document to the effect that they renounced the Guru unless he ceased to contend with the Turks.

A Sikh who had been put on a tree to keep watch said, 'I see the enemy approaching, and they will soon see us.' The Guru took up his bow and arrows and mounted his horse. He was advised by Kapura's guide to go to Khidrana, where there was water of which he could hold possession, and where the Muhammadans, if they ventured thither, would die of thirst. The Guru said, 'There is dust in the eyes of the Muhammadans and earth in their mouths. They may stare as much as they please, but when I remember the holy Baba Nanak they cannot see me.'

Five of the Manjha Sikhs repented of their renunciation of the Guru, and decided to return and render him all assistance. They induced thirty-five more of their number to return with them. The Guru thus obtained an unexpected reinforcement of forty good and earnest fighting men. They were joined by a heroine named Bhago, who through zeal for the Sikh cause had donned man's attire and vowed to suffer death if necessary on the bloodstained field of danger on behalf of the Guru. The Guru and his personal guard preceded them to Khidrana in the present Firozpur district of the Panjab, but on finding no water there, the tank having run dry, moved on into the neighbouring forest, where they deemed they should be in greater safety, and whence they could more easily escape if overpowered. The forty men of the Manjha on arriving at Khidrana

decided to cover the trees in the neighbourhood with clothes, so that the enemy might think they were encamped in great numbers, and not make a sudden attack on them. Kapura appeared in the enemies' ranks. He overtly came to show them the way by which he had instructed his officer to take the Guru and his forty Sikhs to their destruction.

Wazir Khan ordered his army to charge the Sikhs who stood to oppose him, and in whose ranks he believed the Guru to be concealed. They received the charge with the utmost bravery. The Muhammadans were giving way when Wazir Khan rallied them by asking if they were not ashamed to fly before such a handful of men. Five Sikhs who advanced to the front were riddled with bullets. Ten more advanced on the imperial army, and cleared the field wherever they went. When they were cut down, the enemy took courage and advanced nearer the remaining Sikhs. Eleven Sikhs then rushed on the enemy and smote them down. They were, however, unable to cope with superior numbers and fell under the swords of the Muhammadans. The woman Bhago fought heroically in their ranks, disposed of several of her Muhammadan opponents, and transmitted her name as an Indian heroine for the admiration of future generations.

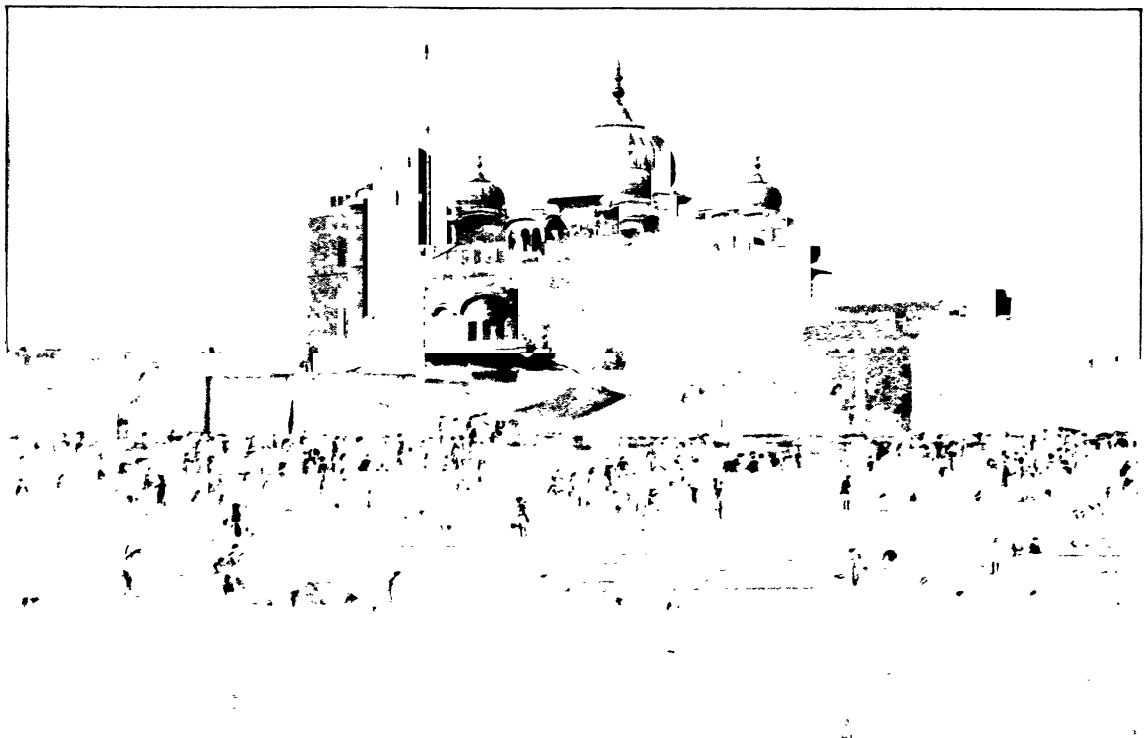
The Guru and his body-guard had taken up their position on a sand hill about two miles distant. He discharged arrows from there with fatal effect against the Muhammadans who could not see from what quarter destruction was raining on them. At the conclusion of the engagement Wazir Khan thought the Guru was killed, and ordered his men to search for his body.

The tank at Khidrana, as already stated, having become dry, Wazir Khan's army was in great straits for want of water. Kapura told him that it could only be obtained at a distance of thirty miles in front and ten miles in rear, and advised him to

march back and save the lives of his men and horses, otherwise they would all perish. To such distress was the Muhammadan army reduced, that they abandoned their dead and wounded, and relinquished their search for the body of the Guru. Wazir Khan boasted that he had killed him, and that the Emperor on hearing the joyful intelligence would greatly honour and reward him.

On finding that the Muhammadan army had departed, the Guru went to see the battle-field, relieve the wounded, and perform the obsequies of the slain. He went about wiping the faces of both dead and wounded, and extolling their unsurpassed valour. Copious tears flowed from his eyes. He said the dead had given up their lives for him, and they should abide in bliss in the Gurus' paradise. He found Mahan Singh breathing heavily and desiring a last sight of his spiritual master. The Guru told him to open his eyes, and when he did so his strength returned. The Guru invited him to ask for any boon he desired from empire to salvation. Mahan Singh thought it was best to ask for the cancellation of the deed of renunciation of the Guru drawn up by the Manjha Sikhs. The Guru at first refused, but on being pressed consented to cancel it. He drew the document from his pocket and destroyed it. Mahan Singh then breathed his last. The Guru ordered the Bairars he had recently enlisted to collect the slain and cremate them. He promised that all Sikhs who visited the place on the first of Magh, the anniversary of the battle, should become filled with the martial spirit of their sires. Khidrana has since that time been called Muktsar, or the tank of salvation, because those who fell on that spot were no more subject to transmigration.

In the process of collecting the slain it was found that another person showed signs of life. This was the heroine Bhago. The Guru addressed her:



'Taking off thy woman's dress thou didst come to me with the Manjha Sikhs. It is well that thou hast fought here. Blessings on thy life! Arise and come with me.' She detailed the story of her departure from her home in the company of the Sikhs of the Manjha, and then continued: 'I obtained possession of a strong spear. When all the Sikhs were dead the Turks advanced on me. I spitted several of them. Others directed their weapons against me, but thou didst extend thine arm to save me. Now that I have seen thee I am happy, and have no further desire than to abide with thee.'

CHAPTER XXVII

The Guru thence proceeded to Saran and thence to Nautheha. The inhabitants of the latter village prayed him to leave them. He then went to Tahlian Fatah Sammun, a village about twenty miles soutl.-west of Muktsar, where he was welcomed.

Some Sikhs from Harike came to him with an offering of a lungi and a khes. The Guru put the khes on his shoulders and tied the lungi round his loins, Man Singh remonstrated and reminded him of his own prohibition of the wearing of a lungi in this fashion, and said he was liable to a fine. The Guru replied, 'I am dressed according to the custom of the country. *Jeha des teha bhes; ter lungi modhe khes*—Every country hath its own dress;[1] a lungi for the loins and a khes (shawl) for the shoulders.'

The Guru feeling his insecurity asked that a guard should be provided for him. The warlike Sikhs put some Dogars on guard. The Guru intended to

[1] Although the Guru allowed his Sikhs to adopt the dress of every country they inhabited, yet they must not wear hats but turbans to confine the long hair they are strictly enjoined to preserve. They must also put on a *kachh* (drawers), but over it they may wear trousers.

reward the Harike Sikhs had they kept guard themselves. As it was, he blessed the Dogars and foretold that they should have possession of all the adjacent river banks. The prophecy has been fulfilled, and there their descendants have since remained.

Next day the Guru continued his journey and rested under a ber-tree, where he passed the night. The following day he proceeded to Wajidpur, some six or seven miles to the east of Firozpur. The inhabitants told him that the Emperor's drums were often heard there, and they suggested to him to depart. The Guru said that instead of the drums of the Emperor, the praises of the Sikhs should subsequently resound in the locality. The place afterwards fell into the possession of the Kanhaiya Misal.[1]

While in this neighbourhood the Guru heard the cry of a partridge and pursued it. The partridge gave chase and tired out men and horses. At last the Guru caught it, plucked it, and threw it before his hawk, which after some hesitation began to devour it. The Guru when asked the cause of this strange proceeding told the following anecdote : ' In a previous birth the partridge had been an agriculturist, and the hawk a money-lender. The agriculturist had borrowed from the money-lender, squandered the money, and then went to live in another village. The money-lender followed him and insisted on payment. The agriculturist begged for time, and promised to discharge the debt. The money-lender demanded a surety. The agriculturist said he had no surety but the Guru. The money-lender was then satisfied and went home. The agriculturist, however, ultimately failed to pay the money. Both died soon after, upon which the agriculturist became this partridge, and the money-

[1] When the Sikhs obtained supremacy over the Muhammadans they divided the Panjāb into twelve *misals* or districts, under chiefs who exercised independent authority within their limits. Most of these *misals* were absorbed by Mahārāja Ranjīt Singh.

lender my hawk. The hawk at first refused to touch the partridge as the latter had given me as surety. I have now fulfilled my suretyship by bestowing the partridge on the hawk. If any one give me again as surety and discharge not his debt, I will treat him as the hawk hath done the partridge.'

The Guru left Wajidpur and returned to Muktsar. Thence he proceeded to Rupana and thence to Bhundar, Gurusar, and Thehri. After that he proceeded to Kaljharani. Thence he marched to Chhatiana and on his way passed through several minor villages. In Chhatiana some of his soldiers clamoured for their pay, and said they would not allow him to proceed further until he had paid them their arrears. He offered them their choice of remaining his Sikhs or of taking their pay and returning to their homes. They elected to take their pay and dismissal.

At this juncture a Sikh opportunely arrived with a large pecuniary offering for the Guru. He summoned his soldiers and gave them their pay at the rate of eight annas per day for cavalry, and four annas per day for infantry. To Dan Singh, their officer, the Guru offered his pay, but he refused to take it and elected to share the Guru's fortunes. The Guru complimented him on laying the foundation-stone of the Sikh religion in Malwa as Mahan Singh had done in the Manjha.

His troops were meditating how they could extort more money from the Guru. They told him he had offered them the alternative of taking their pay or becoming Sikhs. As they had accepted the former, they were now excluded from Sikhism. They asked for double pay partly to compensate them for their religious disability, and partly to support their people at home. The Guru complied with their demand and, that he might not be pestered with further extortionate demands, buried the remainder

of the money which his pious follower had brought him.

A Muhammadan faqir called Brahmi (Ibrahim), who lived on a neighbouring mound, came to the Guru with offerings, and asked to be baptized. The Guru expressed his satisfaction at the proposal. 'Thou art the first Moslem to be baptized according to my rites. If any Moslem, whether of high or low position, in good faith desire to join the Khalsa, it is proper that he should be baptized and received into our community.' The Muhammadan was accordingly baptized and received the name Ajmer Singh.[1]

The Guru thence went to the village of Sahib Chand and thence to Kot Bhai. On his way he baptized several people. From there he proceeded to Rohila and then to Bambiha, where he remained nine days. Thence he returned to Bajak.

When the Guru was in the neighbourhood of Maluka and Kotha, one of the sect called Diwanas (madmen), who attempted forcible access to him, was cut down by his sentry. While the Guru was in Bajak, Ghudda, the Diwanas' spiritual guide, sought to avenge the death of his follower, and accordingly sent fifty men of his sect to assassinate the Guru. On learning, however, that the Guru had a strong body-guard, forty-eight of them turned back and only two, Sukkhu and Buddha, proceeded to the Guru. They carried no weapons, but whiled away their time on the journey with the music of a sarangi. On reaching the Guru instead of trying to kill him they began to play and sing for him. They sang among others the following verses :—

The soul resideth in a frail body.
Parents are not for ever, nor doth youth abide.
We must all march onwards : why should man be proud ?

The Guru was much pleased with them, and they

[1] *Sūraj Parkāsh, Ayan I*, Chapter xviii.

were equally pleased with him. To show their satisfaction and the pleasure they felt in his company, they took up his bed on their shoulders, and carried it for more than a mile. The Guru gave them a square rupee, and told them to preserve it in memory of him and promised that they should obtain whatever their hearts desired.

The Guru then proceeded to Jassi Baghwali and thence towards Talwandi Sabo, now called Damdama, in the Patiala state, halting on the way at a place called Pakka. In Talwandi Sabo resided his friend Dalla, who asked him why he had not previously applied to him for assistance against the treacherous Muhammadans. He said he could have saved the Guru much suffering. Here the Guru met some Sikhs who had come from Lahore with a musket as an offering. He asked Dalla for two men to serve as targets to make trial of the weapon. All who heard him thought he was insane and made no reply. The Guru then saw two Ranghreta Sikhs and invited them to submit to the trial. When the Guru called them they were tying on their turbans, but, so eager were they to please him, that they went before him with their turbans only half-bound, and vied with each other as to who should first be the subject of his experiment. The Guru said he only wanted one of them, and further explained that he merely desired to prove the cowardice and disloyalty of Dalla's soldiers, and show that, had they been with him in Anandpur, they would have deserted him in the hour of danger.

The Guru's wives Mata Sundari and Sahib Kaur here joined him in his wanderings. They wept copiously on hearing the fate of the young children. The Guru endeavoured to console them, and said, 'Ajit Singh, Zorawar Singh, Jujhar Singh, and Fatah Singh have been sacrificed for their religion and obtained eternal life, so why should the mothers of such heroes lament? Lo! the whole world is

transitory. There is first childhood, then youth which diminisheth day by day, and at last old age, when the body perisheth. In the presence of God what is old age, what childhood, and what youth ? They are all the same—equally of short duration. The more we love our bodies, the more suffering we endure. Love for the body is meaningless. Only those who apply it to good works profit by their lives. Your sons have gone with honour to where bliss ever abideth. Having performed the work of the immortal God they have now returned to Him. Therefore accept God's will as the best and most advantageous portion. Instead of your sons I present you with my Sikhs as a brave and worthy offspring.'

Dayal Das, a grandson of Bhai Bhagtu, came from Bhuchcho to visit the Guru. The Guru wished to baptize him, but he refused, saying he was a Sikh of the ancient fashion and wished to remain so. Ram Singh, a great-grandson of Bhai Bhagtu, came from Chakk Bhai to invite the Guru to go and stay with him. The Guru promised that he would go some day, and requested him to hold his house in readiness to receive him.

The woman Bhago who remained with the Guru after the battle of Muktsar, in a fit of devotional abstraction tore off her clothes and wandered half naked in the forest. The Guru restrained her, gave her the kachh or Sikh drawers, and allowed her again to wear man's costume. She attained a good old age, and died in Abchalanagar (Nander) revered by the Sikhs as a saint.

While the Guru was in Talwandi Wazir Khan sent a peremptory note to Dalla to surrender him, or he would dispatch an army and put them both to death. Dalla replied that the Guru was his life, and he could not part with him. If Wazir Khan sent an army, the Guru and Dalla would go into the recesses of the forest, where, even if an army

penetrated, it would perish for want of water. In fine Dalla manfully and courageously stated that he intended the Guru should reside with him for ever.

One day the Guru, probably not wishing to compromise his friend Dalla, said he would like to see the old fort of Bhatinda which had been founded by Binaipal. He first, however, in pursuance of his promise went to visit Ram Singh at Chakk Bhai. Ram Singh informed Dayal Das of the Guru's visit, and suggested to him to prepare dinner for him in Bhuchcho. He did so, but the Guru refused his hospitality and proceeded to Bhagtu on his way to Bhatinda. The Guru took up his residence on the top of the fort where now is a small temple dedicated to him.

At night some Baloches sang of Sassi and Punnu. Sassi had been brought up by a washerman. Punnu was a Baloch merchant who came to the Panjab with merchandise for sale. He met Sassi, fell in love with her, and remained with her, until his brother came and took him forcibly away by night. Sassi at daybreak hearing of his abduction followed him, and on arriving at a sandy desert was so overcome by the heat that she expired. The poet represented that she had entered the earth in quest of Punnu. Next day the Guru took occasion to expatiate on love. He said, 'Men may perform devotion and penance for hundreds of thousands of years, but it would be all in vain without the love of God.'

The Bairars told the Guru a legend regarding the founding of Bhatinda. One day, as Binaipal was hunting, he saw a wolf and a goat struggling. The goat was trying to save her young from the wolf. On the very spot where the struggle between the two animals took place Binaipal caused the fort to be erected. The Bairars told the Guru that there was a subterranean passage between Bhatinda and Bhatner in Bikaner. The chroniclers do not state

who was in possession of the fort when visited by the Guru.[1]

The Guru thence proceeded to Samma and thence returned to Talwandi Sabo. There his friend Dalla again met him. Dayal Das had been following the Guru for some time to present him with the sacred food he had prepared for him, and thus secure the Guru's pardon. On arriving at Damdama Ram Singh, who was in the Guru's service, interceded for Dayal Das, and the Guru was pleased to restore him to his friendship.

Wazir Khan sent another letter to Dalla to arrest the Guru, or he would plunder his country and put him to death without mercy. Dalla replied, 'O viceroy, I fear thee not, however much thou threatenest me with thine army. Having destroyed it, the Guru and I will retire into the forest where thou shalt have no power over us, and whence thou shalt have to return when thy troops have perished of hunger and thirst. I will by no means have the Guru arrested to please thee. Nay, I will defend him with my life.'

Zabardast Khan, the Viceroy of Lahore, plundered a party of Sikhs who were going to make offerings to the Guru. Wazir Khan, the viceroy of Sarhind, plundered another party going on the same errand. The Guru then repeated his exhortation to his Sikhs to wear arms and diligently practise their use. In the early days of Sikhism it was different. At that time the Guru's teaching was to remember the true Name and not annoy anybody. Farid said, 'If any one strike thee with his fists, strike him not back.' With such teaching, the Guru said, the Sikhs had become faint-hearted and ever suffered defeat. Now that the times had altered, and the Sikhs were obliged to defend themselves, he had established the

[1] There is a tradition in Bhatinda that the fort was partially destroyed by Shahāb-ul-Dīn Ghori during his campaign for the recovery of the Panjāb.

Khalsa, and whoever desired to abide in it should not fear the clash of arms, but be ever ready for the combat and the defence of his faith. At the same time the Name was still to remain the chief object of the Sikhs' adoration.

CHAPTER XXVIII

While the Guru was at Damdama he dictated the whole of the Granth Sahib to Bhai Mani Singh, and added for the first time the hymns and sloks of his father Guru Teg Bahadur with a slok of his own.[1]

It is said that the Guru used to have baptismal water prepared and thrown among the bushes. He explained that he did so in order that the Malwa Sikhs might increase in number and spring from every forest shrub. He used also to have pens made and scattered in different directions. By this he meant that the inhabitants of the place should become learned and expert penmen.

The Guru while at Damdama used in the afternoon to go into the forest and sit under a jand-tree. The place was hence called Jandiana. A temple was subsequently erected there. At night the Guru used to return to Damdama. It was while in this neighbourhood he baptized Dalla and one hundred other Sikhs.

[1] Slok LIV. It may here be stated that there were three editions of the Granth Sāhib. The first was written by Bhāi Gur Dās, the second by Bhāi Banno, and the third by Bhāi Mani Singh, under the superintendence of Guru Gobind Singh. The first two are believed to exist still, one being at Kartārpur in the Jalandhar District, and the other at Māngat in the Gujrāt District of the Panjāb. Guru Gobind Singh's copy of the Granth Sāhib was the most complete. It is unfortunately not now extant. It was either destroyed or taken away as booty by Ahmad Shāh Durāni when he despoiled and profaned the Golden Temple at Amritsar.

The Granth of the tenth Guru was really the *Daswen Pādshāh ka Granth*. The large volume which now bears that title, was compiled from various materials twenty-six years after his demise.

The Guru sent for Tilok Singh and Ram Singh who had performed the obsequies of his two sons Ajit Singh and Zorawar Singh, fallen at Chamkaur. They came to visit him and made him large offerings. The Guru was well pleased with them and blessed them and their offspring. It may be here mentioned that Ram Singh is the ancestor of the Chief of Patiala, and Tilok Singh the ancestor of the chiefs of Nabha and Jind.[1]

One day the Guru said to Dalla, 'That is a fine field of wheat I see.' Dalla replied, 'That is grass, O true Guru, wheat groweth not here. Had we wheat the Muhammadans would oppress us. Say that *moth* and *bajra*[2] are growing here.' Another day the Guru said, 'O Dalla, I see excellent sugar-cane here.' Dalla made the same reply as before when the Guru said he had seen wheat. The Guru said, 'Thou knowest not thine advantage. I desire to make thy land as fertile as Sarhind. The Turks whom thou fearest shall soon perish, and the soil of Malwa in time bear wheat and sugar-cane.' This prophecy has been fulfilled. Canals made by the British Government have since fertilized that part of the country.

It was here the Guru heard that Kapura had been

[1] It is stated by several Sikh writers that Tilok Singh was present at the battle of Chamkaur. Though inexperienced in war, he conceived a desire to engage in it, and went into the thick of the combat. A Pathān endeavoured to pierce him with a lance. He snatched the lance from the Pathān's hands and cut off his head with his sword. He then took the head on the Pathān's lance to the Guru. The Guru on seeing him approach cried out, *Āo, Tilok Sing, jang ke lāre*—Come, Tilok Singh, Bridegroom of war.

Tilok Singh and Rām Singh had been hereditary Sikhs, and were ever regarded affectionately by the Guru, as is evidenced by his letter of the 2nd of Bhādon, Sambat 1753 (A. D. 1696), in which he wrote, *Meri tere upar bahut khushi hai, aur terā ghar mera hai*, that is, I am very well pleased with you, my house is yours, and your house is mine. This letter is now preserved with other relics of the Guru in the Sikh state of Nābha.

[2] *Moth* and *bajra* are inferior Indian cereals only consumed by the poorest classes.

put to death by Isa Khan of Kot Isa Khan in the Firozpur district. The cause and manner of his death were as follows :—Kaul, a descendant of Prithi Chand, had established a religious fair at Dhilwan ; Kapura attended it and became involved in a drunken brawl with some of the pilgrims. Kaul sent a great-grandson of his to interpose, but the youth was killed. Another great-grandson whom he dispatched on a similar errand met with the same fate. On this Abhai Ram, the father of the youths slain, became furious with Kapura, desired that the Guru's curse on him might speedily take effect, and his line be extirpated. Isa Khan with all haste employed a party of men to attack Kapura, whom he suspected to be a friend of the Guru. The latter tried to defend himself, but was worsted, and then tried to conceal himself in a haystack. Isa Khan dragged him forth, and made him a prisoner. When taking him away he thought he would be only an encumbrance, so he ordered him to be hanged on the nearest tree. Kapura himself remembered the Guru's curse, that his head should be put into a bag of ashes, so he requested that it should be done before his execution, that the words of the Guru might be fulfilled, and that he might be thus saved from further transmigration.

On one occasion a question arose as to what the earth rested on. The theories of the Hindus and other sects were put forward. The Guru concluded the discussion by saying that the earth was supported by the power of God who alone was true and permanent. He on that occasion repeated the sixteenth pauri of the Japji.

Daya Singh and Dharm Singh, whom the Guru had sent with the Zafarnama to the Emperor, succeeded in delivering it, and were furnished with a parwana of safe conduct for their return journey. The perusal of the Zafarnama is said to have softened the Emperor's heart and led him to repent ;

hence his permission to the Guru's messengers to return to their own country in peace and safety. They, however, received no verbal or written reply to the Guru's letter.

The Guru asked Dalla to accompany him to the south of India. Dalla replied that he considered his humble couch at Damdama was equal to the throne of Dihli, and he pressed the Guru and his Sikhs to remain with him. The Bairars in the Guru's service also endeavoured to dissuade him from his contemplated journey. He refused to listen to them, and on this several of them left his service. The Guru was now left with only Dalla Singh; the two great-grandsons of Bhai Bhagtu, namely, Ram Singh and his brother Fatah Singh; Param Singh and Dharm Singh, descendants of Bhai Rupa; and Bhai Mani Singh, the Sikh biographer and arranger of the Ad Granth and the tenth Guru's Granth.

Their first march was to Kewal, thence to Jhorar, thence to Jhanda, and thence to Sarsa. Param Singh and Dharm Singh had a new bed provided for the Guru at every march. Dalla Singh to every one's intense amazement absconded during the march in the dead of night, and took with him a Sodhi and several Bairars. The Guru dismissed Fatah Singh on Ram Singh's representation that his services and assistance were required at home.

The Guru thence proceeded to Nauhar, a town of Bikaner about twenty miles south-west of Sarsa. Though the inhabitants were very rich, they do not appear to have been forward in providing supplies for the Guru and his few remaining followers. On the contrary, there was great commotion in the town because one of his Sikhs had accidentally killed a pigeon. When the Guru went into the marketplace he saw that the inhabitants were very proud of their wealth, and he foretold that it should all soon vanish. In A.D. 1756 a Sikh expedition was

directed against Charupur (Chainpura), but on finding the water on the march brackish, the soldiers made a diversion and plundered Nauhar.

Thence the Guru proceeded to Bahaduran. There he gave Param Singh and Dharm Singh a horse each and also arms for their defence. On arriving at Sahewa (Saio) the Guru noticed that through respect for him they were taking the arms on their heads and walking beside their chargers as being a Guru's gifts. The Guru said that they should obtain whatever they required, and that their tongues should be to them as arms. On bidding them farewell he presented them with a religious work containing the morning and evening divine services of the Sikhs.

The Guru's next march was to Madhu Singhana. He thence proceeded to Pushkar, a place of pilgrimage sacred to Brahma. A Brahman called Chetan showed the Guru the sacred places of Ajmer. The Guru while in that neighbourhood was often severely heckled on the subject of his dress. People said it was neither Hindu nor Muhammadan. The Guru admitted the fact, and said it was the dress of the third distinct sect which he had established.

Thence the Guru proceeded to Narainpur, generally known as Dadudwara, where the saint Dadu had lived and flourished. His shrine had by this time descended to a Mahant called Jait, who quoted two lines of Dadu to the Guru :—

Dadu, surrender thy claim to every worldly thing ; pass thy days without claims.

How many have departed after trading in this grocer's shop ! [1]

The Guru said these lines were applicable to the invention of a religion, but ill suited to its preservation. Rather should the lines be read :—

[1] That is, the world.

Asserting thy claim in the world plunder the wicked.
Extirpate him who doeth thee evil.

The Mahant quoted two other lines to the Guru :—

Dadu, taking the times as they come, be satisfied with this Kal age.
If any one throw a clod or a brick at thee, lift it on thy head.

The Guru would not admit the last line, and altered it thus :—

If any one throw a clod or a brick at thee, angrily strike him with a stone.

The Guru then explained the principles of his own religion to the Mahant: 'This age is very evil. The wicked rule in it, and cause suffering to saints and holy men. Tyrants therefore deserve to be punished. They will not refrain as long as they are pardoned. O Mahant, they who bear arms, who remember the true Name and sacrifice their lives for their faith, shall go straight to paradise. Therefore I have established the Khalsa religion, given my followers arms, and made them heroes.'

The Guru was censured by his staff for lifting his arrow in salutation of Dadu's shrine. Man Singh quoted the Guru's own written instructions, *Gor marhi mat bhul na mane*—Worship not even by mistake Muhammadan or Hindu cemeteries or places of cremation. The Guru explained that he saluted the shrine to test his Sikhs' devotion and their recollection of his instructions. The Guru, however, admitted that he had technically rendered himself liable to a fine, and cheerfully paid one hundred and twenty-five rupees.

The Guru thence went to Lali, thence to Magharoda, and thence to Kulait. Here he met Daya Singh and Dharm Singh returning from their embassy to Aurangzeb. It is probable the embassy reached the Emperor when he was ill. The envoys

told the Guru that when they left the Emperor's court they heard he had been seized with a colic.

The Guru thence proceeded to Baghaur. Here he heard of Aurangzeb's death and the accession of his second son Tara Azim, called Muhammad Azim Shah by Muhammadan historians. The inhabitants of Baghaur refused supplies and quarrelled with the Guru's escort. A camel belonging to the Guru trespassed on one of the town gardens. The gardeners beat the camel and abused the camel-driver. Upon this the Sikhs went in a body and assaulted the gardeners. This led to a counter assault and fighting which lasted two days. By this time the Sikhs had stormed and plundered the city, but the fort remained to be captured. By the advice of Ratan Singh, a Sikh whom the Guru must have met on his travels, a cannon was placed on a hill commanding the fort. After a brief cannonade the occupants held out a flag of truce. Peace was proclaimed, but on the arrival of the raja of the place, who had been absent when the fighting began, hostilities were resumed. Dharm Singh killed the raja's commander-in-chief, and the Guru killed the raja himself. The Baghaur army then fled, and was pursued by the Sikhs until the Guru recalled them. Upon this the Guru resumed his march. On setting out he told the Sikhs that the Turks should soon fight against one another, and that the usurper, Tara Azim, should be killed.

CHAPTER XXIX

When Aurangzeb died, his eldest son, Bahadur Shah, was engaged in a military expedition in Afghanistan.[1] When his younger brother Tara Azim usurped the throne, Badadur Shah hastened back

[1] The Emperor Aurangzeb had three sons, Bahādur Shāh, Muhammad Āzim Shāh (called Tāra Azim by the Sikhs), and Muhammad Kām Bakhsh.

to India to claim and do battle for his heritage. He consulted Nand Lal, a friend of his, as to how he should be successful. Nand Lal advised him to seek the Guru's assistance. The Guru, on being appealed to, promised him not only assistance but sovereignty if he agreed to a request he was about to make, and did not prove false like his father. Bahadur Shah was pleased to accept these vague conditions, and informed the Guru accordingly.

The Guru sent Dharm Singh with some trusty Sikhs to render him all possible assistance, and, feeling anxiety regarding the grave political circumstances of the country, deemed it advisable to retrace his steps to the north in the hope of meeting and conferring with the Emperor.

When Bahadur Shah had fully equipped his army, he marched to Agra. Tara Azim, who was at the time in distant Ahmadnagar, on hearing of his brother's operations, marched by Gualiar to contend with him for empire. Bahadur Shah advanced to meet him and encamped at Jaju near Dhaulpur (Dholpur) where the opposing armies met.[1] After a fight of three days' duration, not only Tara Azim, but several of his principal officers were slain. Upon this his army fled and victory remained with Bahadur Shah. He, now undisputed monarch of India, returned to Agra and dispatched Dharm Singh to inform the Guru of his victory.

On the Guru's arrival in Dihli he encamped on the left bank of the Jamna. His Sikhs thought it unsafe for him to enter that strong Muhammadan and imperial centre. He erected a temple on the spot where his father Guru Teg Bahadur had been cremated. On hearing of Bahadur Shah's victory the Guru resolved to go to Agra to congratulate him, and made arrangements to leave his wives in Dihli under the protection of his Sikhs. Upon hearing this Mata Sundari wept copiously. The Guru

[1] *Wāqiāt Hind.*

consoled her with the arguments and reflections he had previously employed at Damdama on the transitoriness of human life and the bliss in which her son abode as a mighty hero and religious martyr.

A goldsmith residing in Dihli came to the Guru to pray him to grant him the favour of a son. One day as the Guru went to the chase accompanied among others by the goldsmith, they saw a woman abandon her male infant in the forest. The Guru told the goldsmith to take and rear the child. The goldsmith said he could not afford a wet-nurse. The Guru directed him to take some water, recite Wahguru over it, and wash his wife's breasts therewith. When she took the child in her lap milk would at once come in abundance. The goldsmith accepted the Guru's advice, and the promised result was obtained. When the child was five years of age, he was seen by Mata Sundari, who found in him a marvellous likeness to her martyred son, and duly adopted him.

Sahib Kaur importuned the Guru to allow her to accompany him. At last he yielded to her entreaties. Bahadur Shah sent a messenger to the Guru to expedite his departure. The messenger informed him that the Emperor feared the bigotry of his co-religionists were he himself to pay the first visit.

The Guru on the third day after his departure from Dihli arrived at Mathura and encamped at Suraj Kund, on the banks of the Jamna. He made a tour through Bindraban and visited all its famous and interesting places.

On his journey to Agra the Guru wanted water. One of his Sikhs fetched it from the house of a barren woman of the priestly class, and told the Guru that, there being no children there, the water must be pure. The Guru would not admit that children defiled water, and asked it to be brought him from some house, where there were sons and daughters. On that occasion he said, 'A hermit

is best when alone; pure is his body and pure his mind; but where there is a householder with a large family, his house is still purer, and so are his body, mind, and understanding.'

The Guru duly met the Emperor Bahadur Shah in Agra. The Emperor thanked him for such assistance as he had given him in obtaining the throne, made him costly presents, and invited him to spend some time with him. The Guru was pleased to accept the invitation.

One day as the Guru and a high officer were seated together, a Saiyid of Sarhind asked the Guru if he could perform a miracle. The Guru replied that miracles were in the power of the Emperor. He could raise a humble person to the highest office and dignity, or degrade him therefrom. The Saiyid said he knew that, but had the Guru himself the power of working any miracles? Upon this the Guru drew forth a gold coin and said that it was a miracle, for everything could be purchased with it. The Saiyid asked if he could show any further miracles. In reply the Guru drew his sword, and said that that also was a miracle. It could cut off heads and confer thrones and empires upon those who wielded it with dexterity. Upon this the Saiyid hung down his head and asked no further questions.

Some rajas of Rajputana came to visit the Guru. He told them they did one very regrettable thing, namely, they gave their daughters in marriage to Muhammadan emperors and princes. He made them swear that they would for the future desist from the practice.

One day in conversation with the Guru the Emperor maintained that if any one were to repeat the Muhammadan creed, he should not be consigned to hell. The Guru denied that the creed had that efficacy. If any one after repeating it were to do evil, the repetition of the creed would not avail him.

The Emperor asked how he was to be assured of that. The Guru replied, 'The creed is stamped on thy rupee; we shall see the effect thereof.' The Guru secretly sent a bad rupee to the market-place to be changed. The money-changer applied to at once rejected it as counterfeit. It was then taken to the other money-changers with the same result. The Guru then addressed the Emperor: 'See, in thine empire, even in thine own market-place, no one hath paid any regard to thy creed engraved on this rupee, so how shall it conduct men to heaven? Thou to-day enjoyest empire, and canst do what thou pleasest. If here in thy presence this bad rupee even with the creed on it cannot pass, how can it be accepted by another monarch? In God's court gilding availeth not. The counterfeit and the genuine are there distinguished, and men obtain the reward or punishment due to their acts. Thy creed, therefore, as in the present case, cannot avail thee for admission into heaven without good works. When all accounts are called for by the Great Examiner, it is only those who show balances to their credit who shall be delivered.'

The Guru and the Emperor's conversation turned on the subject of Hindu pilgrimages. The Guru said he himself had no concern with them. Next day when he visited the Emperor, the latter said there were two ways—the Hindu and the Musalman—in the world, and inquired which the Guru preferred to follow. The Guru said he was well disposed towards both, and he instructed every one as he found him. The Emperor replied: 'There is one God and one faith. On what dost thou rely?' The Guru smiled and said, 'My brother, there are three Gods.' The Emperor inquired where that was written, and added, 'A child born yesterday knoweth there is only one God.' The Guru continued, 'Why did thine ancestors hinder the Hindus from worshipping Ram, Narayan, and tell them they must

only utter Maula Pak or Khuda[1]? Thou proclaimest that heaven is made for Moslems and hell for the Hindus. Hindus will not associate with any one who adoreth Maula Pak or Khuda. Such is the quarrel between the two sects. Know that my religion is that regarding which there is no controversy. The Hindus have a God whom Moslems do not acknowledge, and I have a God whom neither of them acknowledge.'

The Emperor one day preached the Guru a sermon against Hindu superstitions. The Guru agreed with him, but at the same time would not flatter the Muhammadan religion. He said that as the Hindu worshipped stones, so did the Muhammadans worship departed saints and even a black lifeless slab at Makka; and as the Hindus when at prayer turned their faces to the east, the Muhammadans turned their faces to the west. The Muhammadans supposed that their prophet could mediate for them, but he had become ashes, and what advantage could his ashes or those of his saints confer on men? The Guru thus found fault with both the Hindu and Muhammadan religions, and said that he had struck out a religion of his own, the basis of which was the worship of the sole immortal God. Some discussion arose on the subject of the Guru's discourse, but he promptly answered all objections.

The Guru now explicitly stated the request he had several times hinted that he desired to make. It was to deliver up to him Wazir Khan who had killed his children at Sarhind. The Emperor naturally desired to know what the Guru proposed to do with him. The Guru candidly replied that he would have life for life, according to the law of retaliation contained in the Emperor's sacred book. The Emperor shuddered on hearing this request, but gave no direct refusal. He said he would reply after consulting his ministers. At the same time

[1] Muhammadan names of God.

he felt that if he surrendered a viceroy to the Guru, a popular rebellion and a mutiny of his Muhammadan army would be the result. The Emperor therefore requested the Guru to wait for a year until his rule was more firmly established, and then he would consider the request made. The Guru on this reproached the Emperor with falsehood, and said that a Sikh[1] should arise who should call the false and counterfeit to account, who should seize and kill the Emperor's viceroys, priests, and magistrates, and contribute to the ruin of the Mughal empire.

Notwithstanding this blunt language and undisguised menace, the Emperor invited the Guru to go with him on a visit to Jaipur and other cities. The Guru promised to join him on the march. After a few days he set out and overtook the Emperor. They both visited Jodhpur and Chitaur. Each raja sent his envoy to conciliate and do homage to the Guru. At Chitaur there arose a quarrel between the Sikhs and the Rajputs on account of some grass the former had taken for their horses. The Guru censured his Sikhs, and ordered them to take nothing for the future without payment.

The Emperor and the Guru continued their journey to the Narbada river. The quarrel between the Sikhs and the Muhammadans was kept alive by the Emperor's escort, many of whom were relations of the imperial soldiers slain by the Sikhs at Anandpur. The Guru sent Man Singh, one of his Five Beloved, to adjust the difference between both parties. While on his mission of peace the brave Man Singh, one of the surviving heroes of Chamkaur, who had never parted from the Guru, was assassinated by a fanatic. The Emperor was much distressed on hearing of his death, and ordered that his murderer should be seized and given up to the Guru for punishment. The Guru pardoned him,

[1] No doubt Banda was meant.

and thus gained great praise from the Muhammadans for his mercy and clemency.

The Emperor and the Guru continued their march to Burhanpur on the Tapti river. The inhabitants had prepared a house there for the Guru, where he passed some time. A holy man came to visit him and said, 'O Guru, I was present with thy father on the bank of the Brahmaputra when thou wert born in Patna. He said that thou shouldst afterwards travel to the south of India. The prophecy having now been fulfilled, I have come to meet and welcome thee.' He then gave the Guru hospitable entertainment.

The Emperor continued his journey and left the Guru at Burhanpur. After some days the Emperor wrote to him to join him, and he acceded to his request. Both then proceeded to Puna and thence to Nander on the margin of the river Godavari in the present state of Haidarabad and about one hundred and fifty miles north-west of its capital.

CHAPTER XXX

The original name of Nander was Nau Nand Dehra, because it is said that nine rikhis dwelt there in prehistoric times. It is supposed to occupy the site of the ancient city of Tagara described by the author of the *Periplus of the Erythrean Sea*. In the middle of the fourth century it was still a place of importance and the capital of a petty kingdom. Its fortifications have long since been dismantled or have perished by lapse of time; and there is now no trace of any ancient buildings save a few old temple pillars preserved in a small mosque near the court of the sub-collector. The country is diversified by dale and hillock along the lazily flowing Godavari.

The Guru arrived in Nander in Sawan (July–August), A. D. 1707, with some infantry and two or

three hundred cavalry equipped with lances. He went to the hut of Madho Das, a Bairagi hermit. Finding the Bairagi absent, and hearing that he possessed such skill in magic that he could overthrow any one who sat on his couch, the Guru proceeded to sit thereon and make himself at home. He shot one of the Bairagi's goats and cooked and ate the flesh. A disciple went to inform the Bairagi of the Guru's proceedings. It was a sacrilege to kill an animal at the Bairagi's seat, and another sacrilege to take possession of the couch which served him as a throne. He came to demand an explanation of the intruder's strange conduct. The Bairagi represented that the place had been first his guru's seat, then his own, and he did not desire to have it usurped by an unknown stranger, who moreover committed violence and sacrilege. The Guru replied that he had arrived fatigued in Nander, and having heard of the Bairagi's hospitality and philanthropy, took the liberty of testing the favourable accounts he had received. The Bairagi accepted the Guru's explanation, recognized from his words and manner that he was a great man, and called himself his Banda—slave—the name by which he was subsequently known.

Banda, whose original name was Lachmandev, was son of Ramdev Rajput and native of Rajauri in the Himalayan State of Punch. Before he adopted a religious rôle he had been a zamindar or cultivator. In early years he practised the use of firearms and was devoted to the chase. Once when he shot a female deer he found two young ones in her womb. He was so distressed at what he had done, that he decided to renounce the world and became a disciple of a faqir named Janki Prasad. As a wandering mendicant he made his way to the source of the Godavari at Nasik. He there made himself a hut and began to perform austerities.

A Jogi called Luni visited him and instructed him

in the science of Jog and incantations. Being thus accomplished, he set out again on his travels, and followed the source of the Godavari until he arrived in Nander. There he became known as a holy man in possession of many charms for the acquisition of spiritual and temporal advantages. He used to pray and perform penance on a little mound overlooking the Godavari, and thence at intervals watch its slow and dreamy motion as if it were loth to lose itself in the open sea.

The Guru was pleased with the position and seclusion of Nander, and decided to make it his permanent abode. He used to sit in prayer and meditation on a small stone structure on the margin of the river. Near it is a little larger building where the Granth Sahib was read. It is now and has been for years in a state of dilapidation.

The Guru instructed Banda in the tenets of his religion, and in due time baptized him according to the new rites. On that occasion Banda received the name Gurbakhsh Singh, but continued to be known as Banda. He conceived a great affection for the true religious guide he had at last found, and one day asked him if there were any service he could perform for him. The Guru after reflection found that he had an account to settle with the Muhammadans of the Panjab, and replied, 'I have come into the world to consolidate the faith and destroy oppressors. Art thou prepared to assist me?' Banda promised to undertake any enterprise suggested by the Guru. Upon this he was enjoined to proceed to the Panjab and wreak vengeance on the enemies of the Khalsa. 'Thou hast called thyself my slave,' said the Guru, 'but thou shalt be the most exalted of all.'

Saying this the Guru presented him with five arrows and thus addressed him, 'As long as thou remainest continent, thy glory shall increase. He who is continent, turneth not away from the combat,

and his opponents cannot withstand him. The continent man succeedeth in everything. Once thou forsakest the Khalsa principles and associatest unlawfully with woman, thy courage shall depart.' He then ordered Banda to proceed towards the Jamna, wait at a little distance from Buria for reinforcements which he would cause to be sent him, then go to Sadhaura—Buria and Sadhaura are both in the present district of Ambala—and plunder and devastate it. The reason was that the Muhammadans of the place had caused Budhu Shah and his disciples to be executed by the Emperor for the offence of having assisted the Guru at the battle of Bhangani. When Banda had disposed of the Guru's enemies at Sadhaura, he was to proceed to sack some more Muhammadan cities, then march to Sarhind, and put its governor Wazir Khan to death. The Guru gave him instructions to cut off Wazir Khan's head with his own hands, and not entrust this pious duty to any subordinate. This done Banda was commissioned to go to the hills and search for the hill Rajas who had so often and so cruelly persecuted the Guru, and mete out to them the same justice as to the Mughal enemies of the Khalsa.

With Banda the Guru dispatched Baba Binod Singh, his son Baba Kahn Singh—descendants of Guru Angad—and Baz Singh, a descendant of Guru Amar Das, who were all three to give Banda further instructions in the new religion he had adopted. With these the Guru sent five other Sikhs to assist in the enterprise and support the martial fame of the Khalsa.

After Banda's departure the Guru lived at various places in the immediate neighbourhood—at the Shikar Ghat, or game ferry, whence he used to go hunting, at the Nagina Ghat, where a Sikh presented him with a valuable signet ring which he flung into the river, at the Hira Ghat where he disposed in

a similar manner of a valuable diamond ring presented him by the Emperor while in Nander, and at the spot now called the Sangat Sahib, where he used to give religious instruction to his followers and expound to them the Granth Sahib.

While at the Sangat Sahib, a Multani Sikh brought the Guru an offering of a bow and two arrows. He was much pleased, and put the bow to the test by discharging one of the arrows from it. He sent one of his followers to inquire where the arrow had fallen. On being informed of the spot he said that was where he wished to reside. The Muhammadans objected, but their objection was overruled by the Emperor, who made the Guru a present of the land. He went and abode there, and made it the scene of his propaganda. It is the place on which his shrine was subsequently erected.

After some time a Pathan one day came and claimed from the Guru a sum of eleven thousand rupees as the price of horses he had supplied him. The Guru had not sufficient funds to discharge the debt. He said that thirty years after his decease the Sikhs should be in power, and the Pathan had only to present the Guru's acknowledgement of the debt to their leaders, when he should receive the amount many hundredfold. The debt was duly discharged by the Sikhs under happier and more prosperous circumstances.

Chapter XXXI

The Guru feeling that his end was approaching desired to send Sahib Kaur, to her co-wife Sundari whom he had left in Dihli on his departure to the south of India. He knew that she could not endure the shock which his demise would cause her. She at first refused to leave Nander, saying that she had made a vow never to take her daily food without seeing the Guru, and how could she

fulfil her vow if she were to part from him? The Guru then gave her six weapons which had belonged to his grandfather Guru Har Gobind, and told her to look at them whenever she desired to behold him. With these and other inducements he at last persuaded her to depart. She was accompanied by Bhai Mani Singh and both were enjoined to comfort and console Sundari.

The current Sikh account of the Guru's death is that he was stabbed by Gul Khan, a grandson of Painda Khan, in revenge for the death of the latter at the hands of Guru Har Gobind.[1] More probable is the account given in one of the recensions of *Bahadur Shah's history*:—The Guru was in the habit of constantly addressing assemblies of worldly persons, religious fanatics, and indeed all varieties of people. One day an Afghan, who frequently attended these meetings, was sitting listening to him, when certain expressions which were disagreeable to the ears of the faithful fell from the Guru's tongue. The Afghan was enraged and, regardless of the Guru's dignity and importance, stabbed him twice or thrice with a poniard.

[1] Thucydides, the Greek historian, cites a proverb to the effect that the gratification of revenge is the sweetest feeling among mortals—Ἅμα δ' ἐχθροὺς ἀμύνασθαι ἐκγενησόμενον ἡμῖν, καὶ τὸ λεγόμενόν που ἥδιστον εἶναι—and even one of the most Christian of poets thought it not unbecoming his religion and philosophy to approve of the anger of one of the denizens of his Inferno for his unavenged death. His passion for revenge and his resentment at the inaction of his poetic relative only enhanced pity and estimation for him—

ond' ei sen gío
Senza parlarmi, sì com' io stimo;
Ed in ciò m'ha e' fatto a sè più pio.

Dante's *Inferno*.

Several Sikhs suppose that Gul Khān was specially deputed by the Emperor Bahādur Shāh to assassinate the Guru because he had importuned him to fulfil a promise solemnly made. It has been thought the Emperor believed that if he could remove the Guru from his path, all troubles would be at an end.

The Emperor on hearing of the outrage dispatched some of his most skilful surgeons to attend to the Guru's injuries; and so skilfully did they perform their duty that the Guru's wounds were nearly healed in a fortnight, after which the surgeons took their leave as being no longer required. In a short time the Emperor again sent to inquire after the Guru's health and made him several offerings which included two bows. A discussion arose whether the Guru could bend them. On this he took up one and on bending it burst open his imperfectly healed wounds. Blood began to flow copiously. The wound was bound up by the Guru's attendants, but this time it was past medicament.

The Guru set apart five hundred rupees for the preparation and distribution of sacred food and one hundred rupees to purchase sandal-wood and whatever else was necessary for his obsequies. His Sikhs came to him, and said that while he was alive they had the benefit of his presence, but they required instruction which might remind them of him hereafter and guide them to salvation. The Guru replied, 'O dear and beloved Khalsa, the immortal God's will can never be resisted. He who is born must assuredly die. Guru Arjan hath said, "Everything we behold shall perish." Night and day are merely expressions of time. It is the immortal God alone who ever abideth. All other beings, however holy and exalted, must depart when the last moment allotted them arriveth, for none can escape the primordial law of corporeal dissolution. All this world, composed of the five elements, is Death's prey. When the materials perish, how can the fabric remain? God the Creator and Cherisher of all is alone immortal. Brahma, Vishnu, Shiv, and the other gods of the Hindus perished at their appointed time. Of what account is man? Wherefore, O my friends, it is not good to be unduly enamoured of this fragile body. Know that the light of the imperishable God whose attri-

butes are permanence, consciousness, and happiness, shineth ever in you. Wherefore always abide in cheerfulness, and never give way to mourning. God is ever the same. He is neither young nor old. He is not born, neither doth he die. He feeleth not pain or poverty. Know that the true Guru abideth as He. Creatures who are steeped in bodily pride are very unhappy, and night and day subject to love and hate. Ever entangled and involved in the deadly sins, they perish by mutual enmity and at last find their abode in hell. Yet for the love of such creatures the Guru assumed birth to deliver them. He hath instructed them in the true Name, and very fortunate are they who have received and treasured his instruction. By it they are enabled to save themselves and others from the perils of the world's ocean. As when after drought rain falleth and there is abundance, so the Guru, seeing human beings suffering and yearning for happiness, came to bestow it on them and remove their sorrows by his teaching. And as the rain remaineth where it falleth, so the Guru's instruction ever abideth with his disciples. The Sikhs who love the true Guru are in turn beloved by him. O Khalsa, remember the true Name. The Guru hath arrayed you in arms to procure you the sovereignty of the earth. Those who have died in battle have gone to an abode of bliss. I have attached you to the skirt of the immortal God and entrusted you to Him. Read the Granth Sahib or listen to it, so shall your minds receive consolation, and you shall undoubtedly obtain an abode in the Guru's heaven. They who remember the true Name render their lives profitable, and when they depart enter the mansions of eternal happiness.'

When the Sikhs came again to take their last farewell of the Guru, they inquired who was to succeed him. He replied, 'I have entrusted you to the immortal God. Ever remain under His protection, and trust to none besides. Wherever there are five

Sikhs assembled who abide by the Guru's teachings, know that I am in the midst of them. He who serveth them shall obtain the reward thereof—the fulfilment of all his heart's desires. Read the history of your Gurus from the time of Guru Nanak. Henceforth the Guru shall be the Khalsa and the Khalsa the Guru. I have infused my mental and bodily spirit into the Granth Sahib and the Khalsa.'

After this the Guru bathed and changed his dress. He then read the Japji and repeated an Ardas or supplication. While doing so, he gave instructions that no clothes should be bestowed as alms in his name. He then put on a muslin waistband, slung his bow on his shoulder and took his musket in his hand. He opened the Granth Sahib and placing five paise and a coco-nut before it sólemnly bowed to it as his successor. Then uttering '*Wahguru ji ka Khalsa! Wahguru ji ki fatah!*' he circumambulated the sacred volume and said, 'O beloved Khalsa, let him who desireth to behold me, behold the Guru Granth. Obey the Granth Sahib. It is the visible body of the Guru. And let him who desireth to meet me diligently search its hymns.'

The Guru went to an enclosure formed of tent walls where his bier had been erected. In the end of the night—a watch before day—he lay on his bier, and directed all his Sikhs except Bhai Santokh Singh,[1] who was specially attached to him, to go to their homes. He then gave his last orders to his last attendant. 'Keep my kitchen ever open, and receive offerings for its maintenance. If any one erect a shrine in my honour, his offspring shall perish.' Bhai Santokh Singh represented that the Sikhs were few at Nander, and how were offerings to be obtained? The Guru replied, 'O Bhai Santokh Singh, have patience. Singhs of mine of very great eminence shall come here and make copious offerings. Every-

[1] This is a different man from the author of the *Sūraj Parkāsh.*

thing shall be obtained by the favour of Guru Nanak.' He then, in grateful acknowledgement of the spiritual benefactions of the founder of his religion, uttered a Persian distich, the translation of which is:—

Gobind Singh obtained from Guru Nanak
Hospitality, the sword, victory, and prompt assistance.[1]

The Guru then breathed his last. The Sikhs made preparations for his obsequies as he had instructed them, the Sohila was solemnly chanted, and sacred food distributed.

While all were mourning the loss of the Guru a hermit arrived and said, 'You suppose that the Guru is dead. I saw him this very morning riding his bay horse. When I bowed to him he said, "Come, O hermit, let me behold thee. Very happy am I that I have met thee at the last moment." I then asked him whither he was wending his way. He smiled and said he was going to the forest on a hunting excursion. He had his bow in his hand, and his arrows were fastened with a strap to his waist.'

The Sikhs who heard this statement arrived at the conclusion that it was all the Guru's play, that he dwelt in uninterrupted bliss, and that he showed himself wherever he was remembered. He had merely come into the world, they said, to make trial of their faith, and remove the ills of existence. Wherefore for such a Guru who had departed bodily to heaven, there ought to be no mourning. The ashes of his bier were collected and a platform built over them. The Khalsa, to whom the Guruship had been entrusted, declared that all those who visited the spot should receive due spiritual reward.

The Guru departed from the scene of his earthly

[1] These lines were impressed on a seal made by the Sikhs after the Guru's demise, and were adopted by Ranjit Singh for his coinage after he had assumed the title of Mahārāja.

triumphs and reverses on Thursday, the fifth day of the bright half of Kartik, Sambat 1765 (A.D. 1708), having exercised spiritual and temporal sovereignty over the Sikhs for three and thirty years, and resided in Nander for fourteen months and ten days.

The Sikh temple at Nander, called Abchalnagar, is an imposing structure with a cupola and two minarets. The interior is surrounded by a wall of martial implements emblematic of the militant side of the Guru's character. It was built by Mahārāja Ranjit Singh in 1832 in defiance of the Guru's interdiction. Additions are being continually made to the edifice by the contributions of devout Sikhs.[1]

CHAPTER XXXII

We now proceed to continue the history of Banda. Having set out for the Panjab in accordance with the Guru's instructions, and in due time taken up his post on an eminence near Buria, he found there the reinforcements promised by the Guru. They came in numbers and clamoured for food. To supply themselves they were obliged to resort to forcible measures. Upon this there arose a violent altercation between the Sikhs and the villagers, in which the latter were

[1] The state of Haidarābād has set aside the revenue of five villages, namely, Bishanpuri, Bari, Bansari, Masor, and Elki, for the maintenance of the shrine. The yearly revenue of these villages amounts to about eighteen thousand rupees. The Sikh custodians of the shrine receive a similar sum from the State for their own maintenance.

It may here be mentioned that all places of worship in the Haidarābād territory receive state assistance. A Hindu temple at the capital receives an annual subsidy of seventy thousand rupees. In every village Hindu as well as Muhammadan temples are treated as objects of the Nizām's munificence. Even Christian and Parsi churches have to acknowledge his bounty.

There are twelve hundred Sikhs, including cavalry and infantry, commanded by twelve Risāldārs, in the Nizām's army. The Risāldārs reside at Nander each in turn for a whole year to protect the shrine and the Sikhs who have gathered round it from different countries. There are also three or four hundred Sikhs in the State Constabulary.



THE SIKH TEMPLE (HAZUR SAHIB) AT NANDER

put to the sword. The inhabitants of two or three other villages were similarly treated.

On seeing the licence granted to Banda's troops all the robbers of the country flocked to his standard. An outcry everywhere arose, and the people went in large numbers to complain to the governor of Mustafabad—a city five or six miles to the west of Buria—where were two thousand imperial troops under arms and ready for any emergency. These were dispatched with two large guns against Banda, whereupon many of his mercenary recruits deserted him. He encouraged all who remained, and promised them protection and pecuniary assistance. He then pulled forth one of the Guru's arrows, drew a line on the ground with it, and said that no bullet or arrow should cross the demarcation thus made. Upon this his troops rallied and made such a successful defence that the Muhammadans all fled, leaving their cannon behind them. After this victory several of the deserters returned, and rejoined Banda's army. His forces then proceeded to Mustafabad and laid it waste.

Banda's next expedition was against Sadhaura. The imperial troops stationed there came forth to oppose him, but were easily defeated. They fled and took shelter behind their city walls. Banda's forces with great bravery captured the fort, and levelled it with the ground. Then ensued a general massacre of the inhabitants. Banda next marched and laid siege to Samana, a considerable town in the state of Patiala. Here there was a sanguinary battle. The city was sacked, and the male inhabitants put to the sword.

He then proceeded to Sarhind. On the march his troops took supplies forcibly from villagers. Wazir Khan on hearing that Banda was marching against him sent to the viceroy of Lahore for assistance. Banda plundered Ambala on the way. He then marched to Banur where he was encountered

by Wazir Khan's army, which had marched from Sarhind to oppose him. The battle began on the following day. When several of the Muhammadans were slain, Wazir Khan and Banda engaged in single combat. Banda thus addressed him, 'O sinner, thou art the enemy of Guru Gobind Singh. Thou hast shown him no respect, but on the contrary hast put to death his innocent children, and thereby committed a grievous and unpardonable crime, the punishment for which I am now going to deal thee. Thine army and thy country shall be destroyed at my hands.' Upon this Banda struck off his head with one blow of his sword. Then the whole of the Muhammadan army fled followed by the Sikhs, who possessed themselves of their horses, arms, tents, cannon, and other munitions of war, and then advanced in triumph to Sarhind. There they effected a general massacre. The Sikhs captured Suchanand who had instigated the murder of Guru Gobind Singh's children. They put an iron ring in his nose, and passing a rope through it, led him round the streets to beg. At every shop he was shoe-beaten until he died. Such of the inhabitants as were not killed prostrated themselves before the conqueror. He was not disposed to mercy, but gave an order to raze the city to the ground and plough up its site. In the process large treasure was found which materially assisted him in his further career of rapine, bloodshed, and devastation.

Banda then went on an expedition to the east and plundered most of the hill rajas' states. After this he made a pilgrimage to Anandpur, and performed reverent worship at the shrine of Guru Teg Bahadur. He then made pilgrimages to the places hallowed by the visits of Guru Gobind Singh. The Raja of Chamba, in order to conciliate him, sent him a supremely beautiful girl. She had large eyes, her limbs were graceful and delicate, and she is described by the enthusiastic chronicler as the very image of

the goddess of love. Banda on seeing her, parted with his caution, and completely forgot the Guru's injunctions. He dived into the ocean of sensuality, and thought not of the fate that awaited him on the forfeiture of his continence.

Having subjected all the hill chiefs, Banda planned a tour in the Bist Doab, and proceeded to Jalandhar where he killed the Muhammadan male inhabitants. The Muhammadan women were converted to Sikhism, and became wives of the Sikh soldiers by the ceremony of Anand.[1] He thence went into the Manjha and plundered Batala. Thence he marched to Lahore and put its viceroy Aslam Khan and all his principal officers to the sword. He there heard that troops sent by the Emperor Bahadur Shah were marching against him. He proceeded to meet them as far as Ludhiana and defeated them. He thence went on a pilgrimage to the shrine of Guru Nanak in the Gurdaspur district, where he met Bhai Ram Kaur, sixth in descent from Bhai Budha. Banda induced him to remain with him, probably with the object of persuading him, in imitation of his pious ancestor, to invest him with the dignity of Guru.

Banda had by this time obtained supreme power from the neighbourhood of Dihli on the south to Lahore on the north. He appointed his own police, levied revenue, and ruled the country. Baba Binod Singh, whom the Guru had sent with him, gave him great assistance in administration. He endeavoured to dissuade him from the Chamba *liaison* and another of a disreputable character which Banda had also contracted. On one occasion when Baba Binod Singh remonstrated in open darbar with him for his departure from ascetic principles and the injunctions of the Guru, an altercation arose of such a violent character that Binod Singh drew his sword and would have cut off his head had not Kahn Singh interposed. Kahn Singh then foretold the

[1] *Panth Parkāsh.*

departure of Banda's glory and his ignominious death.

Banda next paid a visit to the great temple at Amritsar. He gave out that he had been empowered by the Guru to claim succession to the Guruship. The Sikhs then reflected that he did not live according to the rules prescribed for the Khalsa. In order to make trial of him, they put meat before him, at which he, as the result of early prejudice, became horrified. He fell into a passion with the Sikhs who had thus made trial of him, and they in turn grew enraged with him for refusing meat allowed by their religion and for his manifold irregularities. The result was that the Sikhs divided into two factions. Those who rejected Banda were called the Tat Khalsa, or real Sikhs, and those who accepted him, the Bandai Khalsa or followers of Banda. For the Sikh salutation, *Wahguru ji ka Khalsa ! Wahguru ji ki fatah !* he substituted *Fatah Darshan* 'Victory to the sect', an alteration which was deemed apostasy from the orthodox faith.

Another cause of the dissatisfaction of the Sikhs with Banda was that he disregarded a letter of Mata Sundari to the effect that he had now accomplished the mission imposed on him by the Guru, namely, to bring the Governor of Sarhind to justice, and it was time for him to arrest his career of carnage and spoliation. Banda said that as Mata Sundari was only a woman she was not competent to give him advice or orders. Many Sikhs thinking that this was a slight to the Guru's wife, deserted Banda, and from that time his power began rapidly to decline.

When the defeat of the army sent by the Emperor against Banda was heard of in Nander it was attributed to the Emperor's failure to keep his promise to the Guru.

Banda continued to pursue his violent career until Bahadur Shah, himself at the head of a powerful

avenging army, proceeded against him. Banda not deeming his troops sufficient to cope with the imperial host fled to the mountains and took refuge in a fort called Lohgarh. The imperial army besieged him but the wily chief escaped in a desperate sally. A Hindu who remained behind to personate him was sent by the Subadar's orders to be executed in Dihli. Very soon after this the Emperor died in Lahore, and then ensued the usual Oriental scramble for the throne. His eldest son Jahandar Shah, who has been described as a drunken profligate, succeeded, but was murdered by his nephew Farrukh Siyar, son of Bahadur Shah's second son Azim-ul-Shan. While this struggle was in progress, Banda came forth from his hiding-place and again commenced his depredations.

Bayazid Khan, the new viceroy of Sarhind, went forth with his troops to oppose Banda, but was killed while at his prayers by a follower of the outlaw. On this the Emperor Farrukh Siyar sent Abd-ul-Samad Khan, also known as Diler Jang, to arrest Banda's progress. When Diler Jang thought his troops had surrounded Banda, there was no Banda to be seen. He and his followers had again fled and disappeared in the mountains. Diler Jang took up his quarters at Lahore to await the outlaw's reappearance. After a year Banda again emerged from his fastnesses and took possession of Kalanuar and Santokhgarh. He sent letters in all directions inviting the Sikhs to join his standard. In two months he received considerable reinforcements and defeated Sher Muhammad Daim, the general commanding at Ambala. The latter then went to Diler Jang at Lahore to complain of Banda's lawlessness and tyranny and concert more stringent measures for his repression. Diler Jang sent the Ambala general's complaint to the Emperor. Upon this the Emperor ordered Mir Ahmad Khan, the general commanding at Aurangabad, to join his forces with those of Diler Jang and the other

generals in the Panjab and all proceed against Banda. The latter took refuge in Gurdaspur, and strongly entrenched himself. The Muhammadan army besieged him. The Sikhs were reduced to such extremities that they killed for food all animals in their possession. Baba Binod Singh, who had hitherto accompanied Banda, now abandoned him. Banda, when rendered totally helpless, sent a letter under flag of truce to Diler Jang offering to surrender if his life were spared, and his troops treated with consideration. Diler Jang promised to intercede with the Emperor for him, and held out hopes of his pardon. When Banda gave up his arms, he was not allowed an interview with Diler Jang, but placed at once with all his followers under restraint. They were all sent to Dihli with many circumstances of disgrace—Banda himself being put into an iron cage—to be disposed of by the Emperor.

Here English testimony is available. The members of an English mission who went from Calcutta to Dihli in 1715 to petition the Emperor for certain privileges, have left on record that they saw a procession of eight hundred Sikh prisoners marched through Dihli with two thousand bleeding heads borne aloft on poles. The Sikhs vied with one another for precedence in death.

While the executions were in progress, the mother of one of the prisoners, a young man just arrived at manhood, having obtained some influential support, pleaded the cause of her son with great feeling and earnestness before the Emperor. She represented that her son had suffered imprisonment and hardship at the hands of the sect. His property was plundered, and he was made prisoner. While in captivity, he was, without any fault of his own, introduced into the sect, and now stood innocent among those sentenced to death. Farrukh Siyar pitied the woman, and mercifully sent an officer with orders to release the youth. She arrived

with the order of release just as the executioner was standing with his bloody sword upheld over the young man's head. When she showed the imperial order the youth broke out into complaints, saying, 'My mother speaketh falsely: I with heart and soul join my fellow-believers in devotion to the Guru: send me quickly after my companions.' Needless to say his request was cheerfully granted.

Here Baba Kahn Singh and Baba Baz Singh, whom the Guru had sent with Banda, succeeded in effecting their escape. Ghulam Husain Khan, author of the *Siyar ul Mutaakharin*, states that Banda's son was put on his lap, and Banda was obliged to cut his throat in the manner of Muhammadan sacrifice. He did so, not unwillingly, lest the child should afterwards be circumcised and made a Muhammadan.

Muhammad Amin Khan, when he had an interview with Banda, said to him, 'The marks of sense and intelligence are visible on thy countenance: how is it thou hast never thought about the recompense of thy deeds, and that in a short span of life with a dreadful futurity thou hast been guilty of such cruelty and of such detestable actions to Hindus and Musulmans?' He replied, 'In all religions and sects, whenever disobedience and rebellion among mortal men passeth all bounds, the Great Avenger raiseth up a severe man like me for the punishment of their sins and the due reward of their deeds.

When He wisheth to desolate the world,
He placeth dominion in the hands of a tyrant.

'When He desireth to give the tyrant the recompense of his works, He sendeth a powerful man like thee to prevail over him, and to give him his due reward in this world: as thou and I can see.' On this Banda's flesh was torn from his body by red-hot pincers, and he expired under the horrible torture.

During his execution he uttered the following warning to his fellow creatures :—

Who hath not suffered for his acts?
Who hath not reaped what he hath sown?
Forget not that you shall obtain retribution for your deeds.
Wheat springeth from wheat, and barley from barley.[1]

Though such was the fate of Banda, yet Guru Gobind Singh had infused such martial spirit into his Sikhs, that they not long after obtained possession of the Panjab, and put an end to Muhammadan supremacy.

Chapter XXXIII

Mata Sahib Kaur, the Guru's youngest wife, died of grief very soon after her husband. She was cremated at the shrine of Guru Har Krishan in Dihli. When Ajit Singh, the boy adopted by Mata Sundari, the Guru's remaining wife, grew up, she provided him with a wife. He begot a son called Hathi Singh. Ajit Singh imitated the late Guru as much as possible. He used to hold court, call himself a guru, and entertain a retinue. He endeavoured to obtain from Mata Sundari the arms belonging to Guru Har Gobind, which the late Guru had given to Sahib Kaur on her departure from Nander. Ajit Singh believed that if he wore them, every one would hail him as Guru. When he made his demand for the arms he was sharply reproved by Mata Sundari. On this he drew his dagger to kill her, but some friends interposed. Mata Sundari then cursed him, said he should forfeit his faith, and die an untimely death. One day as he was riding in the bazar his herald said to him, 'O guru, behold the Muhammadans praying.' The Muhammadans overheard this, and,

[1] The Persian historian, Khāfi Khān, gives many other details of Banda's career in the Panjāb, but they are not generally accepted by the Sikhs.

believing that he ridiculed their religion, reported to the Emperor that under a Muhammadan administration the Sikhs were mocking the faithful. The Emperor at the instigation of the qazis ordered Ajit Singh to cut off his hair and appear thus humbled before him. If he failed in this, the Emperor reserved to himself the right to punish him as he thought fit. Ajit Singh, fearing death, cut off his hair, and grovelled before the Emperor. Mata Sundari was enraged on hearing of this act of apostasy, and told him never again to show her his face. She drew up a document to the effect that, though she had adopted and cherished Ajit Singh as a son, she now renounced him. She then entrusted Guru Har Gobind's arms to the faithful Sikhs of Dihli, and expressed her desire to live no longer in such an evil and ill-omened city. The Sikhs, however, prevailed on her to alter her determination. Ajit Singh now abandoned by the Sikhs went to beg at Mata Sundari's door. She sent him money, but would never consent to see him.

A Muhammadan faqir on whom Ajit Singh when in good circumstances used to bestow money, one day met him in the Dihli bazar, and asked for alms. Ajit Singh in his poverty could only give him a few copper coins. The faqir was not satisfied, but followed him to his house, and further importuned him. He would not leave but dogged his steps as he went shooting during the afternoon. Ajit Singh complained to his servants of the annoyance the beggar was causing him, whereupon they beat the man so severely that he died. They disposed of his body by throwing it into a well for the purpose of concealment.

The faqir's fate gradually became known, and the Emperor ordered Ajit Singh to be arrested and brought before him. Ajit Singh refused to obey the order, and put himself in a posture of defence. His house was besieged, and his adherents fought bravely

to protect him. He contrived to send his wife and son Hathi Singh, both disguised in soiled clothes, to Mata Sundari. He then succeeded in escaping from his house and concealed himself in a straw stack belonging to Hindus who lived near. The owner of the stack discovered him and on hearing that a proclamation had been issued for his arrest, informed the authorities. Ajit Singh was seized, tied to an elephant's tail, and dragged through the city. At a turning in one of the streets the elephant trod on his head, upon which his brains oozed out.

Mata Sundari, thinking her position unsafe in Dihli on account of having received Ajit Singh's wife and son, put into execution her long-cherished project of abandoning that city and proceeded with her charge to Bhagatgarh. The head man of the place would not allow her, through fear of the Emperor, to remain in his city. She thence went to Mathura, where she was received with great distinction. The governor of the city induced the Raja of Jaipur to grant her the revenue of two villages and also a suitable place of residence. In Mathura Hathi Singh grew up to manhood, adopted his father's style, and maintained a retinue of sixty mounted orderlies. He tried to compose hymns but inspiration failed him. He then abstracted some from the Granth Sahib, and wherever the name Nanak occurred inserted his own. Mata Sundari on being informed of this became very wroth, abandoned Hathi Singh and his mother at Mathura, and returned to Dihli. During the invasion of Ahmad Shah, Hathi Singh fled from Mathura to Burhanpur, where he subsequently died, leaving no male issue.

When Mata Sundari arrived in Dihli she by the kind offices of Raja Ram, the Emperor's minister, obtained possession of her house and property, which had been seized by the Muhammadans after her departure. She spent the remainder of her days there, and died in comparative worldly comfort in

Sambat 1804 (A. D. 1747). Her body was cremated near the shrine of Guru Har Krishan.

It will be remembered that when the Guru evacuated Anandpur, he sent Gulab Rai and Sham Singh with a letter to the Raja of Nahan requesting him to grant them the means of subsistence. The raja gave them two villages. Gulab Rai afterwards purchased Anandpur for sixty thousand rupees from the Kahlur Raja and returned to live there. He caused himself to be worshipped by the Sikhs and carried his unseemly pretensions so far as to actually instal himself in the Guru's seat. Sadhu Gurbakhsh, who had been an attendant on the Guru and had by him been left in charge of Guru Teg Bahadur's shrine, remonstrated against the usurpation, whereupon Gulab Rai became very angry, and addressed him in offensive language. Gurbakhsh then cursed him saying, 'Thou and thy line shall perish!' In a short time Gulab Rai and his two sons died. After that Gulab Rai's widow took the offerings of the Sikhs, and remained in possession of Anandpur. When she was on the point of death she appointed Surjan Singh, Sham Singh's son, now old and experienced, as heir of Anandpur. His descendants still occupy that city, and receive a yearly revenue from the Indian government and the Sikh states.

A Sikh writer called Gurdas, who lived long after the time of Guru Gobind Singh, wrote a War in his praise which the Sikhs appended to the compositions of Bhai Gur Das, and which now appears as the forty-first War. The following pauris are extracted from it :—

PAURI 15

Guru Gobind was manifested as the tenth avatar.

He repeated the name of the Creator who is unseen, eternal, and stainless.

He established the Khalsa, a sect of his own, and gave it great glory.

Wearing long hair he grasped the sword and smote all his enemies.

He put on the kachh of continence and practised arms.

He established the Sikh war-cry and was victorious in mighty battles.

He caused all demon enemies to be surrounded and trampled upon.

Then his endless praise was gradually proclaimed throughout the world.

Thus arose the race of Singhs who wore blue clothes,

Who killed all the hostile Turks, and repeated God's name.

No one could withstand them, so the Turkish leaders decamped :

Rajas, kings, and amirs all became the dust beneath the Singhs' feet.

Great hills trembled when they heard their victorious drums.

There was then great commotion throughout the whole world ; the enemy abandoned their homes,

And perished in the great confusion and trouble that ensued.

There is none so great a destroyer of fear as the true Guru.

He handled and displayed such a sword as none could withstand.

Well done ! well done Gobind Singh ! thou wert at once Guru and disciple !

Pauri 16

By the order of the immortal God the great Guru obtained inspiration.

Then he gradually established the Khalsa, whole-bodied[1] and manly.

Then arose the roaring of the Singhs (lions) which terrified the whole world.

They levelled with the earth the shrines of Hindus and Muhammadans.

[1] *Sābit.* Not circumcised like the Muhammadans, and not cutting their hair or shaving like the Hindus.

They cancelled the Veds, the Purans, the six Hindu systems and the Quran.

They abolished the call to prayer and the prayer-carpet of the Muhammadans and killed the Turkish monarchs.

Temporal and spiritual leaders all hid themselves or became converted to Sikhism.

The Mullas and the Qazis grew weary of reading, but found not God's secret.

Hundreds of thousands of Pandits, Brahmans, and Astrologers had become entangled in worldly affairs.

Worshipping stones and temples they had become exceedingly superstitious.

Both the Hindus and the Muhammadans were altogether engaged in deception.

Consequently a third religion, the Khalsa, arose and became renowned.

The Singhs by the order of Guru Gobind Singh seized the sword and wielded it.

They killed all their enemies and caused the name of the Immortal God to be repeated.

Then God's order was promulgated in the world.

The drum of victory resounded and drowned the cry of sorrow.

The great sagacious Guru established a third sect.

Well done! well done Gobind Singh! thou wert at once Guru and disciple!

COMPOSITIONS OF GURU GOBIND SINGH

IN the year A.D. 1734 while in Amritsar Bhai Mani Singh compiled the compositions and translations of Guru Gobind Singh and of the bards who were associated with him. The compilation was subsequently known as the Granth of the tenth Guru, though Mani Singh did not give it that title.[1] We

[1] After Mani Singh's execution the Sikhs took the volume for examination and approval to a village in the Patiāla State called Talwandi Sābo, now known among the Sikhs as Damdama. Damdama was selected for examination of the volume as several learned Sikhs resided there, and that distant village was also deemed a place of safety.

Several intelligent Sikhs were of opinion that the tales and translations in the volume, as at present found, ought not to have been included in it, for many of them are of Hindu origin, others not fit for perusal, and none comparable with the hymns contained in the Ād Granth. The Sikhs therefore maintained that the *Hikāyāt* or Persian tales, and the whole of the *Tria Charitar*, or stories illustrating the deceit of women, should be omitted, and included in a separate volume, which might be read, not for a religious purpose, but for the entertainment and delectation of the public.

While this discussion was in progress, one Mahtāb Singh of Mirānkot arrived from Bīkāner at Damdama. He had vowed to kill one Massa Ranghar, a Muhammadan official, who had obtained possession of the Golden Temple, and who used the place as a theatre for dancing women; and he was on his way to Amritsar to carry out his design. Mahtāb Singh vowed that if he succeeded and returned to Damdama, Mani Singh's Granth should remain in one volume as he had arranged it. If, on the contrary, Massa killed him, the Granth might be arranged according to the wishes of the objectors. Mahtāb Singh slew Massa Ranghar, returned in triumph to Damdama, and Mani Singh's Granth was allowed to remain according to his design.

There are many obvious defects in the arrangement of the tenth Guru's Granth as it stands. For instance, there are several questions put in doharas 201 to 210 of the *Akāl Ustat* to which no answer is given. Chhands 211 to 230 are obviously out of place, and belong to

now proceed to give translations from it of such doctrinal and historical portions as we believe to represent the Guru's own opinions and acts.

JĀP[1]

There is one God, the true, the great, and the bounteous :—

The tenth Guru spoke with his holy mouth[2]—

God hath no quoit[3] or marks, no colour, no caste, no lineage,

No form, no complexion, no outline, no costume ; none can in any way describe Him.

He is immovable, fearless, luminous, and measureless in might ;

He is accounted King of kings, Lord of millions of Indars ;

He is Sovereign of the three worlds, demigods, men, and demons ; the woods and dales declare Him indescribable.

O Lord, who can tell all Thy names ? the wise call Thee *special* names according to Thy deeds.

AKAL USTAT

(Praise of the Immortal)

May we have the protection of the immortal Being ![4]

the second Chandi Charitar ; and the last Chhand of the *Akāl Ustat* is not complete. The Gyān Parbodh too has been left incomplete. There are besides many defects of arrangement.

[1] The Jāpji of Guru Gobind Singh is held by the Sikhs in the same estimation as the Japji of Guru Nānak. The Hindus have a work entitled *Vishnu Sahasar Nām*—Vishnu's thousand names. The Jāpji was composed to supply the Sikhs with a similar number of epithets of the Creator.

[2] This line is Bhāi Mani Singh's composition.

[3] *Chakr*. This word is also applied to depressions in the body noticed for mystical, astrological, or cheiromantic purposes.

[4] The tenth Guru invented new names for God—Akāl (the Immortal), Sarbloh (All-steel), Mahānloh (Great-steel), Sarbkāl (All-death), Mahānkāl (Great-death), Asidhuj, Asiketu, and Kharagketu (having the sword on His banner), Asipāni (sword in His hand), that is, God as the impersonation and source of bravery.

I have seen the religions of all countries, but none appeared to be that of the Lord of life.

Without a particle of the love and favour of God they are only worth a ratti [1].

II

Emperors before whom strong armed kings used to lowly bow their heads in countless numbers; [2]

Who possessed proud elephants with golden trappings, incomparable, tall, painted with bright colours;

Millions of horses which bounded like deer, and were fleeter than the wind—

What mattered it how great those emperors were? they at last departed barefooted.

III

Though they roamed and conquered all countries beating their various drums;

Though many beautiful elephants trumpeted loud, and thousands of horses of royal breed neighed for them—

Who can number such kings in the past, the future, and the present? They cannot be counted—

Yet without worshipping the name of God the Lord of wealth, they went at last to their final home.

IV

Men bathe at places of pilgrimage, exercise mercy, curb their passions, bestow gifts, exercise abstinence, and perform various special ceremonies—

The Veds, the Purans, the Quran, and the other books of the Musalmans, the earth and heaven all have I seen;

Thousands of fasters, Jatis who practised continence, all have I carefully observed;

[1] The seed of the *Abrus precatorius* (N. O. Leguminosae) used in India as a small weight (see Vol. I, p. 158, n. 1).

[2] Also translated—regardless of their own position.

Yet without worshipping the name of the one God and loving Him even kings are of no account.

V

Trained soldiers, powerful, irresistible, well accoutred with coats of mail crush their enemies;

Filled with high martial spirit they would put mountains to flight, themselves unshaken;

They would shatter their enemies, destroy rebels, crush the pride of furious elephants;

Yet without the favour of God, the Lord of wealth, they should all depart at last and leave the world.

VI

Countless heroes very valiant without hesitation face the edge of the sword,

Subdue countries, crush rebels, and the pride of furious elephants,

Break powerful forts and even without fighting [1] conquer in every direction—

But their efforts avail not; the Lord is the Commander of them all—the suppliants are many while there is but one Giver.

VII

Even the demons, gods, serpents, and ghosts who repeat God's name in the past, future, and present;

All the beings which in sea and land every moment set up God in their hearts,

Shall find their good deeds and glory increase; they shall hear the voices of gratulation and the multitude of their sins shall depart.

The congregations of saints wander happy in the world; all their enemies on beholding them are cowed.

[1] *Subātanhi*. Also translated—at a word, rapidly.

VIII

Lords of men, and elephants, rulers who reign in the three worlds,

Who perform millions of ablutions, make gifts of elephants and other animals, and marry brides at various splendid swayamvars [1]—

They with Brahma, Shiv, Vishnu, and Indar shall at last be entangled and fall into Death's noose ;

But they who touch the feet of the Lord of wealth shall not again resume a body.

IX

What availeth it to sit closing both eyes and meditating like a crane ?

This world is lost, and the next also for those who go about bathing in the seven seas.

They pass their lives in vain, dwelling in the midst of sin.[2]

I speak verily ; hear me all ye people—they who love God have obtained Him.

X

Some worshipping stones put them on their heads, some suspend lingams from their necks.

Some see God in the south, some bow their heads to the west.

Some fools worship idols, others busy themselves with worshipping the dead.

The whole world entangled in false ceremonies hath not found God's secret.

God is not subject to birth or death,

He is acquainted with the excellent fourteen sciences,[3]

[1] Assemblages in ancient times at which young women selected their husbands.

[2] Also translated—sitting in the company of the vicious.

[3] These included all ancient Indian knowledge. Different writers have given different lists of them.

He is without stain and infinite,
He is of unfading brightness and generous,
His form is not quickly recognized,
He is head of the saints of the whole world,
He is the highest object of praise; *by Him* the earth and sun are supported;
He is the treasury of the eighteen supernatural powers,[1]
He is the Dispeller of sorrow in all the worlds,
He is not subject to time, to death, or to karma,
He is versed in all religious ceremonies,
His glory is infrangible and unequalled,
He established all establishment,
He is without sorrow, indivisible, and impenetrable.
Brahma by his four Veds sings His praises,
The Veds speak of Him as indescribable,
Brahma speaks of Him as endless—
His glory is unknowable and unequalled.
Indivisible, immeasurable, and unestablished *by any one*
He made the extension of the world:
He created it with the utmost thought.
His form is endless and infrangible,
His glory is peerless and dazzling,
He is invisible and noble,
He made millions of Indars and kings,
Many Brahmas and Vishnus who meditate on Him,
Many Rams, Krishans, and prophets—
No one is acceptable without devotion.
There are many oceans, mountains great as Bind,[2]
Many fishes, tortoises, and serpents,[3]

[1] There are generally only eight *sidhis* or supernatural powers enumerated—*anuma*, to become so small as to be invisible; *mahima*, to be able to increase one's size indefinitely; *garuwata*, to make oneself heavy; *laghuma*, to make oneself light; *prāpti*, to go wherever one pleases; *wasi karna*, to be able to reduce others to subjection; *ishta*, to obtain glory or regal greatness; *kām*, to be able to satisfy all one's desires. A list of the eighteen supernatural powers may be left to the reader's imagination.

[2] Bindhiāchal, a holy peak of the Himālayas.

[3] The *Sheshnāg* of the Hindus.

Many deities and sons of Brahma,
Many incarnations of Krishan and Vishnu,
Many Indars to sweep before His door,
Many Veds and Brahmas,
Many Rudars[1] and Bawans,
And many unequalled Rams and Krishans.
Many men recite amatory poetry,
Many tell the secrets of the Veds,
Many recite the Shastars and Simritis,
And some read the Purans.
Many perform fire sacrifices,
Many painful penances with bodies reversed,
Many lift their arms in the fashion of the Sanyasis.
Some don the garb of Jogis and abandon the world,
Some perform the niwali feat,
Some practise painful fasting,
Some go on pilgrimages and give boundless alms,
Some are generous in their worldly acts,
Some perform unequalled burnt offerings,
Some obtain regal state and dispense justice,
Some act according to the Shastars and the Simritis,
And some in opposition to the Veds.
Many wander in different countries,
And many remain fixed in one place.
Some pray in water,
Some endure five fires on their bodies,
Some dwell in the forest,
Some perform the endless duties of a family man,
Some are generous in the fashion of kings,
Some are free from sickness and error,
Some perform good and others bad acts,
Some pose as Shaikhs, others as Brahmans,
Some perform the duties of kings in an incomparable manner,
Some are free from bodily and mental suffering,
Some are subject to the service of a special god,
Some are poor, others the sons of kings,

[1] Rudar was the god who wielded the thunder.

And some are the incarnations of Vyas.
Many Brahmas read the Veds,
And many Sheshnags repeat God's name.
Some are Bairagis, others Sanyasis,
And some wander in the guise of Udasis.
Know that all these things are vain,
And that all such religion is fruitless.
Without the support of the One Name
Deem all religious ceremonies as superstition.

God is in the water, God is in the dry land,
God is in the heart, God is in the forest,
God is in the mountain, God is in the cave,
God is in the earth, God is in heaven,
God is here, God is there,
God is in space, God is in time,
God is invisible, God is without a garb,
God is without sin, God is without enmity,
God is deathless, God is uncherished,
God is impenetrable, God is invulnerable.[1]
God is not moved by charms or spells ;
God has His own light, He cannot be moved by incantations.
God is without caste, God is without lineage,
God is without friends, God hath no mother,
God feeleth no physical or mental suffering.
God is without doubt, God hath no karma,
God is invincible, God is fearless,
God is infrangible, God is indissoluble.
God cannot be punished, God is radiant,
God is transcendent, God is inscrutable.

Repeat God's name, establish God's name *in thy heart* :
Do penance unto God, and repeat His name.
Thou, O God, art in the water, Thou art in the dry land,
Thou art in the river, Thou art in the sea,

[1] *Abhed* is often translated inscrutable.

Thou art in the tree, Thou art in its leaves,
Thou art in the earth, Thou art in the firmament.
Thy name is repeated again and again, Thy name is fixed in man's heart.
Thou art space, Thou art time,
Thou art the occupant, Thou art the place,
Thou art unborn, Thou art fearless,
Thou art impalpable, Thou art indestructible,
Thou art continence, Thou art fasting,
Thou art deliverance, Thou art wisdom,
Thou alone art, Thou alone art.

The following is a satire on various penances and austerities practised by Hindu sects in India :—

'Swine eat filth ; elephants and donkeys bespatter themselves with dust ; jackals live at places of cremation ;
Owls live in tombs ; deer wander alone in the forest ; trees ever die in silence.
The man who restraineth his seed should only have the credit of the hermaphrodite ; monkeys ever wander barefooted.
How shall the wretch who is subject to a woman and devoted to lust and wrath, be saved without the knowledge of the one God ?

It is known that demons live in the forest, all children on earth drink milk, and serpents live on air.
They who eat grass and renounce the desire of wealth, are no more than calves and oxen.
They who fly in the heavens have only the attribute of birds ; they who engage in meditation resemble cranes, cats, and wolves.
All great gyanis who knew, but asserted not themselves, never allowed such deceit as the above to enter their hearts even by mistake.

They who live in the earth should be called the offspring of worms; they who live in the heavens should be called birds.

They who eat fruit should be called the offspring of monkeys; they who wander unseen should be accounted as ghosts.

They who float on water are like gangeris;[1] they who eat fire like chakors;

They who worship the sun have the attribute of the lotus; they who worship the moon of water-lilies.

The tortoise, the fish, and the shark may all be called Narayan[2]; if you speak of God as Kaulnabh, the lake in which there is a lotus is also Kaulnabh.[3]

If you speak of God as Gopinath, all Gujars are Gopinaths, all cowherds Gopals; if you call God Rikhikesh, that is a name taken by superiors of religious orders.

If you call God Madhav, that is the bumble-bee; Kaniya is the name of the woodpecker; if you speak of God as the Destroyer of Kans, you speak of the myrmidons of Death.

Fools utter names, but know not their meanings, and worship not Him by whom man is protected.

God is the Protector and Destroyer of the world, Compassionate to the poor, Punisher of enemies, ever the Cherisher, and free from Death's noose.

Jogis, wearers of matted hair, celibates, the true, great Brahmacharis who undergo hunger and thirst in their divine meditation,

They who perform the niwali feat, who sacrifice to water, fire, and wind, who hold their heads down, who stand or one leg and never sit,

Men, serpents, deities, and demons find not God's secrets; the Veds and the books of the Musalmans say that God is indescribable.

[1] Small black flies on Indian rivers.

[2] God who moves in the waters.

[3] One of the names of Vishnu. He was supposed by the Hindus to have a lotus in his navel.

Peacocks skip about dancing, the thunder roareth and the lightning presenteth many phases.[1]

If God be obtained by being cold or hot, there is nothing colder than the moon, nothing hotter than the sun, *if by being a raja God may be obtained*, there is no king equal to Indar who filleth the whole world.

Nowhere can be found a penitent like a Shiv, a reader of the Veds like primal Brahma, or penitents like the sons of Brahma ;

Yet without divine knowledge they are all subject to the noose of Death and ever wander through the cycle of the ages.

One Shiv was born, one died, and one was born again ; there have also been many incarnations of Ram Chandar and Krishan.

How many Brahmas and Vishnus have there been ! how many Veds and Purans ! how many collections of Simritis have been and passed away !

How many preachers and Madars ![2] how many Castors and Polluxes ! how many Ansavatars[3] have succumbed to death !

How many priests and prophets have there been ! they are so many that they cannot be counted ; from dust they sprang and to dust they returned.

Jogis, Jatis, Brahmacharis[4], and very great kings, the shadow of whose umbrellas extended for many miles,

Who wandered subduing kingdoms and crushing the pride of very great kings,

Sovereigns like Mān[5] and lords of the umbrella like

[1] The reference is to dancing and roaring faqīrs.

[2] *Monadi Madār*—Monadi is understood to be the Arabic *munādi*, a proclamation or preaching. Madār was a celebrated Muhammadan saint. If *momin-i-dīn madār* be read, the translation will be—How many orthodox Muhammadans and supporters of the faith !

[3] An incomplete incarnation of Vishnu.

[4] Brahmachāris are young men who preserve continence during their studentship. Manu, the Hindu law-giver, fixes its limit at twenty-five years of age.

[5] Māndhātri, a son miraculously born to Yuvanāshwa of the line of Ikshwāku, and author of a hymn in the Rig Veda.

Dilip,[1] great kings who prided themselves on the strength of their arms,

Proud men like Dara,[2] like the kings of Dihli, and like Durjodhan, having enjoyed the earth in their turn at last were blended with it.

Artillerymen, huntsmen wearing decoy dresses, and they who eat opium bow their heads many times.

What availeth it that men perform prostrations of different kinds to God ? they are like wrestlers practising the exercise of dand.[3]

What availeth it that men lie with their faces turned up ? If they do not heartily bow to the supreme God, they are only as sick men.

How can he who is the slave of *worldly* desires and ever clever in obtaining wealth, obtain the one Lord of the world without faith in Him ?

He into whose ear an earwig hath entered shaketh his head ; *he who hath lost* a friend or son beateth his head in mourning.

For grazing on akk, eating fruits and flowers, and ever wandering in the forests, there is no animal like a goat.

What if a sheep rub its head against trees *and thus take off its hair* ? as for eating earth, call the leech and ask it.

How can he who is a slave to worldly desires and addicted to lust and wrath, find God without faith ?

The peacocks dance, the frogs croak, and the clouds ever thunder ;

The tree ever standeth on one leg in the forest ; *as for those who take not life*, the Saravagi bloweth on the ground before putting his feet on it ;

[1] He belonged to the solar race, and was ancestor of Rām Chandar.

[2] Darius.

[3] An oriental exercise in which a man first lies down flat on the ground, then leans on his hands so as to lift his body, and again depresses it so as almost to touch the ground with his chest.

The stones through several ages remain in one place ; the ravens and the kites travel from country to country.

How can the wretch who is without divine knowledge and who is never absorbed in the great Benefactor, be saved without faith in Him ?

Like an actor man sometimes poseth as a Jogi or Bairagi ; sometimes he assumeth the guise of a Sanyasi.

Sometimes he appeareth to live on air, sometimes he sitteth in an attitude of contemplation, sometimes in his infatuation for pelf he singeth many praises of men.

Sometimes he is a Brahmachari, sometimes he produceth a garden in his hand, sometimes he holdeth a *fakir's* staff and deceiveth men's senses.

He who is subject to worldly desires danceth with gestures ; but being devoid of divine knowledge, how shall he obtain heaven ?

In the cold season the jackal barketh five times, and the elephant and the donkey utter various cries.

What availeth it to be cut in twain by the saw at Banaras? thieves cut men in pieces and kill them with axes.

What availeth it that a fool hath put a halter round his neck and drowned himself in the Ganges ? Thags put men to death by putting halters round their necks.

Without meditation on divine knowledge fools are drowned in hell's river ; and without faith how can there be any such meditation ?

If any one were to obtain by penance the Lord who suffereth not pain, the wounded man suffereth pain of many kinds.

If any one were by repeating God's name to obtain God who cannot be obtained by lip-worship [1], the warbler ever uttereth ' Tu hi ! tu hi ! '

If any one were to obtain God by flying in the heavens, the bird called anal wandereth in the firmament.

[1] *Ajāp Dev*, also translated—God who repeats no name.

If salvation be obtained by burning oneself in the fire, why should not the Sati and also the serpent which liveth in hell be saved ? [1]

The following is a homily on the equality of men and on the Hindu and Muhammadan forms of worship :—

One man by shaving his head is accepted as a Sanyasi, another as a Jogi or a Brahmachari, a third as a Jati.

Some men are Hindus and others Musalmans ; among the latter are Rafazis,[2] Imams, and Shafais—know that all men are of the same caste.

Karta (the Creator) and Karim (the Beneficent) are the same, Razak (the Provider) and Rahim (the Merciful) are the same ; let no man even by mistake suppose there is a difference.[3]

Worship the one God who is the one divine Guru for all ; know that His Form is one, and that He is the one light diffused in all.

The temple and the mosque are the same ; the Hindu worship and the Musalman prayer are the same ; all men are the same ; it is through error they appear different.

Deities, demons, Yakshas, heavenly singers, Musalmans, and Hindus adopt the customary dress of their different countries.

All men have the same eyes, the same ears, the same body, the same build,[4] a compound of earth, air, fire, and water.

Allah and Abhekh are the same ; the Purans and the

[1] The Guru rejects the belief that a widow who cremates herself with her husband's corpse obtains salvation. The second part of the line may also be translated—If salvation were obtained by dwelling beneath the earth, the snake which dwelleth in the nether regions should also be saved.

[2] Certain Shiāhs or followers of Ali who renounced their allegiance to Zaid, grandson of Husain.

[3] There is not one God for the Hindus and another for the Musalmāns.

[4] *Bān*, also translated—customs, habits.

Quran are the same; they are all alike; it is the one God who created all.

The following gives the Sikh conception of the manner in which souls emanated from God and are again absorbed in Him :—

As from one fire millions of sparks arise; though rising separately, they unite again in the fire;

As from one heap of dust several particles of dust fill the air, and on filling it again blend with the dust;

As in one stream millions of waves are produced; the waves being made of water all become water;

So from God's form non-sentient and sentient things[1] are manifested, and, springing from Him, shall all be united in Him again.

How many tortoises and fishes and how many eaters of them! how many excellent young animals become strong-winged and fly!

How many *birds of prey* in the firmament eat the excellent birds! and how many animals eat and digest *the birds of prey* when they see them!

What mattereth it whether things live in water or land, or fly in the firmament? God made them and will destroy them all.

As light blendeth with darkness and darkness with light, so all things have sprung from God and shall be united in Him.

How many go about howling! how many die weeping! how many are drowned in the water! how many are burnt in the fire!

How many dwell by the Ganges! how many in Madina and Makka! how many wander as anchorets!

How many undergo the pain of being cut by the saw! how many of burying themselves in the earth! how many of being impaled.

[1] *Abhūtbhūt*, also translated—incorporeal and corporeal beings.

How many fly in the firmament! how many dwell in water! but they shall all be burnt in the fire[1] for want of divine knowledge.

The demigods have grown weary searching for God; the archdemons have grown weary striving with Him; the wise have grown weary exercising their wisdom; they who repeat His name have grown weary of watching.

Men have grown weary of grinding and applying sandal to themselves; they have grown weary of applying excellent atar of roses; they have grown weary of worshipping stones and offering them pudding.

They have grown weary of visiting cemeteries and Jogis' places of burial, they have grown weary of smearing walls and of being marked with the brand *of idols*.[2]

The celestial musicians have grown weary of singing; all the Kinnars have grown weary of their penance, *but none of them hath found God.*

The following is Guru Gobind Singh's conception of the divinity:—

God is without passion, without colour, without form, without outline;

He is without worldly love, without anger, without enmity, without jealousy;

He is without karma, without error, without birth, and without caste;

He hath no friend, no enemy, no father, no mother;

He hath no worldly love, no house, no desires, no home;

He hath no son, no friend, no enemy, no wife;

He is invisible, without distinguishing dress, and unborn;

He is ever the Bestower of supernatural power and wisdom; He is of size beyond measure.

His form and outline cannot be known,

Nor where He dwelleth, nor in what disguises He wandereth,

[1] *Jak=zakka* (ਝੱਖ). The gyānis translate obstinacy.

[2] In Dwāraka men are branded with a hot iron bearing the ensigns of Vishnu.

Nor what His name is, nor what He is called.
How shall I describe Him? He cannot be described.
He hath no disease, or sorrow, or worldly love, or mother,
No karma, no superstition, no birth, no caste;
He hath no jealousy, no garb, and is unborn.
I bow to Him as one! I bow to Him as one!

He is beyond all things, and from the beginning the Dispenser of wisdom.
He is indivisible, indestructible, primal, peerless, and imperishable.
He hath no caste, or lineage, or form, or colour.
I bow to the primal and infrangible One.

How many millions of worms like Krishan
He created, built, fashioned, again destroyed, and created!
He is unfathomable, fearless, primal, unrivalled, imperishable.
He is beyond all things, from the beginning, and perfect is His splendour.
He feeleth nor mental nor bodily pain: He is unfathomable.
His glory is infrangible; He is from the beginning, and His majesty is indestructible.
He hath no birth, no death, no caste, no pain.
He is infrangible, radiant, unamercible,[1] impossible to be controlled;
He hath no worldly love, no home; He hath affection for men and is His own master.
He is powerful, cannot be anywhere contained, radiant, the Torturer of enemies.
He cannot be depicted in the past, the present, or the future.
He is not rich or poor; He hath no form or outline.
He feeleth not covetousness or mental anxiety; He is not formed out of the elements; He belongeth to no sect.
He hath no enemy, no friend, no worldly love, no home.

[1] He is not liable to be fined like mortals as a punishment.

He is eternal and ever contained in all things ; He beareth love to all.

He hath no lust, no wrath, no avarice, no worldly love ;

He is unborn, indestructible, primal, peerless, invisible ;

He is not subject to birth or death ; He hath no caste, no pain ;

He hath no sickness, no sorrow ; He is fearless, and without affliction.[1]

He is impenetrable, indivisible, without karma, and without death.

He cannot be destroyed or defamed ; He is bright and without a cherisher ;

He hath no father, no mother, no caste, no body ;

He hath no worldly love, no home, no doubt, no fear ;

He hath no form, there is no king over Him, He hath no body, no acts *attach to Him* ;

He hath no fear ; He cannot be killed or pierced ; He hath no doubts.

He is eternal, ever perfect, and of size beyond measure.

I bow to Him as one ! I bow to Him as one !

His glory is inexpressible ; He is from the beginning,

He is unassociated, imperishable, imperceptible, and unestablished.

I bow to Him as one ! I bow to Him as one !

He hath no worldly love, no home, no grief, no relation.

He is afar off, pure, undefiled, none can behold Him.

He hath no caste, no lineage, no friend, no minister.

I bow to the one independent Being ! I bow to the one independent Being !

He hath no religion, no superstition, no shame, no relation,

No armour, no shield, no karma, no fear,

[1] *Bikhād* ; in modern Panjābi this word means a quarrel.

No enemy, no friends, no son.
I bow to the primal Being; I bow to the primal Being.

The bodies of some undergo cold, heat, and rain,
Some sit in one posture for an age,
Some make efforts to study the science of Jog.
Men strive but even then find not God's limits.
Some with their arms raised wander in different countries;
Some scorch themselves between the sun and surrounding fires;
Some recite the Simritis, the Shastars, the Veds;
Some expound amorous poetry, others the books of the Muhammadans;
Some perform fire sacrifice, some live on air;
Some millions eat carrion;
Some consume vegetables, some milk, some leaves;
But even so God becometh not manifest unto them.

The following sawaiyas also are sometimes read at the administration of the pahul.

I

God ever cherisheth the poor, saveth saints, and destroyeth enemies.
Birds, beasts, mountains, snakes, and kings—all he ever cherisheth.
He cherisheth animals in sea and land; he considereth not their evil acts.
Compassionate to the poor, an ocean of mercy, He beholdeth man's sins, but wearieth not of giving.

II

He destroyeth misery and sin; He crusheth an army of evil men in a moment;
He breaketh those unbreakable by *human power*; he smiteth the very valiant, but cherisheth love for those who truly love Him.
Vishnu, the lord of Lakshmi, cannot find His limit; the

Veds and the books of the Musalmans cannot utter His secret.

The Beneficent One ever beholdeth men's secrets; yet He becometh not angry, and withholdeth not their daily bread.

III

He made worms, moths, deer, serpents, the past, the future, and the present.

The demigods and demons were ruined through their pride; they knew not God's secret, and were led astray by error.

The Veds, the Purans, the Quran, and other Muhammadan books have grown weary of *taking God's* account, but they have not found it.

Without the light of true love hath any one obtained the honour of finding God?

IV

He is primal, endless, unfathomable, without enmity, and fearless in the past, future, and present.

He is without end, One out of many, without blemish, sin, or stain, and indestructible.

He is the Creator and Destroyer of worlds; He supporteth life on sea and land.

Compassionate to the poor, a mine of mercy, beautiful is the holy Lord of wealth.

V

He hath not lust, or wrath, or covetousness, or worldly love, or sickness, or sorrow, or enjoyment, or fear.

He is without a body; He beareth love to all, yet is He devoid of sensual love; He is homeless and indestructible.

To those who know Him He giveth; to those who know Him not He also giveth; He giveth to the earth; He giveth to the heavens.[1]

O man, why waverest thou? the beautiful and holy Lord of wealth will care for thee.

[1] *Zamān* is here understood to be for *āsmān*.

VI

He preserveth men in many ways—from sickness, from sorrow, from water, and from sprites.

When enemies aim blows at us, none of them may reach our bodies,

For He holdeth out His hand to protect us and hinder the army of sin from approaching us.

What else need I say to thee, O man; God protecteth thee with the screen of the womb.

VII

The Yakshas, serpents, demons, demigods, all meditate on Thee, the Inscrutable One.

On earth, in heaven, and in the nether regions of hell [1], Yakshas, serpents, all bow their heads unto Thee;

'But they cannot find the limit of Thy glory; the Veds describe Thee as indescribable.

All the demigods who searched for Thee have grown weary of their search; they have not found Thee, O God.

VIII

Beings like Narad, Brahma, Rumna [2] the Rikhi all combine to sing Thy praises.

The Veds and the books of the Musalmans have not found Thy secret; all have grown weary *in their search*: God hath not been found by any one.

Shiv, the lord of Uma,[3] cannot find Thy limit. The Sidhs with their spiritual leaders and the sons of Brahma meditate on Thee.

O men, meditate in your hearts on Him whose immeasurable power is diffused throughout the whole world.

IX

The Veds, the Purans, the Quran, and other Musalman

[1] There are said to be seven hells. Patāl is the seventh and lowest.
[2] Also known as Lomash, who was remarkable for his long life.
[3] One of the names of Pārbati.

books, have not found His secret; all kings [1] have grown sore weary *searching for it.*

They could not find the secret of the Inscrutable; after great travail they proclaimed Him invulnerable.

Thou, O Lord, hast no passion, no form, no outline, no colour, no relation, no sorrow, no companion.

Thou wast in the beginning and yet hadst no beginning; Thou art unfathomable, without distinguishing dress,[2] and without jealousy: he who repeateth Thy name shall save his relations.

X

Men have performed millions of ablutions at places of pilgrimage; they have made many offerings and endured great fasts.

Putting on the dress of great penitents and wearing long hair, they have wandered in many countries, but they have not found the Beloved God.

They have made millions of attitudes of contemplation and prostrations, many offerings of their limbs to tutelary divinities,[3] and blackened their faces;

But without meditating on the name of the Compassionate to the poor, the Deathless, they have at last gone to Death's abode.

Thou art the Discharger of arms, the Holder of the earth and the umbrella, the Betrayer of kings, the great Tormentor of enemies;

The Bestower of gifts, the great Enhancer of honour, the Giver of a resting-place, the Cutter of Death's noose;

Conqueror in the fight, Remover of obstacles, great Bestower of wisdom, Thou art honoured even among the most honoured.

Thou art learned in divine knowledge; Thou art the great Giver of wisdom, the Destroyer of the god of death.

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[1] Such as Harischandar, and others.

[2] Without the distinguishing dress of a religious sect.

[3] *Bahu niās kare*, also translated—(*a*) made many renunciations, (*b*) made many efforts.

The dwellers of the East know not Thy limit, the goddess Hingula [1] who dwelleth in the Himalayas meditateth on Thee; the Gurdezis of Ghor [2] sing the praises of Thy name.

The Jogis practise Jog to be united with Thee; how many suspend their breath *to obtain Thee.* The Arabs of Arabia worship Thy name.

The Firangis of France worship Thee, the Kandharis and Qureshis know Thee, the residents of the West recognize Thee as the object of their love.

The Marathas, the Magadhis [3] heartily do Thee penance, the natives of Tilang [4] fix Thee in their hearts, and recognize Thee as the abode of religion.

Like milk in Chirawadh, like buttermilk in Chhatraner, like moonlight on the banks of the Jamna,

Like a female swan in Turkey of the Shiahs, like a diamond in Husainabad, like the stream of the Ganges when it blendeth with the seven seas,

Like quicksilver in Palaugarh, like silver in Rampur, like saltpetre in Surangabad,

Like the champa flower in Chanderikot, like moonlight in Chandagarh, Thy praise flourisheth like the malati flower.[5]

Like crystal in Kailas, Kamaungarh, and Kashipur, like a mirror in Surangabad,

Like snow in the Himalayas, like Shiv's necklace [6] in Halbaner, like a swan in Hajipur on seeing which the heart is fascinated;

Like white sandal in Champawati, like the moon in Chandragir, like moonlight in Chandagarh,

Like the Ganges on Shiv's head, like cranes in Bulandabad shineth the light of Thy praises.

[1] Hingula is another of the names of Pārbati or Durga.

[2] A mountainous tract of Afghānistān south-east of Harāt.

[3] Natives of the country of Magadha, now South Bihār.

[4] The Telegu country on the east coast of India between Uīīsa (Orissa) and Madrās.

[5] A kind of jasmin with fragrant white blossoms.

[6] Har hār. Shiv was believed to wear a white snake as a necklace.

The Persians, the English, the double-faced men of France, the mirdang [1]—players of Makran sing Thy praises.

The inhabitants of Bhakhar, of Kandhar, and of Ghor, the Gakhars, the Gurdezis, and those who live on air meditate on Thy name.

In the east in Palau, in Kamrup, and Kamaun, wherever man goeth there Thou presidest.

Thy glory is perfect; written and spoken incantations cannot affect Thee, O Lord, and none can find the limit of Thy praises.

God is peerless, imperishable; His throne is immovable;
He is peerless, endless; His praise is unrivalled;
He is indestructible and the invisible Lord.
He is everywhere king; He blossometh in the forests and the glades.
His splendour is like the spring everywhere diffused.
The Great One pervadeth the woods and glades, birds and quadrupeds.
He everywhere blossometh, He is beautiful and wise;
He blossometh like flowers, and glittereth like the peacock.
Cupid on recognizing Him waveth a chauri over Him.
His power is perfect, He is the Bestower of food, the Merciful,
The Treasury of favour, the Perfect, the Bounteous.
Wherever we look there appeareth His splendour.
He is free from anger and a treasury of favour.
He everywhere blossometh; He is beautiful and wise.
He is the great king of the woods and glades, of sea and land.
His splendour appeareth everywhere; He is the treasury of favour.
His light dazzleth, His glory is perfect.
The sky and the earth repeat His name.
Over the seven heavens and the seven hells
His net of karma is spread unseen.

[1] A small drum or tambourine.

VICHITAR NATAK

I

Guru Gobind Singh addresses God as a sword to destroy his enemies.

I bow with love and devotion to the Holy Sword.
Assist me that I may complete this work.

Thou art the Subduer of countries, the Destroyer of the armies of the wicked, in the battle-field Thou greatly adornest the brave.

Thine arm is infrangible, Thy brightness refulgent, Thy radiance and splendour dazzle like the sun.

Thou bestowest happiness on the good, Thou terrifiest the evil, Thou scatterest sinners, I seek Thy protection.

Hail! hail to the Creator of the world, the Saviour of creation, my Cherisher, hail to Thee, O Sword!

I bow to Him who holdeth the arrow in His hand; I bow to the Fearless One;

I bow to the God of gods who is in the present and the future.

I bow to the Scimitar, the two-edged Sword, the Falchion, and the Dagger.

Thou, O God, hast ever one form; Thou art ever unchangeable.

I bow to the Holder of the mace
Who diffused light through the fourteen worlds.
I bow to the Arrow and the Musket,
I bow to the Sword, spotless, fearless, and unbreakable;
I bow to the powerful Mace and Lance
To which nothing is equal.
I bow to Him who holdeth the discus,
Who is not made of the elements and who is terrible.
I bow to Him with the strong teeth;
I bow to Him who is supremely powerful,
I bow to the Arrow and the Cannon

Which destroy the enemy.
I bow to the Sword and the Rapier
Which destroy the evil.
I bow to all weapons called Shastar (which may be held).
I bow to all weapons called Astar (which may be hurled or discharged).

Thou turnest men like me from blades of grass into mountains; than Thou there is none other cherisher of the poor.
O God, do Thou Thyself pardon mine errors; there is none who hath erred like me.
The houses of those who have served Thee are all seen filled with wealth.
In this Kal age and at all times there is great confidence in the powerful arm of the Sword,

Which in one moment destroyed millions of demons like Sumbh and Nisumbh; [1]
Which in an instant subdued demons such as Dhumarlochan, Chand, Mund, and Mahikh;
Which in a trice repelled demons such as Chamar Ranchichhar and Raktichhan—
What careth Thy slave since he hath found a good Lord like Thee?

Which crushed millions like Mund, Madhu, Kitabh, Mur, and Agh;
They who never sought shelter in the battle-field and who retreated not even two paces when blows were dealt around them,
The demons who could not be drowned in the sea, and who could not be burnt by fiery arrows,
On beholding thy flash, O Sword, cast aside shame and fled.

[1] See that part of the *Mārkandeya Purān* which treats of the exploits of Chandi. The names of the demons mentioned in these quatrains will be found there.

Thou in a moment didst destroy such heroes as Rawan, Maharawan [1], Kumbhkaran [2],

Meghnad, and Akampan [3], in waging war with whom even Death grew wearied—

Kumbh, Akumbh, who having conquered the whole world washed their arms in the seven seas.[4]

They who were invulnerable and huge were all wounded and killed by the sword in the hand of God.

If any one flee to save himself from the Destroyer, say in what direction shall he flee.

Can man run away from God who stoppeth him with a drawn sword thundering and brandishing it ?

No contrivance hath been made by which man may escape from the wound God inflicteth.

Why, O fool, seekest thou not cheerfully the asylum of Him from whom thou canst not escape ?

Thou hast millions of times repeated the names of Krishan and Vishnu, and fully meditated on Ram Chandar and the Prophet ;

Thou hast repeated Brahma's name and established Shiv in thy heart, but none of them will save thee.

Thou hast performed millions of penances for millions of days, but none of them will avail thee a kauri.

Incantations to obtain thy desires will not be worth thee half a paisa ; none of them will save thee from the stroke of Death.

Why performest thou false penance to the gods ? it will not avail thee a kauri.

How can they save thee when they cannot protect themselves from the stroke of Death ?

They will suspend thee in the fiery pit of terrible wrath as they are suspended themselves.

[1] A first cousin of Rāwan.
[2] Rāwan's brother.
[3] Rāwan's sons.
[4] They never again expected to find an adversary.

Think, think even to-day in thy heart, O fool, without the favour of God nothing can avail thee.

It is not by the practice of perpetual silence, nor by the *ostensible* relinquishment of pride, nor by the adoption of a religious dress, nor by shaving the head,

Nor by wearing a wooden necklace, nor by twisting matted hair round the head that God is found.

I speak the truth, hear it attentively—without entering the protection of the Compassionate to the poor

And loving Him can God be found? the Merciful One is not pleased with circumcision.

Were I to make all the islands my paper, and the seven seas my ink;

Were I to cut down all trees, and turn them into pens for writing;

Were I to make Saraswati dictate for millions of ages; were I to write with the hand of Ganesh,

O Thou who holdest the destroying sword, I could not please Thee even a little without offering Thee homage.

II

Thy greatness is endless and boundless;
No one hath found its limits.
Thou art God of gods, King of kings,
Compassionate to poor, and Cherisher of the lowly.

The dumb would recite the six Shastars, cripples would climb mountains,

The blind would see, and the deaf hear, if God would only show favour.

How can my feeble intellect, O God,
Describe Thy greatness?
I cannot utter Thy praises,
Do Thou correct this work:

How far can this worm speak ?
It is only Thou, O God, who knowest Thine own praises.
As a son knoweth not the time of his father's birth,
How can I tell Thy secret ?
Thy greatness becometh Thee ;
It cannot be described by others.
Thou knowest Thine own works, O God.
How shall high or low describe Thee ?
Sheshnag whom Thou didst create with a thousand heads,
Whom two thousand tongues [1] adorn,
Until now is uttering Thy boundless names ;
Yet even still he cannot find their limit.
How far can any one describe Thy works ?
The intellect is perplexed in trying to understand them.
Thy subtile form cannot be described ;
I shall describe Thy great form.
When I have obtained Thy love and service,
Then shall I put aside all other narratives and describe Thee.

I shall now relate my own history,
And how the Sodhi family originated.

At first when God extended Himself,
The world was created by Him.
The man who doeth good deeds
Is called a demigod in the world ;
He who doeth bad deeds in the world
Is styled a demon.

Kalsain was the first king ;
His strength and form were unsurpassed, incomparable, and unrivalled.
Kalket was the second king ;
Krurbaras was appointed the third king in the world ;
Kaldhuj was the fourth king who graced *sovereignty*.
In this line Raghu was born,
From whom the Raghu race was descended.

[1] It is written in Hindu books that Sheshnag has two tongues in each head.

From them an excellent son Aj was born,
A great charioteer and archer.
When he assumed the garb of a Jogi,
He bestowed his empire and throne on Dasarath,
Who also became a great archer.
He felt desire and married three wives.
His first son was the prince Ram,
The *second* Bharat, the *third* Lachhman, and the fourth Shatrughan.
They ruled for a long time ;
They then died and went to heaven.
Sita's sons, *Lahu* [1] *and Kushu,* afterwards both became kings,
And graced kingdoms and thrones.
On their marriage with the daughters of the king of the Panjab,
They performed various sacrifices.
They built there two cities,
One Kasur, the second Lahaur (Lahore).
Both became very famous.
Ceylon and Amrawati, *the city of Indar*, became ashamed on beholding them.
Kushu and Lahu reigned for a long time,
But were at length caught in the noose of Death.
Their sons and grandsons
Also ruled in this world.
How far shall I tell their history ?
I cannot even recount their names.

It is related that Kalket [2] and Kalrai [3]
Had innumerable sons in their homes.
Kalket possessed peerless strength,
And expelled Kalrai from the city.
He fled to the Sanaudh [4] country
Where he married a king's daughter.

[1] Lav in the *Rāmāyan.*
[2] Descended from Kushu. [3] Descended from Lahu.
[4] Near Banāras. Its inhabitants, the Sanaudhis, were afterwards called Sodhis.

The son born in his house of that marriage
He named Sodhi Rai.
The Sodhi race began from that time.
It was made by the supremely pure Creator.
The sons and grandsons who sprang *from Sodhi Rai*
Were all called Sodhis in this world.
They became very distinguished among men,
And their wealth increased day by day.
They exercised independent sway
And conquered the kings of many countries.
They enforced religion everywhere,
Caused umbrellas to wave over their heads,
And on many occasions performed sacrifices at royal coronations.
Afterwards dissension arose among them,
And no holy man could arrest its progress.
Heroes and invincible *warriors* went about caparisoned,
Took *arms* and went to fight in the field of battle.
For wealth and land ancient is the struggle,[1]
To compass which men *willingly* die.
Worldly love and pride have extended quarrels ;
Lust and wrath have conquered the whole world.

Nobody can compute the time
When enmity, dissension, and pride were diffused.
In this world their basis is greed,
By the desire for which every one killeth himself.

III

The Sodhis returned to the Panjab and waged war with the descendants of Kushu who had been left behind. The descendants of Kushu being defeated fled to Banaras, where they became readers of the Veds.

IV

Those of the expelled descendants of Kushu who read the Veds were called Bedis.

[1] Compare the Hindustāni proverb—*zan, zamīn, zar, tinen jhagre ka ghar* 'Women, land, and money are the sources of strife among men.'

They carefully attended to their religious duties.
The king of the Panjab dispatched them a conciliatory letter
To forget the enmity that prevailed among them.
The raja's messenger arrived in Banaras,
And explained the contents of the missive to all the Bedis.
Upon this all the readers of the Veds proceeded to the Panjab,
And on their arrival made obeisance to the king.
He caused them to recite the Veds.
While all his brethren were seated near him in the assembly,
They recited the Sam Ved, the Yajur Ved,
Then the Rig Ved, making gesticulations with their hands,
And *finally* the Atharav Ved.
The raja was pleased
And gave them all his possessions.
He elected to live in the forest
To remove his great sins.
On giving them his kingdom
He assumed the garb of a Rikhi.
The people tried to restrain him,
But he dismissed all regret,
And, relinquishing wealth and place,
Became absorbed in God's love.

The Bedi chief was pleased on obtaining the kingdom,
And in *the joy of* his heart blessed the Sodhi king, saying,
'When I come in the Kal age under the name of Nanak,
I will make thee worthy of worship in the world, and thou shalt attain the highest dignity.

Thou hast heard the three Veds from us,
On hearing the fourth Ved thou gavest thy territory.
Having assumed three births[1],

[1] When I have become Guru Nānak, Guru Angad, and Guru Amar Dās.

In my fourth I will make thee Guru.'[1]
On the one hand the Sodhi king went to the forest,
On the other the Bedi king was happy in his sovereignty.
How far shall I amplify this story?
I very much fear to swell my book.

V

Afterwards again quarrels increased *among the Bedis*,
Which no one could adjust.
It was the will of God
That sovereignty should pass from their family.

Only twenty villages remained to the Bedis,
Which they began to till.
A long time passed in that way
Until the epoch for the birth of Nanak arrived.

Nanak Rai, born in the line of those Bedis,
Conferred happiness on all his disciples, and assisted them in this world and the next.

He established religion in the Kal age,
And showed the way unto all holy men.
Sin never troubleth those
Who follow in his footsteps.
God removeth all suffering and sin
From those who embrace his religion:
Pain and hunger never annoy them,
And they never fall into Death's noose.
Nanak assumed the body of Angad,
And made his religion current in the world.
Afterwards *Nanak* was called Amar Das,
As one lamp is lit from another.
When the time for the fulfilment of the blessing came,
Then Ram Das *Sodhi* became Guru.
Amar Das gave him the Guruship according to the ancient blessing,

[1] The reference is to Guru Rām Dās.

And took the road to paradise himself.
The holy Nanak was revered as Angad,
Angad was recognized as Amar Das,
And Amar Das became Ram Das.
The pious saw this, but not the fools,
Who thought them all distinct;
But some rare person recognized that they were all one.
They who understood this obtained perfection—
Without understanding perfection cannot be obtained.
When Ram Das was blended with God,
He gave the Guruship to Arjan.
When Arjan was going to God's city
He appointed Har Gobind in his place.
When Har Gobind was going to God's city,
He seated Har Rai in his place.
Har Krishan his son afterwards became Guru.
After him came Teg Bahadur,
Who protected the frontal marks and sacrificial threads *of the Hindus*,
And displayed great bravery in the Kal age.
When he put an end to his life for the sake of holy men,
He gave his head but uttered not a groan.
He suffered martyrdom for the sake of his religion;
He gave his head but swerved not from his determination.[1]
God's people would be ashamed
To perform the tricks of mountebanks and cheats.[2]

Having broken his potsherd on the head[3] of the King of Dihli, he departed to paradise.
None came *into the world* who performed such deeds as he.

[1] *Sirar.* If this is a Panjābi word, its meaning is as we have given. Among the Sikhs, however, there is current what purports to be the Persian original of the line, as spoken by Guru Teg Bahādur himself on the eve of his execution—

سر دادم مگر سرِ خدا نہ دادم

which is generally translated—I gave my head but not God's secret.

[2] That is, Guru Teg Bahādur might have performed a miracle and saved himself, but he scorned to do so.

[3] Having made the King of Dihli responsible for his death.

At his departure there was mourning in this world ;
There was grief through the world, but joy in paradise.

VI

Guru Gobind Singh now speaks regarding himself:—

I shall now tell my own history,
How God brought me into the world as I was performing penance
On the mountain of Hem Kunt,[1]
Where the seven peaks are conspicuous—
The place is called the Sapt Shring [2]—
Where King Pandu practised Jog.
There I performed very great austerities
And worshipped Great-death.
I performed such penance
That I became blended with God.
My father and mother had also worshipped the Unseen One,
And strove in many ways to unite themselves with Him.
The Supreme Guru was pleased
With their devotion to Him.
When God gave me the order
I assumed birth in this Kal age.
I did not desire to come,
As my attention was fixed on God's feet.
God remonstrated earnestly with me,
And sent me into this world with the following orders :—
'When I created this world
I first made the demons, who became enemies and oppressors.
They became intoxicated with the strength of their arms,
And ceased to worship Me, the Supreme Being.
I became angry and at once destroyed them.
In their places I established the gods :

[1] In Sanskrit Hemakuta, the golden peak, a chain of mountains between the Himālayas and Mount Meru.
[2] Meaning seven horns.

They also busied themselves with *receiving* sacrifices and worship,
And called themselves supreme beings.
Mahadev called himself the imperishable God.
Vishnu too declared himself to be *God*;
Brahma called himself the supreme Brahm,
And nobody thought Me to be God.
Then I made the eight Sakhis [1]
Who were appointed to keep watch over creatures.
They told people to worship them,
And said, "There is no God but us."
They who did not recognize the Primal Essence,
Worshipped them as God.
How many worshipped the sun and moon!
How many made burnt offerings! how many worshipped the wind!
Some recognized a stone as God.
How many bathed in the water according to Shastrik rites!
How many, recognizing Dharmraj as their *supreme* judge,
Performed religious ceremonies through fear!
They whom I appointed to watch over creatures,
On coming into this world called themselves God.
They altogether forgot My orders,
And became absorbed each in his own praise.
When they did not recognize Me,
Then I created men.
They too fell under the influence of pride,
And made gods out of stones.
Then I created the Sidhs and the Sadhs,
But they too found not the Supreme Being.
Whoever was clever in the world
Established his own sect,
And no one found the Creator.
Enmity, contention, and pride increased.
Men began to burn trunk and leaves in their own fire,[2]

[1] These are believed to be the Dikpāls or regents of the eight points of the compass.

[2] An Indian idiom for anarchy. Big and little perished by their own contentions.

And none of them went My way.
They who obtained a little spiritual power
Struck out their own way.
None of them recognized the Supreme Being,
But became mad boasting of themselves.
None of them recognized the Real Essence,
But each became absorbed in himself.
Then I created the supreme Rikhis
Who afterwards made their own Simritis current.
They who were smitten by the Simritis
Abandoned My worship.
They who attached their hearts to My feet
Did not walk in the way of the Simritis.[1]
Brahma made the four Veds
And caused all to act according to them;
But they whose love was attached to My feet
Renounced the Veds.
They who abandoned the tenets of the Veds and of other religious books,
Became devoted to Me, the supreme God.
They who follow true religion
Shall have their sins of various kinds blotted out.
They who endure bodily suffering
And cease not to love Me,
Shall all to go paradise,
And there shall be no difference between Me and them.
They who shrink from suffering,
And, forsaking Me, adopt the way of the Veds and Simritis
Shall fall into the pit of hell,
And continually suffer transmigration.
Afterwards I created Dattatre
Who also struck out his own path.
He pared not his finger nails, he decorated his head with matted hair,[2]
And paid no heed to My worship.
Then I created Gorakh

[1] The Simritis purport to follow the Veds.
[2] The milk of the leaves of the banyan-tree is used by faqīrs to wet the hair. It is then smeared with ashes.

Who made great kings his disciples,
And tearing their ears put rings in them :
But he thought not of the way of My love.
Then I created Ramanand
Who wore the garb of a Bairagi,
Put a wooden necklace on his neck,
And paid no heed to My worship.[1]
They who were created by Me
Struck out their several paths.
I then created Muhammad,
And made him king of Arabia.
He too established a religion of his own,
Cut off the foreskins of all his followers,
And made every one repeat his name ;[2]
But no one fixed the true Name in man's heart.
All these were wrapped up in themselves,
And none of them recognized Me, the Supreme Being.
I have cherished thee as My son,
And created thee to extend My religion.
Go and spread My religion there,
And restrain the world from senseless acts.'

I stood up, clasped my hands, bowed my head, and replied :—

'Thy religion shall prevail in the world when Thou vouchsafest assistance.'

On this account God sent me.
Then I took birth and came into the world.
As He spoke to me so I speak unto men :
I bear no enmity to any one.
All who call me the Supreme Being
Shall fall into the pit of hell.
Recognize me as God's servant only :

[1] This is not the Ramānānd whose hymn is found in the Granth Sāhib. The author of that hymn lived long after this, and subsequent to the era of Muhammad. He was the Guru of Kabir who flourished in the fifteenth century A.D.

[2] *Muhammad, rasūl Alla.*

Have no doubt whatever of this.
I am the slave of the Supreme Being,
And have come to behold the wonders of the world.
I tell the world what God told me,
And will not remain silent through fear of mortals.

As God spoke to me I speak,
I pay no regard to any one besides.
I am satisfied with no religious garb ;
I sow the seed of the Invisible.
I am not a worshipper of stones,
Nor am I satisfied with any religious garb.
I will sing the Name of the Infinite,
And obtain the Supreme Being.
I will not wear matted hair on my head,
Nor will I put on earrings ;
I will pay no regard to any one but God.
What God told me I will do.
I will repeat the one Name
Which will be everywhere profitable.
I will not repeat any other name,
Nor establish any other *God in my heart.*
I will meditate on the name of the Endless One,
And obtain the supreme light.
I am imbued with Thy name, *O God* ;
I am not intoxicated with any other honour.
I will meditate on the Supreme,
And thus remove endless sins.
I am enamoured of Thy form ;
No other gift hath charms for me.
I will repeat Thy name,
And avoid endless sorrow.
Sorrow and sin have not approached those
Who have meditated on Thy name.
They who meditate on any one else
Shall die of arguments and contentions.
The divine Guru sent me for religion's sake :
On this account I have come into the world—
' Extend the faith everywhere ;

Seize and destroy the evil and the sinful.'
Understand this, ye holy men, in your souls.
I assumed birth for the purpose
Of spreading the faith, saving the saints,
And extirpating all tyrants.
All the first incarnations
Caused men to repeat their names.
They killed no one who had offended against God,
And they struck out no path of real religion.
The Ghauses[1] and Prophets who existed
Left the world talking of themselves.
None of them recognized the great Being
Or knew anything of real religion.
Nothing is to be obtained by putting hopes in others;
Put the hopes of your hearts in the One God alone.
Nothing is obtained by hoping in others;
Put the hopes of your hearts in Him.

Some millions read the Purans together;
How many silly persons recite the Quran!
But these books shall be of no assistance at last,
And shall save no one from Death's toils.
Why not, O brethren, repeat the name of Him
Who will aid you at the last moment?
Consider spurious religion as superstition.
No such things will avail you.
On this account God created me;
Having communicated to me the secret,[2]
He sent me into the world.
I shall proclaim to all men what He told me.

I will repeat God's name,
And all my affairs shall prosper.
I will not close mine eyes,[3]
Or do anything for show.

[1] Muhammadan saints of excessive devotion.
[2] That spurious religion is of no avail.
[3] As some Indian faqīrs do.

They who wear a religious garb
Are deemed naught by the saints of God.
Understand this, all men, in your hearts,
That God is not obtained by hypocrisy.
They who act for the sake of display,
Shall not obtain salvation in the next world;
And it is only for life their affairs prosper.
Kings on seeing their acting worship them;
But God is not to be found by mummery.
Yet every one wandereth about thus searching for Him.[1]
He who keepeth his heart in subjection
Recognizeth the Supreme Being.

They who by wearing a religious garb keep the people of the world in subjection,
Shall at last be cut with the shears *of Death* and take up their abode in hell.

They who present appearances to the world,
Experience extreme pleasure in fleecing[2] others.
Spurious, and not worth a kauri, is the religion
Of those who practise suspension of breath by stopping their noses.
They who practise spurious religion in the world
Shall fall into the pit of hell.
He who can in no way subdue his heart
Shall not go to heaven by gesticulation.

What God Himself told me I proclaim to the world.
They who meditate on Him shall go to heaven at last.

God and God's servant are both one—deem not that there is any difference between them—
As waves produced from water are again blended with it.

[1] Also translated—Since God is not to be found by mummery, why should everybody wander about thus searching for Him?

[2] Also translated—In shaving the heads of others *and then making* them their disciples.

God remaineth apart from those
Who indulge in wrangling and pride.
He is not found in the Veds or the books of the Muhammadans.
Know this in your hearts, O saints of God.
They who practise hypocrisy by closing their eyes
Should be treated as blind men.
Since the road is not seen by closing one's eyes,
How can such persons, my brethren, meet the Infinite ? [1]
How far could any one amplify this ?
Men would grow weary trying to understand it.
Though one had a million tongues,
Even then he would fail to recount God's praises.

VII

My father departed for the East
And bathed at various places of pilgrimage.
When he arrived at the Tribeni (Priyag),
He passed his days in meritorious works and alms.
There was I conceived.
I was born in Patna city,
And *afterwards* taken to the Panjab,
Where nurses of different kinds fondled me,
And tended my body in every way.
I received instruction in various forms.
When I arrived *at the age to perform* my religious duties,
My father departed to God's city.

VIII

When I obtained sovereignty,
I promoted religion to the best of my power.

I hunted various sorts of game in the forest,
And killed bears, nilgaus,[2] and elks.
I afterwards left that country,
And proceeded to the city of Paunta.

[1] Who cannot be seen at all.
[2] The Indian antelope.

I enjoyed myself on the bank of the Kalindri (Jamna),
And saw amusements of every kind.
There I selected and killed many lions,
And slew many nilgaus and bears.
Fatah Shah who was the king became angry with me,
And came to blows with me without cause.

Here follow in the Vichitar Natak an account of the battle of Bhangani ; the dispatch of Mian Khan and Alif Khan to Jammu and Nadaun respectively to collect revenue ; the victory gained with the Guru's assistance by Raja Bhim Chand over Alif Khan ; the dispatch of General Dilawar Khan against the hill chiefs and of his son against the Guru, who was left unmolested owing to the son's flight ; the dispatch by Dilawar Khan of Husain Khan to reduce the Guru to subjection ; the failure of Husain Khan to carry out his orders ; his attack on the weaker of the hill chiefs ; the victory of Gopal, King of Guler, and of Ram Singh, King of Jaswan, over Himmat, one of Husain Khan's officers, whom they put to death ; the single-handed combat between Raja Ram Singh and Jujhar Singh, Raja of Chander, in which the latter was slain ; the dispatch by Aurangzeb of his son to the Panjab, where the masands, fearing that he would attack the Guru, deserted him and fled to the highest mountains ; the dispatch of an officer named Mirza Beg to support the young prince and the subsequent expedition of an army under four other officers who, believing that the masands were men of wealth, destroyed their houses and plundered their property. All these details have been given at length in the Guru's life.

IX

They who turn away from the Guru
Shall have their houses demolished in this world and the next.
They shall be laughed at here, have no dwelling hereafter,

And be debarred from all hope.
Sorrow and hunger shall ever attach to those
Who forsake the service of the Saint.
Nothing that they do shall succeed in this world,
And at last they shall fall into the pit of hell.
They who turn and fly from the Guru's feet,
Shall have their faces blackened in this world and the next.

The successors of both Baba Nanak and Babar
Were created by God Himself.
Recognize the former as a spiritual,
And the latter as a temporal king.
Babar's successors shall seize and plunder those
Who deliver not the Guru's money.

They who love the Guru's feet
Shall never see misery.
Wealth and supernatural power shall enter their houses,
And sin and suffering not touch even their shadows.

What is a wretched enemy [1] to him whom the Friend preserveth ?
An enemy could not even touch his shadow ; the fool would lose his labour.

Who can meditate anything against those who enter the Saint's protection ?
God preserveth them as the tongue is preserved among the teeth ; He destroyeth their enemies and allayeth their suffering.

What can a miserable enemy do to him whom the Friend preserveth ?
He cannot even touch his shadow ; the fool shall pass away.

[1] Or—What are the designs of an enemy against him ?

X

All-death saveth all His saints ;
He hath tortured and destroyed all sinners ;
He hath shown wonderful things to His saints,
And saved them from all misery.
Knowing me to be His slave He hath aided me ;
He hath given me His hand and saved me.

GYAN PRABODH

Neither the Veds, nor Brahma knoweth God's secret,
Neither Vyas nor his *father* Parasar, nor *his son* Shukdev, nor the sons of Brahma, nor Shiv knoweth God's limit.
All four sons of Brahma know not *God's* time.
Lakhs of Lakshmis, lakhs of Vishnus, and many Krishans declare Him indescribable.
Thou art incomprehensible, O God, and fearless ; Thou art most powerful, the Creator of sea and land.
Thou art the unshaken, endless, unequalled, immeasurable Lord ; Pure One, I seek Thy protection.

Here follow in the tenth Guru's Granth translations and abridgements of tales from the Purans on the twenty-four Hindu incarnations. The following is the Guru's introduction to them :—

O God, Thou art the Creator and the Destroyer ;
Thou killest and puttest the blame on the heads of others.[1]
Thou dwellest apart and none can find Thee ;
Wherefore Thou art called the Endless One.
They who are called the twenty-four incarnations
Have not found even a trace of Thee, O God.
On seeing Thy saints distressed Thou becomest uneasy ;

[1] Compare the Panjābi proverb :—
Lain āia āp ;
Nām dharāia tāp.
Death cometh to take one,
But he is called by the name of fever.
The meaning of the verse in the text is, that all acts ultimately proceed from God, though they appear to be done by His human instruments.

Wherefore Thou art styled the kinsman of the poor.
At last Thou shalt destroy the whole world ;
Wherefore the world calleth Thee Death.
Thou aidest all the saints as occasion requireth ;
Wherefore they call Thee their helper.
On beholding the poor, Thou art compassionate to them ;
So we deem Thee the Friend of the poor.
Since Thou sheddest the juice of favour on the saints,
The world calleth Thee the Ocean of favour.
Thou ever removest the troubles of the saints ;
Wherefore Thou hast obtained the name of the Remover of trouble.
Thou hast come to dispel the sorrows of the saints ;
Wherefore, O God, Thou art called the Dispeller of sorrows.
Thou remainest endless ; Thy end cannot be found ;
Wherefore Thou hast obtained the name of the Endless One.
Thou didst appoint the forms of all things in the world ;
Wherefore Thou art called the Creator.
No one hath ever seen Thee anywhere ;
Wherefore Thou art called the Unseen.
Thou wert never-born in the world ;[1]
Wherefore every one describeth Thee as Unborn.
Brahma and the rest all grow weary *of searching for Thine origin.*
Vishnu and Shiv—what are the wretched beings ?
After consideration and deliberation God made the moon and sun ;
Wherefore He is known as the Creator.
Ever without a garb He remaineth without a garb ;
Wherefore the world calleth Him the Garbless.
Invisible is His form, no one knoweth Him ;
On this account he is called the Unseen.
His form is incomparable and unequalled ;
He hath no concern with garbs or no garbs.
He bestoweth on all but beggeth from none
Wherefore He is recognized as the Provider.

[1] This is an explanation of the word *ajoni* in the *Japji*.

He is not concerned with celestial appearances or omens ;
This fact is known to the whole world.
He is not appeased by incantations, written or spoken, or by charms.
No one hath found Him by adopting a garb.
Men are entangled with their own affairs ;
No one knoweth the Supreme God.
Some (Hindus) go to places of cremation ; others (Musalmans) to cemeteries ;
But God is at neither.
They who visit either are ruined by worldly love and contention,
And the Lord remaineth separate from them.
What is a Hindu or a Musalman to him
From whose heart doubt departeth ?
The Muhammadans use tasbis,[1] the Hindus malas ;[1]
The former read the Quran and the latter the Purans.
Fools have died over the discussion ;
They were not imbued with God's deep love.
They who are imbued with love for the one God,
Disregard human opinion and are happy.
They who recognize the Primal Being as the one God,
Allow no other belief to enter their hearts.
They who cherish any other belief,
Shall be debarred from meeting the Friend.
He who knoweth the one Supreme Being even a little,
Knoweth the Real Thing.
All the Jogis and Sanyasis,
The multitudes of Shaven-heads and Musalmans,
Have plundered the world by their garbs.
The holy men whose support is God's name remain unknown.
The *unholy* practise hypocrisy for the sake of their bellies.
Without hypocrisy they can obtain naught.
The men who meditate on the one Being
Never practise hypocrisy on any one.
Without hypocrisy they would obtain nothing,
For no one would bow before any of them.

[1] Muhammadan and Hindu names of rosaries.

If no one had a belly,
Who would describe any one as rich or poor ?
They who have concluded that God is one
Never practise hypocrisy on any one.
They give their heads, but abandon not their determination :[1]
They regard their bodies as nothing.
Men who split their ears are called Jogis ;
With great deceit they betake themselves to the forest.
They who know not the virtue of the One Name,
Belong neither to the forest nor to the household.
In the beginning God was the father of the whole world ;
From Him light first proceeded.
I have not sufficient ability to tell the tale,
Or to mention the names of the different creatures *He created.*
Things strong and weak were produced ;
Things high and low were shown separately.
The primal light which is called the one God,
He at last infused into *all His creatures.*
Know that the light of the one God
Is in all the souls which are in this world.
The whole world shall be blended with God,
Who is described as Kalrup.[2]
Whatever is visible and perceptible by the senses
Man considereth Maya.
The one God is contained in all things,
But He established them all separately.
And He pervadeth them all unseen :
He will call them all separately to account.
They who have considered Him as One
Have obtained the real thing.[3]
The form of the one God is unequalled :
He is sometimes poor, sometimes a prince or a king.
He hath given to all men their several entanglements ;
He is separate from them, and none of them hath found Him.

[1] As Guru Teg Bahādur did.
[2] Absorber by death.
[3] Deliverance.

He created all things separately,
And will destroy them all separately.
God accepteth not censure from any one ;[1]
It is He who casteth censure on others.

We now give the Guru's remarks on the translations and abridgements of the stories of the Hindu incarnations.

Ram Avatar

Since I have embraced Thy feet I have paid regard to none besides.[2]

The Purans of Ram (the God of the Hindus) and the Quran of Rahim (the God of the Musalmans) express various opinions, but I accept none of them.

The Simritis, the Shastars, and the Veds all expound many different doctrines, but I accept none of them.

'O holy God, by Thy favour it is not I who have been speaking ; all that hath been said hath been said by Thee.

Forsaking all other doors I have clung to Thine.
It is to Thine honour to protect me whose arm Thou hast grasped ; Gobind is Thy slave.[3]

Krishan Avatar

I do not at the outset propitiate Ganesh ;[4]
I never meditate on Krishan or Vishnu ;

[1] For destroying him.

[2] Literally—I have not brought any one under my eye.

[3] The Guru, with the joy of an author at the end of his toil, was pleased to note the date and place of the conclusion of his *History of Rām*—

On the first day of the dark half of Hār, a day of pleasure to me,
In the Sambat year seventeen hundred and fifty-five,
At the base of the lofty Naina Devi, on the margin of the Satluj waters,
Through God's help I finished the history of Rām—

that is, the translation of the *Rām Avatār* into Hindi from Sanskrit.

[4] As is usual in Hindi literary works. The Guru no doubt meant these verses as an introduction to his Hindi translation of the Krishan Avatar, which forms the tenth chapter of the Bhāgwat.

I have heard of them but I know them not ;
It is only God's feet I love.
Great-death, be Thou my protector ;
All-steel, I am Thy slave.
Deeming me Thine own, preserve me ;
Think of mine honour, whose arm Thou hast taken.
Deeming me Thine own, cherish me,
Single out and destroy mine enemies.
May both my kitchen and my sword prevail in the world ![1]
Preserve me and let none trample on me ;
Be Thou ever my cherisher !
Thou art the Lord, I am Thy slave.
Deeming me Thine own, be gracious unto me ;
Perform everything for me Thyself ;
Thou art the King of kings ;
It is Thou alone who cherishest the poor ;
Deeming me Thy slave, bestow Thy favour on me ;
I have arrived and am lying weary at Thy door.
Thou art my Lord, I am Thy slave.
Deeming me Thy slave, reach me Thy hand and save me ;
Destroy all mine enemies.

They who loved not God, while performing great penance, who endured self-torment, excessively heated their bodies,
Went to Banaras, and read the Veds very many times, obtained not the Real Thing.
They gave alms so that Vishnu might come into their power, but they lost all their wealth.
They who loved God with hearty affection found Him.

What availeth it if a crane sit closing his eyes and displaying a religious garb to the world ?

[1] The pot to feed the poor and the stranger, regardless of caste and religion, and the sword to destroy the oppressors of humanity. An inscription on a sword in the possession of the Rāja of Nābha is, *Badhe degh te ya tegh te*, that is, man becomes great either by entertaining his friends or destroying his enemies.

If man ever go about bathing in water like a fish, how shall he obtain possession of God ?

If man croak day and night like a frog and fly like a bird, how shall he obtain possession of God ?

Siam[1] and all these saints say, hath any one without love pleased God ?

Of those who through greed of wealth continued to loudly sing and recite God's praises,

And who danced but gave not their hearts thereto, hath any found the way to God's wonderful world ?

They excited laughter in the world, and knew not the essence of wisdom even in their dreams.

The poet Siam asketh if God hath been obtained by any one without love.

Several meditated in the forest, and returned home weary.

Sidhs in meditation and Munis in deep research have sought for God, but found Him not.

Siam saith, all the Veds and the Muhammadan books and the wisdom of the saints have thus decided.

Hearken, O saints, the poet speaketh, they who search with love obtain God.

I am the son of a brave man, not of a Brahman ; how can I perform austerities ?

How can I turn my attention to Thee, O Lord, and forsake domestic affairs ?

Now be pleased to grant me the boon I crave with clasped hands,

That when the end of my life cometh, I may die fighting in a mighty battle.

Blest is his life in this world who repeateth God's name with his mouth and meditateth war in his heart.

[1] Some suppose that Siām is the Guru's *takhallas* or *nom de plume*. Others maintain that it was the real name of one of the fifty-two bards the Guru entertained.

The body is fleeting and shall not abide for ever; man embarking in the ship of fame shall cross the ocean of the world.

Make this body a house of resignation; light thine understanding as a lamp;

Take the broom of divine knowledge into thy hand, and sweep away the filth of timidity.

PARASNATH AVATAR

O thoughtless fool, why knowest thou not thy Maker?

O man, why knowest thou not God?

O heedless beast bound with worldly love, they on whom thou reposest confidence—

Ram, Krishan, and the Prophet—whose names thou continually utterest on rising—

Where live they now in the world,[1] and why singest thou *their praises*?

Why recognizest thou not Him who is now and ever shall be?

Why idly worship stones; will they yield thee any return?

Worship Him by whose worship thy work shall be accomplished,

And by taking whose name all thy desires shall be fulfilled.

O Jogi, Jog consisteth not in matted hair.

Why wear thyself out and kill thyself wandering? Consider this in thy mind.

The man who knoweth the supreme divine knowledge shall obtain the great reward;

He shall then restrain his mind in one place, and not run wandering from door to door.

What availeth it to leave one's home, run away, and dwell in a forest,

When one's heart ever remaineth at home? Such a person is not an Udasi.

[1] That is, they were mortal like others, and what is the use of worshipping them?

Boasting of thy religious fervour, thou deceivest the world by the exercise of great deception.

Thou thinkest in thy heart that thou hast abandoned worldly love, but worldly love hath not abandoned thee.

O man with the garb, religion consisteth not in wearing a garb.

It consisteth not in wearing matted hair and *long* nails, or in smearing ashes *on the body*, or dyeing thy raiment.

If man obtain Jog by dwelling in the forest, the bird ever dwelleth there.

The elephant ever throweth dust on his head; consider this in thy heart.

Frogs and fishes ever bathe at places of pilgrimage.

The cat, the wolf, and the crane meditate; what know they of religion?

'As thou endurest pain to deceive men, do so also for God's sake,

Thus shalt thou know great divine knowledge and quaff the supreme nectar.

The following thirty-three sawaiyas are also read in Abchalangar and other places while the Sikh baptismal water is being prepared. Several orthodox Sikhs say that these are the sawaiyas which ought always to be read at the baptism, and of this indeed there is internal evidence.

I

He who repeateth night and day the name of Him whose enduring light is unquenchable, who bestoweth not a thought on any but the one God;

Who hath full love and confidence in God, who putteth not faith even by mistake in fasting, or *worshipping* cemeteries, places of cremation, or Jogis' places of sepulture;

Who only recognizeth the one God and not pilgrimages, alms, the non-destruction of life,[1] *Hindu* penances, or austerities;

[1] As practised by the Jains.

And in whose heart the light of the Perfect One shineth, he is recognized as a pure *member of the* Khalsa.

II

God is true, Eternal, true to His promise; He is from the beginning, without beginning, unfathomable, and invincible.

Bounty, mercy, self-control, austerities, daily ceremonies, continence, fasting, clemency, religious observances are all contained in the name of the Immutable One.

He is from the beginning, pure, without a beginning, infinite,[1] endless, without enmity, without fear.

He hath form, and is without form or outline; He groweth not old, He is compassionate and merciful to the poor.

III

God is from the beginning, without enmity, without garb, great, true, refulgent, and resplendent.

He filleth the inmost hearts of all; meditation on Him, the Real Thing, curbeth natural inclinations.

Thou wert in the beginning, before the ages, before the world; O God, Thou art all-pervading and dwellest in every heart,

Compassionate to the poor, merciful mine of mercy, from the beginning, unborn, invincible, indestructible.

IV

In the beginning, indestructible, imperishable, everlasting:—O God, the Veds and the books of the Musalmans have found not Thy secret.

Compassionate to the poor, merciful, Ocean of mercy, true, everlasting, diffused in every heart,

Sheshnag, Indar, Ganesh, and Shiv have searched the Veds, but found not Thy depth.

O foolish man, say why hast thou forgotten God who is ever manifest?

[1] *Anāhad.* If *anāhat* be read it must be translated invulnerable or invincible.

V

God is immovable, from the beginning, stainless, infinite, true, and everlasting.

He is adored as primaeval, unconceived, unborn, free from old age, supremely pure, illimitable.

He is well known[1] as the self-existent, renowned in the whole world, One, yet in different places.

O base man, why recognize not God who is without stain ?

VI

O Creator, thou art imperishable, from the beginning, without blemish, without limits, true, and eternal.

Thou ever providest sustenance for all animals which are in sea and land.

The Veds, the Purans, the Quran, describe Thee in various ways.

In the rest of the world there is at last naught but Thee; O divine One, Thou art Sovereign Ruler *over all.*

VII

Thou art known as from the beginning, unfathomable, imperishable, indivisible, invisible, invincible, and illimitable.

Thou art in the past, the future, the present ; Thou art adored in every place.

Demigods, demons, Sheshnag, Narad, and Saraswati recognize Thee as true and eternal.

The Purans and the Quran know not the secrets of the Compassionate to the poor, the Ocean of mercy.

VIII

O true and eternal One, perpetual is Thy dominion ; it is Thou who madest the Veds and the Quran.

Thou didst appoint demigods, demons, Sheshnag the past and the present.

From the beginning, before the ages, the stainless, the indestructible, Thy light is seen, though Thou art unseen.

[1] *Sidh.* Some translate this word miracles.

O foolish man, who hath come to tell thee of the invisible God ? [1]

IX

Demigods, demons, Sheshnag, serpents, famous Sidhs have done great penance ;

The Veds, the Purans, the Quran, all have grown weary singing Thy praises, O God, but Thou art not known unto them.

Thou knowest all hearts on earth, in heaven, in the nether regions, and in every direction.

Thy praises fill the earth ; they entering my heart told me this.

X

The Veds and the books of the Musalmans have not found God's secret ; all the Sidhs have grown weary contemplating Him.

The Simritis, Shastars, Veds, and Purans all describe Him in various ways ;

But God who was in the beginning, and who had no beginning, whose story is unfathomable, *cannot be known*. He saved such as Dhru, Prahlad, and Ajamal.

The courtesan was saved by repeating God's name ; that name is my support, the object of my thoughts.

XI

All recognize that God was in the beginning, that He had no beginning, that He is unfathomable, eternal, and perfect.

The Gandharbs,[2] the Yakshas, Sheshnag, the earth-dwelling serpents, the firmament, and the four quarters of the world know God.

The visible and invisible worlds, the eight directions, the demons as well as the demigods all worship God.

O man of ignorant mind, through regard for whom hast thou forgotten the Omniscient, the Self-existent, the Treasure ?

[1] The answer to this is found in the last line of the following sawaiya.

[2] Heavenly musicians.

XII

Some fasten an idol firmly to their breasts; some say that Shiv is God;

Some say that God is in the temple *of the Hindus*; others believe that He is in the mosque *of the Musalmans*;

Some say that Ram is God; some say Krishan; some in their hearts accept the incarnations as God;

But I have forgotten all vain religion and know in my heart that the Creator is the only God.

XIII

Ye say that God is unconceived and unborn; how could He have been born from the womb of Kausalya?

If He whom we call Krishan were God, why was he subject to death? [1]

'Why should God whom ye describe as holy and without enmity have driven Arjan's chariot? [2]

Worship as God Him whose secret none hath known or shall know.

XIV

Say if Krishan were the Ocean of mercy, why should the hunter's arrow have struck him? [3]

If he can save other families, why did he destroy his own?

Say why did he who called himself the eternal and the unconceived, enter into the womb of Devaki?

Why did he who had no father or mother call Vasudev [4] his father?

XV

Why call Shiv God, and why speak of Brahma as God?

[1] In this line in the original the first Kāl means God, and the second death.

[2] Krishan, who was Arjan's charioteer, proclaimed himself to be God.

[3] It is supposed that the hunter was an incarnation of Bāli whom Rām Chandar had slain. Krishan was supposed to be an incarnation of Ram Chandar.

[4] Father of Krishan.

God is not Ram Chandar, Krishan, or Vishnu whom ye suppose to be lords of the world.

Shukdev, Parasar, and Vyas erred in abandoning the one God and worshipping many gods.[1]

All have set up false religions; I in every way believe that there is but one God.

XVI

Some worship Brahma as God, others point to Shiv as God;

Some say that Vishnu is the Lord of the world, and that by worshipping him all sins are erased.

Think on this a thousand times, O fool, at the last hour all thy gods will forsake thee.

Meditate on Him in thy heart who was, is, and ever shall be.

XVII

He who made millions of Indars, He who made and destroyed some millions of Bawans,

Demons, demigods, serpents, Sheshnags, birds and beasts innumerable,

To whom till to-day Shiv and Brahma are doing penance without finding His limit,

He whose secrets the Veds and the Quran have not penetrated, is the great Being whom the Guru[2] hath shown me.

XVIII

O man, by attitudes of contemplation, matted hair, and the overgrown nails of thy hands thou deceivest all people.

Thou goest about with ashes smeared on thy face and cheatest all the demigods and the demons.

Addicted to avarice thou wanderest from house to house; the means by which Jog is obtained thou hast all forgotten.

Thou hast lost all shame and succeeded in nothing; without love God cannot be obtained.

[1] Also translated—The abandonment of one God and the worship of several gods have been shown by Shukdev, Parāsar, and Vyās to be vain.

[2] Guru Teg Bahādur.

XIX

O foolish man, why play the hypocrite? thou losest thine honour by practising hypocrisy.

O cheat, why cheat people? this world is lost to thee and so is the next.

Where the Compassionate to the poor dwelleth, there shalt thou find no place.

Think, O think, thou thoughtless and great fool, the Unseen is not found by assuming garbs.

XX

Why worship a stone? God is not in a stone.

Worship Him as God, by the worship of whom all thy sins shall be erased,

And by uttering whose name thou shalt be freed from all thy mental and bodily entanglements.

Make the meditation of God ever thy rule of action; no advantage can be obtained by the practice of false religion.

XXI

False religion is without fruit; by the worship of stones thou hast wasted millions of ages.

How can perfection be obtained by touching stones? *nay*, strength and prosperity thus decrease, and the nine treasures are not obtained.

Time passeth away while saying to-day, to-day: thou shalt not accomplish thine object; art thou not ashamed?

O fool, thou hast not worshipped God, so thy life hath been passed in vain.

XXII

If for ages thou do penance to a stone, it will never rejoice thee.

O fool, it will never generously lift its arm to requite thee.

Say what confidence can be placed in it? when trouble ariseth, it will not come to save thee.

O ignorant and obstinate man, be assured that thy false religion and superstition will ruin thee.

XXIII

All are bound in the meshes of Death; no Ram or Moslem prophet was able to save himself.

God having created destroyed, and will again create and destroy demons, demigods, and Sheshnags.

They who were called incarnations in the world at last died before men's eyes [1] in remorse.

O fickle man, why not run to touch the feet of God above.

XXIV

Brahma appeared by God's order and taking his staff and waterpot wandered upon earth.

We know that Shiv was born at the appointed time, and visited all countries.

The world was created and destroyed at the appointed time; wherefore let all recognize God.

Renouncing all the subtleties of the Veds and the Qurah, I worship God alone, the Treasury of mercy.

XXV

O blockhead, thy life hath passed in thy present occupations; thou hast not thought in thy heart of the merciful God.

Abandoning shame thou hast grown shameless, and leaving thy *proper* work hast done useless work *for thyself*.

When thou hadst horses and great royal elephants, thou foolishly thoughtest to ride on donkeys.[2]

Thou didst not worship God, O fool, and so didst shamefully spoil thy good business.

XXVI

Thou hast for long read the Veds and the books of the Musalmans, but not found a secret in them.[3]

Thou hast wandered in various places to worship, but the one God thou hast never seated in thy heart.

Thou hast bowed thy head to stones and cemeteries, but obtained naught.

[1] Literally—on earth.
[2] Leaving God thou hast turned to idolatry.
[3] That is, they have no secret.

O foolish man, forsaking the manifest God, why art thou entangled in thine obstinacy?

XXVII

If any one go to a monastery of Jogis, they will ask him to repeat the name of Gorakh ;

If any one go to a monastery of Sanyasis, they will say that only Dattatre is true, and they will give him his name as the spell of initiation ;

If any one go to the Musalmans, they will seize and convert him to the faith of Muhammad—

Every sect deemeth that the Creator is with itself alone ; but no one can disclose the Creator's secrets.

XXVIII

If any one go to the Jogis they will tell him to give every thing—house and property—to them ;

If any one haste to the Sanyasis, they will tell him to part with his house in the name of Dattatre ;

If any one go to the masands, they will tell him to bring all his property at once and give it to them.

Every one saith, 'Bring me, bring me,' but nobody will show me God.

XXIX

If any one serve the masands, they will say, ' Fetch and give us all thine offerings.

' Go at once and make a present to us of whatever property is in thy house.

' Think on us night and day, and mention not others even by mistake.'

If they hear of any one giving, they run to him even at night,[1] they are not at all pleased at not receiving.

XXX

They put oil into their eyes to make people believe that they are shedding tears.

[1] Also translated—The night long they pretend to worship.

If they see any of their own worshippers wealthy, they serve up sacred food and feed him with it.

If they see him without wealth, they give him nothing, though he beg for it; they will not even show him their faces.

Those beasts plunder men, and never sing the praises of the Supreme Being.

XXXI

They close their eyes like cranes and offer the world a spectacle of deceit.

They go about with their heads bowed down like poachers; cats on seeing such attitudes would be ashamed.

The more they go about clinging to the hope of wealth, the more they lose this world and the next.

Thou hast not repeated God's name, O fool; why art thou entangled in thy domestic affairs?

XXXII

Why impress false religion on the world? It will be of no service to it.

Why run about for the sake of wealth? thou shalt not be able to fly from Death's myrmidons.

Son, wife, friends, disciple, companions—none of these will bear witness for thee.

Think, O think, thou thoughtless and great brute, thou shalt at the last moment have to depart alone.

XXXIII

Hear, O fool, when life leaveth thy body, thy wife crying out 'Ghost, ghost', will flee thee.

Thy son, thy wife, thy friends, and companions will give orders to remove thee quickly.

When life leaveth thy body all thy mansions, storehouses, lands, and forts[1] will become the property of others.

Think, O think, thou thoughtless and great brute, thou shalt at the last moment have to depart alone.

[1] Also translated—hoarded and buried savings.

HAZARE SHABD

O man, practise asceticism in this way :—

Consider thy house altogether as the forest, and remain an anchoret at heart.

Make continence thy matted hair, union with God thine ablutions, thy daily religious duties the growth of thy nails,

Divine knowledge thy spiritual guide; admonish thy heart and apply God's name as ashes to thy body.

Eat little, sleep little, love mercy and forbearance.

Ever practise mildness and patience, and thou shalt be freed from the three qualities.

Attach not to thy heart lust, wrath, covetousness, obstinacy, and worldly love.

Thus shalt thou behold the Real Soul of this world, and obtain the Supreme Being.

O man, practise Jog in this way :—

Make truth thy horn, sincerity thy necklace, and apply meditation as ashes to thy body;

Make restraint of thy heart thy lyre, and the support of the Name thine alms;

Play the primal essence as thy strings, and thou shalt hear God's sweet song.

By the practice of the songs of divine knowledge, waves of melody and exquisite pleasure shall be produced.

The demons and the demigods in their celestial chariots will be astonished and the munis intoxicated *with delight.*

Admonish thy heart, don the garb of self-restraint, and utter God's name inaudibly,

So shall thy body ever remain like gold, and Death never approach thee.

O mortal, touch the feet of the Supreme Being.

Why sleepest thou the sleep of worldly love? be sometimes wakeful and alert.

Why instruct others, O beast, since thou hast no knowledge thyself?

Why ever accumulate sin ? even now lay aside the love of it.

Deem such things simply as errors and love *truly* religious acts.

Ever lay up the remembrance *of God* ; renounce and flee from mortal sin.

By this means shalt thou not encounter sorrow or sin, and escape from Death's noose.

If thou desire ever to have happiness of every kind, be absorbed in God's love.

O God, my honour resteth with Thee.

It is Thou who art the blue-throated, man-lion, moving in the water, blue-robed, wearing a necklace of flowers.[1]

It is Thou who art the primal Being, supreme God, Lord, pure, living on air ;

It is Thou who art the Lord of Lakshmi, great Light, Destroyer of the pride of Madhu, Bestower of salvation, Destroyer of Mur.[2]

It is Thou who art changeless, undecaying, sleepless, without evil passions, Preserver from hell,

Ocean of mercy, Seer of the past, present, and future, Effacer of evil acts.

It is Thou who hast the bow in the hand, who art patient, Supporter of the earth, changeless, Wielder of the sword.

I of feeble intellect have taken the protection of Thy feet ; take my hand and save me.

O man, worship none but God, not a thing made by Him.

Know that He who was in the beginning, unborn, invincible, and indestructible is God.

What if Vishnu coming into this world killed some of the demons,

And exercising great deceit induced every one to call him God ?

How can he who himself did not escape from the stroke of the sword of death,

[1] The gyānis translate *banwāri*—dweller in the forest.

[2] The names in this and the preceding lines of this hymn are epithets of Shiv, Vishnu, Balbhadar (brother of Krishan), and Krishan.

Be deemed God the Destroyer, the Fashioner, the Omnipotent, the Eternal ?

Hear, O fool, how can he who was drowned in the ocean of the world save thee ?

Thou shalt only escape from Death's noose when thou seizest the feet of Him who existed before the world.[1]

When the Guru left Damdama, his disciples sent a messenger after him to tell him of their sad plight. The following is the complaint as versified by the Guru. Others say that the hymn was addressed to God by the Guru himself :—

Tell the dear Friend the condition of His disciples—

Without Thee the wearing of our blankets is a disease to us, and dwelling in our houses is as if we dwelt with serpents.

Our water-pots are stakes of torture, our cups are daggers ; Thy turning away from us is like what animals endure from butchers.

Our Beloved's pallet would be pleasant to us ; living in towns is like living in a furnace.

God alone is the Creator,

The beginning and the end of all things, endless, the Fashioner, and the Destroyer,

To whom blame and praise are the same, who hath no enemy, no friend.

What necessity had He to become the driver of Arjan's chariot ?

The Bestower of salvation hath no father, mother, caste, son, or grandson.

Why should He have come into the world to be called the son of Devaki ?

When He who created demigods, demons, the eight directions, and all extension,

Is called by the name of Murar, what glory is it to Him ?

[1] That the Guru was a decided monotheist is proved by all his writings.

How can God be in human form ?

Sidhs have grown weary sitting in contemplation of Him, but they have not been able to see Him in any way.

Such persons as Narad, Vyas, Parasar, and Dhru have deeply meditated on Him.

The Veds and the Purans have grown weary and abandoned their purpose, since they could form no conception of Him.

Demons, demigods, fiends, sprites, describe Him as indescribable.

The faithful consider Him as the subtilest of the subtile, and again pointed Him out as the largest of the large.[1]

The one God having made the earth, the heaven, and all the nether regions they call many.

He who entereth God's asylum shall be saved from Death's noose.

I recognize none but the one God :

I know God as the Destroyer, the Fashioner, the Omnipotent and Eternal Creator.

What availeth it to men to worship stones in various ways with great love and devotion ?

The hand groweth weary by touching stones, and no spiritual power is obtained.

Rice, incense, lamps are offered to stones, but they eat nothing.

What spiritual power is in them, O fool ? what blessing can they bestow on thee ?

If they had life, they might give thee something ; be assured of this in thought, word, and deed—

Except in the protection of the one sole God nowhere is salvation.

Without God's name thou canst not be saved.

How shalt thou flee from Him who holdeth the fourteen worlds in His power ?

Ram and Rahim whose names thou repeatest cannot save thee.

[1] Since He exists in everything.

Brahma, Vishnu, Shiv, the sun and moon are all in the power of Death.

The Veds, the Purans, the Quran, all sects, Indar, Sheshnag, the kings of the Munis,

Meditated for many ages on Him who is called the Indescribable, *but could form* no conception of Him.

Why should He whose form and colour are not known be called black ? [1]

When thou shalt seize and cling to God's feet, thou shalt be freed from the noose of Death.

PRAYER

CHAUPAI

O God, give me Thy hand and protect me,
And all my desires shall be fulfilled.
May my heart be ever attached to Thy feet !
Deem me Thine own and cherish me ;
Destroy all mine enemies ;
O Creator, may my family and all my servants and disciples live in peace !
Destroy all mine enemies to-day,
And all my hopes shall be fulfilled.
May the thirst for repeating Thy name abide with me ;
And may I not, forsaking Thee, meditate on any one besides !
May I obtain from Thee whatever boon I crave !
Save my servants and my disciples ;
Single out mine enemies and smite them.
Remove from me the fear of the hour of death.
Be Thou always on my side ;
O Thou with the sword on Thy banner, protect me ;
Preserve me, O Thou Preserver,
Beloved Lord, Protector of the saints,
Friend of the poor, Destroyer of tyrants—
Thou art Lord of the fourteen worlds.
At the proper time Brahma obtained a body,
At the proper time Shiv became incarnate,

[1] The reference here is to the Hindu gods Vishnu and Krishan.

At the proper time [1] Vishnu appeared—
That was all the play of God.
My obeisance to that *God*
Who made Shiv a Jogi,
Who made Brahma the king of the Veds,
And who fashioned all the world.
Know that He is my Guru
Who made the whole world,
Who created demigods, demons, and Yakshas,
Who is the only God incarnate from beginning to end,
My obeisance to Him alone
Who Himself adorneth all His subjects,
Who bestoweth divine attributes and happiness on His servants,
Who destroyeth their enemies in a moment,
Who knoweth what is within every heart,
And the sufferings of the good and bad.
He is pleased as He casteth a look of favour on all
From the ant to the huge elephant.
He is grieved when His saints are grieved,
And happy when His saints are happy.
He knoweth every one's sufferings
And every secret of man's heart.
When the Creator projected Himself,
His creatures assumed endless shapes ;
Whenever Thou drawest creation within Thyself, *O Lord*,
All embodied beings are absorbed in Thee.[2]
All creatures endowed with speech [3]
Speak of Thee according to their understanding.
Thou dwellest apart from everything ;

[1] The expression *kāl pāi* in this and the two preceding lines is also translated—having first died.

[2] 'The universe comes from God, lives in Him, and returns to Him' is an expression commonly used in the *Upanishads* and *Mahābhārat*. In the *Bhagavat Gīta* creation is represented as evolving from God as the world at the approach of day slowly emerges from the darkness of night, and again dissolving or vanishing in Him as the world disappears after evening twilight.

[3] *Badan*, the mouth, literally—all things in creation which have a mouth.

The wise and the learned know the secret of this.[1]
O Formless One, Thou art changeless and independent;
Thou art the Primal One, stainless, without beginning, self-existent.
The fool boasteth that he knoweth the secrets of Him
Whose secrets are not known even to the Veds.
The great fool supposeth that God is a stone,
And knoweth not the difference between them;
He ever calleth the Eternal God Shiv,
And knoweth not the secrets of the Formless One.
Men according to their different understandings
Give different descriptions of Thee, *O God*.
Thine extension cannot be conceived,
Nor how Thou didst first fashion creation.
Thou hast but one form, and that form is incomparable.
Thou art in different places a poor man, a lord, or a king;
Thou madest life from eggs, wombs, and perspiration,
And again Thou madest a mine of vegetables.
Sometimes Thou sittest as monarch on the lotus flower,[2]
Sometimes as Shiv Thou gatherest up creation.
Thou didst display the whole creation as a miracle;
Thou art the Primal One from the beginning of time; Thy form was uncreated.
O God, protect me now;
Save those who are my disciples,
And destroy those who are not.
The enemies who rise in rebellion,
And all infidels destroy Thou them in the battle-field.
The enemies of those who sought Thy protection,
O God, have died in misery.
Thou hast removed all the troubles of those
Who fall at Thy feet.
Death shall never approach those
Who even once meditate on Thee, O God;

[1] Also translated—Thou knowest the secret of divine knowledge and of the world. Others suppose that *bed* and *ālim* are epithets of Hindus and Musalmāns respectively.

[2] That is, as Brahma, through whose agency, according to the Hindus, the world was created.

They shall be protected at all times,
And their enemies and their troubles shall instantly vanish.
Thou removest in an instant the sufferings of those
Whom Thou beholdest with a look of favour.
They possess in their homes all temporal and spiritual blessings,[1]
And no enemies can touch even their shadows.
Him who even once remembereth Thee
Thou savest from the noose of Death.
He who repeateth Thy name
Shall be free from poverty and the assaults of enemies.
O, Thou with the sword on Thy banner, I seek Thy protection ;
Give me Thine own hand and save me ;
Be Thou everywhere my helper,
And save me from the designs of mine enemies.

After the completion of the morning and evening obligatory divine services and of the uninterrupted reading or chanting of the Granth Sahib the Sikhs repeat a prayer or supplication called—

ARDAS,

which may now suitably end our presentation of the Lives and Writings of the ten Gurus :—

SRI WAHGURU JI KI FATAH !

Having first remembered the Sword meditate on Guru Nanak ;
Then on Guru Angad, Amar Das, and Ram Das ; may they assist us !
Remember Arjan, Har Gobind, and the holy Hari Rai ;
Meditate on the holy Hari Krishan, a sight of whom dispelled all sorrow.
Remember Teg Bahadur, and the nine treasures shall come hastening to your homes.
Ye holy Gurus, everywhere assist us.
May the tenth king, the holy Guru Gobind Singh, everywhere assist us.

[1] *Ridh sidh,* literally—wealth and supernatural power.

God Himself knoweth, He Himself acteth ; it is He who adjusteth.
Standing in His presence, Nanak, make supplication.

Sikhs of the true Immortal God, turn your thoughts to the teachings of the Granth Sahib and the deeds of the Khalsa ; utter Wahguru !

Meditating on the Deathless One, endowed with all power, compassionate, and just, utter Wahguru !

Meditating on the deeds of those who worshipped the Name, plied the sword, ate and distributed their food in companionship, and overlooked others' faults, O Khalsa, utter Wahguru !

O Deathless Creator, illimitable, this creature forgetting Thy name is so attached to worldly goods, that he hath forgotten the Real Thing. Without Thy supreme mercy how shall we cross the ocean of the world ? O great King, lust, wrath, greed, worldly love, jealousy, and other evil passions greatly trouble our minds, but on coming towards Thee worldly maladies and afflictions are healed and dispelled. Show us such favour that we may by word and deed be Thine, and that in all things we may obtain Thine assistance and support.

Grant to Thy Sikhs the gift of Sikhism, the gift of the Guru's instruction, the gift of faith, the gift of confidence in Thee, and the gift of reading and understanding the holy Granth Sahib.
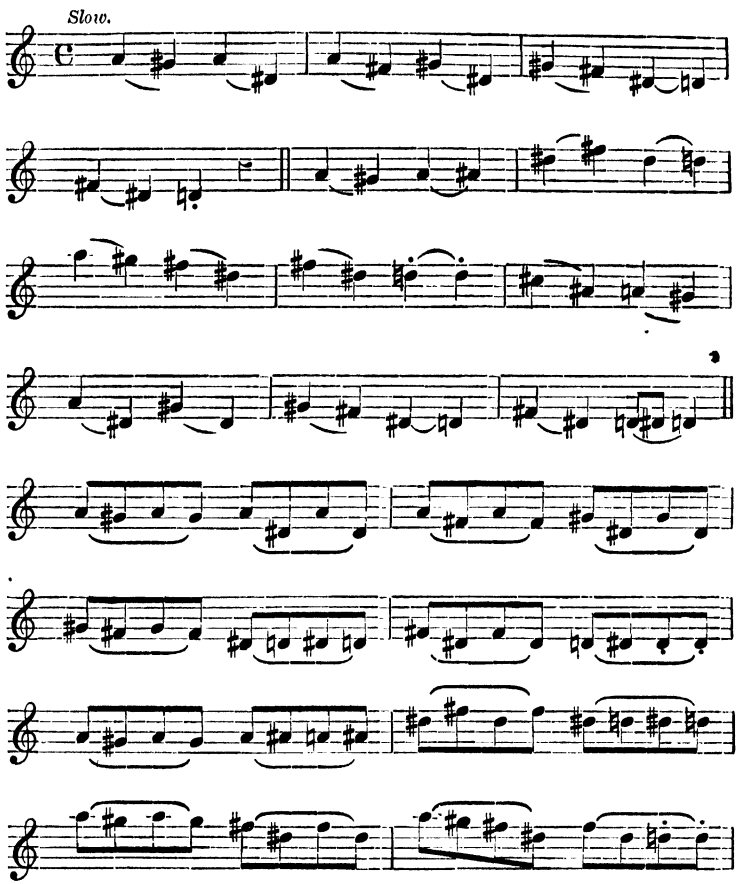
May the Sikh choirs, mansions, and banners ever abide ! Victory to the faith ! May the minds of the Sikhs be humble but their intellects exalted ! Utter Wahguru ! Wahguru ! ! Wahguru ! ! !

We offer this Ardas in Thy presence and at Thy lotus feet. Pardon our errors and mistakes. May all Sikhs who read and hear the Gurus' hymns be profited !
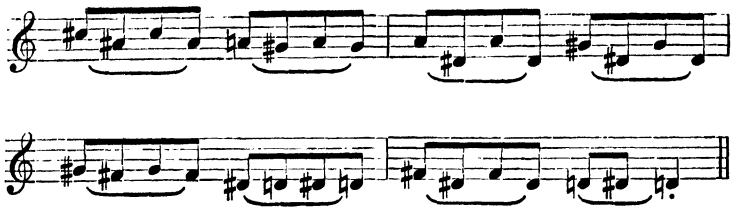
Through Nanak, may Thy name, O God, be exalted,
And all prosper by Thy grace !
Sri Wahguru ji ka Khalsa ! Sri Wahguru ji ki Fatah !

THE RĀGS OF THE GRANTH SÀHIB[1]
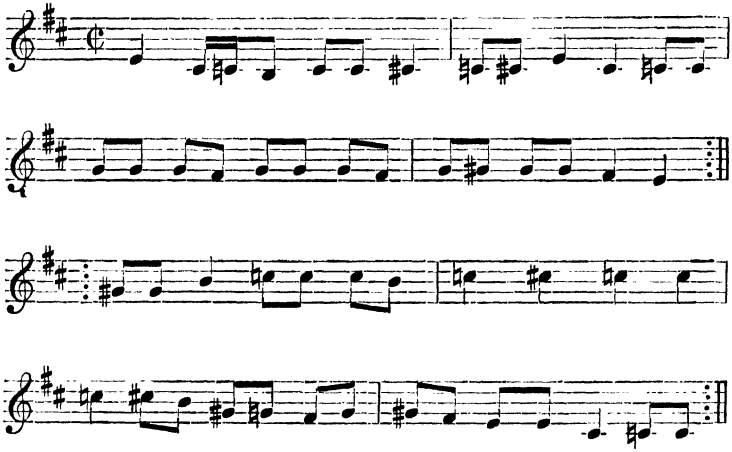
SRI RĀG
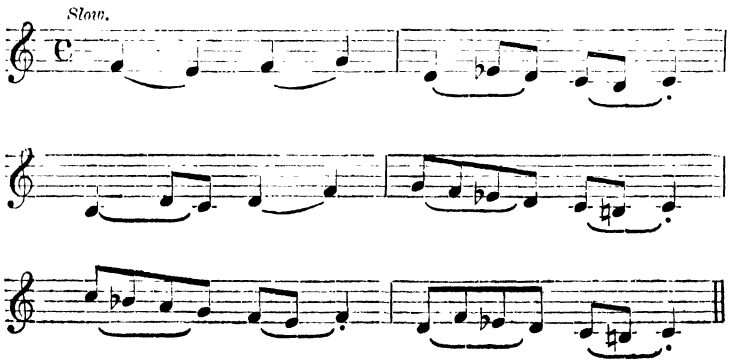


[1] As stated in the Life of Guru Nānak, these Rāgs are sung differently in different provinces of India. Of eight of them we have given alternative versions extracted from Rāja Sir Surindra Mohan Tagore's collection of Indian airs made for the Coronation of the King-Emperor. The Rāja's music is in a high pitch adapted for musical instruments; the Gurus' Rāgs are in a low pitch adapted for the voice.
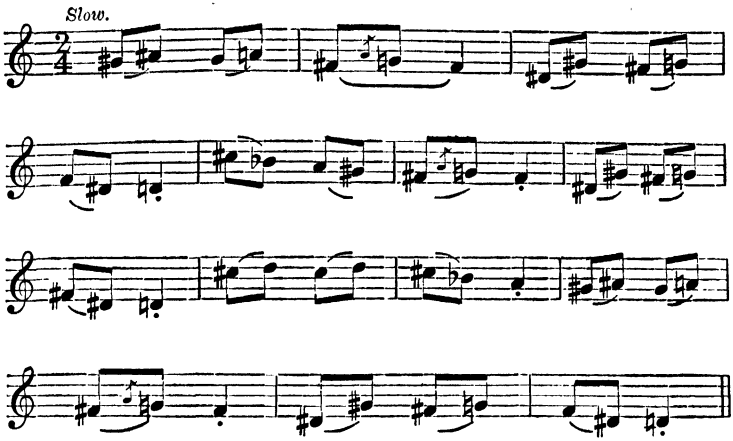


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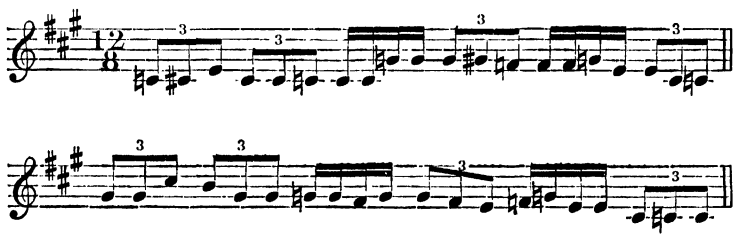


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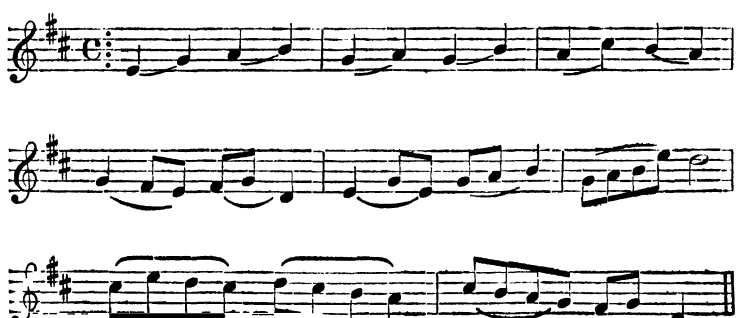


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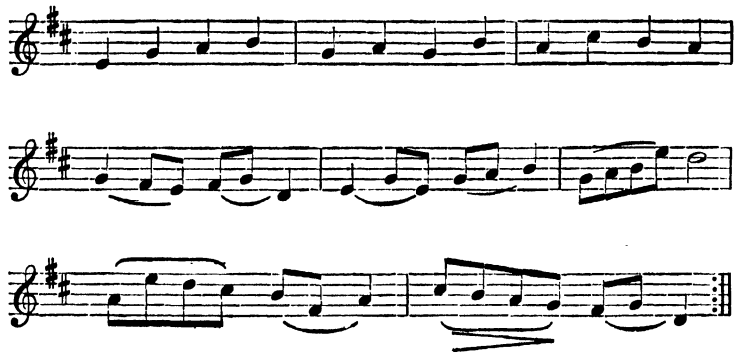


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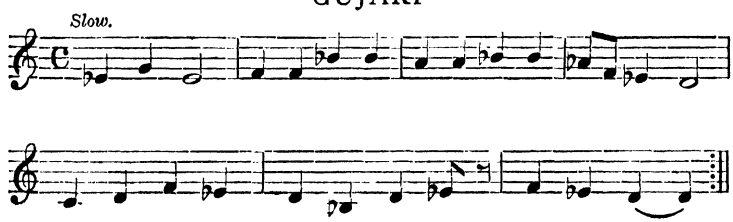


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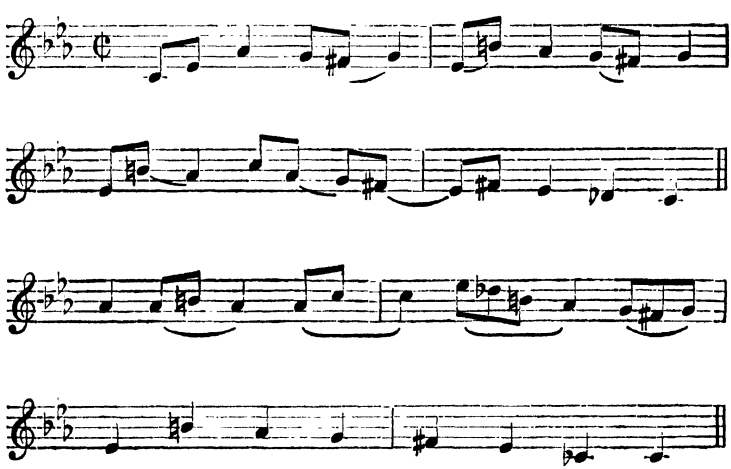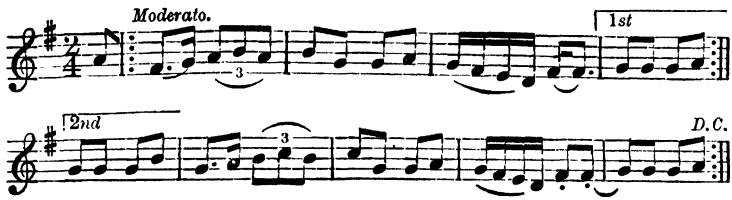




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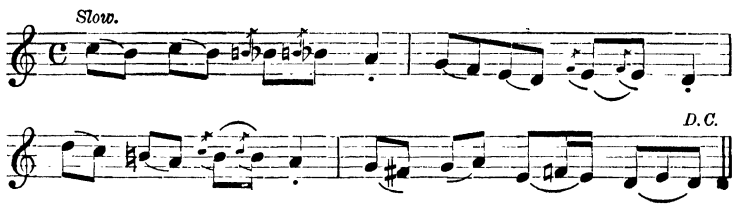


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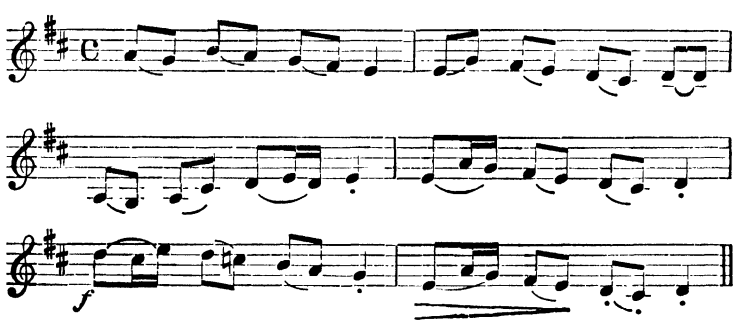


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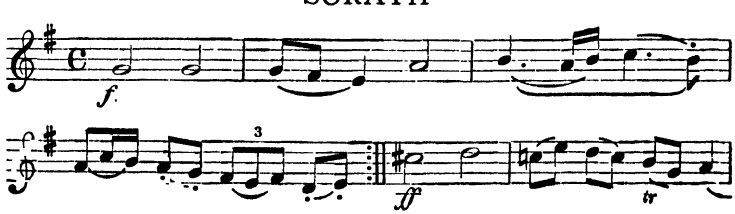


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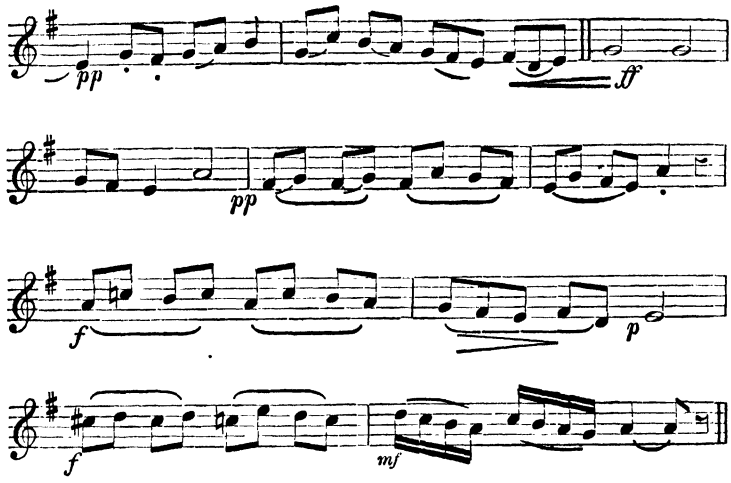


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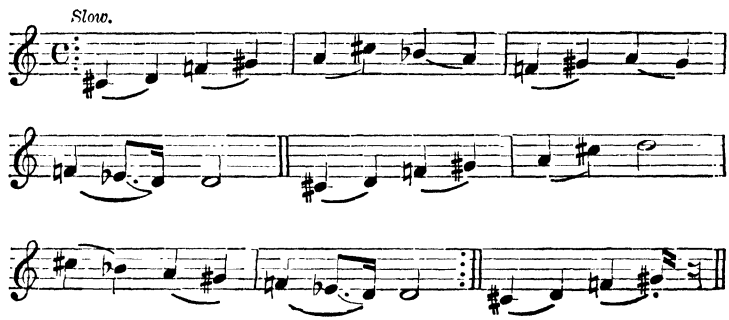


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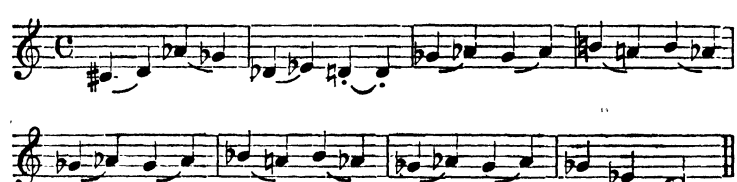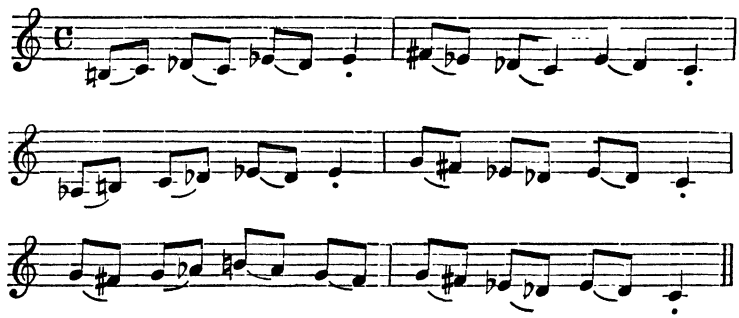




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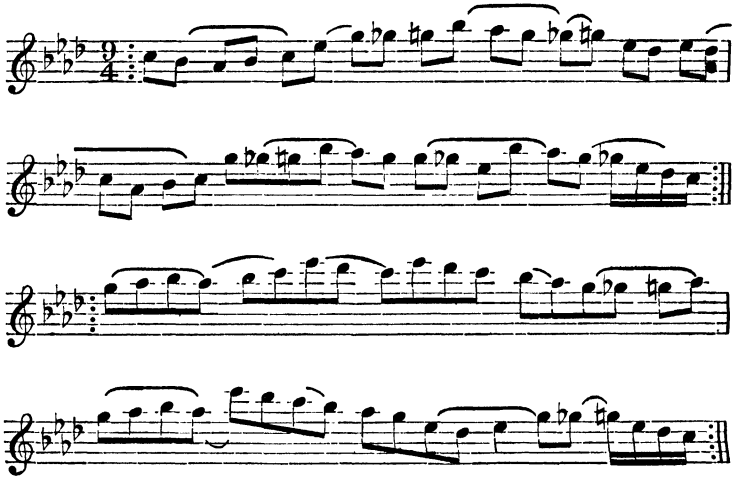


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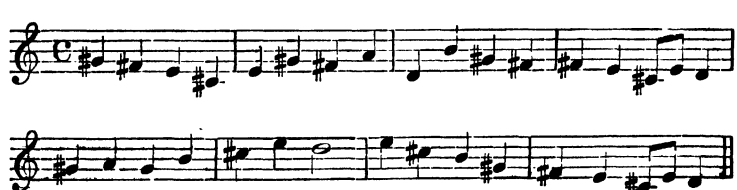


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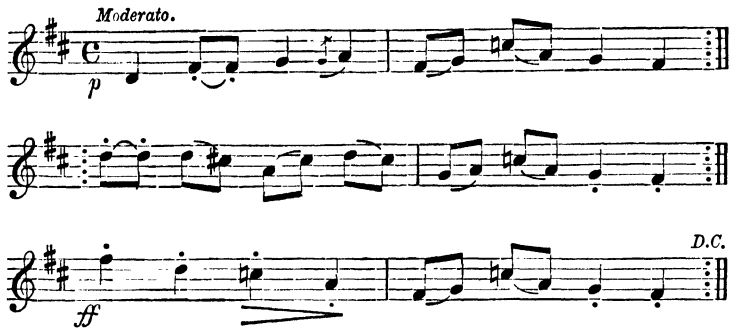


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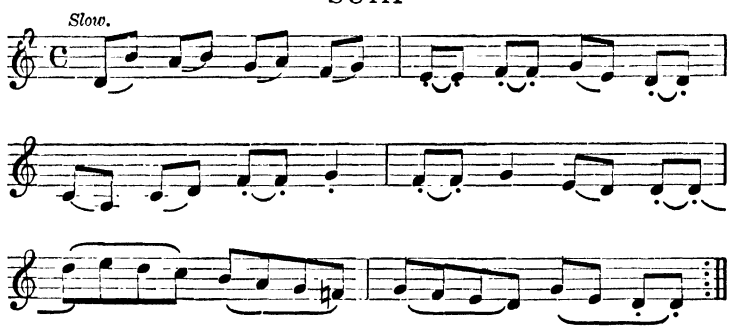


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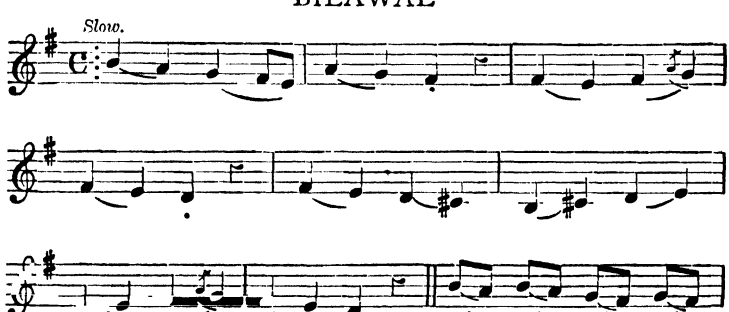


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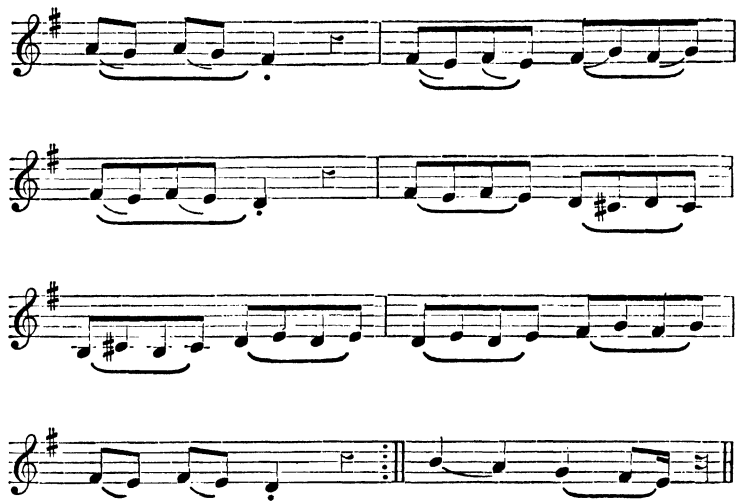


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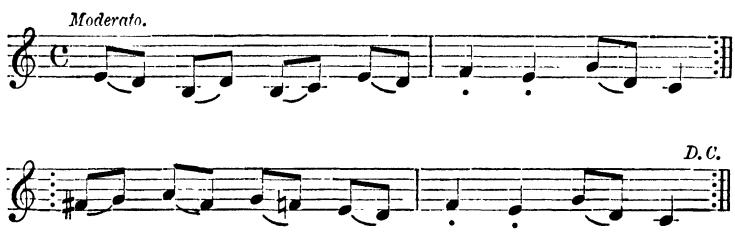


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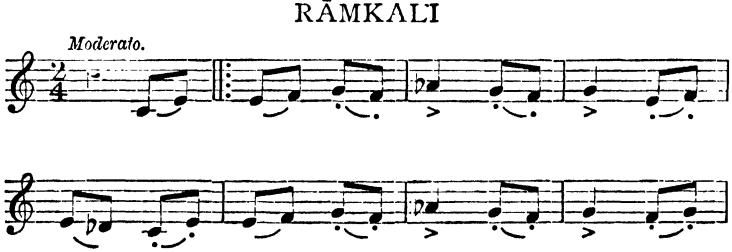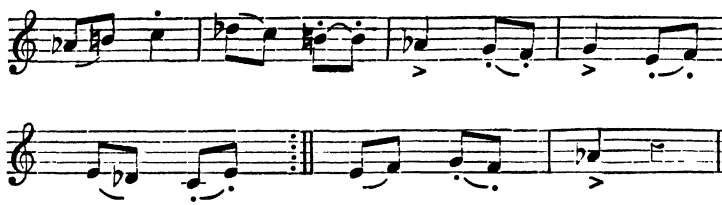




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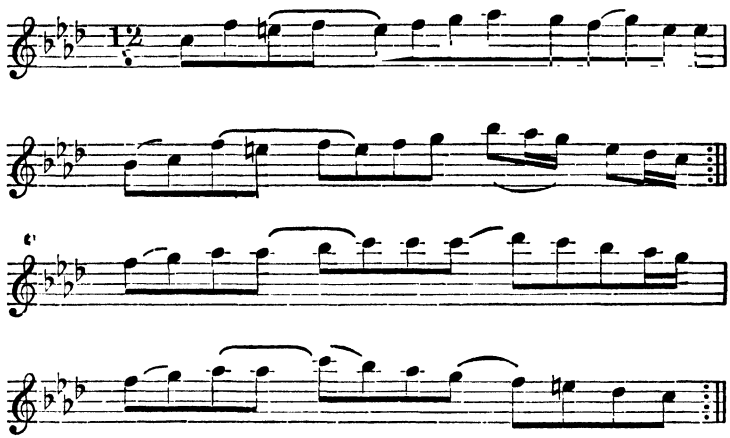


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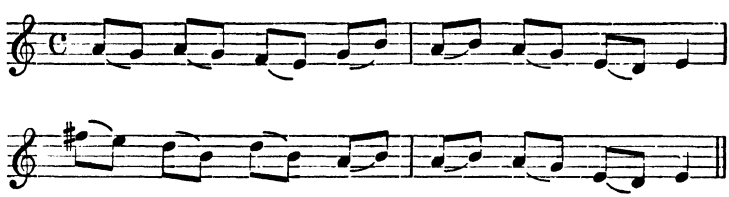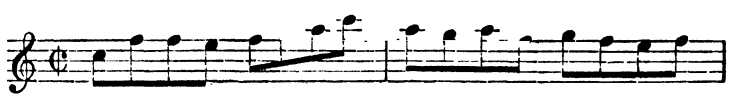




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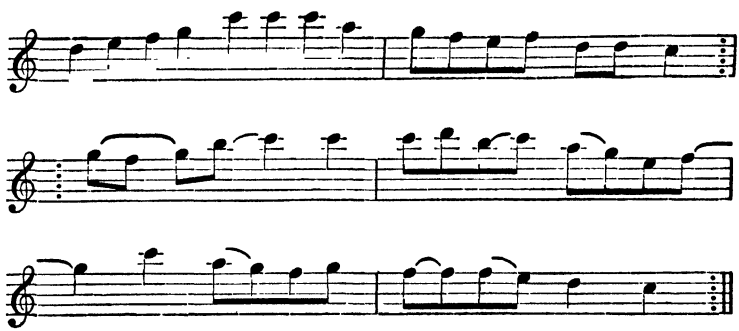


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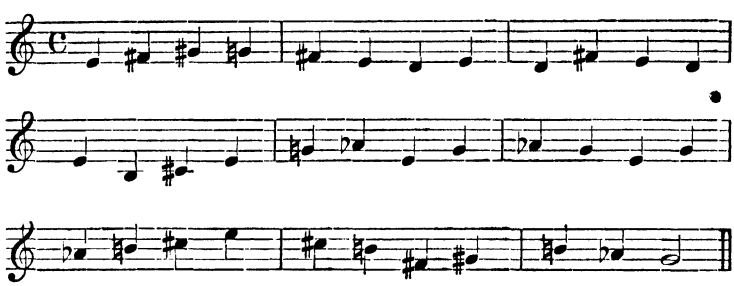


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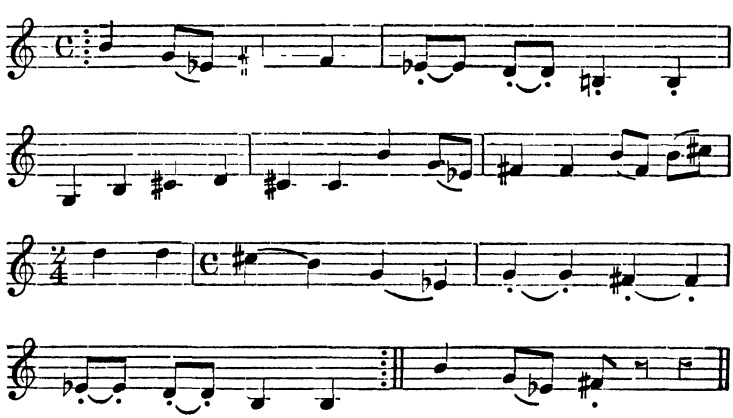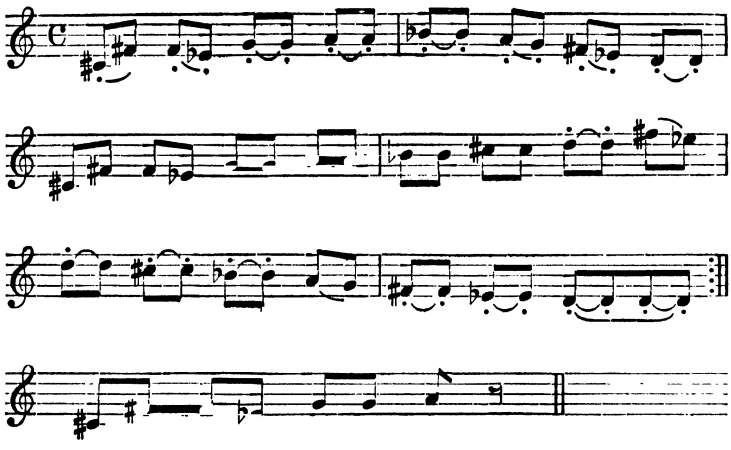




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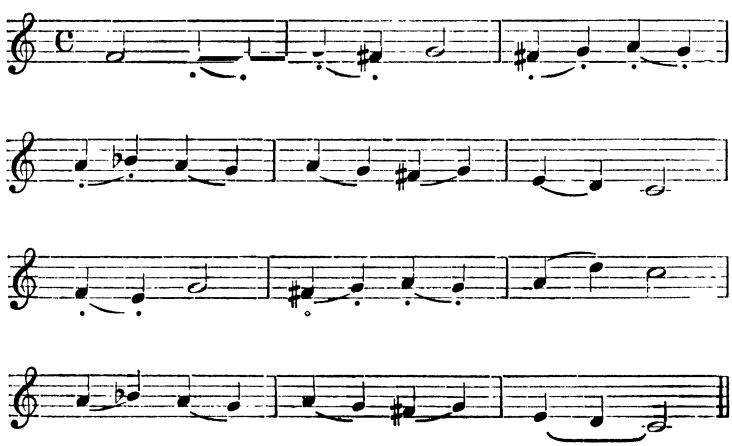


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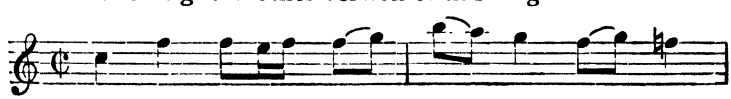
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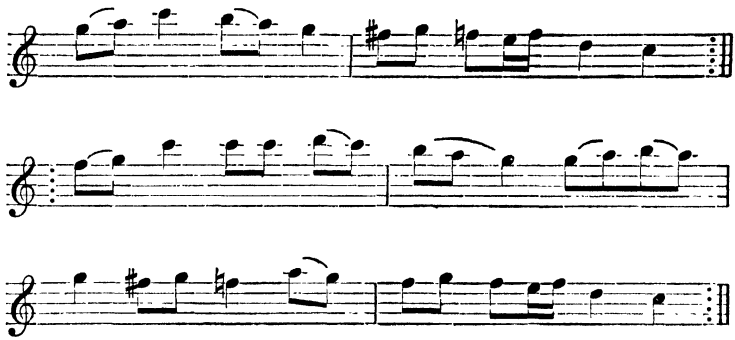


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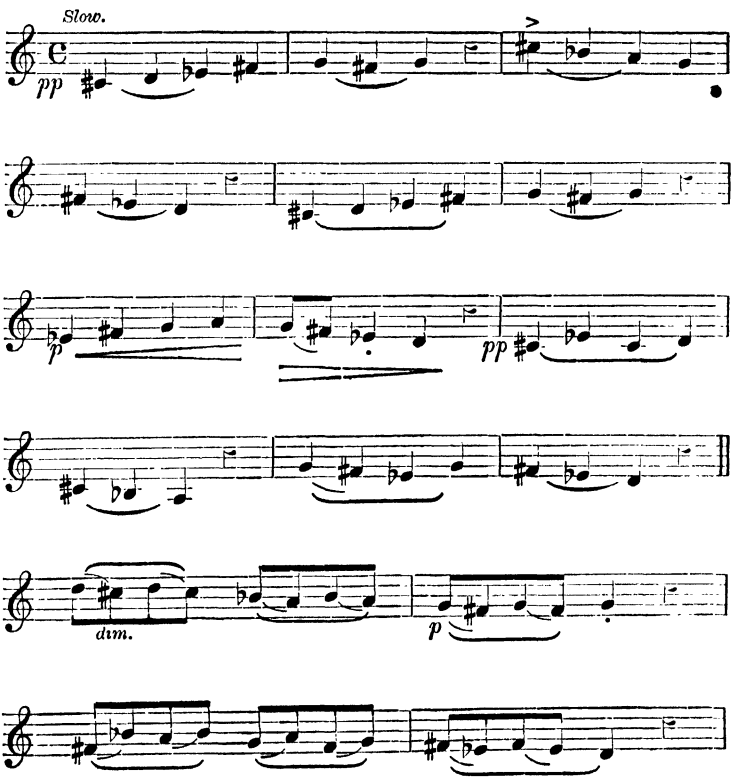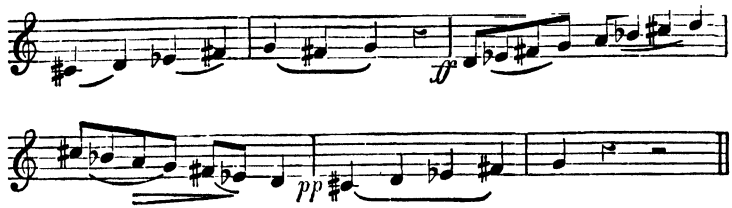


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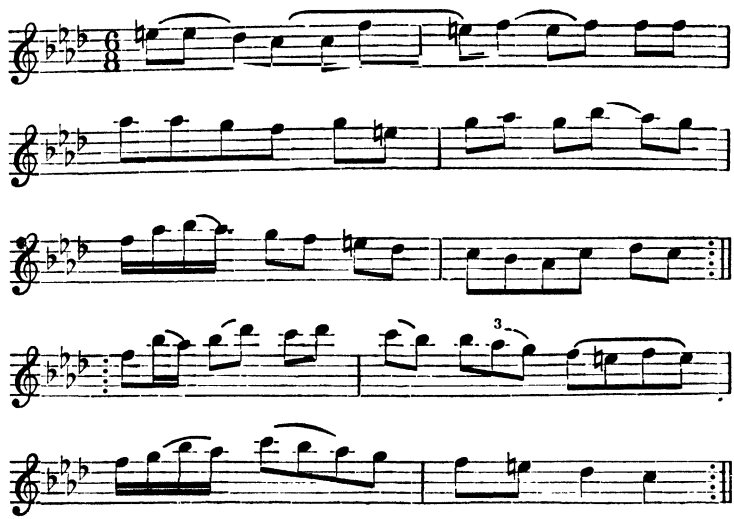




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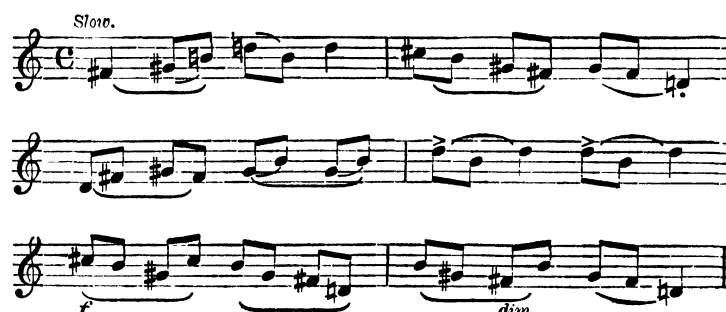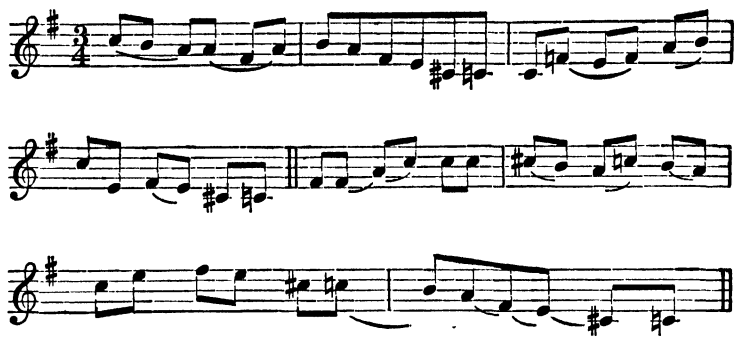




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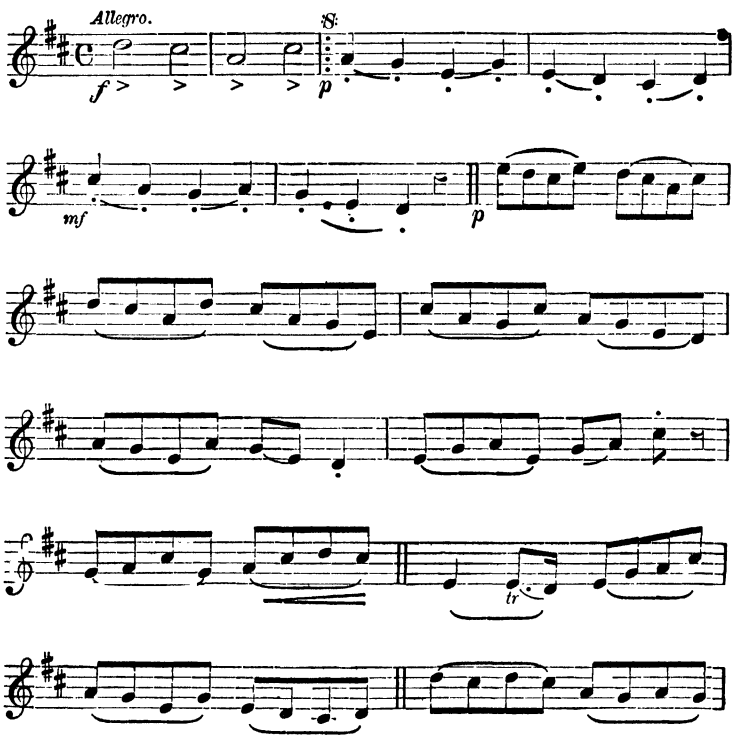


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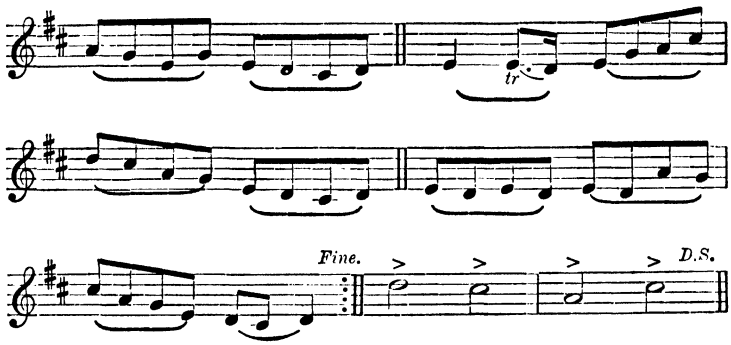


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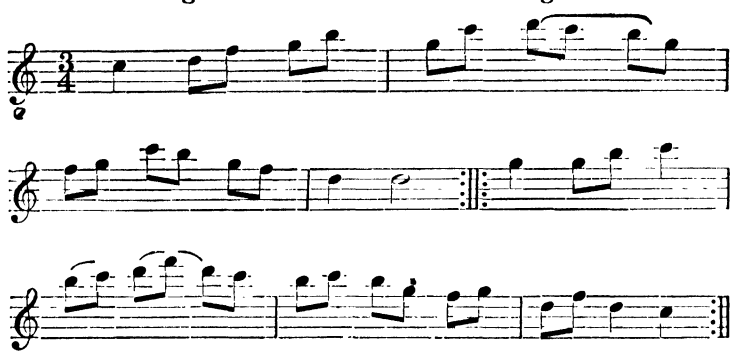


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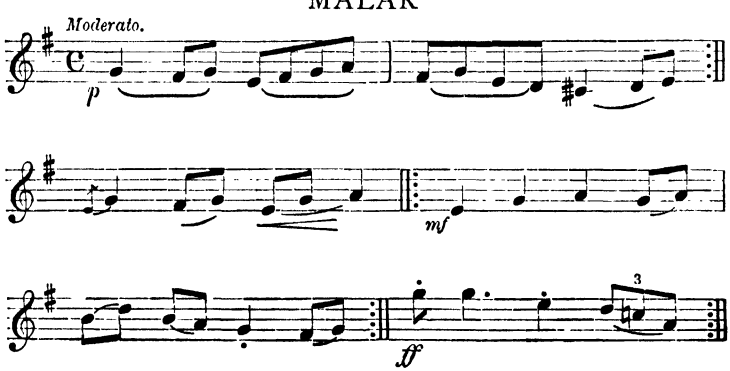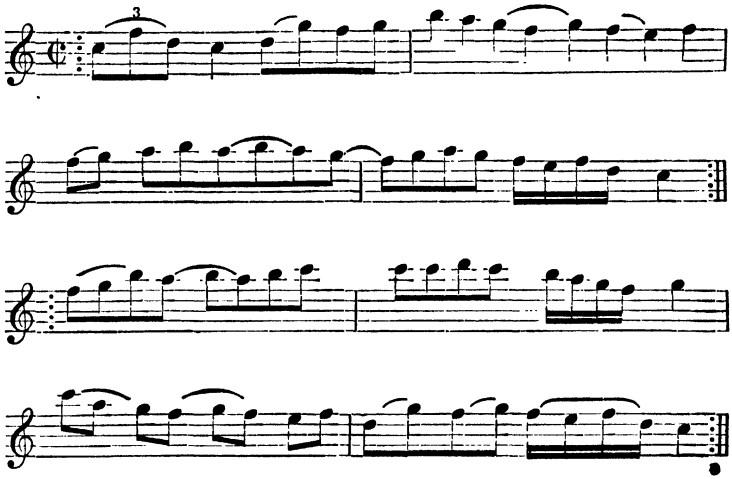




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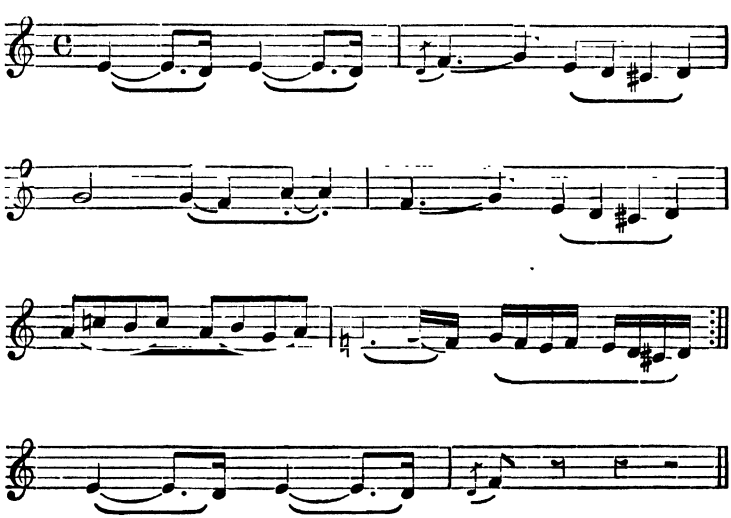


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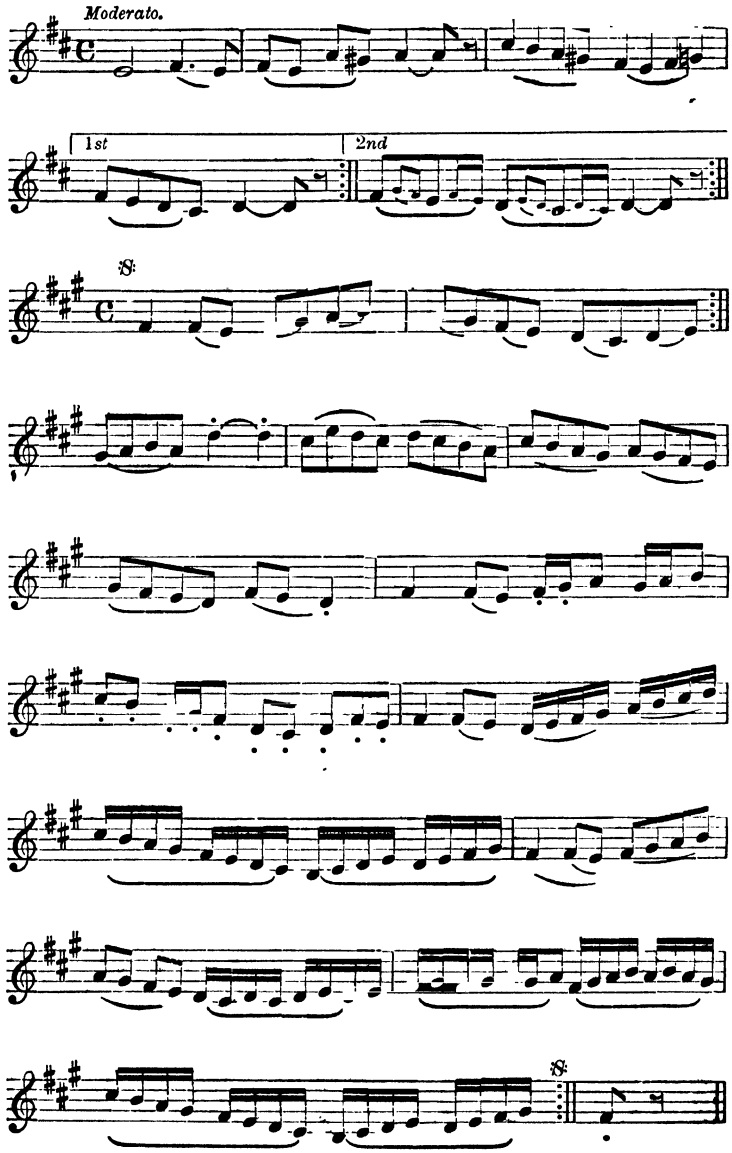


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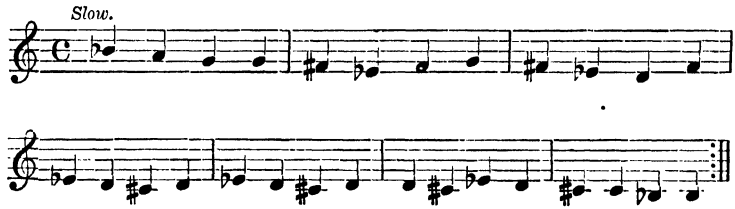


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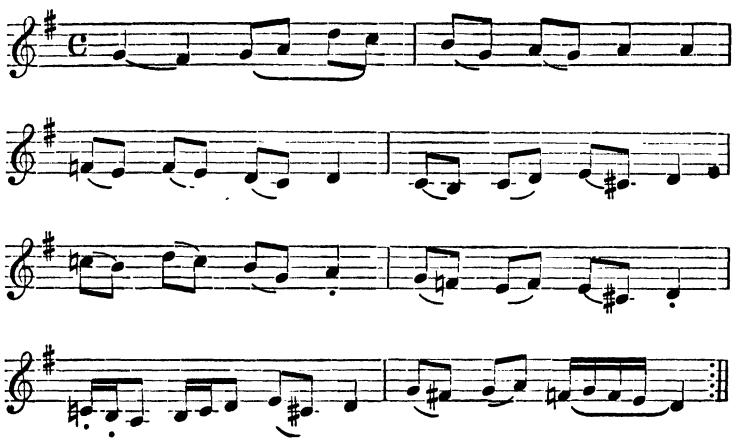


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THE BHAGATS[1] OF THE GRANTH SAHIB

THERE have lived in India from time immemorial saints and thinkers who were dissatisfied with the superstitions and religious vagaries of the Hindus. They gradually evolved a belief in one God and preceded Guru Nanak as the dawn before sunrise. Abrupt indigenous alterations of religion have rarely, if ever, been presented to human experience. Some of the writings of the Guru's immediate precursors called Bhagats, or saints, are preserved in the Granth Sahib compiled by Guru Arjan. He selected for inclusion therein, with equal impartiality the writings of both Hindus and Musalmans, as they suited his purpose, and contributed to the great cause of religious reformation. We find in the sacred volume compositions of Jaidev, Namdev, Trilochan, Parmanand, Sadhna, Beni, Ramanand, Dhanna, Pipa, Sain, Kabir, Rav Das, Sur Das, verses of at least two Musalman saints, Farid and Bhikan; and one recension of the sacred volume called Banno's Granth, preserved at Mangat in the Gujrat district of the Panjab, contains a hymn composed by Mira Bai, Queen of Chitaur. It is believed that Guru Arjan did not give it a place in his collection because the lady lived and died an idolater.

The Hindu Bhagats for the most part began life as worshippers of idols, but by study and contemplation arrived at a system of monotheism which was appreciated by Guru Arjan. The Muhammadan Bhagats lived in Hindu centres, and became largely imbued with Hindu modes of thought, while they

[1] The word *Bhagat* comes from the Sanskrit *bhakti*, which means devotion, love, &c.

at the same time retained their traditional belief in the Divine unity. There is no account given of these saints in any of the classical Sikh writings; but we have to the best of our power collected materials for the lives of most of them in the various places where they were born or where they flourished in India. Some civil officers have kindly made inquiries and furnished us with details from their districts, and political officers have also assisted in procuring information from the annals of native states.

The writings of Nabhaji, Uddava Chidghan, Mahipati, Ganesh Dattatre, Maharaja Raghuraj Sinha, Dahyabhai Ghelabhai pandit, and others in different Indian languages, on the mediaeval saints of India have also been consulted.

Nabhaji, the author of the *Bhagat Mal,* was born in the state of Gualiar. His original name is said to have been Narain Das. Everything relating to him is as wonderful as the legends he himself relates of his Vaishnav saints. He was born blind. When he was about five years of age there was a great famine in the land, and he was deserted by his parents in a forest, owing to their inability to maintain him. He was found by Agar Das and Kil, two Hindu pilgrims, who were on their way to the Ganges. He told them his history, and they adopted him. Kil sprinkled some holy water from his gourd on the child's eyes, and he received his sight. He was employed to wait on the holy men, and in this capacity heard many legends of Indian saints of all epochs. These legends he recorded at the suggestion of Agar Das in a work called *Sant Charitra,* which formed the basis of his *Bhagat Mal,* a series of metrical chronicles in the Gualiar dialect, written about A.D. 1578. He was a contemporary of Raja Man Sinh of Jaipur, and consequently lived during the reign of the Emperor Akbar. It is recorded that he had an interview with Tulsi Das, the famous

Hindu poet, who flourished in the reign of Shah Jahan. If so he must have lived to a very advanced age. Several additions and amplifications were made to Nabhaji's work by Priya Das and Pandit Lal Ji of Bindraban. It was subsequently written out in Hindu prose and translated into Urdu by different hands. Other writers in most of the great Indian dialects have written lives of the Vaishnav saints, but almost all are avowedly based on the work of Nabhaji.

Nabhaji's *Bhagat Mal* is in all versions painfully disappointing. It may be compared to the mediaeval legends of saints once current in Europe, but it has the additional defect of brevity, and, like Hindu works generally, shows a total contempt for chronology. When one great man is but an incarnation of another who lived hundreds or thousands of years before, it seems superfluous to the Hindu biographer to consider such a trifle as the date of his successive appearances upon earth. Even the pious Hindus who at different times expounded and translated Nabhaji's work, each and all pass by the dates of the Bhagats without a word of apology to the reader. We are therefore generally left to shreds of extraneous evidence for the epochs of the Bhagats whose writings are contained in the Bible of the Sikhs.

Uddava Chidghan was born in Dharur in Khandesh. Once when he was celebrating the anniversary of the birth of Rama, and taking an image of that god into his house at Bedar in the Barars, some bigoted Muhammadans stoned the procession. A fight arose between the Hindus and Muhammadans. It is said that Hanuman, the monkey-god, espoused the cause of the Hindus, and fought against the Muhammadans, as he had done thousands of years before against Rawan. By Hanuman's aid Chidghan's party was victorious, and succeeded in burning a mosque in which the Muhammadans had

concealed themselves. The era in which Chidghan flourished has not been accurately ascertained.

Mahipati was born in A. D. 1715 at Taharabad, in the Rahruri subdivision, about thirty-five miles from Ahmadnagar in the Bombay Presidency. He wrote the lives of saints in the Marathi language. His authorities were principally Nabhaji and Uddava Chidghan. He has himself given the Shaka year 1696 (A. D. 1774) as the date of the completion of his *Bhakta Lilamrita*. He died in A. D. 1790.

Maharaja Raghuraj Sinh, son of Maharaja Viswanath Sinh of the Baghel dynasty, chief of the Rewa state, was born in A. D. 1823, and died in 1880. He inherited his literary talents from his father, who wrote a paraphrase of Kabir's *Bijak*, and about fifty tracts on Hindu religion, philosophy, and literature. Maharaja Raghuraj Sinh was one of the most renowned Hindi poets of his time, and he was also a most generous patron of the many Hindi and Sanskrit scholars who flocked to his court. In religion he was a strict adherent of Vaishnav tenets.

We shall attempt to give the Lives and Writings of the Bhagats in chronological order.

JAIDEV

THERE were two distinguished men called Jaidev, whose lives and acts are frequently confounded in Indian chronicles and biographies. One was a metaphysician and scholar who is said to have lived at the court of Vikramaditya. It is related of him that when a boy at school he was able to learn in a day as much as his schoolfellows could in a fortnight. Hence he was called Pakshadhar Misra. It is not with him we are at present concerned.

The Jaidev whose hymns are found in the Granth Sahib is the celebrated Sanskrit poet who wrote

the *Gitgovind*. His father was Bhoidev, a Brahman of Kanauj, and his mother Bamdevi. He was born at Kenduli, about twenty miles from Suri, in the modern district of Birbhum in Lower Bengal. He became the most famous of the five distinguished poets who lived at the court of Lakshman Sen, king of Bengal, who dates from the year 1170 of the Christian era. The five poets were called the five jewels of Lakshman Sen's court, and so proud was the monarch of them that he erected a monument to preserve their names to succeeding ages. The specialities of the five poets are thus described by Jaidev himself :—

Umapatidhara excelleth in word painting ;
Jayadeva alone knoweth purity of style ;
Sarana is praised for extempore rendering of difficult passages ;
Govardhana surpasseth in description of love ;
No one is so famed as the king of poets Dhoyi for remembering what he hath once heard.

Very little is known of Jaidev's early life. It is certain that from his youth he was a diligent student of Sanskrit literature, and developed rare poetical talents. He is described by the author of the *Bhagat Mal* as an incarnation and treasury of melody, on which, however, he, owing to his ascetic habits, long preferred to feast his own soul rather than communicate to the world the splendid gifts he possessed. He wandered in several countries, provided with only a water-pot and dressed in the patched coat of a mendicant. Even pens, ink, and paper, generally so indispensable to literary men, were luxuries which he did not allow himself. Such was his determination to love nothing but God, that he would not sleep for two nights in succession under the same tree, lest he should conceive an undue preference for it and forget his Creator.

It pleased God, with the object, it is stated, of

saving the human race, to withdraw Jaidev from his ascetic life. For this purpose, the chronicler relates, God devised the following expedient. An Agnihotri Brahman of Jagannath, to whom a beautiful daughter named Padamavati had been born as the result of many offerings and prayers, brought her up with the object of dedicating her as a dancing girl to the local idol. Her father duly conducted her to the idol and was ordered to take her away and bestow her on the great saint Jaidev. On this she was taken to him, and he was informed of the divine decision in his favour. Jaidev reasoned with the Brahman, and told him he ought to give his daughter to some more wealthy man, who would be more suitable for her than a homeless ascetic like himself. The Brahman replied that he could not disobey God's order. Jaidev rejoined, 'God is master and omnipotent. He may have thousands and tens of thousands of wives, but one for me is the same as a hundred thousand;' that is, he had no more need or ability to maintain one than he had a hundred thousand. After further discussion, in which the Brahman failed, notwithstanding the exercise of all his powers of persuasion, he left his daughter with Jaidev. Before his departure he told her it was impious to act in opposition to the will of God. She was to remain with Jaidev, and obey him according to the instructions laid down for wives in the Hindu sacred writings.

The tender girl remained with Jaidev and attended on him like his shadow. He is said to have represented to her the futility of living with him: 'Thou art wise,' he said; 'endeavour to do something to improve thy position; I have no power to maintain and cherish thee.' She replied, 'What power hath this poor creature? Thou canst do as thou pleasest. I am a sacrifice unto thee and shall never leave thee.' On this Jaidev believed that God was forcing him into the alliance, and he recon-

ciled himself to the situation. As the first preparation for domestic life he built a hut for his spouse, set up an idol in it, and applied himself to its worship. He then began the composition of the celebrated poem the *Gitgovind*. This is believed to have been his second composition, his first being a drama called *Rasana Raghava*. A third work attributed to him is *Chandralok*, an essay on the graces of style.

The fact appears to be that the mantling fire of Jaidev's genius sought for an outlet, that with experience of life a change came over his religious opinions, that he resolved no longer to play the hermit, but accept the wife offered him, distinguish himself, and seek for worldly fame and its pleasures. God has been introduced *ex machinâ* into the narrative to save Jaidev from the charges of inconsistency and submission to human passion.

The *Gitgovind* is well known in both hemispheres. It has been translated into English prose and paraphrased in English verse.[1] It is perhaps a solitary instance of a great popular poem composed in a dead language. In the twelfth century of the Christian era Sanskrit was, it is true, used as Latin was at the same time in Europe, but the great age had passed away when Sanskrit was a living language—the only recognized Indian vehicle of men's thoughts and aspirations. The *Gitgovind* is still not only remembered, but nightly chanted in the Karnatik countries and other parts of India, because it is ostensibly a love song and its strains are sweet and find a responsive echo in the human heart.[2]

During the composition of the *Gitgovind* Jaidev

[1] Into prose by Sir William Jones and into exquisite verse by the late Sir Edwin Arnold.

[2] Jaidev has been more fortunate than Petrarch, the mediaeval Italian poet, in composing in a dead language. Petrarch composed a Latin poem entitled 'Africa', which is now never read, while his love sonnets are the delight of many cultivated minds.

represented Radhika the heroine as pouting because Krishan the hero had followed other loves. Krishan alters his ways, and applies himself to the task of appeasing her and apologizing for his conduct. The poet was preparing to make Krishan address his lady love: 'Adorn my head by putting on it the lotus leaves of thy feet, which are an antidote to the poison of Cupid,' when he reflected that it would be a dishonour to his god if any woman were to put her feet on his head. While thus reflecting the poet ceased to write, and went to bathe, intending subsequently to alter the sentence into more conformity with the relative positions of the hero and heroine.

What was Jaidev's surprise when on returning from his bath he found the verse completed exactly as he had subsequently intended! He asked his wife how it had occurred. She told him he had returned himself, and having written the verse gone away again. Upon this Jaidev knew that Krishan himself had written the verse, and thus hallowed the composition. The fame of the event and of the poem spread far and wide, and Jaidev obtained the high renown he had so earnestly sought.

Satvika, King of Urisa (Orissa) at the time, was also a poet and learned man. He had accidentally selected for a poem the same subject as Jaidev, and he appears to have produced a work of respectable merit, which he directed his Brahmans to copy and circulate. In reply they showed him the composition of Jaidev. They meant by this that the Raja's poem was as nothing in comparison with Jaidev's. As well compare a lamp with the sun. The Raja in his pride could not accept the Brahmans' criticism, but caused both poems to be placed in the temple of his capital, and promised to abide by the decision of the idol as to which was superior.

The idol rejected the king's *Gitgovind* and took to his heart that of Jaidev. Upon this the Raja thinking himself greatly dishonoured was overcome

by shame and jealousy, and set out to drown himself. Krishan is said to have taken pity on him. He appeared to him and told him it would be a vain and foolish act to put an end to his life. It was very clear that his poetical merit did not equal that of Jaidev, but, to compensate him for his disappointment, Krishan ordered that one of the Raja's verses should be inserted in each of the twelve cantos of Jaidev's poem, and both compositions should thus go forth to the world and down to distant ages. This was accordingly done.

The estimation in which the *Gitgovind* was held may be gathered from the following anecdote. A gardener's daughter while one day gathering egg-plants was singing with great zest the following verse from the fifth canto of the poem :—

The zephyr gently bloweth on the banks of the Yamuna while Krishan tarrieth in the grove.

On this, it is said, the idol of Jagannath followed her wherever she went, with the object of feasting his heart on the dulcet strains. The idol wore only a thin jacket which was torn by the brambles. When the king went to worship and saw the condition of the idol's dress, he in astonishment asked the priests the cause. When the Raja learned what had occurred, he was perfectly satisfied of the superiority of the product of Jaidev's genius, and issued a proclamation that the *Gitgovind* should only be read in a clean and purified place, as Jagannath, the lord of the world, himself was in the habit of going to listen to it.

Not only Hindus, but men of all creeds were enchanted with the composition. It is related that a Mughal, on hearing of the divine honours paid to the work, used to peruse it with the greatest delight. One day while riding he was singing its verses, when he fell into an ecstasy of pleasure, and thought that, though a Moslem, he felt communion with Krishan.

Oriental chroniclers are enthusiastic in their praises of Jaidev. All other poets are compared to petty kings while he is the great chakrawarti or poetical monarch of the world. As the moon cannot be concealed by the stars, as the eagle cannot be surpassed by any bird in flight, as Indar attracts notice in the midst of the gods, so is Jaidev's fame conspicuous in the world. It may be added that Jaidev himself does not appear to have been insensible of his own merits. At the conclusion of the *Gitgovind* he writes, 'Whatever is delightful in the modes of music, whatever is exquisite in the sweet art of love let the happy and wise learn from the song of Jaidev.'[1]

Notwithstanding the lusciousness and sensuous beauty of several parts of the *Gitgovind*, there can be no doubt that Jaidev intended the poem as an elaborate religious allegory. This, too, is insisted on by the author of the *Bhagat Mal*, who states that the love scenes and rhetorical graces of the poet are not to be understood in the sense that persons of evil minds and dispositions attach to them. Radhika the heroine is heavenly wisdom. The milkmaids who divert Krishan from his allegiance to her, are the senses of smell, sight, touch, taste, and hearing. Krishan represented as pursuing them is the human soul, which attaches itself to earthly pleasures. The return of Krishan to his first love is the return of the repentant sinner to God, which gives joy in heaven.

After the completion of the poem Jaidev went to travel and visited Bindraban and Jaipur. To the latter place its king had given him a pressing invitation. While on those travels it is related that he met a party of thags. He knew what they were from their ready offer to accompany him on his journey. Without more ado he pulled out his purse and gave

[1] The reader will remember the exultations of Horace, Ovid, Moore, Poushkin, and others, on the completion of their immortal poems.

them all the money and valuables he possessed, thus reasoning, 'Wealth is the basis of sin; gluttony produceth disease; and love of the world purchaseth pain, so it is proper to discard all three.'

The thags at once suspected him. They had not been accustomed to obtain men's wealth without a struggle or without at least having made a request for it, and they concluded from Jaidev's readiness to part with his money, that he merely designed to have them arrested on their return to the city. One of them proposed to put him to death, but another said that would be a meaningless act. They only required his wealth, and that they had obtained. It was at last decided that they should cut off his hands and throw him into a narrow and dark well, and this was accordingly done.

Jaidev, it is said, meekly accepted the treatment he had received as a fate predestined for him, and applied himself to divine contemplation and the utterance of God's name. It chanced that Karaunch, the King of Utkal, passed that way, and hearing that Jaidev was in the well caused him to be extricated. Jaidev was so little revengeful for the injuries he had sustained, that, in reply to the king's inquiries as to the cause of his mutilation, he told him he had been born so. The king became convinced that Jaidev was a saint, and congratulated himself on his good fortune in meeting such a man. The king had him conveyed to his capital where he was treated with all honour and respect, and a house set apart for him. He was, moreover, provided with food and every article of comfort. The king himself offered to become his servant, and, with hands clasped in the Oriental attitude of supplication, begged Jaidev to say what duty he could render him. Jaidev had one request to make, and that was that the king should serve holy men and not him. In happy faith and with open heart the

king obeyed and performed menial service for the saints of God who were waiting at his gate.[1] The fact that the king was performing such services was noised abroad and the thags, among others, heard of it. They assumed the guise of religious men and proceeded to the monarch's gate. This led to an interview with Jaidev. He recognized them, and told the king that they were his brethren and very holy persons. Fortunate was the king in having been favoured with a sight of them, and devoutly ought he to serve and minister unto them. The king took them into his palace, and lavished on them every honour that Oriental politeness and hospitality could suggest.

The thags, however, recognizing Jaidev, were troubled for their safety, and applied for permission to depart. This was finally granted, and Jaidev dismissed them with a large present of money and a convoy of soldiers for their protection. On the way the soldiers fell into conversation with their charge. They remarked that they had never before seen visitors to the king so heartily and kindly treated, and they inquired in what relationship the men they were escorting stood to Jaidev. The thags replied: 'What shall we say? It is not a fit thing to tell.' The soldiers promised them perfect secrecy. The thags then proceeded to exercise their inventive faculties developed by long practice. They said that Jaidev and they had been servants of a king. For some offence Jaidev had been condemned to death, and they had been appointed his executioners. They merely, however, cut off his hands and thus saved his life. Through gratitude for that favour Jaidev induced the king to pay them such extraordinary attention. It is said that God could no longer endure the fabrication of false charges against His saint. The ground

[1] This service consists in washing the saints' feet, waiting on them at dinner, walking round them in an attitude of adoration, &c., &c.

opened beneath the feet of the thags, and they sank into the pit of hell.

The soldiers in amazement returned to Jaidev and told him what had occurred. He began to tremble with pity for the thags, and made a gesture as if rubbing his hands—the Oriental attitude expressive of grief—whereupon, it is related, new hands sprouted from his body. The soldiers went and informed the king of the two miracles their eyes had beheld. The king proceeded to Jaidev and performed before him the prostration due to saints. He begged Jaidev to explain how the incidents had occurred. The saint for a long time refused, but, when greatly pressed by the king, gave him a detailed account of all the circumstances. The king's faith in Jaidev had now reached its utmost limit, and he knew that the man before him in the guise of a saint was really a divine incarnation. It is the usual custom of saints when they receive evil always to return good, even as bad men return evil for evil, so the king deemed his conclusion warranted by the forgiving conduct of Jaidev.

Jaidev felt a longing for home and told the king of his determination to take his leave. The king put his head on the saint's feet, and represented to him that his country had turned to God and the practice of virtue, since it had been trodden by his holy feet. If the saint were to depart, the king's subjects would turn away from their faith. He therefore implored him to defer his departure. As a further inducement to Jaidev to abide with him, he went himself and brought Padamavati so that the saint's happiness might be complete, and his distant home forgotten. Padamavati was installed in the royal palace, and the queen received stringent orders to perform all menial offices for her.

While Padamavati resided at the court the queen's brother died, and his wife was burned with him on

the funeral pyre. One day when the queen was boasting of the wonderful devotion of her sister-in-law, Padamavati smiled. When asked the reason she replied, 'To burn oneself alive with one's husband's corpse is far from being the acme of affection. True affection and love require a woman to sacrifice herself directly she even heareth of her husband's death.' 'In the present age,' replied the queen, 'thou alone art such a Sati,' a word defined by the author of the *Bhagat Mal* as a 'woman who considereth her husband a god and hath no concern with any other deity.' Not feeling flattered by the well-nigh unapproachable standard of conjugal devotion which alone Padamavati considered as worthy of admiration, the queen determined to put her to the test at the first opportunity.

One day when Jaidev was absent from home, the queen arranged that one of the royal servants in pretended haste was to come to her when with Padamavati, and inform the latter that Jaidev had been attacked and killed in the forest by a tiger. On the servant coming to where they were seated and repeating this carefully tutored story, Padamavati swooned and fell lifeless to the ground.[1]

The queen who had brought about this disaster, turned pale and became distracted at the unexpected turn of events. She was severely rebuked by the king when he heard of the occurrence. Life became bitter to her, and she made preparations for death on a funeral pyre which she had constructed. When the circumstances were communicated to Jaidev, he appeared in time to hinder the immolation of the queen, and approaching the dead Padamavati sang his well-known ashtapadis. To the surprise and joy of all, she was restored to life, it is said, and joined her husband in his song.

[1] The story in Nābhāji's *Bhagat Māl* makes the king join in the plot. We adopt in preference the story in the Marathi work, *Bhārat khanda cha aravachin Kosh.*

Jaidev and his wife by this time had had sufficient experience of regal life. They were glad to abandon all state and return to their lowly home at Kenduli, where they enjoyed the society of saints and transferred their idolatrous devotion to the love and homage of the one true God.

On the anniversary of Jaidev's birth a religious fair is held at Kenduli, the poet's birthplace, and is attended by thousands of Vaishnavs who celebrate the occasion by assembling round his cenotaph for worship, and singing the most sublime portions of his immortal songs.

The following hymns of Jaidev in far other style and manner, and written in the popular language of his time, are found in the Granth Sahib.

HYMNS OF JAIDEV

GUJARI

God's attributes, moral injunctions, and the inutility of Hindu forms of worship:—

Before all things was the Being who is unrivalled and endued with permanence and similar attributes;[1]

Who is supremely wonderful, distinct from nature, incomprehensible, and pervadeth creation.

Repeat only the beloved God's name,

Which is ambrosia and the essence of all things.

By remembering Him the fear of birth, old age, and death afflicteth us not.

If thou desire the defeat of the god of death and his train, praise and bless God, and do good works.

God is equally in the present, past, and future, imperishable, and supremely happy.

[1] The attributes of God here meant are *sat*, stability or permanence; *chit*, sensation; and *ānand*, happiness.

O man, if thou seek to do good acts, renounce greed and the coveting of another's house,[1]

Together with all evil deeds and evil inclinations, and seek the protection of God.

Embrace the service of God alone in thought, deed, and word.

What availeth the practice of jog, sacrifice, alms, and penance?

O man, utter the name of God, the Bestower of all supernatural power.

Jaidev hath come openly *into the asylum of Him* who is in the present and the past, who is contained in all things.

MARU

The following hymn, which in the original is perhaps one of the most difficult of human compositions, is given to illustrate the practice of jog.[2]

I drew up my breath by the left nostril, I fixed it between both nostrils[3] and I drew it down by the right repeating *oam* sixteen times at each *process*.

[1] That is, his wife and property.

[2] It has been explained that jog means the union of the soul with God, and the first means of effecting this is to train and obtain complete mastery over the inspiratory and expiratory organs. In the first stage of this exercise the breath is drawn up through the left nostril, called *ira*, while the syllable *oam*, one of the symbols of God, is slowly repeated sixteen times. The breath is then suspended in the upper part of the nose where both nostrils meet. This junction of the nostrils is called *sukhmana*. As the breath has been drawn up by the left nostril, so it is forced down through the right, called *pingala*, the syllable *oam* being again sixteen times repeated.

But the highest exercise of this practice is drawing the breath up to the brain, which in the language of the Jogis is styled the tenth gate, the other gates or apertures of the body being the eyes, ears, nose, mouth, &c. To assist in keeping the breath in the brain, the tongue is bent backwards so as to close the air passage. The operator also exerts himself to allow no breath to issue by the mouth or nostrils. A state of suspended animation then ensues. The brain is heated, and is said to distil nectar which falls on the tongue, and then a state of ecstasy supervenes. Skill in this practice, which is said to greatly weaken the body, is nowadays obtained by very few persons.

[3] *Nād* appears to mean here what is known to the Jogis as the *sukhmana*.

My strength I broke, and I have become weak; my unstable *mind* I fixed and made stable; my unfashioned mind I fashioned, and then I quaffed nectar.

In that state I sang of Him who preceded the soul [1] and the three qualities.[2]

The idea that Thou and I are distinct hath been removed.

What was worthy of worship I worshipped, what was worthy of trust I trusted; and I have become blended with God as water with water.

Saith Jaidev, I have repeated God's name,[3] and becoming absorbed in His love have obtained Him who liveth undisturbed.

NAMDEV [4]

NAMDEV was the son of Damasheti, a tailor, who resided at Narsi Bamani, a village near Karhad in the Satara district of the Bombay Presidency. Namdev's mother was Gonabai, daughter of a tailor at Kalyan, in the same district. Both Namdev's

[1] God the Supreme Spirit, is the source whence the souls, *jivātama*, of all animals have proceeded. The soul can only return to God by good works and laborious struggles for perfection. As long as God and the soul are distinct, the latter is subject to transmigration. When by the practice of good works the light of the soul blends with the light of God, *nirvān*, or eternal rest, is obtained.

[2] That is, from whom the soul and the three qualities emanated. God being a spirit cannot be said from a human point of view to possess any attributes.

[3] *Jaidev*, which literally means victory to God.

[4] The accounts of Nāmdev current in different provinces and languages of India are, for the most part, incorrect. The most trustworthy materials for his life are contained in the *Gātha*, compiled by Mr. Tukarām Tatya. It contains many hymns attributed to Nāmdev himself, but even these contain several exaggerations.

The author is indebted to Messrs. A. F. Maconochie and L. J. Mountford, governors of the Sholapur District, and to Messrs. N. G. Chandorkar and S. B. Sardesai, officials in the same district, for inquiries made regarding the lives of Nāmdev and other saints of the Dakhan.

father and mother, and probably their ancestors for some generations, possessed great devotional enthusiasm.

Outside the village of Narsi Bamani stood the temple of Keshiraj (Shiv), of whom Damasheti was a devout worshipper. He never omitted to pay a daily visit to the temple and make an offering to his god. Namdev's mother when pregnant used to request everybody she met to repeat the name of her favourite god. Namdev was born on Sunday the eleventh day of the light half of the month of Kartik in the Shaka year 1192, A.D. 1270. At the age of three years the young saint used to ejaculate the name of the local god of his devotion. At the age of five years he was sent to school, but he made no progress in learning. Whenever he found an opportunity, either in the absence of his teachers or otherwise, he set his schoolfellows singing songs to his favourite god, in which he joined both with voice and cymbal accompaniment. It is said that he loved God even from the day of his birth, and his divine love and devotion increased with his years.

At the age of eight years Namdev was betrothed to Rajabai, daughter of Govind Sheti. By her he ultimately had four sons, Narayan, Mahadev, Govind, and Vithal, and one daughter named Limba Bai.

His father finding that he made no progress in learning apprenticed him to his own trade. It very soon became manifest that Namdev paid no attention to practical business, but spent his time consorting with religious mendicants, visiting the temple of his god, and performing the devotions usual in such cases. It was then decided to put him to commerce. To this he consented, but represented that he possessed no capital. This was procured from a friendly banker. When Namdev found himself in the possession of funds, he gave a great feast to Brahmans, which exhausted all his money. At this both his parents and the money-lender were greatly

distressed. His mother bitterly reproached him for his recklessness and extravagance—

'Was it for this I carried thee about for nine months? Was this misery kept in store for my old age? O why did I not rather remain a barren woman than give birth to such a son? Art thou not ashamed of thyself? People laugh at thee for thy madness. Have some respect for thy mother. Look at my grey hairs. Think of the miseries of thine aged father. What wilt thou gain by this madness? There are also other worshippers of Keshiraj. Why canst thou not act like them? What merits wilt thou obtain from this god? All who cared for him were ruined.'

Namdev's mother, finding her remonstrances and objurgations useless, appealed to the priests of the temple to remonstrate with her son and lead him to a right understanding of his worldly position. From them, too, no hope was received of the youth's amendment. They urged in reply to her representations that she was a fortunate mother, and that the good deeds of her previous births had ripened, and she had obtained a saint for a son.

One day when Namdev's father was absent, the son took the daily offering of the family to the temple. It consisted of milk, which the youth had just milked from his cow. He thought that the god would freely partake of the offering on which he had lavished so much care. The stony idol, however, would not vouchsafe to do so. Upon this Namdev began to cry, threw himself down at the god's feet and uttered passionate supplications. In due time the god relented and accepted the boy's offering. He celebrated the event in the following hymn in the Bhairo measure :—

Nama having milked his brown cow took
A cup of milk and a jug of water for the *idol.*
'Drink milk and my mind will be at ease ;
Otherwise my father will be angry.'

A golden cup filled with milk
Nama took and placed before the idol—
The saints alone abide in my heart—
On seeing Nama the god smiled ;
On giving milk *to the idol* the worshipper Nama went home,
And God appeared unto him.

With reference to this miracle the author of the *Bhagat Mal,* in a paroxysm of devotion, remarks, 'Congratulations to God who loveth His saints, and is pleased with their devotion. Thou whom the Veds call Endless, and to attain whom Shiv and the other demigods performed every form of penance, art so much in the power of the saints and their love, that Thou performest everything according to their desires.'

It appears that Namdev, on arriving at man's estate, for a time grew weary of saintship. He records of himself that through evil destiny he began to associate with dakaits or Indian highwaymen, and plunder travellers. He and his gang killed several Brahmans, pilgrims, and innocent men. His father and other elderly persons remonstrated with him, but he heeded not their censures. At last the Emperor dispatched a squadron of cavalry to arrest the offenders. They refused to submit, and in the skirmish which ensued eighty-four of the troopers were slain, whereupon the remainder decamped.

Namdev possessed a large and excellent mare on which he used to scour the country and visit distant places. Whether as the result of habit or repentance, he made a vow, which he religiously kept, to behold daily the idol of Nagnath in the village of Aundhi, about sixteen miles to the east of Pandharpur.

There is another temple of Nagnath in the village of Vadval and thither went Namdev to behold the great saint Vishoba Khechar. Vishoba, in order

to make a trial of Namdev, resolved to assume the appearance of a leper. He thought that in this way if Namdev's faith were not strong, he would incontinently run away. Namdev in his search for Vishoba went into the neighbouring temple. There he saw a leper lying on the ground resting his shodden feet on a lingam, the emblem of Shiv. On beholding the insult to the idol, Namdev chid the leper and asked him to leave the sacred edifice. Vishoba replied that he was an old man who could not attend to nice formalities of worship, but Namdev might turn his feet in whatever direction he pleased. Upon this Namdev raised the old man's feet and turned them in a different direction. There, too, it is said, Namdev again saw a lingam under Vishoba's feet. He was astonished, as well he might be, on beholding this extraordinary circumstance, and asked the leper where Vishoba was. The leper replied, 'I am Vishoba.' Namdev then asked how a man reputed to be a saint could be guilty of placing his feet on a lingam and thus outraging the god. Vishoba replied that he found no place which was not filled with God. Namdev bowed to him, and expressed a desire to become his disciple. Vishoba then proposed to Namdev to take him outside the temple. When Vishoba was deposited there, he said he would accept Namdev as a disciple, and bade him close his eyes. Namdev did so, and on opening them saw no longer a leper, but a priest in vigorous health and manly beauty.

Namdev abode for several months with Vishoba Khechar and received instruction from him as recorded in a work called *Namdev Gatha*, principally in the Marathi language, but containing also one hundred and ten Hindi stanzas from which Namdev's hymns in the Granth Sahib have been selected.

On one occasion when Namdev went to behold his god in the temple he was not allowed to enter because a Brahman, who had brought cooked food to offer to

the god, would not suffer persons of Namdev's degraded caste to stand under the same roof with him. Namdev while detained outside the temple saw approach a very needy low-caste woman with a child on her hip. The child was crying pitifully for a morsel of the food brought by wealthy persons as offerings to the god. The mother tried to restrain the child's cries and longings. The child refused to be comforted and only cried and coveted the more. The woman then began to beat the child. Namdev's heart melted at the sight, and he remonstrated with the mother for her behaviour. She replied, 'The child is very hungry and wishes me to give her the god's food, which is impossible. I have nothing myself, I am totally without means. My husband was one of the eighty-four horsemen recently cut down by the inhuman dakaits. Being thus helpless myself, what can I give the child? I only possess the bones in my body. Dost thou, by thy chiding and harsh words, desire me to feed her with them?'

Her words pierced Namdev's heart, and he began to reflect how many families had been ruined through his reckless and lawless career. On leaving the temple precincts, he bestowed his mare and whatever clothes he could dispense with on the Brahmans, and, to use his own words, made a friend of repentance. He took up a knife, entered the temple in anguish, and began to pray to his god. 'O Shiv, O Mahadev, I have committed many crimes and shall have to suffer the torments of hell. How shall I find salvation?' In his agony of remorse, he thrust the knife into his head, upon which blood spurted from it and fell on the idol. The ministrants of the temple ran up, snatched the knife from his hand, tied him hand and foot, and threw him outside the edifice. A crowd gathered round him and began to revile and spurn him, not for his attempt at suicide, but for having defiled the god.

When left alone, he thought he saw Nagnath in a vision, who thus addressed him: 'Namdev, thou hadst better proceed to Pandharpur at once. Its patron god, Vitthal, will purge thee of thy sins, and thou shalt not only obtain salvation, but renown, as one of God's saints in the world.' Namdev tied up the wound in his head and started for Pandharpur, in the company of pilgrims who were proceeding thither. On the way he was tormented physically by flies which sought to settle on his wound, and mentally by the curses and reproaches of his companions.

Pundarik, who lived in the present district of Sholapur, was a saint celebrated for his devotion to his parents. It is said the god Krishan went with his cows and herdsmen all the way from Dwaraka on the margin of the Arabian Sea to behold the possessor of such filial piety. Krishan left his belongings at Gopalpur on the margin of the Bhima river, and proceeded to the dwelling of Pundarik. Pundarik by way of hospitality threw him a brick to stand on. The god accepted the offer in the hope of friendly converse with the saint, but the latter was so much engaged in the service of his parents that he had not leisure to speak to him. Krishan, disdaining to return to Dwaraka without effecting his object, remained standing on the brick, and was named Vitthal.[1]

Long afterwards the place was the scene of the depredations of a famous robber. The renowned Emperor Salivahan, whose capital was at Paithan, south of Aurangabad, and who gave his name to an

[1] 'The name of a much worshipped god at Pandharpur. He is much resorted to by the low and mean and despised of all descriptions. Hence a descriptive derivation has been invented for his name, viz. *vi*, from *vit*, knowledge or understanding, *th*, cipher, i.e. privation, destitution, and *l* for *lat*, he takes. Thus *vit*, *th*, and *l* form *Vitthal*, and acquire the sense Receiver of the ignorant and the destitute of understanding.'—Molesworth's Marathi Dictionary.

era which preceded the Christian by fifty-seven years, sent in the fifth year of his reign an officer to rid the land of the freebooter. The officer found the god still standing in the same posture as when he had been last seen by Pundarik. The place was named Pundarikpur—shortened into Pandharpur—in memory of the saint and it gradually rose to considerable importance and became the most important place of worship in Maharashtar.[1]

The roof of Namdev's hut was blown away by a storm while the inmates were asleep. A devout friend whom Namdev recognized as God incarnate at once proceeded to re-roof the building. This incident was versified by Namdev in the Sorath measure as follows :—

A near neighbour asked Nama, 'By whom didst thou have this hut rebuilt ?

'If thou show me the carpenter, I will pay him twice the wages thou didst.'

'O my sister, my Carpenter cannot be given thee ;

Lo ! my Carpenter pervadeth all things ;

My Carpenter is the Support of the soul.

If any one want such a hut to be built, the Carpenter will require love for His wages.

When man breaketh with his family and all his friends, then the Carpenter of His own accord cometh to him.

I cannot describe such a Carpenter ; He is contained in everything and in every place.

As when a dumb man tasteth the great flavour of nectar, if thou ask him, he cannot describe it.

Hear the praises of the Carpenter, my sister—He restrained the ocean and fixed Dhru *as the polar star.*

Nama's Lord recovered Sita, and bestowed Lanka on Babhikhan.'[2]

[1] Mahārāshtar, the country of the Marathas, bounded on the north by the Narbada river, on the south and east by the Karnātic and Telinga, and on the west by the ocean.

[2] Babhīkhan (Vibhīshan), brother of the wicked Rāwan, was granted Rāwan's kingdom by Rām Chandar.

The house in which Namdev and his family lived and in which in early years he plied his trade, is pointed out to the visitor. It has been greatly enlarged and modified since the saint made it his residence. The roof of the large hall is now supported by pillars. It is said that Namdev buried many of his voluminous works within the house, and forbade their exhumation under a solemn malediction.

A girl called Janabai went with her parents to visit the temple of Pandharpur. She there obtained such an access of devotion that she refused to return home, and her parents returned without her. Namdev happened to see her, and, taking an interest in her, made inquiries regarding her parents and place of residence. She replied that she had no parents but God, and no residence save His temple at Pandharpur. Namdev was moved to take compassion on her, and entrusted her to his mother. Janabai developed poetical talents, and several of her compositions are extant. She has given some particulars of Namdev's life.[1]

The Hindus desired to test the reality of Namdev's fast on the eleventh days of the light and dark halves of the month. They sent him a lean Brahman who asked for some food. Namdev refused as it was the eleventh day. He was fasting himself, and he thought others ought to fast also. The pretended Brahman said that he was at his last gasp through hunger. 'Bring me something at once.' In short, such was the insistence of the Brahman in asking and of Namdev in refusing, that a serious difference resulted between them. Several people assembled on hearing the uproar, and advised Namdev to give something from his kitchen for the sake of peace and dismiss the Brah-

[1] In the courtyard of Nāmdev's house is a miniature statue of the lady wearing an ample crinoline. She is reverenced as a saint both by inhabitants and pilgrims.

man. Namdev refused, as he deemed fasting on the eleventh day the most important form of devotion. The Brahman insisted on not taking his departure till he had received something to eat. He accordingly fell down at Namdev's door, and pretended to die of hunger the same evening.

Persons unacquainted with the strict rules for the eleventh day's fast began to charge Namdev with the heinous crime of having caused a Brahman's death. Namdev neither feared nor heeded their censure. He prepared a funeral pyre, and seating himself on it beside the Brahman, ordered it to be lighted. The Brahman had no wish to immolate himself and promptly rose from the pyre and decamped. Thus was Namdev rescued from the death which he had courted. The bystanders, on seeing what had occurred, became believers, and accepted as a fact that Namdev was under the special protection of heaven.

A Brahman called Parisa Bhagwat lived in Pandharpur. He had a philosopher's stone—*paras*—the word from which his name was apparently derived. His wife Kamalja one day went to the adjacent Bhima river and there met Rajabai, Namdev's wife. The latter complained that her husband Namdev would do no work, and that in consequence the family was in very straightened circumstances. Kamalja said she possessed a philosopher's stone which she would lend her. It would convert everything into gold, and she would no longer be indigent. Rajabai, it is said, took the philosopher's stone and produced much gold by its agency. When Namdev heard of this, he took the stone and threw it into the river. When Kamalja remonstrated with him, he dived into the water and brought up two handfuls of gravel, which he threw in front of her. On looking she fancied that every bit of the gravel was a philosopher's stone. On this she left her home and became a disciple of Namdev.

Gyandev,[1] a disciple of Vishoba Khechar, hearing of the fame of Namdev, went to Pandharpur to visit him. Gyandev was a Vedantist and pantheistic philosopher who relied on knowledge, while Namdev was thoroughly convinced of the superiority of devotion or spiritual love to one God. The Brahmans deem Vedantism more orthodox as having been originally propounded in works which they accept as divine revelation. When a man becomes a Vedantist, he rejects religious observances and believes himself saved during life. Namdev now totally repudiated this belief. At the same time there was nothing to hinder a Pantheist from consorting with a monotheist, and both saints became fast friends; Gyandev proposed to him that they should go together to visit holy places. Namdev replied that he was in the hands of Vitthal, and his permission must first be obtained. This preliminary having been arranged, Namdev fainted at the thought of leaving his god. Gyandev tried to console him, and said that as he was an incarnation of Vitthal, the god could have no cause for regret.

In the course of their conversation Gyandev asked him to indicate the way of devotion, and explain how man could make Vitthal his own. Namdev replied, 'The strength of contempt of the world should be in the body as an unchanging companion. Man should lay aside the difference between himself and others, and feel no anxiety for things of this world.'

The object of the saints was most probably rather a thirst for information than a desire to make a religious pilgrimage. Had the latter been their object, they would have gone first to Banaras, and endeavoured to obtain the hall-mark of orthodoxy and the favour of the great Hindu priests who resided there. The two saints set out from Pan-

[1] Jnyāndev is the correct spelling, but on account of the difficulty of pronunciation the saint is known in Northern India as Gyāndev.

dharpur for Hastinapur, the name by which Dihli was then known. The Emperor Muhammad bin Tughlak hearing of Namdev's influence with the people, and suspecting that it would lead to an insurrection, resolved to arrest his career. The following hymn in the Bhairo measure gives the result :—

The emperor said, 'Ho, you Nama,
Let me see the deeds of your God.'
The emperor had Nama arrested—
'Let me see your God Vitthal;
Restore to life this slaughtered cow,
Otherwise I will strike off thy head on the spot.'
'Your majesty, how can that be?
No man can reanimate what is slaughtered.
All I could do would be of no avail;
What God doeth taketh place.'
The emperor fell into a passion,
And set a huge elephant at Nama.
Nama's mother began to cry—
'Why dost thou not abandon the God of the Hindus and worship the God of the Musalmans?'
Namdev: 'I am not thy son, nor art thou my mother;
Even though I perish, I will sing God's praises.'
The elephant struck him with his trunk,
But Nama was saved by the protection of God.
The king said, 'The Qazis and the Mullas salute me,
But this Hindu trampleth on mine honour.'
The Hindus said, 'O king, hear our prayer;
Take Nama's weight in gold.'
'If I take a bribe I shall go to hell;
Shall I amass wealth by abandoning my faith?'
While Nama's feet were being chained
He sang the praises of God and beat time with his hands.
The Ganges and the Jamna may flow backwards,
But Nama will repeat God's name.
When seven gharis were heard to strike,[1]

[1] Nāmdev got orders from the Emperor to restore the cow within a pahar or watch of three hours or suffer death. When seven of the

The Lord of the three worlds had not yet arrived.
God afterwards came mounted on His garur,
Which beat the air with its wings.[1]
He took compassion on His saint,
And came mounted on His garur,
'Say but the word and I will turn the earth on its side;
Say but the word and I will upturn it altogether.[2]
Say but the word and I will restore the dead cow to life,
So that every one may behold and be convinced.'
Nama said, 'Spancel the cow'.[3]
They put the calf to her and milked her.
When the pitcher was filled with the milk the cow gave,
Nama took and placed it before the emperor,
And the time of trouble came on him.
He implored Namdev through the Qazis and the Mullas—
'Pardon me, O Hindu, I am thy cow.'
Nama said, 'Hear, O monarch,
Hath this credential been exhibited by me?
The object of this miracle is
That thou, O emperor, shouldst walk in the paths of truth and humility—
Namdev, *God* is contained in everything.'
The Hindus went in procession to Nama,
And said, 'If the cow had not been restored to life,
People would have lost faith in thee.'
The fame of Namdev remained in the world;
He took saints with him to salvation.
All trouble and sorrow befell the revilers—
Between Nama and God there is no difference.

eight gharis of the pahar had elapsed and the cow was not reanimated, Nāmdev felt anxious; but when the eighth ghari was struck, it is said God presented Himself and wrought this miracle to preserve His saint from the Emperor's wrath.

[1] Also translated—When the end of the watch had struck, God came riding on His garur. *Vide* p. 81, n. 1, *infra*.

[2] Also translated—(*a*) I will take thee with Me on high; (*b*) I will take the earth and put it in the sky.

[3] *Sel masel*. The gyānis think that these words were intended as an anagram of Salīm Shāh, but Nāmdev lived long prior to that monarch. The Emperor at the time was certainly Muhammad bin Tughlak.

Namdev continued to preach that God and his idol were one, as holy water and ordinary water have the same appearance, as a lamp and its light, as a flower and its fragrance, as the sun and its rays, as the cloud and water, as sweetmeats and their taste, as a musical instrument and its melody, as an object and its shadow are all inseparable. His teaching again involved Namdev in serious difficulty, and he had to hastily retreat to save himself from the indignation and violence of the Muhammadans.

Namdev and Gyandev next proceeded to Kashi (Banaras), where they met the renowned Sanskrit scholars of the age. Thence they travelled to Priyag. Thence they went to Gaya, where Budha in days long past performed his heroic penance and renunciation. Thence the two saints proceeded to Ajudhia, the birthplace of the god Ram Chandar. They then went to Mathura, the birthplace of the god Sri Krishan, thence to Gokal and Bindraban, thence to Jagannath, the temple of the lord of the world, on the shore of the Bay of Bengal. From there they made the long journey to Dwaraka by the shore of the Arabian Sea, the scene of Krishan's retreat from the battle in which he was defeated by King Jarasandh.

The two saints having thus proceeded to the utmost limit of India resolved to begin their homeward journey, and in due time reached Marwar. They tarried for a night in Kolad, probably the modern Koilath near Bikaner. Here occurred an incident which is related by the Marathi chronicler. Namdev and Gyandev both felt thirsty. There was a well in the neighbourhood, but it was very deep, and they had not the means of drawing water. It is said that Gyandev by the aid of jog science assumed a minute body, descended into the well, and quenched his thirst. He then challenged Namdev either to assume a minute body and descend into the well or drink water from his hands. Namdev, who was

no believer in the efficacy of jog, declined the challenge, and said that if his god Vishoba were there, he would supply him with water. Upon this, it is said, the well filled to the brim with sweet water, and Namdev's desires were in every way gratified.

Namdev and Gyandev then departed for Rameshwar in the extreme south of India, memorable as the place whence Ram Chandar set out on his expedition to Ceylon. After seeing the temple of Oamkar the two saints proceeded to Kalapdhara and thence to Dhara. In the latter place they visited the temple of Audhiya Nagnath. When Namdev arrived at the temple, he began to sing hymns with a loud voice. This attracted a crowd of people, so that the Brahman ministrants could not gain entrance without suffering the pollution of being touched by men of lower caste, deemed unworthy of salvation. Upon this they asked Namdev to cease singing and retire to a spot at the rear of the temple where he might continue his minstrelsy if he chose. Namdev told them that in God's temple there were no higher or lower castes, and that no one's touch could soil those who performed heartfelt worship. The Brahmans were not convinced; they struck Namdev, deprived him of his cymbals, and insisted that he should leave the temple. He went and sat down behind it and thus addressed God, 'I have no asylum but in Thee, and I want nothing. If Thou show Thyself to others and not to me, lend Thine ear at least to my songs.' He then began to sing verses full of self-reproach and abasement.

It is said that God, on hearing Namdev's tuneful worship, was moved with kindness and compassion, and caused the temple to turn round, so that the door remained opposite His saint. Namdev has versified the incident in the following hymn in the Rag Malar :—

I went, O Lord, with laughter and gladness to Thy temple,
But while Nama was worshipping, *the Brahmans* forced him away.
A lowly caste is mine, O King of the Yadav,[1] why was I born a calico-printer ?
I took up my blanket, went back,
And sat behind the temple.
As Nama repeated the praises of God
The temple turned towards His saint.

Namdev returned to the subject in the following hymn in the Bhairo measure :—

Forget me not, forget me not,
Forget me not, O God !
Those misled Brahmans of the temple were all furious with me ;
"Calling me a Sudar they beat me and turned me out ; what shall I do, Father Vitthal ?
If Thou give me salvation when I am dead, nobody will be aware of it ; save me now.[2]
If these pandits call me low, then, O God, Thine honour will be in the background.
Thou who art called the compassionate and the merciful, altogether unrivalled is Thine arm—
God turned round the front of the temple towards Nama, and its back towards the pandits.

From Audhiya Nagnath the party proceeded to Paithan, Salivahan's capital, on the margin of the Godavari in the present state of Haidarabad, and thence to Deogiri, once the capital of the Maratha kingdom, in the vicinity of the famous caves of Ellora, where they met Sadhna, who hospitably entertained them, and then joined them in their peregrinations. They visited several places in the

[1] That is, Krishan. Nāmdev in the transition stage of his reformation used the word or expression Yādav Rāia for God.

[2] The meaning of the saint's prayer to God is—'Assist me in this world so that men may know I am under Thy protection.'

neighbourhood of Nasik, and thence proceeded to Junagarh in the province of Kathiawar.[1]

No very important incidents are recorded relating to the saints' homeward journey. On arriving at Pandharpur, Namdev applied himself to the composition of his abhangs.[2] His fame rapidly extended and his compositions flew from mouth to mouth. Many accepted the incidents related in them, but others entertained doubts regarding Namdev's accuracy. On being pressed to explain the miracles he recorded and give a clear reply as to whether he himself believed in them, he asked his interrogator if he had ever heard bells ringing in his ears, and if the ringing were real or imaginary. The interrogator replied that he had heard ringing in his ears but no material bells were actually ringing. Namdev practically admitted that his record of miracles was the result of similar deception and of excessive and childlike faith. He believed in the miracles himself, and gave poetical expression to his belief as his vivid imagination prompted him.

Namdev once met an old friend who questioned him on his spiritual progress. Namdev unbosomed himself and described his mission to Vadval. His friend wondered that a man from whose hands his god had taken food, could put himself under a human guru inferior beyond all comparison to the much worshipped and much beloved Vitthal. Namdev replied as follows: 'Gods made of stone never speak. How can they heal worldly sorrows? People suppose that idols of stone are God, but He is a real divinity and altogether different. If gods of stone can fulfil man's desires why should he suffer sorrow and affliction? They who worship gods of

[1] We have endeavoured to follow the saints' itinerary as given in the Lives of Indian Saints, but it is possible that it will afterwards be re-arranged, should Nāmdev's followers think it necessary. The geographical difficulties of the present itinerary are obvious.

[2] Hymns principally in the Marathi language.

stone are absolute idiots. Both they who preach and they who believe that gods of stone hold converse with saints have perverted intellects. They who call such gods great beings and style their priests saints are really degraded creatures unworthy of credence. Let not their words enter thine ears. How can men be saved who cause gods to be carved out of stone, and reverently regard them during the years of their mortal lives? Hast thou never reflected on this? Thou hast no gods except water and stones. Go visit all the places of pilgrimage small and great and see for thyself. I have learned in Vadval that God is everywhere contained. Khechar conferred the favour on me of showing me God in my own heart.'

The Marathi chronicles show that Namdev died on the thirteenth day of the dark half of the month Asu, A.D. 1350, at the age of eighty years, and that he was buried in Pandharpur, where his head, moulded in brass on the lower step of the temple of Vishoba, is now worshipped by the populace. He has left several abhangs in which he prayed Shri Vitthal to give him a last resting-place at his feet. He was accordingly buried at the entrance of the temple of Vishoba under the lowest step of the stairs by which pilgrims ascend. He desired that his head should be trodden on by holy men and that he should acquire spiritual advantage from the dust of their feet. The idea is that when a man prostrates himself at the foot of a saint the dust of the saint's feet purifies him. The climax of beatitude is attained when the dust of the soles of the saint's feet falls on the worshipper's head.

Opposite Namdev's grave was buried one Chokhya, a Mahar of the lowest grade of Sudars—a grade so socially spurned that they might not even be touched by the higher classes. They were not allowed even in the time of Bajirao the last Peshwa (1796–1817) to travel by the same road as Brahmans, and it is

believed that they are still not allowed to do so in certain places in Southern India. To the right of the visitor is seen a representation of Ganesh the elephant-headed god of learning, carved in relief out of a rock and painted red. Near Ganesh is a shapeless block of stone said to represent Hanuman the monkey-god and ally of Ram Chandar in his expedition to Ceylon.

The temple extends far inwards and contains several apartments supported by pillars. Through these the pilgrims pass in batches controlled by police officials. Over the apartments are vent holes to prevent the pilgrims from being suffocated as they pass in large numbers. From the roof of the temple is seen a chapel sacred to Rukmani the consort of Krishan, at which principally women worship. The temple was called Raul by Bhagat Namdev. It now contains many and various jewels of great value, the offerings of pious pilgrims for the decoration and glory of Vishoba. In the necklaces are seen gold coins of Spain, Portugal, and other European countries.[1]

All Namdev's compositions bear convincing testimony to the love he bore his favourite deity. Accordingly, the local tradition that he spent his old age at Pandharpur in the immediate vicinity of Vishoba's temple, and that he was buried there must be implicitly accepted.

The Sikhs and Panjabi followers of Namdev say that he was cremated at Ghuman in the Gurdaspur district of the Panjab. This belief is founded on legends current in the north of India and the records at a shrine bearing the saint's name in Ghuman, but it is resolutely denied by his followers in Pandharpur, who assert that, owing to the fame of his sanctity, possession of his remains was claimed by many

[1] It is satisfactory to find that the Bombay government allows the district British officials to be ex-officio guardians of the properties of the temple.

provinces of India in the same way as the god Ram was claimed by the Budhists as one of their gurus.

The following account of Namdev in Nabhaji's *Bhagat Mal* is accepted by his followers in the Panjab, though it probably refers to a different person who assumed his name. Bamdev was a calico-printer of Gopalpura near Pandharpur. He had a daughter, a virgin widow, whom he very much loved. Bamdev was himself a God-fearing man. When his daughter attained the age of twelve years, he instructed her to serve and worship God under the name of Vitthalnath, informing her at the same time that, by hearty love and devotion to Him, all her wishes should be fulfilled. She then applied herself with such zeal to the worship of God that in a short time, it is said, He even gratified her desire for a son, and she became pregnant. This became known all over the city, and to the whole tribe wherever dispersed. Evil persons rejoiced at the opportunity afforded them of defaming Bamdev. The matter eventually came to his ears, and he asked his daughter to explain her lapse of virtue. She replied, 'Thou toldest me that by hearty love and devotion to God, He would satisfy all my wishes and desires. Whatever hath occurred hath been the work of God.' Bamdev on hearing this was so overjoyed that he could hardly contain himself. When in due time a son was born to his daughter, he gave all he had in alms as a thanksgiving for the happy event. He called the child Namdev, and loved him more than his own life.

To remove the objections of evil and slanderous people to the child's birth the Purans and other sacred books were consulted, and the words of God in the second chapter of the *Bhagawat* were explained to the people. There God says, that if a man worship Him with constant love He will fulfil his desires whether for temporal or spiritual

objects. In the eleventh chapter of the *Bhagawat* it is written, that God bestoweth even salvation on His saints, so why not the fulfilment of their worldly desires? It would be nothing strange if He fulfilled the desires of a saint of His who prayed to Him with love.

There used to be a vigil held in Namdev's house on the eleventh night of the light and dark halves of the month. On one occasion on a dark night the assembled saints were thirsty, but there was no water for them to drink. No one would go to draw from the adjacent well, which was haunted. Namdev himself took a pitcher and proceeded thither with the object of satisfying his guests. A terrible and frightful ghost appeared to him. For the object of exorcism Namdev extemporized a stanza which he sang to the accompaniment of cymbals. The first lines of the stanza are as follows :—

My long-legg'd Sir, I see thy form arise,
Thy feet on earth, thy forehead in the skies.
Thine arms are long as *jojans*[1] to mine eyes.

It is said that God revealed Himself in the ghost, and the latter through the favour of Namdev was translated to heaven.[2]

The following parable is given by some of Namdev's biographers. There was a banker whose riches were so great that he had himself weighed with gold which he distributed among his poor fellow citizens. He sent for Namdev at somebody's suggestion. Namdev twice sent him word that he wanted nothing, but on the third invitation decided on going to meet him. The banker said that he had distributed a large amount of money through the city, and asked Namdev also to take some, so that he him-

[1] A *jojan* is four kos. A kos is a linear measure varying in different parts of India from one mile and a quarter to two miles.

[2] Nābhāji's *Bhagat Māl.*

self might reap some advantage from the benefaction. Namdev replied, 'Why should I refuse anything that would be for thy benefit?' At the same time he reflected that when the banker abandoned the pride of wealth, it would be well for him. He therefore wrote the letter R, being half of God's name,[1] on a sprig of sweet basil, and told the banker to weigh gold against it. The banker asked if he were laughing at him, and said, 'Having regard for thy holiness and kindness in visiting me, ask for what thou desirest.' Namdev replied that laughter and pleasantry were out of place. He only required gold of the weight of the sprig of basil. Upon this the banker sent for small scales, and began to weigh the basil with a little gold. The gold was not sufficient to weigh down the sprig. The banker sent for larger scales; and finding the sprig weighed more than five or seven *sers*, put in six or seven *mans* of gold, but still the scale with the basil remained on the ground, while the scale with the gold kicked the beam. He then borrowed more gold from his tribesmen, but all would not suffice to lift the basil. At this the banker and his dependants were sore distressed. Namdev then saw that the banker had parted with his pride of wealth, but that he was still proud of the good acts he had done during his life, and it was necessary to dispel that pride also. Namdev told him to add the offering of the good acts of his life, and perhaps the scale with the sprig of basil would rise. The banker did so, but still the scale refused to move. The banker's good acts possessed no weight. Upon this he told Namdev to take away all the gold. Namdev inquired what use it would be to him. He wanted the wealth of God's service, to whom all the deities and the powers of both worlds were subservient. The banker grew ashamed and inspired with faith became a saint of God.

[1] Rām. The vowel is not counted a letter.



NAMDEV'S SHRINE AT GHUMAN

The following are given as specimens of the preaching of Namdev. If a man greet another outwardly, and inwardly remember his demerits, he doeth not well. It is like eating a fly in sweets. The mind is made steady by the knowledge that God is all-pervading. That is the true form of meditation. As loose women, though in the arms of their husbands, think of their lovers, as the chatrik while resting on the earth thinketh of the clouds which will give it acceptable rain-drops, as the lotuses in the lake think of the sun, as a cow while grazing in the field thinketh of her calf, as a miser while walking in the streets thinketh of his wealth, as a goldsmith while making ornaments thinketh of stealing the gold given him for the purpose, as the chakor thinketh of the moonlight, as a woman returning from a well thinketh of her pitcher while conversing with her friends, as the bee while flitting in the glade thinketh of the flower, so should man while following the ways of the world think of God in his heart.

Namdev visited the present district of Gurdaspur in the Panjab when fifty-five years of age. He first went to Bhattewal and dwelt beside a tank there, which is called Namiana in memory of him. He had two disciples—Ladha and Jalla, a carpenter—who settled down with followers of their own in the villages of Sukhowal and Dhariwal respectively. Namdev removed from Bhattewal, and took up his abode near another tank in a lonely forest, where he hoped for more leisure for prayer and meditation on God. His presence there soon attracted cultivators, and the village of Ghuman gradually sprang up over the spot where he is supposed to have been cremated. A fine domed building was erected to his memory by Sardar Jassa Singh Ramgarhia ; and the tank was repaired by Mai Sada Kaur, the mother-in-law of Maharaja Ranjit Singh. Since then the yearly religious fair at the saint's shrine on the

2nd of Magh—about the 13th of January—has assumed considerable proportions. His followers in the Gurdaspur district are of the same caste and occupation as himself, reverence the Granth Sahib, and in many respects resemble the Sikhs in their usages.[1]

The following hymns of Namdev are found in the Granth Sahib. They belong to three periods of his life—boyhood when he was an idolater, manhood when he was emancipating himself from Hindu superstitions, and old age when his hymns became conformable to the ideas of religious reformers at the time, and to the subsequent teaching of the Sikh Gurus. It is on account of his later and more matured opinions that his writings have been incorporated in the sacred book of the Sikhs.

NAMDEV'S HYMNS

GAURI

The saving influence of God's name.

O God, Thou didst cause stones to float ;[2]
Why should not man float over by repeating Thy name ?
Thou didst save the courtesan, the shapeless hunchback, the hunstman, and Ajamal.

[1] Settlement report of the Gurdāspur district by Sir L. W. Dane, now Lieutenant-governor of the Panjāb. Lt.-Col. M. W. Douglas also has favoured us with some notes on Nāmdev.

[2] Rām Chandar, when he went to war with Rāwan, is said to have built a bridge from the mainland of India to Ceylon ; and this was effected by causing its rocky materials to float on the surface of the water. It is supposed that the word Rām (God) was impressed on every stone, and that it was thus made to float on the ocean. In the same way God can cause men to swim safely across to the abode of bliss. The several persons mentioned—outcasts and sinners—succeeded independently of their birth and calling ; and their salvation was effected by repeating the name of God and offering Him suitable homage.

Even the murderer *who shot Krishan* in the foot was saved—

I am a sacrifice to those who utter God's name—

Bidur, the son of a handmaiden, Sudama, and Ugarsen,[1] who obtained regal state;

Men without devotion, without penance, without family and without good works, were saved by Nama's Lord.

ASA

The omnipresence of God. In the Hindu system there is no teleological purpose assigned for the creation of the world. It is the sport of Maya who proceeded from God. Maya still practises every art to bewitch and deceive mankind. Namdev's creed is the unity of God, who is contained in everything and fills all creation.

I

There is one God of various *manifestations* contained in and filling everything; whithersoever I look there is He.

Maya's variegated picture hath so bewitched *the world*, that few know *God*.

Everything is God, everything is God, there is nothing but God.

One string holdeth hundreds and thousands of beads; God is the warp and woof.

Waves and foam and bubbles cannot be distinct from water.

This illusion, *the world*, is the play of the Supreme God; on reflection *thou shalt* not *find it* different from Him.

Fleeting phantoms, illusions of dreams man deemeth real advantages.

My guru instilled into me right ideas, and when I awoke *to reason* my mind accepted them.

Saith Namdev, behold the creation of God, and reflect on it in thy mind;

[1] Ugarsen was father of Rāja Kans, Krishan's uncle, who sought to kill him in his childhood lest he might usurp his kingdom. Instead of that Krishan killed Kans, and gave the kingdom to his father, Ugarsen.

In every heart and in all things uninterruptedly there is only the one God.

The futility of idolatry.

II

If I bring a pitcher and fill it with water to bathe the idol,

Forty-two lakhs[1] of animal species are in the water; God is contained *in them*; why should I bathe Him?

Wherever I go there God is contained;

God supremely happy ever sporteth.

If I bring flowers and weave a garland to worship the idol,

The bee hath first smelled the flowers; God is contained *in the bee*; why should I weave Him *a garland*?

If I bring milk and cook it with khir[2] to feed the idol,

The calf hath first defiled the milk *by tasting it*; God is contained *in the calf*; why should I feed Him?

In this world is God; in the next world is God; *there* is no *part of the* world without Him.

Thou art, O God, in every place; Nama representeth, Thou fillest the whole earth.

Namdev had renounced his secular duties, and it was represented to him that he ought to embrace them again. He here gives substitutes for the tools of his trade:—

III

My heart is a yard measure; my tongue a shears.

With it I measure and cut off Death's noose.[3]

What care I for caste? What care I for lineage?

I repeat the name of God day and night;

[1] Of the eighty-four lakhs of animal species in the world, half are supposed to be on land and half in water.

[2] *Khir* is the Sanskrit *kshīr*, milk, but the word in later literature generally means rice boiled in milk and sugar.

[3] The god of death is supposed to throw nooses to ensnare mortals. He does not mow them down like Death in European mythology.

I dye what ought to be dyed,[1] and I sew what ought to be sewed.[2]

I cannot live for a ghari without God's name :

I perform worship and sing God's praises ;

During the eight watches of the day I meditate on my Lord.

My needle is of gold, my thread of silver [3]—

Nama's soul is attached to God.

The following hymn was addressed to a reputed holy man who had stolen a merchant's money, and falsely imputed the offence to Namdev. The merchant had gone to bathe, and while doing so the hypocrite seated in a religious attitude stole his purse. The merchant missed it on returning. He could not think of attributing the theft to the man in the religious garb, so he charged Namdev with it. The merchant would not accept Namdev's denial, and had him flogged. While Namdev was being punished a storm arose which lifted the cloth on which the reputed holy man sat. The missing purse was then found under the cloth. Upon that Namdev addressed the following verses to the hypocrite :—

IV

The serpent casteth its slough, but not its poison :

Since thy heart is not pure,

Why perform *mock* meditation and repetition of God's name ?

Thou art as the crane watching *for fish* in the water.

The man who eateth the food of lions,[4]

Is called the god of thieves.

[1] I steep my mind in God's name.

[2] By meditation I unite my soul with God as the needle joins two pieces of cloth.

[3] In this line the golden needle represents the guru's instruction; the silver thread the pure heart in which it is received.

[4] That is, who lives on plunder.

Nama's Lord hath settled the quarrel ;
Drink God's elixir,[1] O double-faced one.

Devotion to God is sufficient for human happiness.

V

If thou see the Supreme God, thou shalt have no other desire ;

If thou think of the worship of God, thou shalt keep thy mind free from care.

O my soul, how shalt thou cross over the world's ocean *filled with* the water of evil passions ?

O my soul, thou hast been led astray on seeing the deceitful world.

A calico-printer's[2] house gave me birth, yet I became saturated with the guru's instruction,

Through the favour of holy men Nama hath met God.

GUJARI

Namdev worships the true God and is prepared to accept whatever He sends.

I

If Thou give me an empire, what glory shall it be to me ?

If Thou cause me to beg, how shall it degrade me ?

Worship God, O my soul, *and thou shalt obtain* the dignity of salvation,

And no more transmigration shall await thee.

O God, Thou didst create all men and lead them astray in error :

He to whom Thou givest *understanding* knoweth Thee.

When I meet the true guru, my doubts shall depart.

Whom shall I then worship ? none other would be seen *but Thee*.

One stone is adored,

[1] That is, turn thine attention to God.

[2] *Chhīpa* is a tradesman who prints calico, sews it, and washes it. Hence Nāmdev is described by some as a washerman, by others as a tailor, and by others again as a calico-printer.

Another [1] is trodden under foot :
If one is a god, the other is also a god—
Saith Namdev, I worship the *true* God.

God's presence is felt though He cannot be described.

II

He who hath no trace of impurity, who is beyond impurity, and who is perfumed as with sandal hath taken His seat *in my heart.*

No one saw Him coming ; who knoweth *Him*, O sister ?

Who can describe, who can understand the All-pervading and Unknowable ?

As the trace of a bird is not perceived in the sky,
As the path of a fish is not seen in the water,
As a vessel is not filled with the mirage-water of the sky,
Such is God, Nama's Lord, in whom these three *qualities* are blended ; [2] *His coming or going is not seen.*

SORATH

Namdev advises to accept divine instruction so that man may be contented and happy.

I

When I sing of God, then I behold Him ;
Then I, His slave, obtain contentment.
Accept divine instruction, O man ; the true guru shall cause thee to meet God.
Where the heavenly light shineth,
There playeth spontaneous music.
' God's [3] light is all-pervading '—

[1] The stone or stones on which worshippers tread as they enter temples.

[2] That is, God exists though no trace of Him is seen.

[3] Joti, the luminous One, whose light is everywhere diffused. *Joti jot samāni.* This expression is an ordinary Sikh idiom meaning that the light of the soul is blended with the light of God, and is used on the occasion of the death of Gurus. The whole hymn is in praise of celestial light.

By the guru's favour I know that.
In the chamber of the heart are jewels [1]
Which glitter there like lightning.
God is near, not distant,
And *His Spirit* completely filleth mine.
Where the inextinguishable sun of *God's word* shineth,
There *earthly* lamps grow pale :
Through the guru's favour I have known this.
God's slave Nama hath been easily absorbed in Him.

The whole of the following hymn relates to the Jog philosophy and the exaltation of mind produced by its practice :—

III [2]

Without covering it with leather the drum of *the brain* playeth ;
Without *waiting for the month of* Sawan the thunder roareth,
And it raineth without clouds.
If any one consider the real state of things,
I have met my dear Lord.
By meeting Him my body hath become perfect ; [3]
Having touched the philosopher's stone I have become gold.
In word and thought I have strung the gems *of God's name.*
I feel real love *for God,* my doubts are dispelled :
On questioning the guru my mind is satisfied.
As the pitcher is filled with water,
I know that the world is filled with the one God.
When the disciple's mind accepted the guru,
The slave Nama recognized God.

However great man may be, he should reflect that death is his fate at last.

[1] Virtues.
[2] Missing hymns have already been given in the Life of Nāmdev.
[3] This human life has become profitable.

DHANASARI

I

Men dig deep foundations and build palaces thereon.

Was any one longer lived than Markand[1] who *put* grass on his head and *thus* whiled away *his days* ?

Only God the Creator is dear to me ;[2]

O man, why art thou proud ? this unsubstantial body shall be destroyed.

The Kauravs, Duryodhan and his brothers, used to say, 'Everything is ours'.

Their umbrellas[3] extended over a space of twelve jojans, *yet* the vultures devoured their bodies.

Lanka was all gold ; was any one greater than Rawan ?

What availed him the elephants tethered at his gate ? In a moment they became the property of others.

The Yadavs practised deception on Durbasa,[4] and obtained the fruit thereof.

God showed mercy to His slave ; Namdev singeth His praises.

The following hymn was addressed to a Jogi who endeavoured to induce Namdev to embrace his religion :—

II

I have restrained the ten organs of sense ; the *very* name of the five evil passions I have erased.

Having extracted the poison from the seventy-two tanks[5] of the heart, I have filled them with ambrosia ;

I shall not allow the poison to return again.

[1] Mārkand was a long-lived Rikhi who did penance in a forest. There is a temple dedicated to him at Jagannāth.

[2] That is, I only think of Him, not of stately mansions or palaces.

[3] Courtiers allowed umbrellas.

[4] The Yādavs sent a boy dressed as a pregnant woman to Durbāsa, and put him the question whether a boy or a girl should be born. Durbāsa discovered the deception and cursed the Yādavs, with the result that they all perished.

[5] It was supposed by the mystics that the heart had seventy-two blood-vessels ; but this is not according to Hindu medical science, which only allows ten blood-vessels altogether for the chest.—Dr. Hoernle.

The ambrosial word I utter from my heart; my spirit I instruct *not to attach itself* to worldly things.

I have destroyed worldly love with an axe of adamant: I touch the guru's feet and implore him.

Turning away *from the world*, I have become a servant of the saints and I fear them.[1]

I shall be saved from this world the moment I cease to be entangled by Maya.

Maya is the name of the power which placeth man in the womb; abandoning it I shall obtain a sight *of God*.

The man who worshippeth in this way shall be freed from all fear.

Saith Namdev, O man, why wander abroad?[2] obtain God in the way *I have told thee*.

Namdev tells by familiar examples how dear God is to him.

III

As water is dear *to the traveller* in Marwar, and the creeper to the camel;

As the huntsman's bell at night is dear to the hind, so is God to my soul—

Thy name is beautiful, Thy form is beautiful, very beautiful Thy colour, O my God—

As rain is dear to the earth, as the odour of flowers is dear to the bumble-bee;

As the mango is dear to the kokil,[3] so is God to my soul.

As the sun is dear to the sheldrake, as the lake of Mansarowar is dear to the swan;

As the husband is dear to the wife, so is God to my soul.

As milk is dear to the child, as a torrent of rain to the mouth of the chatrik;

As water is dear to the fish, so is God to my soul.

All penitents, sidhs, and munis seek God, but few have seen Him.

[1] Also translated—I fear the courtesan *Māya*.
[2] Why lead an ascetic life in the forest?
[3] The *kokil* sings during the mango season.

As Thy name is dear to all creation, so is Vitthal to Nama's heart.

Namdev asked his guru how the world had been created. The guru replied :—

IV

Before the world a lotus was formed ;
From it proceeded Brahma, and from Brahma all men.
Know that everything else *was produced* from Maya, who leadeth the world a dance.

Namdev then inquired how Maya was produced. The guru replied :—

First a voice proceeded from God ;
Afterwards Maya proceeded from God
Through that voice the parts of this *Maya* and of that *God* blended,[1] *and the world was produced.*
In this garden of God *men dance* like water in the pots of a well ; [2]
Women and men dance.[3]
There is no god but God—
Argue not on this point.
If thou have doubts,
God saith, 'Consider in thy heart that this world and I are one.'
The world is like water-pots, sometimes above, sometimes below.
Wandering about I have come to Thy gate.
God—Who art Thou ?
Nama—I am Nama, Sire—
O Lord, save me from the world which bringeth death.

[1] This and the two preceding verses are also thus translated:—
Man should first cease to love the world,
He should next subdue his senses ;
Then the soul and God become one.

[2] That is, are sometimes exalted, sometimes debased, sometimes high, and sometimes low, like the water-pots of a Persian wheel when in motion.

[3] That is, perform their various functions.

The above hymn is also translated so as to give different versions of creation :—

1. First a lotus was made by the all-pervading God ;
From it proceeded Brahma and *from him* all human beings.
2. *Others say*—Know that everything was produced by Maya who maketh men dance various dances.
3. *A third version is this*—First a voice proceeded from God ; through that voice
Maya and God united,
Whence God's garden,[1] in which men dance like water in water-pots.
Namdev gives his own opinion :—
Women and men dance ;
There is nothing but God,
Dispute not this ;
If thou have doubts, *pray.*
O God, be merciful ; come and save me ; Thou art mine only support.
The world is like water-pots, now high now low.
Wandering and wandering I have come to Thy door.
God—Who art thou ?
I am, Sire, Namdev ; save me from the world which bringeth death.

Namdev is happier than demigods and worldly men who profess religion.

V

O Lord, the purification of sinners is Thy daily work ;
Hail to those saints who have meditated on my God.
On my forehead is the dust of God's feet,
Which is far from even demigods, worldly men, munis, and saints.
Compassionate to the poor, O God, destroyer of pride,
Nama hath found the asylum of Thy feet, and is a sacrifice unto Thee.

[1] *Sat*, reality ; *chit*, conscience ; and *ānand*, happiness, are the attributes of God : *nām*, name ; and *rūp*, form, of Māya. The five qualities united form the garden of the world.

It is said that Namdev composed the following on hearing two pandits disputing whether God was far or near :—

TODI

I

Some say God is near, others that He is far away.
To say He is near or far is, as it were, to say that a fish could climb a date-tree.[1]
Why, Sir, talkest thou nonsense ?
They who have found God have concealed *the fact.*
Men who are pandits shout the Veds,
But the ignorant Namdev *only* knoweth God.

On the eleventh day of every half-lunar month the Hindus fast. Namdev relinquished the practice, and also ceased to go on pilgrimages. A visitor to his house reproached him with his neglect of both these religious duties. The following is his reply :—

II

Who that uttereth God's name retaineth the stain *of sin* ?
Sinners have become pure by uttering His name.
In the company of God His slave Namdev hath acquired ocular evidence.
He hath ceased to fast on the eleventh day, and why should he go on pilgrimages ?
Saith Namdev, my acts and thoughts have become good.
Who hath not gone to heaven by uttering the name of God under the guru's instruction ?

Namdev is satisfied with God as his portion.

III

There is a play on three *sets of* words.
There is a pot in a potter's house, an elephant in a king's house,

[1] Also translated—*O man*, thou art as a fish in water and seekest to climb a date-tree.

A widow[1] in a Brahman's house[2]—sing randi, sandi, handi O![3]
Asafoetida in a baniya's house, horns on a buffalo's forehead,
A lingam in a temple of Shiv—sing ling, sing, hing O![4]
Oil in an oilman's house, creepers in a forest,
Plantains in a gardener's house—sing kel, bel, tel O![5]
Gobind in the company of the saints, Krishan in Gokal,
And God in Nama—sing Ram, Siyam, Gobind O![6]

TILANG

Namdev feels his dependence on God whom he magnifies.

I

Of me who am blind Thy name, O King, is the prop.
I am poor, I am miserable, Thy name is my support.
Bounteous and merciful Allah, Thou art generous;
I believe that Thou art present before me;
Thou art a river of *bounty*, Thou art the Giver, Thou art exceeding wealthy;
Thou alone givest and takest, there is none other;
Thou art wise, Thou art far-sighted; what conception can I form of Thee?
O Nama's Lord, Thou art the Pardoner, O God.[7]

Namdev on the way to Dwaraka was seized by a Mughal official and made a forced labourer. In his devotion he appears to have recognized the

[1] *Rāndi*—some gyānis translate this word almanac, as the Brāhmans were astronomers and astrologers. Others again translate the word learning.
[2] Brāhmans' widows were well treated by the public.
[3] *Rāndi, sāndi, hāndi* are a widow, an elephant, and a pot respectively.
[4] *Ling, sing, hing* are the lingam, a horn, and asafoetida respectively.
[5] *Kel, bel,* and *tel* are plantains, creepers, and oil respectively.
[6] Rām, Siyām, and Gobind are names of God. Siyām is Krishan, so called from his sable colour.
[7] This hymn, abounding in the original in Arabic words, appears to show that Nāmdev held frequent religious discussions with Mullas during his travels.

Mughal as God, and to have believed that his degradation was God's will. He composed the following on the occasion :—

II

Halloo ! my Friend, halloo my Friend, how art Thou ?
I am a sacrifice unto Thee, I am a sacrifice unto Thee.
Good is Thy forced labour, exalted Thy name ;
Whence hast Thou come ? where hast Thou been ? and whither art Thou going ?
This is the city of Dwaraka ; tell the truth.[1]
Handsome is Thy turban, sweet Thy discourse ;
But why should there be a Mughal in the city of Dwaraka ?
Among several thousands of people *Thou art* the only *Mughal* seen ;
Thou art the very picture of the king of sable hue ;[2]
Thou art the Lord of the horse, the Lord of the elephant, and the Ruler of men.[3]
Thou art Nama's Lord, the King *of all*, and the Giver of salvation.

BILAWAL

Through his guru Namdev has obtained discernment and rendered his life profitable.

The guru hath made my life profitable—
I have forgotten sorrow and obtained joy within me.
The guru hath granted me the eye-salve of divine knowledge.[4]
O my soul, without God's name man's life is vain.
Namdev knoweth God by keeping Him in mind :
My soul is absorbed in Him who giveth life to the world.

To sing God's praises and remember Him is infinitely superior to all Hindu forms of devotion.

[1] Because Dwāraka is a very holy place, and man must not utter falsehoods there.
[2] Krishan, the lord of Dwāraka.
[3] The Sun, Indar, and Brahma respectively.
[4] To see more clearly.

GAUND

I

Were I to perform the horse-sacrifice,[1]
Give my weight *in gold* as alms,
Bathe at Pryag,
It would not be equal, O Nama, to singing God's praises.
O listless man, worship thy God.
Were I to offer rice-balls[2] at Gaya,
Dwell at Banaras,
Recite the four Veds,
Fulfil all religious offices,
Restrain my senses under the guru's instruction,
Perform the six duties of Brahmans,
Read the conversations between Shiv and his consort[3]—
All these different *occupations would be useless* ; O my soul, lay them aside,
And remember, remember God's name.
Worship Him, Nama, and thou shalt swim across the world's ocean.

Namdev by familiar examples describes his love for God.

II

As the deer followeth the *huntsman's* bell,
And giveth up its own life rather than cease its attention,
In the same way I gaze on God.
I do not leave Him to turn my mind in another direction.
As the kingfisher gazeth on the fish,
As the goldsmith *meditateth* stealing gold while fashioning it,
As the lustful man gazeth on the wife of another,

[1] In the earliest ages of Hinduism the horse as an animal of great value was sacrificed by kings who were disappointed of offspring. In later times the sacrifice was made principally for ostentation by kings who aspired to be greater than their fellows.

[2] Balls made of rice and barley are offered to the *pitras*, manes or ancestors, at Gaya, one of the holiest of Hindu places of pilgrimage.

[3] In the Tantar Shāstar.

As the gambler meditateth cheating while playing kauris,[1]
So Nama ever meditateth on God's feet—
Wherever I gaze there is God.

A prayer for salvation :—

III

Float me over, O God, float me over ![2]
I am unskilful and know not how to swim ; O God, my Father, give me Thine arm.
He to whom the true guru hath taught knowledge, is changed in a moment from a man into a demigod.
I have obtained the medicine by which, though begotten by man, I have conquered heaven.
Place me even for a short time where Thou hast placed Dhru and Narad.
By the support of Thy name many have been saved : this is Nama's private opinion.

By other familiar examples Namdev describes his ardent longing for God.

IV

I am ardently longing for the Friend—
Without her calf a cow is lonely,
Without water a fish writheth,
So without God's name doth poor Nama.
As the calf, when let loose,
Sucketh his dam's teats and swalloweth her milk,
So Namdev hath obtained God—
When man meeteth the guru he showeth the Unseen—
As the wicked man loveth another man's wife,
So Nama loveth God.
As *man's body* burneth in the bright sunshine,
So doth poor Nama without the name of God.

The advantages of repeating God's name.

[1] In a game played with kauris the gambler cheats in the counting.
[2] That is, Save me ! Save me !

V

By repeating the name of God all doubts are dispelled—
Repeating the name of God is the highest religious *exercise*—
By repeating the name of God caste and lineage are effaced.
That God is the staff of the blind man.
I bow before God! I bow before God!
By repeating God's name Death tortureth not.
God took the life of Harnakhas,
And made for Ajamal a dwelling in heaven.
The courtesan who taught her parrot *to repeat God's name* was saved—
That God is the apple of mine eye—
By repeating the name of God, Putana [1] full of deceit,
The destroyer of children was saved;
By remembering the name of God the daughter of Drupad was saved;
Gautam's wife [2] *though turned* into a stone, was saved.

[1] Pūtana was a nurse whom Krishan's uncle, Kans, sent to destroy him by applying poison to the nipples of her breasts. Krishan, though an infant, squeezed her to death. With her last breath she said, 'God, let me go.' For mentioning the name of God thus once she obtained salvation.

[2] Gautam, the husband of Ahalya, was a pious Rikhi who used to go and bathe in the Ganges after the first watch of night. The god Indar was wont to visit Gautam's wife during his absence. One night the moon rose at midnight. Ahalya became impatient for the visit of her divine paramour, and went to awake her husband, telling him it was the usual time for his ablutions in the sacred river. Gautam arose and proceeded on his pious duty. While bathing a voice proceeded from the Ganges, and told him not to come so early to bathe. Gautam replied that it was the usual time of his visit. The Ganges explained to him that it was not three o'clock in the morning. He must not judge by a deceptive midnight moon. Gautam cursed the moon. He returned to his house and found his daughter Anjani sitting in the court-yard. He asked her who was in the house; she said 'Manjāra', a word which means either cat or mother's lover. Gautam, on account of her equivocation, cursed her too. He prayed that she a virgin might bear a child, and in due time she bore Hanumān, the monkey-god. Gautam on entering his house found Indar with his wife. The holy Rikhi cursed Indar with dire

God destroyed Kesi [1] and Kans,
And conferred the gift of life on Kalinag.
Nama representeth, by repeating the name of such a God fear and trouble depart.

The fate of worshippers of false gods.

VII

They who worship Bhairav shall become sprites ;
They who worship Sitala shall ride on donkeys and scatter dust—
For myself I take *the name* of the one God ;
I would give *all* other gods in exchange for it.
They who repeat the name of Shiv and worship him,
Shall ride on an ox and play the drum ;
They who worship the great mother *Durga*,
Shall be born as women instead of men.
Thou callest thyself, *O Durga*, the primal Bhawani,
When it came to my turn to be saved, where didst thou hide thyself ?
Under the instruction of the guru, O my friend, cling to God's name—
Nama representeth, thus saith the Gita.[2]

and shameful result. He cursed his wife too, and she was turned into a stone in the forest. The god Rām in his travels stumbled against the stone, and by the divine touch Ahalya obtained the boon of salvation.

[1] Kesi came in the disguise of a horse to eat up Krishan, but was killed by that hero thrusting his arm into his mouth and rending him asunder.

[2] The following are the allusions in the above hymn :—

Bhairav is an inferior manifestation of Shiv and his consort Durga. Shiv in this form is represented riding on a dog.

Sītala is the goddess who presides over small-pox. She is represented riding on a donkey, and is largely worshipped by Indian women, particularly during epidemics of the disease.

Those who worship Bhairav, sprites, Sītala, and Shiv, contract the qualities of the steeds of the objects of their worship.

Dūrga cannot confer salvation. She bestows wealth, offspring, &c. When King Pīpa asked her for salvation she professed herself unable to grant it.

Namdev admonishes an idolatrous Brahman.

VIII

To-day I Nama saw God, I *now* admonish the fool—

O pandit, thy gayatri used to graze on the boor's field ;

He took a stick and broke her leg ; *since then* she hath walked lame.[1]

O pandit, I have seen thy great god Shiv going along on a white bullock.

In his consort *Parbati's* house a banquet for him was prepared ; he killed her son.[2]

O pandit, thy Ram Chandar—I have seen him too going along ;

Having lost his wife he fought with Rawan.

The Hindus are blind, the Musalmans purblind ;

The man who knoweth God is wiser than either.

The Hindus worship their temple, the Musalmans their mosque.

Nama worshippeth Him who hath neither temple nor mosque.

The saint Trilochan once twitted Namdev with

[1] The gāyatri is said to have originally been the wife of Brahma. For some shortcoming on her part Brahma cursed her, and she became a cow. In this form she used to graze on villagers' fields until one of them took a stick and broke her leg ; since then she has been lame. There is another story in which the gāyatri is mentioned. Vishwāmitra and Vishisht were two eminent Rikhis. The former, in revenge for a slight offered him, killed the hundred sons of the latter. At every murder he used to repeat the gāyatri to obtain absolution for the crime. Upon this Vishisht cursed the gāyatri and it lost eight of its letters. See Vol. i, p. 166, n. 4.

[2] Shiv said he would not partake of the banquet prepared for him by Pārbati unless his ox were also fed. The lady inquired what meal would please the animal. Shiv replied 'Your son'. This he said to make trial of her faith. She killed her son to offer his flesh to the ox, but Shiv, on seeing her devotion, restored the youth to life. Another version of this story is that Pārbati told her son Ganesh to watch outside her door while she was bathing, and allow no one to enter and behold her nakedness. Shiv presented himself for admission which was refused by Ganesh. Upon this Shiv killed him, but, softened by the weeping of Pārbati, again restored him to life, giving him, however, an elephant's head instead of his own.

being always engaged in his trade. Namdev made him the following reply :—

RAMKALI

I

A boy taketh paper, cutteth it into a kite, and flyeth it in the sky.

While conversing with his companions, he keepeth his attention on the string.

I have pierced my soul with God's name,

As the goldsmith's attention is engrossed *in his work.*

The queen's female servant taketh her pitcher, filleth it with water,

Converseth laughingly and pleasantly, yet keepeth her attention on the pitcher.

If the cows of a city with ten gates[1] be let loose to graze,

And they go grazing for even five miles, they will remember their young, *and return each by her own gate.*

Saith Namdev, hear, O Trilochan, when a child is laid in its cradle,

Its mother, whether engaged at home or abroad, keepeth her thoughts on her child.

The following hymn embodying Namdev's resolutions is also believed to have been addressed to Trilochan :—

II

The endless songs and poetry of the Veds, Purans, and Shastars I will not sing ;

I will play unbeaten music in the imperishable region of God ;

Ceasing to love the world I will sing of God.

Imbued with Him who is beyond expression and indestructible, I shall go to the abode of the Inscrutable One.

I will cease to hold my breath in the right or left nostril or between them both.

[1] This means a great city and a great number of cattle.

I deem the left and right nostril the same; I shall be blended with the light of God.

I will not *go* to see places of pilgrimages nor enter their waters; I will not annoy men or lower animals.

The guru showed me the sixty-eight places of pilgrimage in my heart where I will bathe.

I will not have myself glorified and congratulated by my select friends.

Nama saith, my heart is dyed with God, and I shall be absorbed in Him.

God preceded all creation, all religious books, and all karma.

III

When there was no mother, no father, no karma, and nobody;

When we were not and you were not, who was there and whence did he come?

O God, no one hath any relation;

Man's dwelling *in this world is like the perching* of a bird on a tree.

When there was no moon, no sun, *when there was only* water and air blended together,

When there were no Shastars and no Veds, whence did karma come? [1]

I have by the favour of the guru obtained *God, for whom* the Jogis suspend their breath, and fix their attention on the bridges of their noses, and the *Bairagis* wear necklaces of sweet basil.

Nama representeth, God is the Primal Essence; when there is a true guru he showeth Him.

The repetition of God's name is superior to all other forms of worship.

IV

If one perform penance with body reversed at Banaras,

[1] Nāmdev means that everything proceeded from God, whom he says in the following verse he has found.

and die at a place of pilgrimage ; if one burn one's body with fire, or strive to make it survive for a kalpa ;[1]

If one perform the horse sacrifice or offer secret presents[2] of gold, all that would not be equal to the name of God.

O hypocritical man, renounce deception ; practise it not ;
Ever and ever take God's name.

Wert thou to go to the Ganges and the Godavari every twelfth year, bathe at Kedarnath,

And make offerings of thousands of cows at the Gomti ;[3]

Wert thou to perform millions of pilgrimages, freeze thy body in the Himalayas, all would not be equal to the name of God ;

Wert thou to offer horses, elephants, women with their couches, lands, and make such gifts continually *to Brahmans* ;

Wert thou to purify thy body and offer its weight in gold, all would not be equal to the name of God.

Look for the pure dignity of Nirvan, and be not *afterwards* angry with thyself, or attribute blame to the god of death.[4]

Nama representeth, drink the real nectareous elixir of my king Ram Chandar, the son of Jasarath Rai.[5]

Mali Gaura

The following glorification of Krishan was composed after Namdev had embraced his worship :—

[1] A *kalpa* is a day and night of Brahma, four billion three hundred and twenty million years.

[2] *Garbhdān*, gold concealed in fruit or similar articles such as were given to men in power in olden times to purchase their favour.

[3] This is the well-known river in Awadh (Oude) generally known as the Gūmti. It is so called not from its winding—*gūm*—stream, but because it gave water and contributed to pasturage for kine. There were several rivers of that name, one of which at one time flowed into the Indus.

[4] It will be your own and not the fault of the god of death if you are not saved, and you should not blame him.

[5] The preceding lines of this hymn and Bilāwal VI, given in Nāmdev's life, show that he worshipped the supreme God, here called Rām Chandar, as He is in other places Rām, Hari, &c. The words *Jasarath Rāi nand* appear to have been added as a stereotyped expression of that transitional age.

I

Happy, happy that flute which Krishan played !
A very sweet unbeaten sound issueth from it.
Happy, happy that blanket which Krishan wore !
Happy, happy that ram and his fleece *it was made from.*
Hail, hail to thee, mother Devaki,
In whose house god, the lord of Lakshmi, *was born* !
Blest, blest the forest glades of Bindraban,
Where Nama's god Narayan sported,
Played his flute, herded his cows,
And was happy.

II

God, my father, hail to thee, dark complexioned Vitthal with the long hair !

Holding in thy hand the discus, thou didst come from heaven and save the life of the great elephant ;

Thou didst save Draupadi when her clothes were being torn off her in Duhsasan's court ;

Thou didst save Ahalya the wife of Gautam ;

How many hast Thou purified and saved ! [1]

Thus the lowly Namdev without caste hath entered Thy sanctuary.

God is in everything and Namdev has become absorbed in Him. The following marks a stage in Namdev's progress to divine unity.

III

In every heart God speaketh, God speaketh ;

Doth any one speak independently of Him ?

There is the same earth in the elephant and the ant ; vessels of many kinds [2] *are made from earth.*

In mobile and immobile things, in worms and moths, and in every heart God is contained.

Think of the one God who is endless ; abandon all other hope.

[1] Also translated—How many hast Thou saved by the touch of Thy feet !

[2] That is, various bodies are fashioned from the same material.

Nama representeth ; I have become free from desires ; *and in this state* who is Lord and who is slave ? [1]

MARU

God has showered His favours on Namdev as He did on other saints.

When I entered the asylum of God the Bridegroom, I obtained the four stages of salvation and the four supernatural powers.

I have been saved, I have become famous through the four ages, and I have put the umbrella of praise and fame over my head.

Who hath not been saved by repeating *the name of* the Sovereign God ?

They *who listen* to the guru's instruction and associate with holy men are called saints.

On beholding the effulgence of *the guru*, who is conspicuous with his shell, discus, necklace, and sacrificial mark, Death becometh afraid.

Man then becometh fearless, and by the power of God thundereth forth that he hath escaped the pain of transmigration.

God gave king Ambarik [2] the gift of salvation, and aggrandized Babhikhan with sovereignty ;

The Lord gave the nine treasures to Sudama, and made Dhru immovable *in the north pole*, where he is fixed to the present day ;

God having assumed the body of Narsinh *the man-lion*, killed Harnakhas for the sake of his saint *Prahlad*.

Nama saith, Vishnu is in the power of the saints, and is till now standing at the door of Bali.[3]

[1] The Lord and the slave are blended in one. Nāmdev has obtained salvation.

[2] Ambarīk was a king of Ajudhia famed for his piety. He was an ancestor of Rām Chandar.

[4] Bali, son of Prahlād, through his devotion and penance humbled the gods, and extended his authority over the three worlds. The gods appealed to Vishnu for protection, and he, under the disguise of a dwarf, restrained the energies of Bali, took heaven and earth from him,

BHAIRO

Namdev enjoins his tongue under severest penalty to utter God's name.

I

O my tongue, if thou utter not God's name,
I will break thee into a hundred pieces.
O tongue, dye thyself with God's name ;
Meditating on God's name dye thyself with a good dye ;
False, O my tongue, are *all* other occupations.
The dignity of Nirvan *is only obtained* through the name of God.
Wert thou to worship countless millions of other *gods*,
It would not be equal to repeating God's name alone.
Namdev representeth, this do, *O my tongue, and say* ' O God, Thy forms are endless.'

A man may in other respects be perfect but he is lost if he repeat not God's name.

II

God dwelleth near him
Who coveteth not another's wealth or another's wife.
I will not look at him
Who repeateth not God's name.
As a beast is that man
Whose heart is estranged from God.
Namdev representeth, a man without a nose
Doth not look well even with the other thirty-two marks of beauty.[1]

and left him the infernal regions. Though Vishnu gained this supreme victory, yet, as he was pleased with Bali's devotion, he agreed to stand at his door and wait upon him.

[1] These marks include not only perfection of limbs and features, but artificial ornaments and decorations by which beauty is supposed to be enhanced.

When Namdev gave up trade, and devoted himself exclusively to the worship of God and attendance on His saints, people began to slander him. The following is his apology :—

IV

I am a mad woman and God is my spouse ;
It is for Him I decorate myself elaborately.
Abuse me well, abuse me well, abuse me well, O people ;
My body and soul are for my beloved God.
I hold no idle discussion with any one ;
I sip with my tongue the elixir of God.
Now I know in my heart that such an arrangement hath been made,
By which I shall meet God with banners and music.
Whether any one give me praise or blame,
Nama hath met God.[1]

Man ought to be satisfied with his lot ; he will be saved by devotion.

V

Sometimes man is not satisfied even with milk, molasses, and clarified butter ;
Sometimes he beggeth morsels from house to house ;
Sometimes he picketh up pulse-sweepings.
Remain as God hath placed thee, O brother—
The greatness of God cannot be described—
Sometimes man rideth on prancing steeds ;[2]
Sometimes he hath not shoes for his feet ;
Sometimes he putteth himself to sleep on a couch with a clean coverlet ;
Sometimes he cannot get straw to *sleep upon*—
Saith Namdev, the Name alone saveth ;
He who hath found a spiritual guide shall be delivered.

[1] Srīrang, a name under which God is worshipped in parts of the south of India. The name Srirangapatam (*Anglicé*, Seringapatam) is derived from this word, and means the town of Srīrang.

[2] Literally—he maketh his Turkistāni steed dance.

Namdev describes by familiar examples how dear God is to him.

VII

As food is dear to the hungry,
As the thirsty need water,
As the fool is attached to his family,
So God is dear to Namà.
Nama's love is devoted to God,
And he hath easily severed himself from the world.
As a woman is smitten with a strange man,
As a greedy man loveth wealth,
As woman is dear to the lustful,
Such is Nama's love for God.
That is real love by which God attacheth man to Him,
And by which through the guru's favour duality[1] departeth.
Love for Him who filleth *my heart* shall never be sundered ;
Nama hath applied his heart to the true Name.
As the love between a child and its mother,
So is my soul imbued with God.
Namdev representeth, I love God ;
He dwelleth in my heart.

Man should rather seek the guru's protection than devote himself to sinful pleasures.

VIII

As a fool leaveth the wife of his home,
Hath intercourse with a strange woman, *and is ruined.*
As the parrot is pleased on seeing the simmal,[2]
But at last dieth clinging to it,
So the home of the sinner shall be in hell-fire ;
He shall continue to burn and never have respite.
He never goeth to see where God is worshipped,
He leaveth the right path and goeth the wrong one,

[1] *Dubidha* here means separation from God.

[2] The parrot is particularly pleased with the simmal-tree and its cotton pods, but when he pecks at it he cannot disengage his bill and thus perishes.

He forgetteth God and suffereth transmigration,
He rejecteth ambrosia and eateth a load of poison.
When a dancing-girl arriveth on the dancing-floor,
She putteth on *rich* dresses, adorneth herself,
Danceth to measure, and modulateth her voice,
While Death's noose is on her neck.
He on whose forehead such destiny hath been written,
Quickly entereth the protection of the guru.
Saith Namdev, this is my decision—
O saints, thus shall you obtain salvation.

The fate of Harnakhas who objected to his son Prahlad's devotion.

IX

Sanda and Marka [1] went and complained *to Harnakhas*—

'*Thy son Prahlad* will not study and we are tired of *teaching him* ;

He singeth God's praises, beateth time with his hands, and corrupteth all the other pupils ;

He repeateth the name of God ;

In his heart he remembereth God.'

The queen represented to her son—'The king hath reduced the whole earth to subjection :

My son Prahlad, thou doest not his bidding ; he hath some design on thee.'

A council of his enemies met and passed a resolution, 'We will lengthen his life.' [2]

They terrified him by throwing him from a height, by putting him into water and fire, but God changed for him *the properties* of matter.

Harnakhas enraged drew his sword, and threatened him with death, *saying*, 'Show me who will save thee.'

Prahlad replied, 'God who weareth yellow clothes, the Lord of the three worlds, is in the pillar.'

Upon this God tore Harnakhas with his nails, and rendered demigods and men happy.[3]

[1] These two brothers were both preceptors of Prahlād.

[2] Ironical, meaning 'We will kill him.'

[3] Here the word *sanāth* would also mean that God reassumed his

Saith Namdev, I meditate on that God who bestoweth salvation.

The advantages of a guru.

XI

When one hath a guru, he meeteth God ;
When one hath a guru, he is saved ;
When one hath a guru, he goeth to heaven ;
When one hath a guru, while he liveth he is dead—
True, true, true, true, true is the guru ;
False, false, false, false is all other service *than his*—
When one hath a guru, he inculcateth the Name ;
When one hath a guru, he runneth not in the ten directions ;
When one hath a guru, he is far removed from the five evil passions ;
When one hath a guru, he dieth not of grief ;
When one hath a guru, he obtaineth the ambrosial Word ;
When one hath a guru, he heareth the story of the Ineffable ;
When one hath a guru, his body *becometh* immortal ;
When one hath a guru, he uttereth the Name ;
When one hath a guru, he seeth the three worlds ;
When one hath a guru, he knoweth *how to reach* the exalted position ;
When one hath a guru, his head toucheth heaven ;
When one hath a guru, he is ever congratulated ;
When one hath a guru, he is ever estranged from the world ;
When one hath a guru, he abandoneth slander ;
When one hath a guru, he deemeth evil and good the same ;
When one hath a guru, *good* destiny *is written on* his forehead ; [1]
When one hath a guru, *evil passions* seduce not his body ;
When one hath a guru, the temple turneth *towards him* ;

authority over demigods and men, who had previously been subjects of Harnākhaś.

[1] According to the Sikhs evil destiny may be altered by the kindness of the Guru, as a coin is renewed by restamping.

When one hath a guru, his hut is rebuilt for him ;
When one hath a guru, his bed cometh forth *from the river* ; [1]
When one hath a guru, he batheth in the sixty-eight places of pilgrimage ;
When one hath a guru, the quoit of Vishnu is impressed on his body ;
When one hath a guru, he performeth the twelve adorations ; [2]
When one hath a guru, all poisons become wholesome ; [3]
When one hath a guru, doubts are dispelled ;
When one hath a guru, he escapeth from Death ;
When one hath a guru, he crosseth over the terrible ocean ;
When one hath a guru, he suffereth not transmigration ;
When one hath a guru, he obtaineth the advantages of the eighteen *Purans* ;
When one hath a guru, he obtaineth the eighteen loads of *vegetables* ;
Without the guru, there is no *resting*-place—
Namdev hath entered the guru's protection.

Namdev once fell into a trance, and thought he was playing cymbals in God's honour. God is said to have appeared before him as a Qalandar, and taken his cymbals from him. Namdev on awaking composed the following in God's praise :—

XII

Come God, the Qalandar
Wearing the dress of an Abdali.[4]

[1] The Emperor, on being satisfied of Nāmdev's innocence, presented him with a gilt bed. Nāmdev at first refused to take it, but when great pressure was employed, he took it and threw it into the Ganges. The Emperor thereupon asked the saint to restore it. He called upon the holy river to give it up, and the story goes that it did so with six other similar beds.

[2] There are twelve great lingams; possessing a guru is equal to them all.

[3] All pains are turned into pleasures.

[4] This word now generally means a Muhammadan devotee. It literally means—servant of God.

The firmament is the hat on Thy head, the seven nether regions Thy slippers ;

All animals with skins are Thy temples ; thus art Thou decked out, O God !

The fifty-six millions of *clouds* are Thy robes and the sixteen thousand *queens of Krishan* Thy waistbands ;

The eighteen loads of vegetables are Thy clubs, the whole world is Thy salver ;

Nama's body is Thy mosque, his heart Thy priest who tranquilly prayeth.

O Thou with and without form, Thou who art wedded to lady Lakshmi,

While I was worshipping Thou hadst my cymbals taken from me : to whom shall I complain ?

Nama's Lord is the Searcher of all hearts, and wandereth in every land.

BASANT

Man ought not to abandon God's service even though it be irksome.

I

If a servant run away when his master is in trouble,[1]

The servant shall not be long-lived, he *shall bring* shame on his father and mother's family.

I will not abandon Thy service, *O Lord*, even though men scoff at me ;

Thy lotus feet dwell in my heart.

As man accepteth death to secure wealth,

So the saints relinquish not God's name.

Pilgrimages to the Ganges, Gaya, and Godavari are worldly acts ;

If God be pleased, Nama shall be His worshipper.

Namdev's prayer when in danger of drowning in the stormy ocean of worldly love.

II

The waves of covetousness sound like a cataract, my body is drowning *therein*, O God.

[1] Also translated—Even if a master annoy his servant, and the latter flee away.

Float me over the ocean of the world, O God, float me over, Father Vitthal.

In *this* gale I cannot steer my boat, I cannot reach Thine opposite shore, O God.

Be compassionate and cause me to meet a true guru; take me across, O God.

Nama saith, I do not even know how to swim; give me Thine arm, give me Thine arm, O God.

Man slowly grows up. He then becomes the sport of the world and commits sin, but his soul can be washed pure by the guru.

III

As an ant draggeth along a bit of cow-dung,
So this cart fashioned from dust and seed
At first moveth slowly;
But afterwards *the world* driveth it with a rod.
My darling soul goeth to the wash-tank.[1]
The washerman [2] dyed with love washeth it *with the water of God's name*;
My heart is fascinated with God's feet.
Saith Nama, Thou, O God, who art everywhere diffused,
Have compassion on Thy worshipper!

SARANG

Man is intoxicated with worldly love but what he amasses will not go with him, wherefore he ought to prepare for hereafter.

I

O man, why hast thou gone into a forest of evil passions?
Thou hast partaken of the thieves' plant [3] and gone astray.
A fish abideth in water,
And taketh no notice of the deadly net;
It swalloweth the bait to gratify its palate,

[1] The congregation of the saints. [2] The guru.
[3] Dhatūra, bhang, &c., by which thags stupefy their victims. By it here spiritual ignorance is meant.

So man is bound by the love of gold and woman.
When the bees hoard up a great store of honey,
Man taketh the honey and throweth dirt on the bees.
The cow storeth up milk for her calf,
But the milkman tieth the calf up by the neck and milketh the cow.
For wealth man maketh great endeavours;
That wealth he taketh and burieth in the ground.
He amasseth a great deal, but the fool understandeth not
That his riches shall remain on the earth and his body become dust.
He burneth with great lust, wrath, and avarice;
He never joineth the company of holy men.
Saith Namdev, seek God's protection;[1]
Become fearless and worship God.

God is contained in everything.

II

Why layest Thou not a wager with me, O God, *that there is nothing but Thee*?
The servant is known from his master, and the master from his servant; this is my game with Thee.
Thou art God and Thine own temple, Thou worshippest Thyself.
From water proceed waves, from waves water, though both have different names in conversation.
Thou art the Singer, Thou art the Dancer, Thou art the Trumpet-player—
Saith Namdev, Thou art my Lord; Thy servant is imperfect; Thou art perfect.

In the following God is supposed to address Namdev:—

III

'The man who worshippeth none but Me is in Mine own image;
The sight of him even for a moment removeth man's

[1] *Tāchi ān* is also translated—forswear those things, but this meaning would not be appropriate elsewhere.

three fevers,[1] and his touch extricateth man from the pit of family life.

A saint can release one bound by Me, but I cannot release one bound by a saint.

If a saint seize and bind Me at any time, I can say naught to him.

I am bound *by men's* merits ; I am the life of all things, but My slave is My life.[2]

O Namdev, My love shall shine over him whose heart hath such *faith*.'

MALAR

The extent and greatness of God's palace, in which the demigods and all created things are servants.

I

Serve God who is unknowable and stainless.

Give me, O God, the gift of service *for which* saints beg.

God's palace hath pavilions on every side ; in heaven is His gorgeous dwelling and mansion ;

He filleth equally the seven regions of the world.

In His palace dwelleth the *ever* youthful Lakshmi ;

The moon and sun are His lamps, the wretched mountebank Death, who levieth a tax on all, is His judge—

Such a Monarch is God.

In His mansion Brahma with the four faces who created the whole world is the fashioning potter ;[3]

In His mansion enthusiast[4] Shiv, the world's teacher, preacheth pure divine knowledge ;

At His gate are the mace-bearers Evil and Good, and the accountants Chitr and Gupt ;

Dharmraj the destroyer is His porter—

Such a Monarch is God.

In His mansion are the heralds, the heavenly dancers, the rikhis, and the poor minstrels who melodiously sing ;

[1] *Ādhi*, mental pain ; *viādhi*, bodily pain ; *upādhi*, pain from external causes. A boil would be *viādhi*, a fall *upādhi*.

[2] Is very dear to Me.

[3] In allusion to Brahma's rôle as the creator.

[4] Filled with religious enthusiasm.

All the Shastars are His actors ;[1] His theatre is stupendous ; kings sweetly sing His praises ;

The winds are His waving chauris ;

His handmaiden is Maya who hath vanquished the world ;

His fire-place is the blind pit *of hell fire,*—

Such a Monarch is the Lord of the three worlds.

In His mansion the tortoise is a bed ; Vasuki[2] with its thousand hoods the cords to bind it ;

His flower-girl is the eighteen loads of vegetables ; His water-carrier the ninety-six millions of clouds ;

The Ganges is the perspiration of His feet,

The seven seas His water-stands,

All living things His vessels—

Such a Monarch is the Lord of the three worlds—

At His mansion wait Arjan, Dhru, Prahlad, Ambarik, Narad, Nejai,[3] the Sidhs, the Budhas, the heralds, and the heavenly dancers who extol Him and play *before Him.*

In God's mansion are so many living beings

Within all of whom He is diffused.

Namdev representeth, seek God's protection,

Whose standard all His saints *bear.*

KANRA

God compared to reflection in a mirror.

God the Searcher of hearts,

Like a body reflected in a mirror,

Dwelleth in every heart ; *nothing* produceth an effect or impression on Him.

He is free from all entanglements and devoid of caste.

When one looketh at one's own face in the water, *the water can produce no impression on it,*

So *nothing can produce an impression on* Vitthal, Nama's Lord.

[1] In allusion to the various and different rites prescribed by the Shāstars.

[2] A serpent frequently identified with Sheshnāg.

[3] A holy Rikhi, of whom, otherwise, nothing is known.

PRABHATI

Everything is unreal; God alone is real.

I

Only the heart knoweth its own state; *either keep thy secret to thyself*, or tell it to a man of understanding.

Since I repeat the name of God, the Searcher of hearts, why should I be afraid?

God, the Lord of the earth, hath penetrated me.

My God is diffused in every place.

Shops are only phantoms, shopkeepers[1] are only phantoms, cities are only phantoms.

The different grades of men who inhabit *the earth* are phantoms, and the world wandereth *in error*.[2]

When the heart is imbued with the guru's instruction, duality is easily effaced.

All things are subject to the Commander's order; He is fearless and regardeth all alike.

He who knoweth and worshippeth the Supreme Being, *uttereth* words of divine knowledge.

Nama saith, I have obtained the Life of the world in my heart; He is invisible and wonderful.

God communicates to man the perfume of holiness and changes him to gold.

II

God was in the beginning before the ages and in every age: His end is not known.

God is contained in everything uninterruptedly; thus is His form described.

The *unbeaten* strain resoundeth for him who repeateth God's name—

Happy is my God—

[1] *Pasāri.* Literally—druggists. The word here means men generally, because they make a display as Oriental druggists do of their wares.

[2] This and the preceding line are also translated—

To honour God is my shop, to honour God is my city, to honour God is my world;

To honour God is my residence; others wander in different ways.

The sandal-tree by its perfume is pleasant *to the other trees* of the forest;

Through God who was before all things and who perfumeth like sandal, common wood becometh sandal.[1]

Thou, *O God*, art as the philosopher's stone; I am as the iron; in Thine association I have become gold.

Thou art compassionate, Thou art the jewel and the ruby.

Nama hath been absorbed in the True One.

Man cannot hope to obtain bliss until he has learnt to know God who is within him.

III

The inscrutable Being invented a play—

God is concealed in every heart,

No one knoweth the nature of the soul's light;[2]

What we ourselves have done Thou knowest.

As an earthen vessel is produced from clay,

So Vitthal created the world.

The soul's entanglements depend on its acts;

It is itself *responsible* for what it hath done.

Namdev representeth, the soul obtaineth the result of its thoughts;

The soul which always remaineth fixed on the Inscrutable One, becometh immortal.[3]

TRILOCHAN

TRILOCHAN, a name which literally means three-eyed, that is, seer of the present, past, and future, was a celebrated saint of the Vaisya caste. His birth is said to have taken place in the year A. D. 1267.[4] He

[1] Men become holy by devotion and pious association.

[2] Since it comes from God and has not been made by man.

[3] Shall no longer be subject to transmigration.

[4] The dates of birth of Trilochan and several other Bhagats have been given to the author by Sādhu Jānkībar Saran of Ajudhia.

either lived at or visited Pandharpur in the Sholapur district of the Bombay Presidency, and was a contemporary of Namdev, who mentioned or addressed him in his hymns. Inquiries at Pandharpur and the neighbouring city of Barsi have, however, failed to furnish any information regarding Trilochan. The following legend passes for history among his admirers. He had a perfect faith in and love for saints, but they visited him in inconveniently large numbers, and there were only he and his wife to attend and wait on them. He thought that they were not served as he could have wished, so he resolved on engaging a servant if he could find one who was accustomed to minister to holy men. He continued to search for such an attendant, but not finding one became sad at heart. It is said that God was not pleased at the sorrow of his saint, and sent him a candidate for service. Trilochan asked the candidate who he was, whence he had come, and whether he had parents and a house and home. The man replied that he had no parents or home. He had merely come to be engaged as a servant. He could wait on the saints of God without assistance from others, as his life had been spent in such service. He gave his name as Antarjami, which interpreted means Searcher of hearts. Trilochan was highly pleased and ordered his wife to engage him and cheerfully supply all his wants. She was cautioned to consider his pleasure as her first duty.

Antarjami performed menial services for the saints, such as cooking, drawing water, washing their feet, shampooing and bathing them, in such a manner that Trilochan's house became famous for its hospitality; and a large crowd of saints began to live with him and consume his substance. Thirteen months passed in this way, until one day Trilochan's wife went to visit a female neighbour. The latter inquired why she was so dirty and looked so miserable. She replied that her lord had taken into his employ a

servant who required so much attention that she had to spend all her days grinding corn and cooking for him. This was reported to Antarjami and he promptly disappeared.

When the time came to wait on the saints, Antarjami could not be found. Trilochan became very much grieved, and, rebuking his wife, told her that it was through her indiscretion Antarjami had left their service. When Trilochan's grief had lasted for three days it is said that he was comforted by divine interposition. He consequently applied himself to the praise and contemplation of the one true God. His sorrow was then dispelled.

The following hymns of Trilochan are found in the Granth Sahib :—

SRI RAG

Trilochan admonishes mortals.

The heart feeleth great worldly love, O mortal, through which man forgetteth old age and the fear of death.

O fool, thou art pleased on beholding thy family, like a thief on espying his neighbour's house.

When the powerful myrmidons of Death come with a rush,

I cannot withstand them.

May some friend come and speak to me![1]

Come to me, my God, throw Thine arms around me!

Come to me, my God, and rescue me!

In various pleasures and royal state, O mortal, hast thou forgotten *God*, and deemest thyself the only immortal one in this world.

Deceived by mammon thou hast not thought *of God*, and hast lost thy life, O heedless man.

Mortal, thou must tread a difficult and terrible path where neither sun nor moon hath entrance.

When man hath abandoned the world, he forgetteth his worldly love.

[1] That is, give me spiritual consolation.

To-day it hath become clear to mine understanding that Dharmraj will keep his eye on man.

There his very powerful *myrmidons* will rub men between their hands, and none may withstand them.

If any one give me instruction, *let it be this that* God is contained in every place.[1]

O God, saith Trilochan, Thou knowest everything.

GUJARI

A Hermit, a Sanyasi, a Brahmin called Jai Chand, a Jogi, and a Kapria held a religious discussion in which each maintained the superiority of his own sect. They came in the heat of their arguments to Trilochan, and he, knowing that they were all hypocrites, addressed them each in turn as follows :—

To the Hermit.—Thou hast not cleansed thy heart from filth, although thou wearest the dress of a hermit.

To the Sanyasi.—In the lotus of thy heart thou hast not recognized God ; why hast thou become a Sanyasi ?

To the Brahmin.—Thou hast gone astray in error, O Jai Chand,

And not recognized God the Primal Joy.

To the Jogi.—Eating in every house thou hast fattened thy body ; *thou wearest* a patched coat and beggar's ear-rings for gain.

Thou hast rubbed on thyself the ashes of the cremation-ground, *but, being* without a spiritual guide, thou hast not found the Real Thing.[2]

Why mutter *spells* ? Why practise austerities ? Why churn water ?

Remember *God* the Dweller at ease, who hath created the eighty-four lakhs of existences.

To the Kapria.—O Kapria, why carriest thou a water-pot ? Why wanderest thou to the sixty-eight *places of pilgrimage* ?

Saith Trilochan, hear, O mortal, having no corn why layest thou a threshing-floor ?

[1] *Wan trin*, literally—in the woods and glades. [2] God.

Last thoughts determine man's future state.

At the last moment, he who thinketh upon his wealth and dieth in that thought,

Shall be born again and again as a serpent.

O my friend, forget not God's name.

At the last moment, he who thinketh of a woman and dieth in that thought,

Shall be born again and again as a prostitute.

At the last moment, he who thinketh upon a boy[1] and dieth in that thought,

Shall be born again and again as a hog.

At the last moment he who thinketh of a mansion and dieth in that thought,

Shall be born again and again as a sprite.

At the last moment he who thinketh upon God and dieth in that thought,

Saith Trilochan, shall obtain salvation, and God shall dwell in his heart.

DHANASARI

Trilochan, engaged in his devotions, neglected his worldly calling, and this led to his straitened domestic circumstances. Thereupon his wife became discontented and upbraided God. The following is Trilochan's remonstrance. He endeavoured to console her by telling her that her distress was the result of her sins.

Why slander God, O erring and ignorant woman ?

Thy woe and weal are according to thine acts.[2]

Though *the moon* is attached to Shiv's forehead, and *daily* batheth in the Ganges ;

Though *Krishan the avatar* of Vishnu became incarnate in the *moon's* family ;

Yet the stain contracted on account of his misdeeds is ineffaceable from his head ;

Arun, the charioteer, whose lord is *the sun*, the lamp of

[1] *Larke.* This phrase is also translated—He who thinketh upon his children. The idea apparently is that man ought to think of nothing but God in his last moments.

[2] When such is the case, it is no use to rail at God in adversity.

the earth, whose brother was Garur, the king of birds, *was born* without feet on account of his sins ;

Shiv, the remover of many sins, the lord of the three worlds, wandered to many places of pilgrimage, but never reached the end of them :

The act of *cutting off Brahma's* head was never effaced from his person.

Although ambrosia, the moon, the all-yielding cow, Lakhshmi, the miraculous tree, the steed with seven faces, and the physician arose *from the ocean*, the lord of rivers,

Yet on account of its deed the brackishness of the ocean departeth not ;

Although Hanuman who burnt the fortress of Lanka and uprooted the park of Rawan, took the wound-healing plant to Ram Chandar and made him happy,

Yet, on account of his act of theft the curse *that he should never have more than* a loin-cloth was not effaced from his person.

The result of past acts is never effaced, O wife of my house ;

Wherefore repeat for me the name of God ;

Trilochan repeateth God's name.[1]

[1] The following are the allusions in the preceding hymn :—

The *Sursari* is the Ganges, so called because it is *suron ki sari*, the river of demigods or divine heroes. It is said to flow from Shiv's head.

Krishan belonged to the Chandarbans, or family of the moon. Rām Chandar, on the other hand, belonged to the Sūrajbans, or family of the sun.

The moon fell in love with the wife of Brihaspati, the spiritual guide of the gods, and took her away. The dark spot in the moon is said to be the stain resulting from this act. In Sanskrit and cognate literature the moon is masculine.

Arun was son of Vinata by Kashyap. Vinata prematurely hatched an egg, and the offspring was born without thighs, hence he is called Anuru, thighless, or Vipād, footless. He cursed his mother, and prayed that, for having brought him forth before the due time, she should be a slave to her rival, Kadru. At his mother's earnest entreaties, however, he modified the curse, and said that her next son would deliver her from bondage. Arun, in later Hindu mythology, appears to be the same as the dawn and the charioteer of the sun.

Garur, or Garuda, Arun's younger brother, was chief of the feathered race, and an implacable foe of serpents. In a contest between his

PARMANAND

PARMANAND resided at Barsi, north of Pandharpur. His era and history are not known. It is said that he had the same love and affection for God as the milkmaids had for Krishan. In his riper years he used to sing the praises of God with the zest of a boy of twelve or fourteen years of age, and he thus largely contributed to the magnification of God's name. The beauty and deeds of Krishan's external and internal body were ever present to him, so it is no wonder that he sang the graces, the splendour, the loveliness, and the pastoral and sylvan sports of that great king with all the enthusiasm of earnest faith and devotion.

Parmanand used to be so absorbed in the love and contemplation of God that tears, it is said, flowed continually from his eyes, and times without number he experienced an alteration and stoppage of his voice during his paroxysms of ecstasy. He

mother and her rival, the latter was successful, and, in accordance with conditions previously agreed on, made Vinata her slave. Garur brought nectar from heaven to purchase her freedom. Vinata was released. The nectar was taken back by Indar, but recovered by Garur. Garur is represented as the vehicle of Vishnu and as having a white face, an aquiline nose, red wings, and a golden body.

Shiv cut off Brahma's head, and it would never leave his hand till at last it fell from it at the pilgrimage of Kapālmochan.

The Rikhi Agast once invited the ocean to a banquet. It failed to answer the invitation, whereupon Agast became angry, took the ocean in his hand and drank it off. He afterwards voided it as urine, and hence its brackishness.

Rām's brother Lakshman was wounded, and Hanumān, on the advice of the physician Sukhen, took the *bisalya* plant to heal the wound.

Hanumān, the monkey-god, once plundered a holy man, leaving him only a loin-cloth. The holy man cursed him and said: 'Only a loin-cloth shall remain with thee also. Thou shalt never be able to put on other clothes.'

used to make seven hundred protestations to God daily, often on the muddy road. A merchant once offered him a silken cloth to protect his knees. He declined the offer and told him to give it to a more needy person, as he himself would be satisfied with an old cloth instead. This the merchant granted him.

Parmanand defended the utterance of God's name as a devotional exercise by saying that prayers are often not felt, because while repeating them men's minds are apt to wander ; but the continual utterance of God's name must ever result in heartfelt devotion.

In his hymns Parmanand called himself Sarang, by which he meant that he longed for God as the sarang or chatrik longs for its yearly raindrops.

Parmanand's writings are believed to excessively increase men's love for God. It is said to be impossible for one to read them without contemplating God or bearing an image of Him in the mind. A list of Parmanand's works is given in the Asht Chhap or the *Eight Marks* of the followers of Vishnu.

The following hymn of Parmanand's composition is found in the Granth Sahib.

SARANG

O man, what hast thou done by hearing the Purans ?

Thou hast performed no steady worship, and not given alms to the hungry.

Lust hast thou not forgotten, wrath hast thou not forgotten, covetousness hath not left thee ;

Slander hath not left thy lips, and fruitless hath been all thy devotion.

O sinful man, by highway robbery and house-breaking hast thou filled thy belly.

Thou hast committed the folly from which on thy departure to the next world infamy will result.

The desire for the destruction of life did not leave thy heart, and thou didst not cherish mercy for living things.

Parmanand, thou hast not in the company of holy men made current God's pure word.[1]

SADHNA

SADHNA is believed to have been born in Sehwan in Sind and to have been a butcher by trade. He was a contemporary of Namdev. He embraced a religious life by listening to the instructions of holy men. Sadhna never killed animals himself, but purchased those killed by others and then retailed their flesh. He wiped out the sins of previous births and became purified like fine gold which resists the touchstone. His idol was the salagram or ammonite stone worshipped by Hindus. With this he weighed out meat to his customers. However much or little they required, they received the weight of the salagram.

A Sadhu, or holy man, on seeing the use to which the salagram was applied, thought it ought no longer to remain with a butcher, and resolved to take possession of it. Sadhna gave it up without hesitation. After some time, however, the Sadhu took back the salagram to Sadhna, and told him that, though he had bathed it in the five am-

[1] The first duty inculcated in this hymn is, it will be noted, almsgiving. Lust, wrath, covetousness, and slander are to be avoided. Highway robbery and house-breaking, which still prevail in India, are duly reprobated. The life of no living thing is to be taken. This doctrine is accepted by countless Hindus. It has descended to them from the earliest ages. The hymn concludes by showing the value of good example. The good name suggested as an object is not the good name of this world, but the good name which is equivalent to the good will of heaven.

brosias,[1] worshipped it with sandal, sweet basil, and so forth, his worship was unacceptable. 'The salagram is pleased with thee,' said the Sadhu, 'and I have sinned by taking it.' By this time, however, Sadhna's thoughts took a different turn. He became wrapped up in the love of God, abandoned everything he possessed, and bent his steps towards the forest to enjoy the uninterrupted worship of God.

On the way he saw some of his relations at a distance. He concealed himself and avoided them by taking another route lest any of them should put pressure on him to return. On arriving in the evening at a village, he went into the house of a married man and asked for something to eat. The lady of the house on seeing Sadhna young and handsome fell in love with him. She prepared exquisite food for his repast and induced him to stay. At night she proposed to elope with him. Sadhna spurned her, and said he would not do such a thing even though she were to cut his throat for refusing. Understanding by this that, if her husband's throat were cut, Sadhna would be ready to accede to her wishes, she forthwith went and killed her husband. On returning to Sadhna she told him what she had done, and repeated her immoral proposal. Sadhna replied, 'O unworthy woman, thou hast lost thy reason; how can I agree to what thou proposest?' In her despair she raised loud cries and invented a false accusation against him: 'I believed this person to be a holy man, and accordingly entertained him. He hath now killed my husband, and made improper overtures to me.' Sadhna was arrested and taken before a magistrate. When asked what he had to say, he, with the meekness and unwillingness to throw blame on others, which have characterized so many Hindu saints, pleaded

[1] The *Panch amrit*, or five nectars of the Hindus, are curds, clarified butter, honey, Ganges water, and milk.

guilty to the charge. He thought to himself, 'Since God hath placed me in this position, no one will accept my denial.' He then composed the following hymn :—

Even though Thou, O God, consign me to hell, I shall not dispute it or turn away from it.

Even though Thou bestow heaven on me, I shall not rejoice or praise it.

If Thou reject me, I cannot constrain Thee ; if Thou accept me, I shall not be puffed up with excessive joy.

He by whom Thou standest shoulder to shoulder is dyed with Thee.

Let him whom Thou orderest cheerfully burn his body.

My mind desireth not death, yet Thou mayest, if it please Thee, put me in the fire.

What the Beloved desireth ought to be the heart's desire also.

The judge sentenced Sadhna to have his hands cut off. The punishment was duly carried out, and Sadhna was then discharged. He set out without a frown on his forehead notwithstanding his barbarous mutilation.

There is a tradition, which, however, is not found in the *Bhagat Mal,* that the woman who had brought the false accusation against Sadhna of having killed her husband with the object of abducting her, burned herself on her husband's funeral pyre. On seeing this Sadhna said, 'No one knoweth the way of a woman ; she killeth her husband and becometh a Sati.' However this expression originated, it has passed into a proverb.

Sadhna's devotions proved so successful that, it is said, new hands then sprouted from his body, and he was released from all pain of future birth. 'So efficacious,' says the author of the *Bhagat Mal,* 'is the love of God.' In the *Mahabharat* it is stated that, even were a man to study the four Veds, it would not avail him unless he loved God. And

God said, 'Even though a man be the lowest social outcast, yet if he be a saint of Mine, he is dear to Me and worthy of worship.'

There is a legend to the effect that Sadhna became the object of further persecution. A king, who was probably incensed against him on account of his religious opinions, ordered him to procure meat for him at an unusual hour of night. Sadhna was unable to do so, and the king thereupon ordered that he should be put to death by being built alive into a wall. While the wall was closing round him, Sadhna is said to have composed the following hymn in the Bilawal measure :—

On account of a king's daughter a man assumed the disguise of Vishnu,

For love of her and for his own object; but his honour was saved.

What merit hast Thou, O Guru of the world, if my sins be not erased ?

What availeth it to enter the asylum of the lion, if he allow the jackal[1] to clutch me ?

For want of a drop of rain the chatrik suffereth agony ;

When its life is gone, even were an ocean at hand, it would be of no avail.

Now that my life is weary and abideth no longer, how shall I be patient ?

When a man is drowned, even if a boat be obtained, say whom shall you put into it ?

I am nothing, I am nothing, and I have nothing,

At this conjuncture Thy slave, Sadhna, prayeth Thee to protect his honour.[2]

[1] The lion here is God, the jackal is the king who sentenced Sadhna to death.

[2] The beginning of this hymn alludes to a carpenter's son who, on hearing that a king's daughter desired to marry Vishnu, decked himself out with Vishnu's four arms, club, lotus, discus, and shell, rode on Vishnu's garur, and thus gained the lady's affection. A hostile king was subsequently making war on her father, whereupon she declared she kept Vishnu with her and He would save her people. The carpenter's son

Sadhna's tomb is at Sarhind in the Panjab, but the sadhu in charge of it can give no information regarding him.

BENI

BENI briefly traces the progress of man's spiritual degeneration from the time of birth.

Owing to the great difficulty of his writings it is believed that he is of comparatively ancient date. Unfortunately no account of him is accessible.

SRIRAG

O man, when thou wast in the pit of the womb and didst meditate and fix thine earnest attention on God;[1]

Not proud of the dignity of thy mortal body, thou wast day and night free from *the pride which is* ignorance.

Recall the travail and great suffering of those days; now thou hast too much extended thy thoughts *to worldly things*.

felt alarmed on the approach of the hostile army to the capital, and prayed to Vishnu to save him. Vishnu heard his prayers, caused the defeat of the hostile king, and thus saved the country and its people, including the lover of the king's daughter.

Several gyānis analyse the hymn as follows: In the first two lines Sadhna addresses God, 'Thou hast saved him, why not me?' God is supposed to reply, 'This form of death was recorded in thy destiny.' Sadhna then repeated the third and fourth lines. God then said that He would grant him salvation after death. Sadhna replied with the fifth and sixth lines. God then tells him to be of good cheer, after which Sadhna replied with the seventh and eighth lines. The ninth line is frequently paraphrased—I can do nothing for myself, I have no relation and no one to assist me.

Sadhna founded a sect which does not appear to be numerous now, and which is confined to persons of the trade of butcher. The particular tenets of the Sadhnāpanthis are nowhere stated, but it is probable they simply consist in worshipping Sadhna as an incarnation of Vishnu.

[1] *Urdh* in the Granth Sāhib often means God. It may, however, be also translated—with body reversed.

When thou didst leave the womb and enter this perishable world, thou forgottest God.

Thou shalt afterwards repent, O fool; through what mental perversity hath superstition attached to thee?

Remember God; otherwise thou shalt go to the abode of Death; stray not in other worship.

A child is anxious for play and sweets; by degrees its worldly love increaseth.

Under the pretext of its being a sacrifice,[1] man tasteth meat as if it were ambrosia, though it is a poison; then the five evil passions appear and torture him.[2]

He abandoneth devotion, penance, self-restraint, and good works, and in his heart he worshippeth not God's name.

His lust overfloweth, blackness attacheth to his heart, and he embraceth the strange woman.

In the ardour of youth he stareth at another's wife, and distinguisheth not good from evil.

In the intoxication of lust and *the other* great sins he goeth astray, and distinguisheth not vice from virtue.

Beholding his children and his wealth, he is proud and forgetteth God in his heart.

He weigheth in his heart the wealth of some one who is dead, then ruineth his life by women and banquets.

When his hair groweth grey—greyer than the jasmine—and his voice becometh feeble;[3]

When his eyes water, and his intellect and strength depart, then his desires are in a whirl.[4]

His mind *is defiled* by evil passions, and therefore his body withereth away like the lotus in the rainy season.

He who renounceth God's name in this perishable world shall afterwards repent.

Beholding his near relations he muttereth *something*, and is proud of them, but they heed him not.

[1] *Medh* here means the animal killed in sacrifice.

[2] It must be remembered that this was written by a Vaishnav to whom all meat was forbidden.

[3] Literally—as if it proceeded from the seventh nether region.

[4] Literally—the churn of desires is in his heart.

He desireth the distinction of long life, *though* his eyes see not.[1]

The fire of *his body* is spent, the bird of his soul hath fled, and *his corpse* is disagreeable whether in the house or the courtyard.

Saith Beni, hear me, O saints; who hath obtained salvation after death?[2]

Divine instruction is communicated under the allegory of hathjog, the most difficult and painful form of a Jogi's practice.

RAMKALI

Unite the breath of the ira, pingla, and sukhmana together in one place;[3]

There is the Beni[4] and Pryag where the three rivers meet; let the soul lave therein.

O saints, there is the pure God.

A few understand this when they go to the guru;

There *in the brain* the Pure One is.

What are the signs of God's abode?

There is played the unbeaten music of the Word.[5]

There nor moon, nor sun, nor wind, nor water *is worshipped*.

He whose conscience is awakened by the guru's instruction knoweth this.

Through him divine knowledge is produced, evil inclinations depart,

And ambrosial juice trickleth from the brain.

He who knoweth the secret of this science,[6]

Shall meet the Primal Divine Guru.

[1] Also translated—His body wasteth away; on seeing somebody he speaketh; he is proud, but knoweth nothing.

[2] That is, unless man have done good works in life there is no means of his salvation.

[3] That is, the brain.

[4] At Priyāg there is or was a temple called Beni Mādhav.

[5] Not the bells, cymbals, or shells of Hindu worship.

[6] *Kala*, literally—contrivances.

The tenth gate is the abode of the inaccessible and unequalled Supreme Being.

Over the body and on the body is a chamber,[1] and within the chamber is the Treasure.

He who watcheth over this shall never fall asleep ;

The three qualities and the three worlds shall vanish for him in contemplation ;

He shall hold the Source [2] of all spells in his heart,

And turning back his mind *from the world*, fix it on heaven ;

He shall be wakeful and not utter a lie,

And shall keep the five organs of perception in subjection ;

He shall treasure the guru's instruction in his heart,

And devote his soul and body to God's love ;

He shall meditate on the leaves and branches of his body,[3]

And not lose his life in gambling ; [4]

He shall tie up the sphincter ani,

Turn his breath towards his back, and raise it to the brain.

When he restraineth his breath difficult of restraint,[5] nectar trickleth forth,

And he converseth with the Lord of the world.

In the *tenth* gate is the light of a four-faced lamp [6] *to behold all things* ;

There are endless petals of the lotus,[7] and its cup is in the centre ;

God dwelleth there with all His power.

Let man string the precious jewel of God's name within him—

He hath a lotus in his brain and gems [8] around it ;

[1] The brain. [2] That is, God.

[3] Explained by the gyānis to mean the veins and muscles of the body. It is to the upper and lower limbs the word branches is applied in Hindu anatomy.—Dr. Hoernle. [4] That is, in vice.

[5] Literally—when he has endured unendurable things.

[6] A lamp with four wicks to give a bright light. Divine knowledge is meant.

[7] The mystics suppose that the brain contains a lotus flower, within which God dwells.

[8] The leaves of the lotus.

In the centre is the Spotless One, the Lord of the three worlds ;

The five species of musical instruments are clearly heard ;

Chauris *appear to* wave and a shell to reverberate like thunder—

The pious by divine knowledge trample on their evil passions.[1]

Beni beggeth Thy name, *O Lord, since the practice of Jog is profitless.*

PRABHATI

The following was addressed to a hypocritical Brahman :—

Thou *rubbest* sandal on thy body, and *puttest* leaves on thy forehead,[2]

But thou hast a murderous knife in thy heart.

Thou lookest on people like a thag, and watchest them like a crane *looking for fish.*

The life of the Vaishnav when he seeth thee escapeth through his mouth.[3]

Thou bowest *daily* to the beautiful *idol* of Vishnu for a long time ;

With the evil eye art thou affected, and at night thou quarrellest ; [4]

Thou ever bathest thy body ;

Thou hast two dhotis,[5] *thou ostensibly performest* thy religious duties, and livest on milk alone,

But in thy heart thou hast a knife to stab with.

It is thy custom to plunder the property of others.

[1] *Daint*, literally—demons.

[2] To appear to have renounced the world.

[3] The Vaishnav abstains from meat, and dies on seeing thee bent on deeds of blood. The verse is also translated—Thou lookest like a Vaishnav whose soul hath escaped from his body.

[4] Over the division of the offerings. Possibly, however, *bādan* (quarrel) is for *bāman* (woman) which would rhyme with *chirāman* in the preceding line. If *bāman* be read, the translation will be—Thou lookest severely on women *by day*, but by night thou lovest them.

[5] So as to have a change after bathing.

Thou adorest a stone, and *in the worship of Kali makest* a circle for Ganesh.[1]

Thou watchest at night *so that men may think* thou hast entered on God's service;

With thy feet dost thou dance, but thy heart meditateth evil—

O sinner, thy dancing is wicked—

Thou sittest on a deer-skin, and carriest a rosary of sweet basil;

Thou puttest a showy tilak on thy forehead;

In thy heart is falsehood, though thou wearest a necklace[2] on thy neck.

O sinner, thou repeatest not God's name.

All that man's worship is vain, and he is blind

Who hath not recognized the Supreme God.

Saith Beni, meditate *on God* by the guru's instruction;

Without a true guru the way is not found.

RAMANAND

A SHORT account of Ramanuj appears to be necessary to explain the doctrines of Ramanand, and the progress of Hindu religious reform in India. Swami Ramanuj[3] flourished in the eleventh century of the Christian era. He was born in the village of Bhutnagari, also called Perumbhudur, south-east of Kanchipur, the modern Kanjeveram, in the

[1] According to the *Tantar Shāstar*, there must be four circles for Kāli's attendant divinities, Ganesh, Kshetarpāl, Bhairav, and Yogini.

[2] Rudrākhan, the Sanskrit *rudrāksh*. A necklace made of the berries of the eleocarpus. This is generally worn by the worshippers of Shiv. It is the followers of Vishnu who carry rosaries of sweet basil.

[3] The author is indebted to Mr. L. Rice of Bangalore for some valuable notes on the life of Rāmānuj.

Madras Presidency, in the year A.D. 1017 during the reign of Betawardhan, King of Dwar Samudra in the Maisur (Mysore) state. The date of his birth is attested by the Sanskrit chronogram *dhirlabdha*, a word which yields the date 939 of the Saka era, and means that men received patience or consolation at his birth. Ramanuj's father was Keshav Jajjwa, a Brahman said to be of the illustrious race of Harit, the spiritual and literary king of the Rikhis. His mother was called Kantimati. For a long time she was childless. Her husband prayed to heaven for a son when, it is said, a god appeared to him and told him his desire should be granted. To effect this, it is related that Sheshnag, the wise serpent, which according to the Hindus supports the earth, became incarnate as Ramanuj.

On the mother's side also Ramanuj belonged to an intellectual family, for it was his mother's brother Yadav Acharya,[1] who was Ramanuj's first preceptor and taught him the principles of the Hindu religion as expounded in the Simritis. Ramanuj became an apt pupil, and at a very early age mastered the Veds and the Shastars. While pursuing his studies he delighted to sit under a tamarind tree near Perumbhudur, which is still worshipped by his followers.

Ramanuj propounded new opinions with reference to the relation between the Creator and his creatures. He refuted the theories of the famous Shankar Acharya who was a Vedantist, and he began to inculcate the superiority of the worship of Vishnu to that of Shiv, the principal object of worship in southern India.

Ramanuj exorcised an evil spirit, of which the daughter of the king of Kanchipur had become possessed. The king was well pleased and gave

[1] Some followers of Rāmānuj deny that Yādav Achārya was his uncle.

him munificent remuneration. Finding the king in a mood to listen to his teaching, he preached to him the advantages of the Vaishnav doctrines. His superior intellectual attainments and his success in everything to which he turned his attention excited the jealousy of his preceptor, who formed a plot to take him on a pilgrimage to Banaras, and secretly drown him in the Ganges. Ramanuj was saved from this fate by the timely information received from his aunt's son.[1]

Ramanuj for a considerable time worshipped an idol called Bardraj, the tutelary deity of Kanchipur. Desirous to extend his theological studies, and thoroughly distrustful of his uncle, he went to Sri Rang Nath, the modern Srirangam at the parting of the rivers Kavari and Kolarun, near Trichinoply, to visit Yamun Acharya, the great representative of the Sri sect, and obtain initiation from him and adoption as his disciple. Unfortunately Yamun Acharya had died before the arrival of Ramanuj. The latter then put himself under the tutelage of Mahapuran, Yamun Acharya's disciple and successor. He subsequently became the disciple of Goshtipuran, who sent him back eighteen times before he was satisfied of his fitness for initiation.

Nabhaji, writing from a Vaishnav standpoint, enumerates four great sects of Hindus, the Sri, the Shiv, the Brahma, and the Sankadik. The members of the Sri sect worship Vishnu under the form of his energy or consort Lakshmi. Indeed, it is said that Vishnu himself taught the proper form of his worship to Lakshmi, and she handed it down in a direct line to Ramanuj.

Ramanuj continued his studies with ardour at Sri Rang Nath, and there composed his commentaries on the Sutras of Vyas and other Vedic works.

[1] Nābhāji's *Bhagat Māl* and also Mahārāja Raghurāj Sinh's *Bhagat Māl*. Some believe the lady whom Rāmānuj cured was the daughter of Dwārsamudar.

When past fifty years of age he left his family and devoted himself to the salvation of his fellow men. Mahapuran had communicated to him the spell by which God's protection might be obtained, and told him that whoever heard it should be saved from the pain of transmigration. At the same time he informed Ramanuj that he was never to disclose the secret. Ramanuj pondered on the prohibition, and came to the conclusion that it was on every account proper to divulge to men the secret of salvation, even though he were to suffer eternal punishment for the disclosure. He accordingly went from place to place repeating with a loud voice the spell of human deliverance. He made pilgrimages to Triputi, Jagannath, and Banaras, and having successfully preached the Vaishnav doctrines at these holy places erected buildings for worship at them all. From Banaras he proceeded to Badrinath in the Himalayas, where he did homage to Vishnu under his dual form of Nar Narayan. He is said to have made converts by thousands and tens of thousands.

In the *Prapann Amrit*, a Sanskrit work devoted to Ramanuj and his doctrines, it is stated that in the month of Poh in the year 1012 of the Salavahana era, corresponding to 1090 of the Christian era, he dedicated an idol to God under the name of Narayan at a place called Yadavachala.[1]

The chroniclers disclose the extent to which religious zeal and its allies, religious bigotry and persecution, even then prevailed in India. The Chola king Karikala, called Krimi Kantha on account of some affection of the throat from which he suffered, was a bigoted worshipper of Shiv, and held the doctrines of the Sri sect in devout abhorrence. He engaged in controversy with Mahapuran, Ramanuj's religious guide, and Kruresh, a disciple of Ramanuj. The monarch on being vanquished in

[1] *Prapann Amrit*, Bombay edition.

argument resorted to physical force for revenge, and put out the eyes of his antagonists. Mahapuran died in a few days, but Kruresh survived and subsequently rendered Ramanuj invaluable service in the dissemination of his doctrines.

Ramanuj himself, in order to escape from the fury of Krimi Kantha, took shelter in the court of Bitta or Vitala Deva, the Jain monarch of Dwar Samudra in the Maisur state, who reigned from A.D. 1104 to 1141.[1] After a controversy with Ramanuj the king changed his faith and sought the protection of God in his teachings. Filled with new zeal he changed his name also to Vishnu Vardhana and set to work to convert his numerous subjects, who are stated to have been all of the Jain religion. Most of them were converted, but some fled, and the rest the monarch piously put to the sword. In A. D. 1117 the king erected the Belur temple in commemoration of his conversion to Vaishnavism by Ramanuj.

Ramanuj fearing for his own safety in his native country and pleased with the holy zeal, friendship, and protection of the Maisur king, resided at his capital for twelve years, during which time he induced him to erect a temple to Krishan at Mailkot. Here Ramanuj continued to preach his doctrines, and made numerous converts among the Brahmans, whom he withdrew from their allegiance to Shiv.

Ramanuj's religious teachings began to be adopted at Purushotampuri, the modern Jagannath, then as now one of the greatest strongholds of the Hindu religion. His rules for daily life, however, were of a very exclusive character, and such as could hardly

[1] Bitta Deva was king of the Hoysalas who lived on the west of the present Maisūr state. Bitta Deva's dynasty ruled Maisūr from the eleventh to the fourteenth century. Their capital was Dwārsamudar, now Halebid, in the Belur district. The Cholas and their king lived to the east of the Hoysalas. The Hoysala kings were Jains up to the time of Bitta Deva.—Rice's *Mysore*.

have been expected from a man who fearlessly disclosed to the world the secrets of salvation. He enjoined the utmost attention to cleanliness in cooking and eating, an injunction which must be commended on sanitary grounds, but he made regulations concerning dress, salutation, and sacrificial marks of too strict a character for general observance. For instance, his followers cooked for themselves, and ate in the greatest privacy after bathing. On one point in particular he laid the greatest stress: If the sight or shadow of any person fell upon the food of a follower of his, it was to be immediately rejected. He believed that purity of thought could only be attained by eating food not seen by others. Nabhaji states that the strict culinary rules of Ramanuj were not made for caste purposes, but for the glory of God and purity of worship.

Such teaching naturally met with opposition. It can easily be gathered that Jagannath became too dangerous a place for Ramanuj to permanently reside in, and he escaped at night to pursue his missionary career in other lands. He is said to have had ten thousand followers, seventy-four of whom were specially devoted to their teacher. These seventy-four, however, each put a different interpretation on his doctrines, and accordingly established as many sects of their own. Ramanuj died at Sriranganath at the age of one hundred and twenty years. The chronogram *dharmonashta* or the destruction of religion, gives the date of his death as 1059 of the Shaka era, corresponding to A.D. 1137.

The mantra or words of initiation of the sect consists of eight letters, and is communicated in a secret whisper by the teacher to his disciple. The proclamation of the mantra was made by Ramanuj from the loftiest gopura, known as the white gopura, or ornamental gateway of the temple at Srirangam. The motto of members of their order is 'Ramanuj-

assya daso asmi' I am a slave of Ramanuj. The head is slightly inclined and the hands are joined and applied to the forehead for the purposes of salutation. The sacrificial marks of the sect are several. On the forehead there are two vertical streaks made with a calcareous clay called gopichandan. Within them is a vertical red streak made of turmeric and lime. The white streaks are connected over the nose by a transverse streak which admits of several varieties. The usual marks on the forehead are as follow :—ᒡᒍ ᒡᒍ, to denote that body, tongue, and mind should be kept under subjection. On the breast and upper arms Ramanujis make white patches in which they enclose red streaks. The several marks represent the shell, quoit, club, and lotus carried in the four hands of Vishnu, and the central streak of red represents his consort or energy Lakshmi. It is piously believed that persons, no matter of what caste, who apply these marks to their foreheads are after their departure from this life not molested by Death's ministers. The sect besides venerate the salagram stone and the sweet basil flower as indispensable adjuncts of worship.

The followers of Ramanuj believe that Vishnu is the supreme Being, that he existed before all worlds, and was the Creator of all things. Creation originated in his desire to multiply himself and was formed from his material essence. This essence, however manifested, is pervaded by a portion of his vitality which again is distinct from his spiritual essence, as God the spirit and matter are all distinct. Like the propounders of other religious systems, Ramanuj found himself in a difficulty between pantheism and anthropomorphism. Vishnu pervades all creation. Vishnu and the universe are one, but at the same time Vishnu is not devoid of form, and he is endowed with all good qualities. Vishnu has manifested himself to men in several human and other incarnations. He is present in

objects of worship, and may be adored by the purification of temples and idols, by the presentation of flowers and perfumes, by counting rosaries and repeating his name and that of his energy or consort Lakshmi, and finally by the practice of Jog. The reward of such devotion is release from all transmigration throughout eternity.

Several temples were erected in Ramanuj's honour, the principal of which are at Jadari, Galata, Ahobal, and Rewasa. In the famous fort of Srirangapatam, also, a temple sacred to Ramanuj is pointed out to visitors.

Ramanuj wrote several works, the principal of which are the *Sri Ramanuj Bhashya*, the *Gita Bhashya*, the *Vedaratha Sangraha*, the *Vedanta dipa*, the *Vedanta Sar*, and the *Dharm Sanhita*.[1]

RAMANAND, a Gaur Brahman, was born at Mailkot, where Ramanuj had set up an idol of Vishnu and induced the Brahmans to renounce their devotion to Shiv. Very little is known of Ramanand's life. Only a page and a half is devoted to it in Nabhaji's *Bhagat Mal*, where he is compared to Ram, and made an incarnation of God come down from heaven to save the world.

The Ramanandis make it a special point to keep all details of their sect and its founder a profound secret. All the works that we have been able to obtain relating to Ramanand have been for the most part devoted to his praise. We give here such details of his life as have been gleaned from accessible sources.

Nabhaji makes Ramanand the fourth in spiritual

[1] Besides the *Prapann Amrit*, the principal authorities for the life of Rāmānuj are the *Bhagat Māl* (Hindi), the *Divya Charitar* (Kanarese), the *Bharat Khanda cha aravāchīn kosh* (Marathi), and the *Kabi Charitar* (Gujrāti).

For a further account of Rāmānuj's doctrines and followers see Sir Monier Williams's *Brāhmanism and Hinduism*.

descent from Ramanuj. Allowing a third of a century as an average period of incumbency for each religious teacher, Ramanand must have flourished in the end of the fourteenth and the first half of the fifteenth century. This corresponds too with another reckoning which may be employed as a chronological test. The great religious reformer Kabir, of whom we shall presently have much to say, was according to all documentary and traditional evidence a disciple of Ramanand. Now the followers of Kabir say that the year A. D. 1908 is the 510th of his era. His birth therefore, according to them, took place in the year A. D. 1398, a date which may be unhesitatingly accepted. We are thus able to fix Ramanand's approximate epoch.

Ramanand like Ramanuj originally imbibed the Hindu doctrines enunciated in the Simritis, in which he had been instructed by a hermit. He subsequently adopted the reformed principles of Ramanuj and became a prominent member of the Sri sect. It is related that Ramanand, while still a worshipper according to the Simritis, was one day gathering flowers in a garden when he saw Swami Raghwanand, a follower of Ramanuj. Raghwanand asked him if he knew anything of his own state, but, before he had time to answer, told him that he had reached the end of his life, and exhorted him to seek the protection of God at the last hour. Ramanand went and informed his hermit tutor of the message he had received. The hermit and his pupil proceeded to Raghwanand and besought his divine intercession. The great Swami took compassion on Ramanand, and by his skill in the arduous practice of Jog suspended at the critical moment Ramanand's life breath in the tenth gate of his body. The time fixed by destiny for Ramanand's death having thus passed, Raghwanand bestowed on him the coveted boon of a protracted life.

Ramanand served the Swami for some time, and

then went on a pilgrimage to Badrikashram, the modern Badri Narain in the Himalayas, and other places. In the course of his wanderings he visited Banaras, and lived at the ghat called Panch Ganga, where his sandals were preserved at the time of the composition of Nabhaji's *Bhagat Mal.*

It is certain that Ramanand came in contact at Banaras with learned Musalmans, for by that time there had been several conquests of India under the flag of the Prophet of Makka. It is natural to suppose that there should have been held at the ancient sacred city of the Hindus heated controversies between Mullas and Brahmans, and that the better informed classes of Hindus, who had already shown a predilection for monotheism, should have formed a just conception of the divine unity. We shall afterwards see how some of the followers of Ramanand at Banaras became fervent monotheists, and at the same time ridiculed the priestcraft of the Mullas and the Brahmans.

Being far from members of his own religious persuasion, Ramanand was now free to form his own ideas and speculations on religion, and he laid aside among other previous articles of belief several of the cumbrous social and caste observances of the Sri sect. When he returned after long absence to Raghwanand, his co-religionists and those who had previously lived with him interrogated him as to his observance of caste rules since his departure from them. It was found that his theological belief had altered in some respects, and that he had relaxed the severe culinary rules of Ramanuj.

It is an ordinary practice of Hindu priests when they lay food before an idol to draw a screen over both the idol and the food. When sufficient time according to human ideas is allowed the idol for its consumption, the screen is withdrawn. The followers of Ramanuj observe the same practice, but have added to it a stern injunction that, if any

one but the person cooking see the idol's food, it must be immediately rejected. The followers of Ramanuj consider attention to such matters one of the most important elements of divine worship.

Ramanand did not adopt this view. Like another great Teacher he could not understand what concern culinary rules had with the worship of God;[1] and he must have freely given vent to his feelings, though his expressions have not been preserved. His sect promptly expelled him, but his religious guide Raghwanand appears to have felt some sympathy with him, for he authorized him to found a sect of his own, which he accordingly did. The theological tenets of the new faith corresponded to some extent with those of Ramanuj, except that Sita and Ram instead of Lakshmi and Narayan became special objects of Ramanand's worship, and the culinary and kindred rules of the Ramanujis were generously relaxed.

Ramanand then applied himself to prove from the Shastars that the observance of caste rules was unnecessary for any one who sought the protection of God and embraced his service. He laid it down as a rule that all persons of any caste who accepted the tenets and principles of his sect, might eat and drink together irrespective of birth. All men who serve God in the same way are brothers and of the same social position. Contrary to the practice of Ramanuj, who had enforced a discipline too strict for ordinary mortals, Ramanand threw his spiritual door wide open, admitted disciples of all castes, and boldly announced that gyan, or knowledge of God, emancipated man from all social bondage.

It is written in Nabhaji's *Bhagat Mal* that even a low caste man who loves God is superior to a Brahman who, although irreproachable in his acts, possesses no love for the Creator. An instance of

[1] 'Not that which goeth into the mouth defileth a man; but that which cometh out of the mouth, this defileth a man.'

this is cited. At the great feast given by Yudhishtar to commemorate the victory of the Pandavs over the Kauravs, the festal bell would not ring spontaneously at the appointed time. Krishan, who attended the banquet, inquired if any person had failed to receive his share of the viands. He was informed that food had not been served to Valmik because he was a Chandal, and, as a huntsman, destroyer of life. Krishan then ordered that Valmik should be seated in the midst of the assemblage, and that Draupadi, the fractional wife[1] of Yudhishtar, should feed him with her own hands. This she accordingly did, and the festal bell pealed forth struck by no earthly hands.

Ramanand was distinguished for his kindness to others and his love of God. He pointed out the way of the Lord to men of the four castes and the four conditions of life.[2] He deemed forms of adoration superfluous, and held that the supreme reward of devotion was to be obtained by incessantly uttering God's name. He called his disciples the Liberated, when he allowed them and they accepted a liberal interpretation of the Hindu social rules sanctioned by religion. At the same time he vehemently opposed atheists and those who boasted that they existed independently of God. He vanquished in argument the Jains, the Budhists, and the followers of the left way,[3] whose devotions were not addressed to the supreme Lord of the world.

[1] At that time polyandry was in force. Draupadi was wife of the whole five Pāndav brothers, one of whom was Yudhishtar.

[2] Brāhmans, Kshatris, and Vaisyas ought, according to ancient Hindu writings, to be, first, *Brahmachāris*, practising celibacy and devoting their lives to study and religious exercises; secondly, *grihasthis*, or married men leading secular lives; thirdly, *bānparasthis*, or anchorets, when their wives might accompany them and they might live on forest fruit, tubers, and roots; and fourthly, *sanyāsis*, completely renouncing the world and subsisting altogether on alms.

[3] Vāmis or Vāmāchāris. For some account of them see Professor H. H. Wilson's *Essays on the Religion of the Hindus*, Vol. I.



FOLLOWERS OF RAMANUJ AND RAMANAND

Ramanand, having forsaken the cares of the world, gave himself up to *vairag* or renunciation of all worldly things, and thus became the first Bairagi. He had four disciples, from each of whom arose four sects composed of Nagas, who are purely ascetic and practise seclusion, and Samayogis, who marry and lead domestic lives. Both orders may eat together. They mostly belong to the Sudar class, but some wear the triple cord of the twice-born Hindus, and style themselves Gaur Brahmans who had their origin in the north of India.

It is said that Ramanand at Ganga Sagar—at the mouth of the Hughli branch of the Ganges—discovered a temple sacred to Kapila, an incarnation of Vishnu and author of the Sankhya Shastars. A fair is annually held there at the time of the winter solstice.

The disciples of Ramanand were, according to Nabhaji, Anantanand, Sureshwaranand, Sukhanand, Bhawanand, Pipa, Sain, Dhanna, Ravdas, Kabir, and others. Ramanand died at Banaras at an advanced age.

Most of the present followers of Ramanand appear to have completely fallen away from his teaching, and observe caste rules with the utmost strictness. As far as their tenets are concerned, they appear to have become hopelessly confused with the Ramanujis, and to differ only in their sectarial marks and their preference for Sita and Ram to Lakshmi and Narayan as objects of worship.

The following is the hymn of Ramanand found in the Granth Sahib. An invitation had been given him to attend a religious service of Vishnu, to which he replied :—

BASANT

Whither shall I go, Sir ? I am happy at home.
My heart will not go with me ; it hath become a cripple.[1]

[1] Compare the use of the word *mancus* by Horace.

One day I did have an inclination to go ;
I ground sandal, took distilled aloe wood and many perfumes,
And was proceeding to worship God in a temple,
When my spiritual guide showed me God in my heart.
Wherever I go *I find only* water or stones.[1]
But Thou, O God, art equally contained in everything.
The Veds and the Purans all have I seen and searched.
Go thou thither, if *God* be not here.
O true guru, I am a sacrifice unto thee
Who hast cut away all my perplexities and doubts.
Ramanand's Lord is the all-pervading God ;
The guru's word cutteth away millions of sins.

DHANNA

DHANNA, generally known as Dhanna Jat, is said to have been born in the year A. D. 1415.[2] He lived in the village of Dhuan in Tank territory, about twenty miles from the Deoli cantonments in Rajputana. A religious bent was given to his genius from his earliest years. A Brahman went to his parents' house to worship. On seeing the ceremonials, Dhanna asked for an idol so that he too might worship on his own account in imitation of the Brahman. The Brahman at first put him off with excuses, but, when Dhanna further importuned, he handed him a small black stone for his youthful devotion. Dhanna took it up, applied it to his eyes and head, and began to worship it in imitation of the Brahman. The ceremony observed was this :— Dhanna first bathed himself, then bathed the stone, and put on it a tilak or patch made from the mud

[1] Rivers of pilgrimage or idols.

[2] For some local inquiries made regarding Dhanna we are indebted to Colonel E. R. Penrose, Cantonment Magistrate of Deoli.

of a neighbouring tank. He had no sweet basil dear to gods and idols, but he offered green leaves instead, and then performed the customary devotional homage and prostration.[1]

When Dhanna's mother brought him bread he put it in front of the idol, and shutting his eyes sat down hard by. He waited long in hope that the idol would eat, but, on finding that it would not, became sad and distressed. He repeatedly clasped his hands in supplication, and, when that form of inducement proved unavailing, began to ply the idol with boyish flatteries At last, when all failed, he threw the bread into the tank, by which he meant to clearly show the idol that if it did not eat it, he would not eat it himself. Some days passed in this way until Dhanna was well-nigh dead from weakness produced by thirst and hunger. At last the Brahman, anxious to confer a blessing on the youthful saint, appeared to him and urged him to satisfy his appetite. Dhanna did so and revived to pursue his devotions with even greater fervour than before.

The Brahman again paid Dhanna a visit, and on seeing his progress towards spiritual perfection prostrated himself before him and shed tears of love. By Dhanna's contemplation, worship, and repetition of the Name, God was gladdened, and the Brahman, through Dhanna's devotion, obtained, it was said, the object of his desires both in this world and the next.

Dhanna was supernaturally directed to go to Banaras and receive the spell of initiation from Ramanand. He accordingly did so. Ramanand on seeing his purity of heart and devotion, recognized him as a great saint and apostle, and duly initiated him as a disciple. In due time Rama-

[1] Before adoration the Hindus perform a ceremony called *prān pratishta*, which consists, as they believe, in infusing life into the idol. In this the idolatry of the Hindus appears to differ from that of other races.

nand, having enjoined the service of the saints on him as a special duty, dismissed him with every token of love and respect, and Dhanna on reaching his home duly followed his spiritual guide's injunctions.

One day, as Dhanna was taking wheat to sow, he met some holy men who urged their necessities. Accordingly, he bestowed his seed-wheat on them. God, on seeing Dhanna's charity to his saints, said, 'He who casteth corn in the ground expecteth a return several times greater. Now Dhanna putteth corn into the mouths of My saints, so I must give him a thousandfold return.' Dhanna's field accordingly flourished so much better than the fields of his neighbours that it became the subject of general congratulation. Dhanna thought the congratulations were merely jeers and jests, until one day he paid a visit to his field. Then he found that what people had been saying was really true. He became absorbed in the love of God, and redoubled his devotion to Him and His saints. His land is still called *Dhanne Bhagat ka khet*, or Saint Dhanna's field. It is said that the black stone of his youthful worship was subsequently embedded in one of the walls of his temple.

Nabhaji concludes his account of Dhanna with the following invocation :—'O God Indar, how prudent and wise art thou who madest thy thunderbolt out of the bones of Dadhich, king of the Rikhis! Why hast thou not lifted up and taken away this wretched heart of mine which is millions of times harder than adamant, since it is not in the slightest degree softened on reading the story of Dhanna and hearing of God's kindness, love, and affection for His saints?'

Though Dhanna began life as an idolater, it is clear from the following hymn that he became in riper years a worshipper of the one God, and renounced all superstitious practices.

ASA

In Gobind, Gobind, Gobind was Namdev's heart absorbed;
A calico-printer worth half a dām became worth a lakh.
Abandoning weaving and stretching thread, Kabir devoted his love to God's feet;
Though a weaver of low family he obtained untold virtues.
Rav Das who used to remove dead cattle, abandoned worldly affairs,
Became distinguished, and in the company of the saints obtained a sight of God.
Sain, barber and village drudge,[1] well known in every house,
In whose heart the Supreme God dwelt, is numbered among the saints.
Having heard all this I, a Jat, applied myself to God's service;
I have met God in person[2] and great is the good fortune of Dhanna.[3]

The following hymns of Dhanna afford abundant additional evidence that he by further study and meditation embraced a purer form of worship than that of his early youth. After a confessedly sinful life Dhanna met the guru, who united him with God

Wandering and roaming many births have passed away; my body, mind, and fortune[4] remain not constant.
Attached to and stained with the sins of covetousness and lust, I have forgotten God, the diamond.
The fruit of sin is sweet to the demented mind; it knoweth not excellent meditation.
My love, turning in a different direction from virtue, increaseth, and I again weave the web of birth and death.

[1] *Butkāria*, from *butti*, forced labour.
[2] *Partakh*, the Latin *praesens*.
[3] In the Granth Sāhib this hymn is headed Mahala V, under which the compositions of Guru Arjan are included, but there appears no doubt that it was Dhanna's composition.
[4] *Dhan*, literally—wealth. It is very likely this word is an expletive.

I did not know the way of *recognizing* Him who dwelleth in the heart ;[1] I burned *in the fire of worldly love* and fell into Death's noose.

I collected so many fruits of sin and filled my heart with them, that I forgot God the Supreme Being.

When the guru caused the wealth of divine knowledge to enter me, I meditated on God, and accepted in my heart that He was One.

I have embraced the love and service of God and known comfort ; I am satiated and satisfied, and have obtained salvation.

He in whose heart God's light which filleth creation is contained, recognizeth God who cannot be deceived.

Dhanna hath obtained God[2] as his wealth ;[3] meeting with saints he hath become absorbed *in Him.*

God is the universal Preserver.

O my heart, why thinkest thou not of the God of mercy ? Why ignorest thou not all besides ?

Wert thou to run through the universe and the continents of the earth, *it would not avail thee* ; *only* what the Creator doeth cometh to pass.

He who made the body with its ten gates in the water of its mother's womb,

Nourisheth it and preserveth it in its fiery *home* ; such a Lord is ours.

The female tortoise *liveth* in the water ; its young *remain* on land ; they have no *mother's* wings *to shelter them*, and no milk *to drink*,

Yet God, the All-pervading, the Primal Joy, the Delightful *feedeth them* ; understand this in thy heart.

A worm is embedded in a stone, and there is no exit for it : Saith Dhanna, God filleth it ; O my soul, fear not.

Dhanna in order to maintain himself while en-

[1] Also translated—The manner of knowing God did not enter my heart.

[2] *Dharnidhar*, literally—the Sustainer of the earth.

[3] *Dhan*, the saint puns on the similarity of the word to his own name.

gaged in his devotions prays for the means of subsistence.

DHANASARI

O God, I Thine afflicted *servant come to Thee* :—
Thou arrangest the affairs of those who perform Thy service.
Dal, flour,[1] and ghi I beg of Thee
So shall my heart be ever happy.
Shoes and good clothes,
The seven sorts of corn,[2] I beg of Thee.
Milch cows and buffaloes I beg ;
A good Turkistani mare,
And a good wife,
The slave Dhanna beggeth of Thee.[3]

PIPA

PIPA, born in the year A.D. 1425, was king of a state called Gagaraungarh. He possessed every spiritual excellence and conferred happiness and saintship on the human race.

[1] By *sīdha*, literally, uncooked food given to *fakīrs*, is generally meant flour. Some read *sīndha*, which means rock salt.

[2] *Anāj sat sīka* is the same as *satnāja*, 'a mixture of seven kinds of grain bestowed on a caste of people called Dakaunt on certain occasions, for the benefit of a person who is supposed to be under the evil influence of some planet, the grain being equal in weight to the body of the person.'—*The Ludhiāna Panjābi Dictionary.*

Anāj sat sīka is also translated—corn grown on a field ploughed seven times, called in Panjābi *sāt siān lāniān.*

[3] As asking God for worldly favours is deemed inconsistent with the saintly character, the gyānis have exercised their ingenuity in finding one or more fanciful meanings for almost every substantive in the above hymn. For instance, *dāl* is made the subjection of the passions, *sīdha*, or flour, is rectitude, *ghi* is God's love, &c., &c. They who choose may adopt such interpretations. It must be remembered, however, that Dhanna was a husbandman, and for the sake of his calling and livelihood, to say nothing of his devotions, generally needed what he prayed for.

Pipa had been at first a worshipper of Durga, the consort of Shiv. Some holy men came to his capital, and he with his usual generosity and devotion ministered to all their wants. They then prepared food, offered it to God, and prayed that the king might become a saint. At night he had a vision in which a holy man, who took an interest in his welfare, appeared to him and said, 'How foolish thou art who turnest away from God and yet askest for pardon!' From that moment he desired nothing but the service of God. All the things of this world appeared to him to have no reality.

It is said that the goddess subsequently appeared to him. Pipa prostrated himself before her, and asked her how he could serve God. She told him to go and take Ramanand as his spiritual guide. After this highly disinterested advice the goddess disappeared. Pipa manifested such a passionate desire to see Ramanand that his friends apprehended he would lose his reason. At last he went to Banaras, where he had heard Ramanand resided. The great swami on hearing of Pipa's arrival expressed his surprise and sent him a message, 'My house is a place for faqirs. What business have kings here?'

On Ramanand's refusal to receive him Pipa returned home, and bestowed his wealth on the poor. He again appeared before Ramanand, and said he had now become a faqir. Ramanand in order to test his sincerity told him to throw himself into a well. Without further reflection Pipa proceeded to do so, but Ramanand's disciples restrained him. They brought him back to Ramanand who, on being satisfied of his humility, forthwith made him a disciple and bestowed saintship on him. He then gave him permission to return to his own country, and continue to serve saints. Ramanand promised to go in company with other saints to visit him after a year of probation. Pipa departed, served holy

men, and worshipped God with increased fervour. After a year he wrote to Ramanand and reminded him of his promise to sanctify Gagaraungarh with a visit.

Ramanand set out with his forty chosen disciples, including Rav Das and the renowned Kabir. Pipa, having taken a palki for his guru, met the party outside the city. He prostrated himself before Ramanand and each of the disciples, and bestowed on the poor a large amount of money and the remnant of his property as a thanksgiving on that joyful occasion. He took the whole company to his palace, and bestowed such service on them that he quickly received the great spiritual reward of salvation during life.

After some time Ramanand conceived a desire to visit the country of Dwaraka on the western coast of Kathiawar. Pipa on hearing this became distressed at losing the companionship of his holy guide. Ramanand, on seeing the king's heartfelt love, said he could make his choice either to remain where he was or become a mendicant of his order and accompany him. Upon this Pipa abdicated his sovereignty and joined Ramanand and his party.

His queens prepared to share his poverty and his pilgrimage to Dwaraka. Pipa tried to dissuade them by pointing out the hardships of travel and sojourn in forests and solitude, but they would not be convinced. He then told them to take off their jewels and regal attire, and put on patched clothes, and they might thus accompany him if they pleased. The mention of the detrimental alteration of costume was more efficacious than any expostulation. All his queens save one immediately returned home.

The youngest, whose name was Sita, the best beloved of her husband, doffed the becoming attire of her graceful youth, and put on, as her husband had suggested, the coarse blanket of a mendicant.

Ramanand, Pipa, and Sita duly arrived in Dwaraka. Ramanand merely desired to see the temples there,

and, this being done, declared his intention of returning to Banaras. But Pipa wished to settle in Dwaraka, and obtained Ramanand's permission to do so. He and his consort abode there in the society of holy men and made great progress towards spiritual perfection.

When the sanctity of Pipa and his faithful consort became known, a great crowd assembled to do them homage. Wearied with the attentions they received from the people, Sita pointed out to her spouse that in order to save themselves from inconvenience and preserve their humility, it would be expedient for them to go to a strange country. They accordingly departed for other places of pilgrimage. When they had proceeded six stages, they encountered Afghan troops. The soldiers finding Sita fair to look upon appropriated her for themselves. In this difficulty she remembered God, and with fervent prayer supplicated His assistance. He rescued her from the Afghans, and restored her rejoicing to her husband. Pipa asked her if she would not even then go home, seeing that troubles arose on every side on her account. She replied, 'Great king, what trouble hath caused any interruption to thy devotion or hath been removed by any contrivance of thine? It was all the work of God. Thou and I have proof and perfect assurance of this. To admonish me now, notwithstanding all that hath occurred, is not in accordance with the devotion of a husband or a saint.' Pipa was pleased with her constancy, they became reconciled, altered their route, and continued their pilgrimage.

Pipa and his consort visited a holy man whose name was Chidhar. He and his wife, though highly pleased to see them, had nothing wherewithal to show them hospitality. In this plight Chidhar's wife's petticoat was sold to provide food for the guests. It was the only article of dress she possessed, and she had then to conceal herself in her room.

When the food was cooked and the guests sat down to dinner, Pipa requested Chidhar to bring his wife to join them. Chidhar bade them take their dinner, and his wife would eat their leavings. Upon this Pipa told Sita to go and fetch her. Sita went and found her hiding in her room. On inquiring the cause, Chidhar's wife said it was not by wearing clothes heavenly bliss was obtained, but the first and most proper duty of all was to contemplate God and serve His saints. Sita divined what had occurred, and arrived at the conclusion that her own devotion and service were as nothing in comparison with what she had just witnessed. Half the clothes she wore she gave to Chidhar's wife, and brought her forth from her hiding-place. They then all dined together.

Pipa and Sita then took leave of Chidhar and his wife, and after great hardships and privations arrived at the city of Toda near Tank, on the north-western frontier of India. One day, on going to bathe, Pipa found an earthen vessel full of gold coins, but did not touch them. He mentioned the matter at night to his wife, and she said it was better not to go to the same bathing-place again. Some thieves who had overheard their conversation went thither, and found a venomous serpent coiled up in the vessel. They said to themselves that the newly-arrived faqir had designed to kill them by speaking of gold coin instead of a serpent in the vessel. They then decided that they would have the faqir himself bitten by the serpent. They accordingly dug out the vessel, took it with its contents and threw it into Pipa's house. But the original contents had not changed for the holy man. He found it still filled with gold coins as before. Pipa, believing this treasure to have been obtained by divine favour, spent all the money within three days in rejoicings in honour of God, and in feeding and serving His saints.

Sur Sen, king of that country, hearing Pipa's name and devotion went to see him, and falling at his feet prayed him to instruct him and make him a holy man. Pipa remonstrated with him and even attempted to dissuade him from adopting the life of a hermit. However, on seeing him determined, Pipa told him to relinquish all he possessed. The king immediately obeyed this order, and placed his wealth at the disposal of the saint. After this trial Pipa gave him the spell of initiation and made him his disciple. Sur Sen's queen went veiled to Pipa to remonstrate against separation from her lord. Pipa restored her to Sur Sen and assured him that he could lead a religious life even in the married state, and added that it was unnecessary for women to veil themselves in the presence of holy men—probably the first effort in modern times in India to abolish the tyranny of the *parda*.

In time an unfortunate difference arose between Sur Sen and Pipa which was rendered more acute by intrigues of the court Brahmans; and Sur Sen threw off his spiritual allegiance to his royal guest. Pipa upon this reflected that it was the guru who frees men from sin and its consequences, and when a man throws off his allegiance to his guru, what hope is there for him? He feared that the king would lose both this world and the next, so he resolved to save him. He accordingly proceeded to the king's palace and caused himself to be announced. The king sent word that he was busy with his devotions and could not see the visitor. Upon this Pipa said the king was a great fool, for, while pretending to be performing his devotions, he was thinking of obtaining new foot-wear for himself. When these words were repeated to Sur Sen he, knowing that Pipa had divined his thoughts, at once went to him and throwing himself at his feet, said, 'I am unworthy and faithless, I did not know thy greatness. Be merciful and pardon me. I am

extremely ashamed of all the suspicions and erroneous ideas I had formed regarding thee.' Pipa replied, 'O king, remember thy faith and love on the day thou becamest my disciple. According to all rules thy love for God and his guru ought to have increased. Instead of that thou hast turned thy back on them, and prepared thyself for hell. For the future consider the saints of God as His image and serve them. In this way shalt thou easily obtain the advantages of both worlds.' Pipa gave the king other instructions of similar character, which sank deep into his heart. He then returned to his old allegiance to Pipa, and began anew his religious life and his repetition of God's name.

Pipa on more occasions than can be related showed a marked deference to the wishes of others. Once some holy men took a fancy to a dish of curds which they had seen with a milkwoman, and asked Pipa to procure it for them. He caused the holy men to be served with curds daily, and cheerfully remunerated the milkwoman.

There was a Brahman friend of Pipa who was a worshipper of Durga. Pipa prepared a religious feast in the Brahman's house, partook of the food himself, and induced the Brahman also to do so. Through the intercession of Pipa it is related that Durga manifested herself to the Brahman. His heart became purified and he began to worship God instead of an idol.

A handsome woman who sold oil used to go about saying, 'Buy my oil! buy my oil!' Pipa said it would be more becoming to her lips to utter God's name. The woman became angry, and replied that it was only usual to utter God's name when anybody died. On arriving at home she found her husband dead. She became a believer, fell at Pipa's feet, and promised to utter with all her family the name of God. Upon this it is said Pipa restored her husband to life.

Pipa procured a female buffalo to supply milk to his holy guests. The buffalo was stolen. Pipa took the buffalo's calf and followed the thieves, telling them to take the calf also, as otherwise the buffalo would be displeased and not give milk.[1] The thieves repented and restored the stolen animal to her owner.

Pipa on another occasion was taking home some money and a cart laden with wheat. Highway robbers stole the cart with its burden. Pipa offered them his money also, telling them that they would require it to purchase utensils with which to cook the wheat. These robbers also repented and restored Pipa his cart.

Somebody killed a cow and was expelled from his caste for a crime so heinous in the eyes of the Hindus. Pipa by inducing him to utter God's name and prepare a feast in God's honour converted him from a sinner to a saint. His tribesmen, however, still refused to allow him to return to his brotherhood. Upon this Pipa proved the glory of God's name from the Veds and the Shastars, and stated that whoever even once uttered it should be pardoned the mortal sins of hundreds of thousands of births. Consequently how could the sin of cow-killing remain attached to a man who uttered God's name hundreds and thousands of times? Everybody admitted the justice of this argument, and the cow-killer was restored to his caste and public favour.

A saint called Sri Rang invited Pipa by letter to visit him. Pipa accepted the invitation. On his arrival he found Sri Rang engaged in idolatrous worship. He was putting on the idol's neck a garland of flowers, but it became entangled in the idol's diadem. At that moment he was informed of Pipa's arrival. He replied that he was occupied with divine service, and when it was completed he would go to receive his guest. Pipa replied, 'What

[1] The Indian buffalo and cow will not give milk if separated from their calves.

sort of service is he performing? He cannot put on a garland of flowers.' On hearing this Sri Rang ran to meet him. They embraced each other, and Pipa remained with his new friend for several days. Sri Rang was greatly edified on witnessing Sita's love and devotion, and applied himself with great fervour to imitate her example.

Once on the occasion of a famine Pipa distributed such a quantity of eatables and drinkables that it appeared as if there had been no famine, and everybody's sufferings were relieved.

The author of the *Bhagat Mal* states that there are numberless similar anecdotes of Pipa which transcend all conjecture and conception. There is therefore, the writer states, no difference between God and His saints, since the glory of Pipa might be attributed to God. The Marathi chronicler sums up the character of Pipa by saying that he was brave, liberal, learned, religious, self-restrained, and watchful.

The following hymn of Pipa, intended to show that it is internal not external worship which is advantageous, is found in the Granth Sahib.

DHANASARI

In the body is God, the body is the temple of God, in the body are pilgrims and travellers;

In the body are incense, lamps, sacrificial food; in the body are offerings of leaves.[1]

I have searched many regions, and it is only in the body I have found the nine treasures.

There is no coming and no going for me since I have appealed to God.

What is in the universe is found in the body: whoever searcheth for it shall find it there.

Pipa representeth, *God* is the Primal Essence; when there is a true guru he will show him.

[1] Made to the manes of Hindus. Men can do homage in God's temple, the body, while they are alive, but when the soul separates from it, no pilgrimages or adorations can be made.

SAIN

SAIN was a disciple of Ramanand and consequently lived in the end of the fourteenth and the beginning of the fifteenth century of the Christian era. He was a barber at the court of Raja Ram, king of Rewa, then called Bandhavgarh. The tendency of the age was towards devotion and religious composition, and Sain found leisure in the midst of his duties to study the hymns of Ramanand, shape his life on the principles inculcated in them, and successfully imitate their spirit and devotional fervour.

The accomplishments and duties of an Indian court barber at the time of Sain were and are still of a miscellaneous character. He is something of a surgeon and ordinarily a marriage or match-maker, he oils the king's body, shampoos his limbs, pares his nails, shaves his face and head, if he be a Hindu, and clips his moustache, if he be a Musalman; amuses him with gossip and tales; often plays the rebeck and sings his own compositions, which deftly combine flattery of his master with social satire or pleasantry.[1]

God is said by the Hindu chronicler to have cherished Sain as a cow her calf. He frequented the society of holy men and was very happy in their company. He performed for them all menial offices, for he believed that serving saints was equivalent to serving God Himself.

The *Bhagat Mal* contains a legend which at once

[1] Beaumarchais was censured by contemporary writers for the diversity of accomplishments of the hero of his great comedy—'Figaro le barbier, beau diseur, mauvais poète, hardi musicien, grand fringueneur de guitare, et jadis valet de chambre du comte, établi dans Séville, y faisant avec succès des barbes, des romances, et des mariages, y maniant également le fer du phlébotome et le piston.'

illustrates Sain's devotion to saints and the estimation in which he was held for his piety. When going one day to perform his usual ministrations for king Raja Ram, he met some holy men on the way. He thought it was his first duty to attend to them. He took them with him, and began to render them the customary services. With the greatest mental satisfaction to himself he gave them consecrated and secular food to relieve their souls and bodies. In thus acting Sain disregarded his duty to the king and braved his displeasure.

The legend states that a holy man, by God's favour, in order to avert the king's wrath and save Sain from punishment, assumed his appearance, and having gone and performed the customary duties for the king, took his departure. Soon after Sain arrived and began to apologize for his delay. The king said, 'Thou hast only just gone after the usual services to me; why apologize?' Sain replied, 'I have not been here. Perhaps thy Majesty sayest so to excuse my absence.' The Raja then knew that a special providence had intervened and performed for him the usual tonsorial duties. He was at once converted, fell at Sain's feet, worshipped him as his guru, and thus sought an asylum in God. It had at any rate at the time of the composition of the *Bhagat Mal* become an established custom that the successive kings of the house of Bandhavgarh should always be disciples of the descendants of Sain. They are now said to be followers of Kabir.[1]

The following hymn of Sain in the Dhanasari measure is found in the Granth Sahib :—

Having made an oblation of incense, lamps, and clarified butter,

I go to offer them to Thee, O God.[2]

[1] The *Bhagat Māl* of Mahārāja Raghurāj Sinh of Rewa. He stated that he was the tenth in descent from the Rāja at whose court Sain lived.

[2] Kawalāpati, literally—Lord of Lakshmi.

Hail to Thee, O God, hail!
Ever hail to Thee, O Sovereign God!
Thy name is the best lamp, *meditation thereon the* purest wick;
Thou alone art the Bright One, O God.
It is the saints of God who feel divine pleasure;
They describe Thee as all-pervading and the Supreme Joy.[1]
Thou, of fascinating form, O God, float us over the ocean of terror.
Sain saith, worship the Supreme Joy.[2]

KABIR

THERE was a certain Brahman in Banaras, who remained continually in attendance on Ramanand. The Brahman had a daughter, a virgin widow, who desired to behold the object of her father's reverence and attentions. Her father took her one day to see the holy man. She was allowed to prostrate herself before him and touch his feet with her forehead. He in ignorance of her status prayed that she might be blest with a son. When her father replied that she was a widow, Ramanand said that his words could not be recalled and she should have a son; but no one should see any signs of her pregnancy, and no stigma should attach to her reputation. Her son should reform religion and save the world. She consequently conceived, and in due time a son was born to her on Monday, the day of the full moon, in the month of Jeth, 1455, of the Vikramaditya era, corresponding to A.D. 1398.[3] She exposed

[1] This and the preceding line are also translated—
It is Rāmānand who knoweth devotion to God;
It is he who can describe the Perfect Primal Joy.

[2] This hymn is included in the Ārati, a divine service of the Sikhs when lamps are lit in the evening.

[3] For many of the details in this account of Kabīr the author is

her child on a lake called Lahar Talao, a short distance from Banaras. He was found by a Musalman weaver, called Ali—who from living beside the water (nir) was popularly known by the name of Niru—when he was taking home his wife from her parents' house.

He saw the boy lying in the lake, it is said, on a blossoming water-lily. The child had obviously been abandoned by an unmarried woman. Niru hastened to inform his wife Nima. They had no son of their own, and it was in their power to adopt him. Nima represented the gossip that would result, and the danger to their reputation and that of the whole tribe. On looking into the child's face, however, her determination gave way. He was fair to look on, and did not scream like other children, but on the contrary looked bright and cheerful. They took him up and bore him home.

The Lahar Talao is a lake about a mile and a quarter long, and an eighth of a mile broad. At the time of the author's visit in December, it was, except for some rushes here and there, covered with a russet weed on which aquatic birds alighted and sported. On the margin of the lake is a small temple sacred to Kabir. It is kept by some monks, who pride themselves on their knowledge of Sanskrit literature. Hard by is the tomb of Niru, Kabir's foster-father.

After the discovery of the child a Qazi was in due time called to give him a name. The Quran was opened, and a lot was cast. The word Kabir, which means great in the Arabic language, was the first that presented itself. This name was accord-

indebted to the work *Kabīr Kasauti* of the late Lahina Singh of Panjor in the Patiāla State, the *Kabīr Manshūr* of Sādhu Paramānand (Hindi), the *Kavi Charitar* (Gujrāti), the *Bharat Khanda cha Aravachin Kosh* and the Bhakta Vijay of Mahipati (Marathi). The author also acknowledges assistance from inquiries made by Mr. G. H. Radice, of the Indian Civil Service.

ingly given to the child. When Kabir arrived at an age to understand the nature of the doubts cast on his birth he composed the following :—

I have just come from God.

Mammon hath led the world astray ; it hath not found the secret *of my birth.*

I was not born, nor did I dwell in a womb ; I have appeared a child as I am.

A weaver found me near his hut in a lake at Banaras.

I was not in heaven, or in earth, or in any country ; my divine knowledge is endless.

The spirit which is manifested in His own world is my name.

I have no bones, no blood, no skin ; I have been manifested by the Word.

I am beyond all body and endless, a superior being whom men call the immortal Kabir.[1]

It would appear that, though the boy was adopted by Musalmans, he was subjected to Hindu influences from his earliest years. Banaras was and is the stronghold of Hinduism, and even its Muhammadan inhabitants are often strongly tinctured with the ancient religion of India.

Moreover, it is said that Gosain Ashtanand, a Hindu saint of the period, said to have been a disciple of Ramanand, saw the child at the time of his exposure in the tank ; and it is most probable that he subsequently followed his fate and gave him religious instruction as opportunities offered.

At a very early age Kabir's religious education was far advanced. While playing with his companions he used to repeat the name Ram or Hari, Hindu names of God. Musalmans said the child was an infidel. Kabir retorted that an infidel was he—

1. Who struck any person without just cause,
2. Who wore a religious garb to deceive the world,

[1] This is somewhat in imitation of the expressions attributed to Krishan, in the Bhagavad Gīta.

3. Who drank wine,
4. Who stole,
5. Who committed suicide,
6. Who smoked tobacco,
7. Who committed highway robbery,
8. Who took life.

These became Kabir's commandments.

One day he put on the frontal mark and the sacrificial thread of the Hindus. A Brahman called Mukand remonstrated, and said that Kabir, having been brought up a Muhammadan, and following, moreover, the trade of his foster-father, had no concern with Hinduism, and was not entitled to wear its distinguishing badge or symbols. Kabir replied with the following hymn :—

In my house is thread, I am continually weaving, while only one sacrificial thread is on thy neck.

Thou readest only the Veds and the Gayatri, while God is in my heart.

On my tongue dwelleth God, in mine eyes dwelleth God, and in my heart dwelleth God.[1]

When thou art examined, O mad Mukand, at Death's door, what shalt thou say ?

I am the cow, thou the herdsman, lord of the earth, and guardian of man at every birth.[2]

Thou hast not taken me beyond the river to graze ;[3] what sort of master have I ?

Thou art a Brahman, I am a Banaras weaver, understand my instruction.

Thou beggest from lords and kings, while I meditate on God ; *which of us is better* ? [4]

As Kabir grew up, his devotion, spiritual power,

[1] In this verse in the original Kabīr gives three different Sanskrit names of God.

[2] This is said ironically. The name Mukand is also applied to God.

[3] Where the pasturage was good. That is, though bearing the name Mukand, thou art unable to save me.

[4] Āsa.

and miracles became famous. He deemed everything blasphemy which was opposed to the worship of God. He considered the practice of jog, alms, fasting, and the feeding of Brahmans not only useless, but improper, without the repetition of God's name and love for Him. In reality the special tenor of the Shastars is, according to Nabhaji's *Bhagat Mal*, that all the above-mentioned religious works are ciphers, and the name of God is, as it were, a numeral. The practice of jog, feeding Brahmans, &c., are useless without the numeral of God's name. The meaning of the author of the *Bhagat Mal* is, that all religious works should be performed for the acquisition of devotion and love of God, and not for objects of a temporal character.

Kabir has written works which all religious denominations can accept, and which, if perused without bigotry, are advantageous for the salvation of all persons. Kabir was so steadfast in his utterance of God's name, that in comparison with it he deemed worthless the rules of caste and the Hindu and Muhammadan religious observances.

From Kabir's boyhood his mind was filled with intuitive knowledge, and his reasoning faculties were so acute that he vanquished the most learned men of his age, both Hindu and Musalman, in theological and ethical discussions. The Brahmans and the Mullas contrived many expedients to silence him, but all their efforts were baffled. At last they decided that they would call him a *nigura*, or person without a spiritual guide, and consequently an infidel, with the dubious moral character which that word in the estimation of the vulgar connotes, and that they would thus humble and shame him. Having heard of the Brahman's resolution and of Ramanand's fame Kabir sought him out and became his disciple.[1]

[1] There is a story in Nābhāji's *Bhagat Māl* purporting to describe the manner in which Kabīr became Rāmānand's disciple, but as it is derogatory to the character of both saints, it is omitted here.

When Kabir's foster-parents found they could not restrain his Hindu proclivities, they determined to circumcise him. Upon this he uttered the following hymn :—

Whence have come the Hindus and Musalmans? Who hath put them on their different ways? [1]

Having thought and reflected in thy heart, answer this—who shall obtain heaven and who hell?

O Qazi, what expoundest thou?

Such readers and students as thou have failed; none of them hath obtained knowledge.

Thou practisest circumcision for love of woman: [2] I shall never believe in it, O brother.

If God had desired to make me a Musalman, I should have been born circumcised.

If a man become a Musalman by circumcision, what is to be done to a woman? [3]

Thou puttest not away thy wife who is half thy body; wherefore thou remainest a Hindu.

Give up thy books, O foolish man, and worship God; thou practisest gross oppression.

Kabir hath laid hold of the prop of God; the Musalmans have totally failed.[4]

When Kabir's mother found that his attention was directed to the worship of the God of the Hindus in opposition to the God of Islam, she raised loud complaints. Kabir paid no attention to her, but employed himself as usual in the repetition and remembrance of God's name.

Kabir continued to follow his trade, but at the same time received and served holy men and mendi-

[1] Who invented their different religions?

[2] The Musalmāns tell a fanciful story regarding the origin of circumcision by Abraham. He had two wives, and one exacted a promise from him that he would not approach the other under pain of death. He broke his promise, but his favourite wife, subduing her rage, expressed herself satisfied with his circumcision instead of the decapitation which had been stipulated.

[3] As being uncircumcised, she is not a Musalmān.

[4] Āsa.

cants. At this his mother was greatly distressed, and uttered the complaints versified in the first part of the following hymn :—

Thou art always rising early and bringing fresh [1] utensils ; thy life hath gone in plastering *cooking squares* ;

Thou payest no attention to thy weaving ; thou art engrossed in the pleasure of saying ' God, God '.

Who in our family hath ever uttered the name of Ram ? [2] . Since this worthless [3] son of ours began to wear a rosary, we have had no peace.

Hear, wife of my eldest brother-in-law ; hear, wife of my youngest brother-in-law ; [4] a wonderful thing hath occurred !

This boy hath ruined our weaving business ; [5] why is he not dead ?

Kabir replied as follows :—

The one God is the Lord of all happiness ; the guru hath granted me His name.

He preserved the honour of the saint [6] Prahlad, and destroyed Harnakhas with *Narsinh's* nails.

Prahlad abandoned the gods [7] and ancestors [8] of his house, and embraced the instruction of his guru Narad.

Saith Kabir, God is the destroyer of all sin ; He saveth His saints.[9]

In Banaras, among opulent Hindus, sun-dried vessels are replaced daily. It is believed that the

[1] *Kori*, also translated weaver.

[2] Kabīr's mother was a Musalmān, and it certainly was not usual among her people to utter the Hindu word for God.

[3] *Nipūte.* Literally—a man without sons, who has no one to toil for, and is therefore lazy. The word is a common one of abuse in the mouths of some Indian women.

[4] Kabīr's mother sought to get all her female relations on her side.

[5] Literally—our seven threads, probably with reference to the seven colours.

[6] *Sant* in the original.

[7] Called Sanda and Marka, descendants of Brahma.

[8] It is usual for the Hindus to worship ancestors. The clause is also translated—Prahlād rejected his tutor's and his father's advice.

[9] Bilāwal.

night renders them impure. Kabir was anxious to attract holy men, and followed the popular custom of daily renewing his cooking vessels and smearing his cooking places. The above hymn was written in Kabir's youth.

One day he was selling a piece of cloth in the market-place. He asked five double paise for it, but no one would give him more than three. A broker came up, and, seeing that Kabir was undervaluing his cloth, began to assist him in its sale. The broker asked intending purchasers twelve double paise. They, forming an idea of the value of the cloth from the price put upon it by the seller, offered seven double paise, and at this sum a bargain was struck. Upon this Kabir uttered the following couplet :—

If I speak the truth, you beat me down ; the world is pleased with falsehood.
A sheet worth five double paise is sold for seven.

Kabir kept his mind continually fixed on God, and worked sufficiently to maintain himself and his family. Another day, as he was standing in the market-place selling cloth, a faqir came and begged for wherewithal to cover his nakedness. Kabir offered him half the cloth he had for sale. The faqir replied that that was not enough. Upon this Kabir gave him the whole. Kabir then reflected that his mother and family were waiting for the price of the cloth, and how could he return to them with empty hands ? He therefore decided to conceal himself and not return home. His people became very anxious regarding him.

Meantime God put it into the heart of a corn-merchant to take ox-loads of food of every description to Kabir's house, so that his family might not suffer during his absence. Kabir's mother strenuously resented the offering, and said, ' My son will not take even a single grain of corn from any one. Who art thou who throwest such a quantity of provisions at

my door ?' The merchant, however, heeded her not, but leaving all the provisions took his departure. Two or three men then went in quest of Kabir, and brought him home. When he saw the unexpected supplies and heard the circumstances, he knew it was all due to the kindness of God, and became highly pleased and grateful to the Giver. He then sent for some saints and distributed what he had received among them.

When the Brahmans of Banaras heard that Kabir had given hundreds of *mans* of corn to holy men, but not even one grain to themselves, they went in a body to his house and thus addressed him: 'Weaver, thou hast become very proud of thy wealth, since, without any intimation to us, thou hast distributed provisions among low caste faqirs and Sudars. Leave this city at once, and take up thy residence elsewhere.' Kabir asked why he should leave the city. Had he broken into any one's house or committed highway robbery, that they sought to exile him ? The Brahmans replied that, since he had served and done honour to faqirs instead of themselves, it was an offence sufficient to merit expulsion from the city. 'Say no more,' they continued, 'it is better for thee either to make us an offering or depart hence.' Kabir replied that his house was all he had, and they could take possession of it. Thus saying, he escaped from them, and again concealed himself in a distant forest.[1]

Upon this some admirers of Kabir's sanctity, and sympathizers with his troubles, distributed among the Brahmans such an amount of money and provisions that the name and praises of Kabir resounded throughout the whole city, and the Brahmans were highly delighted and gratified on finding their stomachs filled to repletion. After that, a holy man sought out Kabir, and asked him why he spent his days in the forest. 'Why goest thou not to thine

[1] *Kabir Kasauti.*

own house? Whoever goeth to thy door obtaineth money and provisions, and shall there be nothing for thee?' Kabir then went home, and, finding ample supplies for his family, was grateful for God's mercy and love. When the report of such good fortune and God's bounty was noised abroad, people went in great numbers to the saint. Finding his meditations interrupted by his visitors, he resorted to a singular expedient to blacken his own character and keep them at a distance.[1] Pious people were scandalized, and said that, though Kabir had been a perfect saint, he must now be deemed a wicked man unfit for the association of the virtuous.

While Kabir's desire for seclusion was thus fully attained, and people ceased to throng round him in numbers, ignorant people uttered reproaches and satirized him. Kabir went in strange guise to the king's court, and sat down in the midst of the assembly. The king and his courtiers, seeing his strange behaviour, treated him despitefully and ordered him out of their presence. The king, however, on reflection was ashamed of his hasty order and want of consideration for such a saint, notwithstanding the strange guise he had adopted. The king then began to consider how his own sins could be pardoned. He put an axe on his shoulder and a bundle of firewood on his head, went barefooted with his queen into Kabir's presence, and fell down with great humility and modesty at the saint's feet. Kabir pardoned his discourtesy, and showed him the way of devotion to God.

The bigoted emperor Sikandar Khan Lodi, son of Bahlol Lodi, visited Banaras in Sambat 1545, the year he ascended the throne. Owing to the dampness of the locality he contracted a severe fever and ague. Kabir's enemies suggested that he should be called to cure the emperor. Their object was that

[1] In Nābhāji's *Bhagat Māl* it is stated that Kabīr pretended to be drunk and went round the city with his arm round a courtesan's neck.

Kabir should fail in his efforts, and then be punished by the despot. To the dismay of his enemies, however, Kabir is said to have cured the monarch by simply presenting himself.

The Musalmans, headed by Shaikh Taqi and the unbelieving Brahmans, subsequently appeared before the emperor to make a complaint against Kabir. They represented that he had so led people astray all over the city, that those who paid heed to what he said, remained neither Hindus nor Musalmans. The emperor summoned Kabir. When he appeared, the courtiers told him to salute and make obeisance to the monarch in the usual manner of subjects. Kabir replied that he was not accustomed to courts, and did not know how to make prostrations, nor had he any business with the emperor. He but knew the name of God, who was the Support of his soul, and only Sovereign of the world. The emperor became enraged on hearing this, and forgetting his former obligation to Kabir, loaded him with chains and had him thrown into the river. It is related that Kabir, who had previously cut off the chains of sin, easily swam to shore leaving his chains behind him. Unbelievers attributed this miracle to magic, so setting some wood on fire they threw the saint into it. By God's favour the fire was completely extinguished, and Kabir's body emerged from it more handsome than before. When these means of destruction failed, a furious elephant was let loose on him. The elephant, however, not only did not approach Kabir, but fled on seeing him. Kabir composed the following on the occasion :—

They tied my arms and threw me like a ball ;
They beat an infuriated elephant on the head that he might trample on me,
But he trumpeted and fled, saying,
'I am a sacrifice to that shape *which appeared*.'

Saith Kabir, 'O my God, Thou art my strength'—
The Qazi ordered, 'Drive on the elephant,
O driver, or I will make mince-meat of thee;
Drive on the elephant, wound him.'
The elephant did not move, but kept his attention on God,
And God took possession of his heart.
Men asked, 'What crime hath the saint committed,
That you have made a ball of him and thrown him to the elephant?'
The elephant lifting up the ball bowed to it;
Even then the infatuated Qazi could not comprehend.
Three times he tried to kill me but failed;
Even then his hard heart would not be satisfied.
Saith Kabir, O God, Thou art my protector;
Thy servant's soul is in the fourth state.[1]

When Kabir had successfully escaped from these ordeals, another charge was invented against him, namely, that he had been guilty of the blasphemy of calling himself God. This was deposed to by several witnesses, and the emperor was induced to give it credence. He again summoned Kabir. On Kabir's arrival the emperor caused a cow to be slaughtered and ordered Kabir to reanimate her. Kabir stroked her with his hand, and then made a noise with his lips as if driving her, upon which, it is related, the cow stood up, and all her wounds and injuries were healed.

When the emperor saw the power of Kabir's devotion, it is said he fell at his feet, and thus addressed him: 'I am thy servant and slave. Pardon my offences that I may be saved from God's wrath. Ask what thou desirest—money, lands, and other things—and I will present them to thee; and do thou in return bestow such kindness on my poor circumstances that I may be happy in this world and the next.' Kabir replied that he had no concern

[1] The *turīya pad* in which deliverance is obtained. Gaund.

with anything but the name of God. Gold and lands were all useless to him. Saying this he went home.

The saints of God were all overjoyed at his safety, but the Brahmans irritated at their failure began to contrive further means of annoyance. They dressed up several persons as holy men, and sent them to various dignitaries to invite them on behalf of Kabir to a banquet on a certain date. Guests came in crowds at the appointed time. Kabir on discovering the trick that had been played, and knowing that on account of his poverty he was unequal to the entertainment of such a multitude, again fled, this time with the approbation of the saint Rav Das, to a neighbouring forest for concealment.

But God did not wish that His saint should be made a laughing-stock. He sent in the guise of Kabir a holy man who performed the duties of host with such grace and dignity as was impossible for any ordinary mortal. As each party of visitors arrived, the holy man met them at the door, and performed for them all the rites of hospitality. He provided them with suitable apartments, washed their feet, and performed all necessary services. When all the guests had fared to their hearts' content, and the holy man obtained leisure from attendance on them, he sat down with each group and conversed with its members on sacred subjects. In this way the festival was prolonged for several days. After that he went to Kabir, and gave him a full account of the entertainment. Kabir then went home overjoyed with God's love and kindness to him and composed the following slok :—

Kabir, I did not do this, nor will I do it again, nor am I physically able to do it ;
How do I know what God may have done ? *Yet* it was all Kabir.

To this Kabir in his thankfulness to God added the following hymn :—

Endless salvation awaiteth him
Who hath such a master as God, O brother.
Say, now that my trust is in Thee, O God,
What obligation am I under to any one else?
Why should God who beareth the load of the three worlds not cherish me?
Saith Kabir, I have obtained one piece of knowledge by reflection—
If a mother will poison her child, who can restrain her?[1]

It is said that the entertainment took place on the spot where since has been built the Chaura Kabir, a temple dedicated to Kabir, in which his writings are said to be preserved.

There was a renowned Brahman disputant, called Pandit Sarva Jit, who at his mother's advice went to Banaras with several ox-loads of books. He had heard of Kabir's fame and proceeded to visit him. On arriving at the Lahar Talao, he met Niru's daughter drawing water, and requested her to show him Kabir's place of residence. She said that it was on a lofty place, with a road so narrow that not even an ant could pass, much less the oxen he had brought with him. By her answer he felt sure that she knew where Kabir lived. He took a lota of water from her, and requested her to place it in front of Kabir. She did so, upon which Kabir put a needle into it and told her to carry the vessel back to Sarva Jit. There is a proverb that truth is found at the bottom of a well. By the needle Kabir meant that truth was small, exquisitely polished, and underlay much unsubstantial matter.

The Brahmans of Banaras on hearing of Sarva Jit's arrival went to Ramanand, and informed him that a Pandit had come with whom nobody could cope. Ramanand was so little impressed with the Pandit's great learning, that he told them to go out

[1] That is, I cannot compel God to cherish me. Gauri.

into the street and bring in the first person they met; and he undertook that he would vanquish Sarva Jit in argument. The Brahmans went forth into the street. Kabir happened to be the first they met, and they took him to Ramanand. Ramanand declared Kabir invincible, and the Brahmans accordingly put him forward as their spiritual champion. Sarva Jit on seeing him inquired his caste, whereupon Kabir answered that he was a weaver. The haughty Pandit turned up his nose and asked what a weaver was. Kabir replied as follows :—

No one knoweth the secret of the Weaver ;
God hath woven the warp of the whole world.
If thou listen to the Veds and Purans,
Thou shalt hear, ' I have stretched the warp so long ;
I have made the earth and firmament My workshop ;
I have set the moon and sun in alternate motion ;
Working My legs I did one work '[1]—with such a Weaver my heart is pleased.
The weaver hath looked into his own heart and there recognized God.
Saith Kabir, ' I have broken up my workshop,
And the weaver hath blended his thread[2] with the thread of God.[3]

Sarva Jit admitted himself defeated, and begged Kabir to make him a disciple. Kabir modestly referred him to his guru Ramanand, who gave him the customary initiation.

Tata and Jiwa, two Brahman brothers who lived in retirement on the bank of the river Narbada, doubting the spiritual perfection of their guru, planted a shoot of the Indian fig-tree near their dwelling, and vowed that, if it germinated when

[1] God is represented as the speaker. He made the world as a weaver makes a piece of cloth, and He also made the alternations of day and night.

[2] The weaver has obtained deliverance, blended his light with the light of God.

[3] Āsa.

irrigated with the water in which a holy visitor had washed his feet, they would transfer their spiritual allegiance to such a visitor. Several reputed saints made pilgrimages to the locality, but it was only on Kabir's arrival that the desired result was attained. Upon this Tata and Jiwa had no difficulty in believing in Kabir's superhuman power.

A young woman of beautiful and bewitching form was sent by Kabir's enemies to test his virtue, but she displayed all her attractions and fascinations in vain. God's image was so firmly seated in Kabir's heart, that the charming damsel's wiles produced no effect on him. She therefore departed crestfallen and helpless. God was pleased on beholding the continence and devotion of Kabir, and appeared to him in a vision. He placed His hand on Kabir's head and invited him to go bodily to heaven. Kabir, knowing that he had obtained complete deliverance, prepared himself to accept God's invitation; but, to show his contempt for Hindu superstitions, and to emphasize the power of devotion to God, he performed a very unusual act before his departure to the celestial realms.

Kabir usually lived, until the last year of his life, at Banaras, the sacred city of Shiv, where alone, in the estimation of many Hindus, deliverance may be obtained. There is a town called Magahar beyond the Ganges, about eighty-five miles to the east of Ajudhia, and fifteen miles to the west of Gorakhpur, in which, according to Brahmanical belief, those who die have no hope of ultimate beatitude. Kabir's biographer says that they who believe in the religious exercises prescribed in the Shastars, migrate into the bodies of donkeys if they die in Magahar; while for those who are fortunate enough to perform the real worship of God, every country and every place is equal to thousands of cities like the Hindu Banaras. Nay, such is the power of devotion, that God's devotees who die in Magahar go to heaven.

Kabir, on arriving in Magahar, took possession of a saint's cell he found on the margin of the river Ami. The river was then dry, but water has flowed in it ever since the day Kabir hallowed it with his presence.

Kabir composed the following hymn at Magahar:—

I am as a fish out of water,
Because in a former life I performed no penance.
Now say, O God, what shall be my condition.
People tell me I had little sense to leave Banaras,
That I wasted all my life in that city of Shiv;[1]
And now when about to die, I have removed to Magahar.
For many years I did penance at Banaras,
But, now that death is at hand, I have come to dwell in Magahar—
I consider Magahar as good as Banaras—
How shall he of scant devotion be saved?
Saith Kabir, my guru *Ramanand*,[2] Ganesh, Shiv,[3] and all men know,
That Kabir when dying uttered God's holy name.[4]

And also the following:—

Thou art my great mountain; O Lord, I have sought Thy shelter.
Thou shakest not, nor do I fall; Thou hast sheltered me, O God;
Now and then and forever more *there is but* Thou.
By Thy favour I am ever happy.
Relying on Thee I have dwelt in Magahar; Thou hast quenched the fever of my body.
I first obtained a sight of Thee in Banaras, and afterwards I went to live at Magahar.

[1] Banāras, where the worship of Shiv specially prevails.
[2] Some understand Brihaspati, the teacher of the gods.
[3] Ganesh, it is said, endeavours to bring every one to die in Banāras who has ever visited that place of Hindu pilgrimage. Shiv is said to whisper his *tārak mantar* or farewell spell, 'Rām, Rām,' (God, God) into the dying man's ears. The idea is that Shiv is also a worshipper of Rām and recommends his friends to that god's protection.
[4] Gauri.

As Banaras so is Magahar; I deem them both the same.

I a poor man have obtained this wealth on account of which the proud *pandits* are bursting to death *with envy.*

He who is proud suffereth that torture; there is none to deliver him therefrom.

In this life he crieth bitterly under the torture, and *after death* he shall be burnt in a frightful hell.

What is hell and what heaven, the wretched places? The saints have rejected them both.[1]

Through the favour of the guru I pay no regard to any one;

I have claimed God's throne and met Him.

God and Kabir have become one; no one can distinguish between them.[2]

After Kabir's death a quarrel arose between the Hindus and Muhammadans for the disposal of his body. Vir Sinh Baghela, the King of Banaras, wished to cremate it, while Bijli Khan, the Nawab of Gorakhpur, desired to bury it. They fought over the matter until a voice come from heaven and separated the combatants. When the quarrel was adjusted, it was found that there was no corpse to dispose of. Fragrant flowers were found in its place. The Musalmans, however, made a grave, and the Hindus erected a shrine in friendly proximity, as if each party were in possession of Kabir's sacred remains.

Kabir lived to such a great age—one hundred and nineteen years, five months, and twenty-seven days—that there are several fabulous accounts of his duration of life. Indeed some of his followers believe that he is still in existence. The following mnemonic lines, however, which are amply authenticated, show that Kabir went the way of all mortals :—

Pandrahi sau pachhatar bikhe kiya Magahar ko gaun;
Magsar sudi ekadashi rali paun men paun.

Kabir went to Magahar in the Sambat year 1575 (A.D. 1518).

[1] Kabīr desired absorption in God, and not heaven where he should be again subject to transmigration. [2] Rāmkali.

On the eleventh day of the bright half of the month of Maghar his spirit blended with the spirit of the world.[1]

Nabhaji wrote on the circumstance :—

Trusting to his devotion Kabir relinquished his body in Magahar,
And now rejoiceth in the lap of the Immortal.

The Dadupanthis, or followers of the saint Dadu, also corroborate the fact of Kabir's death at the time above stated and in the town of Magahar.

It is said that Kabir after some days rose from the dead, and appeared to a disciple called Ratan in Mathura, and gave him divine instruction. Kabir then and there met Dharm Das, whom he had previously appointed his successor, and made him more completely acquainted with the principles of his religion. He laid down forty-two articles which he called the pillars of faith, and having fully explained them to his disciples finally departed to his eternal home.

Besides Kabir's compositions, preserved in the Granth Sahib, there is a long list of works attributed to him, the most famous of which is the *Kabir Bijak*. Many of his verses are repeated by wandering faqirs.

On the subject of caste Kabir wrote :—

The courageous man who effaceth caste and pride shall prove a saint.

On the subject of idolatry he said :—

If God be found by worshipping a stone, I will worship a mountain ;

[1] Professor H. H. Wilson has given different mnemonic verses, which allow Kabīr a fabulous age (*Religion of the Hindus*, Vol. I, pp. 71–2). In the *Bharat Khanda cha travachin Kosh*, the date of Kabīr's death is given as the Saka year 1370, A.D. 1448, that is, twenty-one years before Guru Nānak's birth. If the date given in the text be accepted, Guru Nānak was forty-nine years of age when Kabīr died.

Better than that stone is a hand-mill which grindeth corn for the world to eat.

Many similar verses in the mouths of the populace in upper India, and indeed all Kabir's compositions, show him to have been a daring and original thinker. It must be mentioned, however, that his writings are frequently of a mystical character, and much concentration of thought and knowledge of the spiritual and social condition of his age are necessary for their elucidation. The author has accepted the interpretation of Kabir's hymns from the gyanis of the Panjab, but possibly the saint's followers in other parts of India may differ on some details.

Kabir held the doctrine of *ahinsa* or the non-destruction of life, which extended even to that of flowers. The Sikh Gurus, on the contrary, allowed, and even encouraged, the use of animal flesh as food.

The visitor to Kabir's temple in Banaras is shown what purports to be his picture. Dharm Das [1] and Surat Gopal, another of his disciples, are represented kneeling at his feet in an attitude of supplication, while his son Kamal, who, the Kabirpanthis believe, was a child re-animated by him, is fanning him. The visitor may also see a picture of Kabir and Rav Das, a friend and fellow disciple and townsman of his. Rav Das is represented as a very attenuated old man, naked except for a red cloth round his middle, wearing a rosary in two folds round his neck, and beads on his wrists and arms. The saintly royal lady, Jhali, queen of Chitaur, richly dressed, is offering him food on a platter.

[1] It is this man who compiled Kabīr's writings, it is said, in Sambat 1521 (A.D. 1464) when Kabīr was sixty-six years of age.

KABIR'S HYMNS

SRI RA

Without God's assistance men are lost in worldly love.

I

The mother thinketh that her son is growing big,
But this she thinketh not, that day by day his life is decreasing.
She calleth him her own and fondleth him excessively, while the god of death looketh on and laugheth.
So much hast Thou, *O God*, illuded the world;
How can it ever know Thee since mammon hath bewitched it?[1]
Saith Kabir, abandon the pleasure of sin, *for* in such companionship thou must assuredly die.
O mortal, repeat the name of the Lord, put aside mention of others, so shalt thou pass over the terrible ocean *of this world*.
If it please God, man feeleth divine love,
The error of superstition departeth from within him,
Divine knowledge is spontaneously produced, intelligence awakened,
And by the favour of the guru the heart is touched by God's love.
In such companionship there is no death;
Obey the Master's order and thou shalt meet Him.

The following was addressed to a Jogi who offered wine to Kabir.

II

Hear a wonderful thing, O Pandit, I cannot now describe *Maya*,
Who hath bewitched demigods, men, celestial heralds, and musicians, and girdled the three worlds.

[1] It is explained that this passage does not cast blame on God, because it is men's acts which really lead them astray.

The sovereign God's lyre playeth without being struck ;[1]
And he on whom He looketh *with favour* loveth its sound.
I have made my brain a furnace, the breath of my left and right nostrils *two stills*, and *my heart* the golden vat,
Into which a very pure stream hath trickled ; I have distilled the sweetest essence ;[2]
And—what is without parallel—I have made *suspension* of my breath my wine-cup.
Say is there any Jogi in the three worlds who would be satisfied *and not long for more*.[3]
Such knowledge of the Supreme Being hath manifested itself ; saith Kabir, I am imbued with it.
All the rest of the world is led astray in error, but my mind is intoxicated with God's elixir.

GAURI

Devotion is the water which has quenched Kabir's burning thirst for God.

I

I have been on fire, and have now found the *name* of God as water to *extinguish it* :
The *name* of God is the water which hath cooled my burning body.
Men go to the forest to chasten their hearts,
But without God they cannot find such water *as will do so*.
The water of God's *name* hath saved His burning slave
From the fire which hath consumed demigods and men.
In the terrible ocean there is an ocean of happiness ;[4]
I continue to drink, but the water is not exhausted.
Saith Kabir, worship God.
God's *name* is the water which hath extinguished my thirst.

[1] God gladdens man's heart by divine knowledge without any perceptible interference with him. [2] God's name.
[3] The line is also translated—He is a unique Jogi in the three worlds who hath tasted such essence. Is there any king *equal to him* ?
[4] The terrible ocean is very bitter—within it is found the sweet water of God's name.

Yet Kabir's thirst for God increases.

II

O God, thirst for the water *of Thy name* departeth not from me ;
Nay for that water my ardour rageth the more.
Thou art the ocean, I am a fish therein ;
I dwell in the water, I perish without it.
Thou art the cage, I am Thy parrot ;
What can the cat Death do to me ?
Thou art a tree, I am the bird thereon ;
Unfortunate is he who seeth Thee not.
Thou art the True Guru, I am Thy novice.
Saith Kabir, meet me, O God, at the last moment.

A thief when hotly pressed sought refuge in Kabir's house. It would have been foreign to Kabir's character to refuse shelter to any one who sought it. Moreover he did not know the character of his guest, and accordingly gave him the usual permission to remain in his house. It happened that Kabir's daughter was then on a visit to him, and when he entertained the thief at the same time, the circumstance led to much unfavourable comment. Kabir addressed the following hymn to his detractors :—

III

Since I recognized *both the thief and my son-in-law* as one,
Why are people distressed at it ?
If I am dishonoured and have lost my honour,
Let no one follow in my footsteps.
If I am bad the badness is confined to myself ;
I have no partnership or connexion with any of you.
You know nothing about honour or dishonour ;
But you shall know when your gilding is laid bare.[1]
Saith Kabir, that is honour which is acceptable to God ;
Forsaking all else worship only Him.

[1] Also translated—
My honour or dishonour bringeth no shame on you.
You shall know who is in the right when all gilding is cast off.

A satire on the ritualistic practices of the Hindus.

IV

If union with God be obtained by going about naked,
All the deer [1] of the forest shall be saved.
What mattereth it whether man goeth naked or weareth a deerskin,
If he recognize not God in his heart?
If perfection be obtained by shaving the head,
Why should not sheep obtain salvation?
If, O brethren, the continent man is saved,
Why should not a eunuch obtain the supreme reward?
Saith Kabir, hear, O my brethren,
Who hath obtained salvation without God's name?

They who bathe in the evening and the morning,
Are like frogs in the water.
When men have no love for God's name,
They shall all go to the god of death.
They who love their persons and deck themselves out in various guises,
Feel not mercy even in their dreams.
Many leading *religious* men call them quadrupeds,
And say that only holy men shall obtain happiness in this ocean of trouble.
Saith Kabir, why perform so many ceremonies?
Forsaking all other essences quaff the great essence *of God's name.*

God 'prefers before all temples the upright heart and pure'.

VI

What availeth devotion, what penance, what fasting and worship
To him in whose heart there is worldly love?
O man, apply thy heart to God;
Thou shalt not obtain Him by artifice.

[1] *Mirg* also means beasts generally.

Put away covetousness and the example of others ;
Lay aside lust, wrath, and pride.
By the religious practices of *the superstitious* boasting is increased ;
They join together and worship a stone.
Saith Kabir, by devotion I have obtained *the Lord* ;
By becoming simple *in heart* I have met God.

The name Brahman should only be applied to a holy man.

VII

While dwelling in the womb man hath not family or caste ;
All men have sprung from the seed of Brahm.
Say, O Pandit, since when hast thou been a Brahman ;
Waste not thy life in calling thyself a Brahman.
If thou art a Brahman born of a Brahmani mother,
Why hast thou not come by some other way ? [1]
How art thou a Brahman ? How am I Sudar ?
How am I of blood and you of milk ? [2]
Saith Kabir, only he who meditateth on God
Is a Brahman in my estimation.

'All are men condemned alike to groan.'

VIII

Man can never sleep comfortably in *spiritual* ignorance ;
The rich and the poor both weep alike.
When *man's* tongue no *longer* uttereth God's name,
He shall continue to bewail birth and death.
When life departeth, say whose shall be man's wealth
Which appeareth like the shadow of a tree ? [3]
As the life of a musical instrument is contained in itself,
How can any one know the secrets of the dead ? [4]

[1] That is, why wert thou born of woman ? The Brāhmans are supposed to have issued from Brahma's mouth.

[2] Among the Hindus blood is considered impure, and milk pure.

[3] Man's wealth shall pass away with his life like the shadow of a tree.

[4] The life or sound of a musical instrument is contained within it. If the string breaks, no life or sound remains, and no one can tell

As the swan *presideth over* the lake, so doth Death over the body.

Drink God's elixir, O Kabir.

Without purification of the heart pilgrimages are of no avail.

IX

The Lord of light having created the races *of men* infused light into them,

Which sometimes produceth glass ornaments, and sometimes pearls.[1]

What abode is that which is called secure,

Where fear is dispelled, and one abideth without fear ?

The heart is not satisfied with pilgrimages to the banks of *sacred streams* ;

Man remaineth entangled with good and bad acts.

Demerits and merits are both the same ;[2]

In thine own heart is God, the philosopher's stone ; abandon *the hope of obtaining* merits from any one else.

O Kabir, chide not the name of Him who is without qualities ;

Enjoy thyself in intercourse with that Lord.

Kabir desires not heaven but absorption in God.

X

The men who have no *correct notion* of the Supreme Being,

Think of entering heaven by mere words.

whither it has gone. When human life fails, the soul departs, and no mortal knows its destination.

[1] Good and bad fruit spring from human acts, which again proceed from the light or understanding that God has given. The first verse of this hymn is also translated :—

There is a species of animal for every spark of light, and a spark of light for every species of animal.

[2] Good acts are compared to gold, bad acts to iron fetters; but both good and bad acts retard man's progress towards absorption in God. These two lines are also translated :—

They are entangled in *religious* ceremonies good and bad,

And their acts whether bad or good have the same result.

That is, they commit sins of various descriptions at places of pilgrimage, and their pilgrimages are therefore of no avail.

I know not where heaven is ;
Everybody saith he longeth to go there,
But there is no satisfaction in *such* conversation—
The heart is *only* satisfied when pride departeth.
As long as man desireth to go to heaven,
So long *shall he find* no dwelling at *God's* feet.
Saith Kabir, to whom shall I tell this,
That heaven is in the company of the saints ?

The body is perishable.

XI

Man is born and groweth up, and when he hath grown up he dieth ;
We see that the world passeth away *in this wise.*
Diest thou not of shame talking of thy house ?
At the last moment nothing is thine.
With great efforts the body is cherished,
But after death it is burned in the fire.
The limbs to which thou appliest ground aloe-wood, sandal, and fragrant soap,
Shall all be burned with wood.
Saith Kabir, hear me, O virtuous man,[1]
While the whole world looketh on thy body shall be consumed.

Since all must die, why mourn ? There is no death for the holy.

XII

When another dieth why mournest thou ?
Do so, if thou art to live thyself.
I shall not die like the rest of the world ;
I have now met Him who reanimateth.
The body is perfumed with sandal ;
In such pleasures the Primal Joy is forgotten.
There is one well and five water-carriers ;

[1] Spoken ironically.

Even when the well rope [1] is broken, the silly beings still draw water.[2]

Saith Kabir, *I have gained* one *piece of* wisdom by reflection—

There is no more a well or water-carriers for me.[3]

Kabir's transmigration.

XIII

I was in immobile and mobile creatures, in worms and in moths ;

I passed through many births of various kinds.

In this way I occupied many bodies,

But when, O God, I assumed *human* birth,

I was a Jogi, a Jati, a penitent, a Brahmachari,

Sometimes a king, an emperor, and sometimes a beggar.

The apostates shall die, but the saints shall all live,

And drink the elixir of God with their tongues.

Saith Kabir, O God, have mercy on us ;

We have grown weary ; make us now whole !

Deadly sins veiled under allegories.

XIV

Kabir hath beheld such wonderful things—

Water churned by mistake for cream ; [4]

A donkey grazing on a green crop,[5]

Which on rising every morning killeth itself laughing and braying ;

A mad buffalo which could not be guided,[6]

Gambolling as it grazed and falling into hell ;

[1] Here the well is the body ; the well-rope, life ; the five water-carriers the five evil passions. Others understand the well to mean the world, and translate this line as follows :—

When the well-rope (sensual desire) is broken, the water-carriers (the five organs of perception) grow weary of doing evil.

[2] Even when life is drawing to a close the evil passions are still active.

[3] Since Kabīr has obtained salvation during life.

[4] Stones are worshipped instead of God.

[5] Men in power extorting money from the poor.

[6] The perverse who listen not to the advice of their spiritual guides.

A sheep ever sucking its lamb's milk.[1]
Saith Kabir, *such* sport hath been shown.
By repeating God's *name* my understanding hath become enlightened :
Saith Kabir, I have obtained understanding from the guru.[2]

(Hymn No. XV is in Kabir's Life).[3]

The body is false, God alone is true.

XVI

The limbs *anointed with* ground aloe-wood, sandal, and fragrant soap,
Shall be burnt with wood.
What is there to be proud of in this body and in wealth?
Both shall remain on earth and not go *with the soul* to the other world.
They who sleep at night and work by day,
Who utter not God's name for a moment,
Who eat betel, and stretch out their hands *for more*,
Shall at the hour of death be firmly bound as thieves.
If under the guru's instruction thou joyfully sing the praises of God,
And utter the name of Him who filleth all creation, thou shalt be happy.
He in whose heart God mercifully establisheth His name,
Giveth the odour and perfume of God a place in *his heart*.
Saith Kabir, think, O blind man,
God is true, all worldly occupations are false.

The blissful peace of the holy.

XVII

Instead of death it is God who hath come for me ;
Sorrow hath been removed and I have found a refuge in happiness.

[1] Women who sell their daughters and live on the proceeds.
[2] The fifth Guru is said to have composed a portion of this hymn.
[3] Hymns missing from this collection will be found either in the Life of Kabīr or that of Guru Nānak.

Mine enemies have turned into friends ;
The minds of the infidels have altered and become well-disposed towards me.
I have now obtained all comfort,
And peace hath come over me since I have known God.
My body suffered millions of ills ;
They have now been converted into permanent happiness and composure.
When man knoweth himself,
He shall not suffer from illness or the three fevers.
My mind hath now returned to the Eternal ;
When in life I was dead,[1] it was then I knew God.
Saith Kabir, I have now entered happiness and rest ;
I have no fear myself, and I inspire no fear in others.[2]

It is said that Krishan Das Bairagi asked Kabir ·

XVIII

When the body dieth, to what abode shall the *pious man's* soul go ?
Kabir—It shall unite with Him who is beyond expression and indestructible :
He who knoweth God understandeth this,
As the dumb man when pleased with sugar *must keep his pleasure to himself.*
Such divine knowledge *only* God Himself expoundeth.
O man, arrest thy breath at the junction of the nostrils ;
Appoint such a guru as shall render another unnecessary ;
Utter such a word as shall render another unnecessary ;
Embrace such divine knowledge as shall render any more unnecessary ;
So die that thou shalt not have to die again ;
Turn back the Ganges and unite it with the Jamna ; [3]

[1] When I abandoned pride.
[2] I do not threaten men with spiritual tortures for themselves or their deceased relatives if I do not receive money for my ministrations.
[3] Unite the breath of the left and right nostrils, as the Jogis do.

And think that thou art bathing without water at their confluence.[1]

Be it thy duty to look on all men as equal;

Reflect upon the Real Thing; what *else is there* to reflect on?

'Water, fire, wind, earth, and the firmament—

If thou abide like these,[2] thou shalt be near God.

Saith Kabir, meditate on the Stainless One,

And go to that place whence there shall be no returning.

How Kabir found God.

XIX

God cannot be obtained *even* by *offering* one's weight in gold;

But I have purchased Him with my soul;

And now that I recognize Him as mine own,

My mind is naturally at ease.

Brahma, however much he talketh, hath not found God's limit;

But by my devotion God came to me as I sat at home.

Saith Kabir, I have cast off my wavering disposition;

It is only in God's service I am now a sleeping partner.

The holy cannot die for they are saved by divine knowledge.

XX

That death which terrifieth the whole world,

The guru's instruction hath set before me in a clear light.

Now how shall I die although my mind accepteth death?

It is they who know not God who are always dying.

Everybody talketh of dying,

It is they who die in divine knowledge who are immortal.

Saith Kabir, my mind is happy;

Doubt is dispelled, and supreme happiness abideth.

[1] Make the breath of both nostrils meet in the brain, and thus obtain exaltation of spirit without bathing at the confluence of the Ganges and Jamna, as so many pilgrims do.

[2] If thou adopt their properties, and remain sinless like them.

Kabir's body is burning all over to meet God: it is useless to try to heal any particular part of it.

XXI

There is no *special* part *of my body* to which I may apply *healing* ointment;
I have examined my body but found no *such* place.
He who feeleth pain knoweth it;
The service of God is a barbed arrow;
I consider all women [1] to be alike;
Who knoweth which shall be dear to the Bridegroom?
Saith Kabir, the Husband, forsaking all other *women*,
Shall meet her on whose forehead *such* lot *hath been written*.

It was believed that widows who immolated themselves on their husbands' pyres obtained salvation. Kabir traverses this belief.

XXIII

How can a woman without chastity be a sati?
O pandit, see and consider this in thy heart.
If a woman have no love *for her husband*, how can *her husband's* love for her increase?
As long as there is *worldly* love, there can be no *divine* love.
He who in his heart believeth mammon to be real,
Shall not even in his dreams meet God.
Kabir calleth her a happy wife,
Who giveth up to God her body, soul, wealth, and household.

Devotion to God is the only dispeller of the deadly sins.

XXIV

The whole world is subject to the deadly sins;
The deadly sins have ruined *whole* families.
O man, where hast thou wrecked and sunk thy boat?
Having broken with God thou hast joined the deadly sins,
In whose fire demigods and men burn.

[1] That is, all human beings.

Water [1] is near, but, O beasts, why not drink it, *removing* its scum ? [2]

By contemplation water *fit for drinking* issueth forth ;

That water alone is pure, saith Kabir.

Only the holy who meditate on God are useful in the world.

XXV

Why was not the mother of the family barren,[3]

Whose sons meditate not on divine knowledge ?

Why did not the wicked man who hath performed no service for God,

Die at his birth ?

Many [4] miscarriages have occurred—how is it he escaped ?

He liveth, *it is true*, but like a raven in the world.

Saith Kabir, they who are beautiful and shapely,

Shall become hunchbacked and deformed without God's name.

Kabir's devotion to the saints.

XXVI

I am ever a sacrifice

To those who repeat the Master's name.

He is pure who singeth the praises of the pure God ;

He is my brother and dear to my heart.

I am the dust of the lotus feet

Of those whose hearts are filled with God.

My caste, *it is true, is that of* weaver, but my heart is resigned ;

Kabir very tranquilly repeateth God's praises.

Kabir thus addressed a Jogi who advised him to drink wine to concentrate his thoughts.

XXVII

I collected much molasses,[5] and turned my body into firewood ;

[1] Divine knowledge

[2] Man's evil passions which conceal the water of divine knowledge.

[3] *Vidhwa*. Literally—a widow not allowed to marry.

[4] In the original *much much*, as in Spanish.

[5] From which spirits are made.

Then wine trickled from the roof of the house of pleasure [1] *by means of the* furnace *of my heart.*

Describe him as intoxicated *with the wine* of divine love

Who drinketh the sweetness of God's *name* and meditateth on divine knowledge.

Since the server [2] *of the wine* of divine love met me *and gave it to me,*

My days and nights are passing away intoxicated with pleasure.

I carefully applied my thoughts to the Pure One,

And then, saith Kabir, I obtained Him the Fearless.

A Jogi maintained that deliverance could not be obtained without chastening the heart, and that the heart could not be chastened without the practice of Jog. Kabir criticizes the statement.

XXVIII

Without devotion the qualities of the heart cling to the heart.

Who secureth perfection by *merely* chastening his heart ? [3]

What holy man *hath succeeded* in chastening his heart ?

Say who hath saved any one by *merely* chastening his heart.

Every one thinketh in his heart that he is *going to chasten it,*

But the heart is not chastened without devotion.

Saith Kabir, let him who knoweth this secret,

Worship in his heart God, the Lord of the three worlds.

The following was addressed to an atheist who maintained the theory of spontaneous creation.

XXIX

Who was the painter who painted

The stars which appear in the sky ? [4]

[1] The brain.

[2] *Kalālin*, corresponding to the European barmaid. Even in India in former times the distiller or publican used to employ a woman to serve wine to his customers. She probably here means Rāmānand, Kabīr's guru.

[3] Man must also repeat God's name.

[4] According to the Muhammadan conception of the heavens, the sky is a fixed vault on which the stars are painted.

Say, O pandit, to what is the sky attached ? [1]
Fortunate is the wise man who knoweth this.
The sun and moon diffuse light ;
God hath extended Himself in everything.
Saith Kabir, he shall know this,
In whose heart is God, and in whose mouth is God.

The evil wrought by the Simritis.

XXX

O my brethren, the Simriti is the daughter of the Veds ;
She hath brought a chain and a rope *for men*,
And hath of herself imprisoned them in her capital ; [2]
She hath flung the noose of worldly love, and discharged the arrow of death ;
The former cannot be cut, and the latter cannot be broken.
The *Simriti* hath become a serpent, eaten the world,
And plundered the whole universe before my very eyes ;
But, saith Kabir, I have escaped *from her* by uttering God's *name*.

The following was addressed to an admirer who had offered Kabir a horse.

XXXI

Let me put a bit and bridle *on my steed*,[3]
And abandoning all else course him in heaven.[4]
Let me make self-reflection my saddle,
And put my foot in the stirrup of divine love.
Come, *my steed*, let me drive thee to heaven ;
If thou jib, I will strike thee with the whip of love.
Saith Kabir, they are good riders
Who keep themselves aloof from the Veds and the books *of the Musalmans*.

The following was written after witnessing a cremation :—

XXXII

I have seen fire applied to the mouth
Which used to eat the five nectars.[5]

[1] What supports the sky ?
[2] Probably Banāras is meant.
[3] The mind.
[4] The brain.
[5] These are *bhakshya*, what is masticated by the front teeth, the

Remove, O God, my one misery
Of abiding in the womb and being burned in its fire.
The body is destroyed in various ways and manners—
Some burn it, and some bury it in the earth.
Saith Kabir, 'O God, show me Thy feet;
Afterwards why not send death? [1]

Kabir was engaged in his devotions when a hostile neighbour took the opportunity to set his house on fire. Kabir heard of it and returning home succeeded in extinguishing the flames. It is said that the hostile neighbour's house took fire from Kabir's, and was totally consumed. The following hymn was composed on the occasion:—

XXXIII

God Himself is the fire, Himself the wind;
When the Master setteth fire *to the house*, who can save it?
What if even my body burn when I am repeating God's name?
My mind was absorbed in God's name;
Whose house burneth, and who suffereth loss? [2]
God playeth like an acrobat.
Saith Kabir, utter two letters; [3]
As sure as I have a Master, He will save me.

Kabir thinks he has not performed sufficient worship.

XXXIV

I have not applied my mind to the science of union with God or contemplation of Him;
Without hate of the world I shall not escape from mammon.
How shall I live

back teeth, and the tongue; *bhojya*, what is masticated by the back teeth and the tongue; *lehiya*, what is licked or sipped by the tongue alone; *peya*, what is drunk; and *choshya*, what is sucked.

Another list of the five nectars is—milk, cream, clarified butter, honey, and sugar.

[1] Kabīr does not fear death provided he has first seen God's feet.

[2] All property belongs to God.

[3] *R* and *m* which with a long vowel make Rām, God.

If I have not God's name as my support ?
Saith Kabir, I have searched in heaven,
And have seen none equal to God.

The following was written on seeing ravens sitting on a skull and feeding on its contents :—

XXXV

Ravens were cleaning their beaks on the skull
On which a turban had been *once* very daintily bound.
Why be proud of this body and of wealth ?
Why dost thou not hold fast God's name ?
Saith Kabir, hear, O my man,
This shall be thy condition at last.

Kabir discourses on the soul.

GAURI ASHTAPADI

XXXVI

Man prayeth for temporal happiness, but sorrow cometh to meet him.

It pleaseth me not to pray for such happiness *as shall bring sorrow.*

Man still intent on sin hopeth for happiness ;

How shall he find his dwelling in the Supreme God ?

The happiness which even Shiv and Brahma would dread, I supposed to be real.

Even the four sons of Brahma, the muni Narad, and Sheshnag,

Never found their minds *stable* in their bodies *until they had given up hopes of such happiness.*

O my brethren, let any one inquire into *the condition of the soul.*

When it escapeth from the body, where shall it be ?
By the favour of the guru, Jaidev and Namdev
Discovered that, by love and devotion to God,
The soul shall not suffer transmigration.
He whose doubts are dispelled knoweth the truth—
This soul hath no shape or outline ;

By God's order it was created, and by understanding God's order it shall be absorbed in Him.

If any one understand the secret of the soul,

It shall *only* obtain divine happiness when absorbed in God.

There is but one Soul [1] which occupieth all bodies.

Kabir worshippeth that Soul.

God's name is the tree of life.

XXXVII

Of those who watch day and night *to utter* the one Name.

How many have become perfect by the love they bore to God!

Sidhs and their disciples and all the munis have grown weary *in their efforts without God's name*:

The one Name like the tree of life saveth *mankind.*

They who are regenerated by God shall never alter.

Saith Kabir, I have recognized God's name.

The worship of the one God inculcated.

GAURI AND SORATH

XXXVIII

O shameless man, art thou not ashamed?

Why dost thou forsake God, and go to some one else? [2]

It becometh not him whose God is the Most High

To go to a strange temple.

That Lord pervadeth *all space,*

Is ever present, and never distant.

Say, O man, what is there not in His palace

At whose feet Lakshmi taketh refuge?

Every one speaketh of Him:

He is ommipotent, our own Lord, and our Benefactor.

Saith Kabir, that man is perfect in the world,

In whose heart no other than God abideth.

[1] The Soul of the world.

[2] To worship idols.

They who are absorbed in God feel not joy or sorrow for relations.

XXXIX

Who hath a son ? who hath a father ?
Who dieth ? who inflicteth pain ?
God is the Illusionist who hath illuded the world.[1]
If separated from God how shall I survive, my mother ?
Who hath a husband ? who hath a wife ? reflect on this truth in thy heart.
Saith Kabir, I have become reconciled with the Illusionist ;
The illusion vanished when I recognized Him.

Kabir's satisfaction on feeling that he had obtained salvation.

XL

The sovereign God hath now become my helper ;
Having cut away birth and death I have obtained the supreme state.
God hath united me with the guild of the saints,
And freed me from the five deadly sins.
The ambrosial name I repeat with my tongue ;
God hath made me His unbought[2] slave.
The True Guru did me a favour
By rescuing me from the ocean of the world.
I have begun to love God's lotus feet,
And God ever and ever dwelleth in my heart.
The sparks of the fire of worldly love have become extinguished,
And my mind hath obtained resignation by the support of the Name.
In sea and land the Lord God is fully contained ;
Wherever I look, there is the Searcher of hearts.
It is He Himself who implanteth His service *in my heart* ;
God is obtained, my brethren, according to primal destiny.

[1] Kabīr believed with the Vedantists that everything was illusion. As all things emanated from God, it is He who continues the illusion, hence Kabīr familiarly compares Him to an illusionist or actor.

[2] As such I shall serve Him all the better.

The man to whom He showeth favour succeedeth in his affairs.

Kabir's Lord is the Chreisher of the poor.

The following was a remonstrance to a Brahman who had found impurity and caste defilement in almost everything.

XLI

There is impurity in water, there is impurity in land, there is impurity in whatever is born.

There is impurity in birth, and again in death ;

God's subjects are ruined by this impurity.[1]

O pandit, tell me who is pure ;

Explain to me such knowledge *as thou hast on the subject*, my friend.

There is impurity in the eyes, there is impurity in the tongue, there is impurity in the ears ;

Standing or sitting there is impurity, impurity entereth the kitchen.

Every one knoweth how to be caught *in impurity*, but few how to escape from it.

Saith Kabir, no impurity attacheth to those who meditate on God in their hearts.

God is greater than any creature, and His saint than any place of pilgrimage.

XLII

Decide one controversy, O Ramanand,

If thou *desire* any service from thy slave.

Is this soul or He to whom it is attached the greater ?

Is God or he who knoweth God the greater ?

Is Brahma or He who created him the greater ?

Are the Veds or the source whence they came the greater ?

Is the pilgrimage or God's saint the greater ?

Saith Kabir, I have been unhappy *on this subject.*

[1] When there is impurity in everything according to the Brāhmans, they must be very well remunerated to purify men.

The effects of the influx of divine knowledge. Kabir likens his mind to a hut.

XLIII

Lo! my brethren, a storm of divine knowledge hath come;

The screens of doubt have all been blown away, and even the ropes of mammon have not been left;

The two props of indecision[1] have been thrown down, and the beam[2] of worldly love hath been broken;

The thatched roof of avarice hath fallen to the ground, and the vessel of evil inclinations hath burst.

Saith Kabir, thy slave, O Lord, hath become saturated by the rain[3] which fell after the storm.

And when *next* he saw the sun appear,[4] his mind was illumined.

The following was addressed to a Brahman. Kabir did not desire his followers to associate with infidels.

XLIV

What shall one say to such people

As neither hear God's praises nor sing His attributes,

But who knock down the heavens by their boasting?

They whom God hath excluded from His service should always be feared.

They who give not a handful of water *to the thirsty*

Slander him[5] who brought down the Ganges.

Sitting or standing crooked are their ways;

They have ruined themselves and ruined others:

They know nothing save evil converse;

They obey not even Brahma's bidding;

They have gone astray themselves and are leading others astray.

[1] Whether man inclines to God or the world.
[2] On which the rafters rested.
[3] Internal peace or happiness.
[4] When he saw God after the attainment of divine knowledge.
[5] Bhagīrath.

They set fire to their houses and sleep in them ; [1]
They laugh at others, though they have only one eye themselves ;
Kabir is ashamed on beholding them.

A lecture against the shradhs and idolatry of the Hindus.

XLV

Nobody obeyeth his parents when alive, yet he giveth them feasts when dead ;
Say how shall the poor parents obtain what the ravens and the dogs have eaten.
Let some one explain to me what kushal [2] means ;
The world dieth talking of kushal ; however shall kushal be obtained ?
Men make goddesses and gods of clay, and offer them living sacrifices—
As your lifeless gods, so your deceased, who ask not for what they want themselves.
You kill living things, and you worship lifeless things ; at the last moment great *shall be your suffering.*
You know not the worth of God's name, and you shall be drowned *in the sea* of terror.
You waver and know not the supreme God, *wherefore* you worship gods and goddesses.
Saith Kabir, you have not thought of the Unknowable, and have become entangled in the deadly sins.

The holy obtain their great reward.

XLVI

If while living thou be dead, while dead return to life *by means of divine knowledge*, and thus become absorbed in God ;
If thou abide pure amid impurity, thou shalt not again fall into the terrible ocean *of the world.*

[1] They commit sin, and feel no compunction or repentance.
[2] A feeling of satisfaction after repletion.

My God, such milk should be churned—[1]

Keep thy mind steadfast under the guru's instruction; in this way shalt thou quaff nectar.[2]

The guru's arrow hath pierced this adamantine age, and let in the light of God's word.

The doubt *which I felt, through* the power of ignorance *whether this world was a snake or a rope,* is at an end; I have a permanent abode in God's house.

The guru without putting an arrow on his bow hath pierced this world, my brethren.

In all directions the kite[3] fluttereth in the wind, but its string is fixed in the love of God.

My perturbed mind is absorbed in God; duality and evil inclinations depart.

Saith Kabir, I have seen the Fearless One by fixing my attention on His name.

Rather than practise Jog search for God through the guru.

XLVII

When I turned my thoughts towards God, I restrained my mind and my senses[4], and my attention became lovingly fixed on Him.

O Bairagi, search for Him who neither cometh nor goeth, who neither dieth nor is born.

My soul turning away from sin is absorbed in the *universal Soul*;

By the favour of the guru I have *now* obtained a different understanding; otherwise I should become estranged from God.

What was near[5] hath become distant, what was distant[6] hath become near for him who accepteth God as He is.

[1] Such good actions should be performed as shall ensure man against being born again.

[2] That is, obtain the great boon of unswerving faith.

[3] The mind.

[4] *Chakr khat* is here understood to be the mind and the five senses, not the six mystical divisions of the body.

[5] The deadly sins are meant. [6] God.

As sharbat made from sugar—only he who drinketh it knoweth *its flavour*.

O Thou devoid of qualities, is there any discriminating person to whom I may speak of Thee?

Saith Kabir, only he who applieth the spiritual fuse seeth the blast.

Heaven described by negatives.

XLVIII

There (*with God*) is no rainy season, no ocean, no sunshine, no shade; there is no creation and no destruction;

No life, no death; nor are sorrow and joy felt; nor is there either retirement or contemplation—

A description of celestial rest would be impossible and peculiar to itself—

There nothing is weighed in the balance, and nothing is exhausted; there is nothing light, nothing heavy.

There are no nether or upper regions, neither night nor day;

There is no water, wind, or fire; the True Guru is there contained.

Inaccessible and inapprehensible, He dwelleth uninterruptedly in everything;

He is found by the favour of the guru.

Saith Kabir, I am a sacrifice to my guru; may I remain attached to his society!

Human life under the allegory of an ox and his burden.

XLIX

With merits and demerits an ox is purchased;[1] life appeareth as the capital;[2]

In this way a herd is purchased;[3] covetousness which filleth man's heart is as a sack *on the ox's back*.

So *potent* a master is my God

[1] The soul enters a human body.
[2] To earn further merits or demerits.
[3] The mass of mankind are born.

Who made the whole world dealers.[1]

Lust and wrath are both tax-gatherers ;[2] the whims of the mind are highway robbers.

The herd, which spring from the five elements, pay the tax,[3] and are saved.

Saith Kabir, hear, O saints, this is now the state of things—

One ox[4] hath grown weary of travelling the steep road, and dropping his sack, proceedeth on his journey.[5]

The world under the allegory of a well, human life under that of a well-rope.

L

A woman hath four days in her father's house ; she must *then* go to her father-in-law's —

The blind, the stupid, and the silly know not this—

The bride with her *sarhi* round her is ready to go ;

The guests arrive ; her husband hath come to take her home.[6]

[1] Who gave every one life as his capital.

[2] They subject the soul to punishment.

[3] Are punished by the god of death.

[4] Kabīr himself, who obtained salvation while alive.

[5] The following is an alternative translation of this very difficult hymn. A friend of Kabīr suggested to him to speculate in bullocks. They could at the time be purchased cheap, and Kabīr could afterwards sell them at a profit, and thus provide himself with funds for the entertainment of holy men. Kabīr replied :—

Men have purchased the bullocks of *their bodies* with bad and good acts, the breath *of life* is their capital.

Desires are packed in the sack of the heart, and thus are the *good and evil produced by which* oxen are purchased.

Our God is such a head of the firm that He hath made the whole world His traders.

Both lust and wrath become tax-gatherers, and mental vagaries highway robbers.

The man who associateth with the elect who know God, payeth the tax and his ox crosseth over.

Saith Kabīr, hear O ye saints, it hath now come to this with me,

That in scaling the pass *of divine knowledge* one ox *at least* hath cast away his sack *of desires* and proceeded on *his journey*.

[6] In the East, as still among the peasant classes in Ireland, women are allowed to remain sometime after marriage with their parents.

Who is that we see letting down the rope into the well?
When the rope breaketh by the weight of the water-pot, the water-drawer departeth.
If the Lord be compassionate and show mercy, *woman* shall settle her affairs;
She is known as a happy wife who pondereth on the guru's instructions.
All men bound by their acts transmigrate; attentively consider this.
Why blame woman? what can the poor creature do?
Without hope she departeth; she hath not the firmness *of faith* in her heart.
Cling to the feet of God, and flee to His asylum, O Kabir.

It is the truly pious and not the Jogis or Hindu sectaries who shall be saved.

LI

The Jogi says that jog and nothing else is good and sweet;
They who shave their bodies, and the Ekshabdis, say that they *alone* have obtained perfection.
Without God thou art lost in error, O blind one;
They to whom I go to release myself, are themselves bound by many toils.
You call yourselves pandits, virtuous, brave, generous, and assert that you alone are great;
It is only when *this pride of yours* is forgotten that you shall be absorbed in Him from whom you sprang.
Only he understandeth whom Thou, O God, causest to understand; how can man obtain permanence without understanding?
When the true guru is found, darkness is dispelled; in this way the gem [1] is obtained.
Lay aside the sins of thy left hand and thy right; [2] take firm hold of God's feet.

Then comes the *mukalāwa* or 'hauling home'. The meaning here is that Death takes away his victim.

[1] God's name. [2] Thy besetting sins.

Saith Kabir, if a dumb man eat molasses, what can he say if questioned ? [1]

The following was composed by Kabir on the death of a Jogi :—

LII

Where there was something there is nothing; *thy body of* five elements is no more.

What availeth thee now the suspension of thy breath in the left and right nostrils and their junction ?

The string [2] is broken, thy brain destroyed; whither hath thy speech gone ?

I feel this anxiety night and day; who will explain and ease my mind ?

Thy body is no longer in the world; thy creative *mind* is no more.

The Joiner dwelleth ever separate *from the world*; say who else hath this *power* ?

If *I try* to join the *elements of the body*, I cannot join them; if *I try* to separate them, they will not be separated until they perish.

Who hath a master ? who hath a servant ? who waiteth on any one else ? [3]

Saith Kabir, my attention is directed to that place where *God* dwelleth night and day;

His secret He Himself fully knoweth; He is ever imperishable.

Kabir was advised to become a Jogi; the following was his reply :—

LIII

Meditation and remembrance of *God* are my two earrings, independence of the world my patched coat;

Dwelling in a silent cave my devotional posture, the abandonment of worldly desires my sect.

[1] He cannot describe his sensations. In the same way a man who has obtained God will be silent with pleasure.

[2] Thy life has departed.

[3] The meaning apparently is, that there are no earthly masters or servants, and that man should only acknowledge God as his Master.

My king,[1] I am a Jogi without temporal love; I repine not at death and separation.

In the regions of the universe *I find* my horn; the whole world, which I hold as ashes, is my wallet;

Riddance of the three qualities and release from the world are my contemplative attitude.

I have made my heart and breath the two gourds *of my lyre*, and unbroken attention on God its frame.

The strings are strong and break not; the lyre playeth spontaneously;

On hearing it the perfect are enraptured, and I no longer feel the swaying of worldly love.

Saith Kabir, the soul which hath played in this way shall not be born again.

The body under the allegory of a full piece of cloth

LIV

Reason went to the soul to order *a body* to be woven—

Let a full piece of nine yards, ten yards, and twenty-one yards be woven.[2]

Let there be sixty threads, nine joinings, and seventy-two cross threads[3] added;

The weaver[4] then cometh, leaving his last abode

Is not *the body* measured by yards, weighed by weight, and starched by two and a half sers of flour?[5]

[1] Applied respectfully to the Jogi.

[2] A full piece of cloth generally measures forty yards. The nine yards mean the nine apertures of the body; the ten yards, the ten organs of action and perception; and the twenty-one yards, the five subtle elements, the five gross elements, the ten breaths of the body, and the mind. The twenty-one yards may also be the twenty-one vertebrae of some Indian anatomists. The whole forty make up the body which, in weaver's parlance, is compared to a full piece of cloth.

[3] The sixty threads are supposed to be sixty blood-vessels, though Indian anatomists count one hundred and seventy-five blood-vessels altogether. The nine sections are the four pieces of the legs, the four of the arms, and the head; and the seventy-two cross threads are seventy-two chambers of the body according to the Jogis.

[4] The soul leaves its last abode, and takes possession of a new body.

[5] One *ser* of the present standard; as much as a man can eat daily is said to be applied as starch to the tissues of his body.

If the body obtain not starch quickly, it will quarrel and destroy its abode.[1]

O man, how many days are there for thee to sit *idly*? When shalt thou, who art adverse to the Lord, again have the present opportunity?

The vessels[2] and the wetted bobbins shall fall to pieces, and the weaver depart in anger;

Thread cometh not out of an empty bobbin,[3] and *the cloth* will not remain wound around the beam.

O wretched man, abide in the world, but renounce display—Kabir *giveth thee this* advice.[4]

[1] And then the soul and body shall separate.

[2] *Kunda* is an earthen pan which holds water to wet the thread. The thread, when wetted, is put into the bobbins. Here, *kunda* is understood to mean worldly possessions.

[3] No breath issueth from the throat after death.

[4] The following is an alternative translation of this most difficult hymn. Some pandits spoke contemptuously of Kabīr's social position and said it was gross impudence on the part of a weaver to dare mention God's name. Kabīr replied, that every one must be a weaver in a mystical sense in order to gain salvation. The pandits inquired how all men could become weavers. Kabīr explained:—

The weaver's wife (reason) went to her spouse (the mind) to have a piece woven,

But the weaver was always leaving his home.

Kabīr was then asked how he could compare the body to a piece of cloth. He replied:—

It consisteth of nine yards, ten yards, and twenty-one yards.

Sixty threads of the warp, nine joinings, sixty-two cross threads.

Is not the body measured by yards, weighed by weight, and starched by two and a half sers of flour?

If the body obtain not starch quickly, its spouse (the mind) will quarrel.

When shall such an opportunity come again? The days of life soon end and the soul departeth.

Thou must leave thy pans and thy wet bobbins, and the soul will depart in anger.

Thread issueth not from the empty bobbin, and the cloth will not remain wound round the beam.

Saith the mind to reason, O wretched one, leave off this wrangling, abide with me here; Kabīr hath given this explanation.

The light of God has an affinity for the light of man.

LV

Can one light which is absorbed in another be separated from it ?

May that man burst and die in whose heart the name of God springeth not up !

Dark and beautiful God, my soul is attached to Thee.

When a holy man is found, supernatural perfection is obtained ; this is both union with God and worldly enjoyment.

When two, *the guru and the disciple*, meet by means of God's name, the *disciple's* business is accomplished.[1]

People think this is a song ; it is a meditation on God,

Like the instruction given to men at Banaras when they are on the point of death.

He who attentively heareth or singeth God's name,

Saith Kabir, shall certainly obtain the supreme state at last.

Salvation can only be obtained by true devotion.

LVI

However great man's exertions *without God's name*, he shall be drowned in the terrible ocean and not cross over.

Thou hast practised thy religious duties and great austerities, yet pride consumeth thy soul.

Why hast thou forgotten the Lord who is the Giver of life and food ?

Human birth is a priceless diamond or ruby ; thou hast lost it for a kauri.

Not having thought of God in thy heart, thou sufferest from the thirst of covetousness and the hunger of error ;

The intoxication of pride deceiveth those who keep not the word of the guru in their hearts.

Sinful are they who are led away by pleasure, who are

[1] Also translated—(*a*) When both meet, this work is accomplished, namely, an alliance with Him whose name is God. (*b*) Both blessings result from meeting God or obtaining His name.

tempted by sensual delights, and who enjoy the savour of wine.

They who by destiny keep the company of the saints, float over like iron attached to timber.

Through error I have wandered among human and lower births; I am now weary and overspent with travail.

Saith Kabir, on meeting the guru *I have felt* great joy, and my love and devotion have saved me.

The deceits of the world.

LVII

Like the semblance of a female elephant, O foolish man, the Lord of the world made this play.[1]

The elephant *impelled by* the sweets of love is captured, O foolish man, and his head hath to endure the goad.

Flee from evil passions, attach thyself to God; heed this *advice*, O foolish man.

Why dost thou not, O foolish man, fearlessly worship God, and take possession of His ship? [2]

The monkey stretcheth out his hand, O foolish man, and taketh a handful of corn; [3]

He is anxious to escape, O foolish man, but he shall be made to dance at the door of every house.

As the parrot is caught by a trap,[4] O foolish man, so is man by worldly occupations.[5]

As the *fleeting* dye of the safflower, O foolish man, so hath this world been shown.

[1] The play of the world. A likeness of a female elephant is made out of cardboard to catch wild elephants. They are allured by the likeness to the verge of a pit into which they fall and are secured.

[2] To float thee over the terrible ocean of the world.

[3] Monkeys are caught by putting dry grain into a vessel and partially burying it in the earth. The monkey puts in his hand, and fills it with grain. He is then caught, not having wit enough to open his fingers and let go his grasp. So, too, if man would abandon his vices, he would be saved.

[4] The *nalni* is a contrivance made of bamboo put over water. When the parrot perches on it, it revolves, and the bird's body is below it and immediately over the water. The parrot clings to the nalni so as to avoid falling into the water, and is thus caught.

[5] Literally—this is Māya's doing.

There are many places for ablutions, O foolish man, and many gods to worship.

Saith Kabir, thou shalt not be saved by *means of these*, O foolish man; thou shalt be saved by the worship of God.

A raja offered temporal wealth to Kabir. The following was his reply—

LVIII

Lay up for yourselves the wealth of God's name, which fire will not burn, which hot winds will not dry up,

And which thieves will not approach; that wealth shall never depart.

My wealth is God, the Supporter of the earth; He is the real wealth.

The pleasure obtained from the service of God is not to be found in regal state:

Shiv and the four sons of Brahma in their search for this wealth abandoned the world.

He in whose heart is God and on whose tongue is God, falleth not into Death's noose.

The guru's private wealth of divine knowledge and devotion is like water to the thirsty, like a prop to the fickle mind;

The minds of those on whom He bestoweth it, conceive good resolutions, and their doubts, entanglements, and fears depart.

Saith Kabir, O you who are intoxicated with wealth, reflect in your hearts and understand this.

In your mansions are hundreds of thousands and millions of horses and elephants; in mine is the one God.

The love of worldly things leads men to damnation.

LIX

A monkey through greed will not let go the pulse in his hand.

Man is responsible for acts done through greed.

Without devotion to God human life passeth in vain.

Without association with the saints and worship of God, truth nowhere abideth.

As the flowers of the desert bloom, and no one enjoyeth their odour,

So men wander *idly* in many births, and Death destroyeth them again and again.

God hath given wealth, youth, sons, and women *fair* to view;

By these man, prompted by the senses, becometh arrested and entangled.

The body is a house of grass, life's end the fire which assaileth it on every side.

Saith Kabir, to cross over the terrible ocean I have taken the shelter of the true guru.

A brief account of the process of procreation.

LX

There is dirty water and white earth;

From this earth a puppet is made.

I am nothing and I have nothing;

My body, my wealth, all that is dear *to me* is Thine, O God—

Into this earth breath is infused,

And forcibly setteth the false contrivance in motion.

Such and such a person may have accumulated five lakhs *of treasure*,

But at last his pitcher bursteth.[1]

Saith Kabir, the sole foundation thou hast laid

Shall be destroyed in a moment, O thou proud one.

By devotion to God through the guru Kabir has obtained salvation.

LXI

O my soul, repeat God's name

As did Dhru and Prahlad *of old*.

O Thou compassionate to the poor, my reliance is on Thee.

[1] The body dies.

I have *therefore* embarked all my family on the guru's raft.

If it please God He will have His order obeyed,
And cause this raft to float over.
By the favour of the guru such knowledge hath filled me
That all my transmigration is at an end.
Saith Kabir, worship God;
In this world and the next, everywhere, it is He alone who knoweth.[1]

The soul having obtained a human body has obtained its last chance of salvation.

LXII

When *man* leaveth the womb and cometh into the world,
As soon as the air toucheth him, he forgetteth his Master—
O my soul, sing God's praises!
When thou didst penance reversed in the womb,
Thou didst escape its fire.
Having wandered through the eighty-four lakhs of existences,
If thou stumble now, thou shalt find nor house nor home.
Saith Kabir, worship God
Who is not seen coming or going, and who knoweth all things.

Think not of heaven or hell, of prosperity or adversity; leave everything to God.

LXIII

Long not for a dwelling in heaven, and fear not to dwell in hell;
What will be, will be; O my soul, hope not at all.
Sing the praises of God from whom the supreme reward is obtained.
What is devotion, what penance and austerities, what fasting and ablutions,
Unless thou know the way to love and serve God?

[1] The verse is also translated—I deem this world and the next all the same.

Be not glad at the sight of prosperity and grieve not at the sight of adversity ;

As is prosperity so is adversity; what God proposeth shall be accomplished.

Saith Kabir, through the saints I now know in my heart

That the worshipper in whose heart God dwelleth, *performeth* the best worship.

Commit not sin for the sake of thy relations or others and mourn not for them.

LXIV

O my soul, thou hast no *helper* ; drag not the weight *of others' sins* behind thee.

As a bird percheth on a tree, such is the world.[1]

I have drunk the elixir of God

By which other elixirs are forgotten.

Since we are not permanent ourselves, why should we mourn the death of others ?

Whatever is born perisheth ; why should we be sorry and weep for that ?

When man becometh attached to holy men, he drinketh *God's elixir*, and is devoted to Him from whom he hath sprung.

Saith Kabir, I have thought of God in my heart ; resigning the world remember Him.

Kabir longs for God as a loving wife for her absent spouse.

LXV

Woman with her eyes filled *with tears* and heaving sighs awaiteth *her lord* ;

Her heart is not happy ; she retraceth not her steps in the hope of seeing him.

Why fliest thou not away, O black raven,[2] so that I may quickly meet my beloved ?

[1] Temporary or transitory.

[2] If a raven come to a woman's casement when her husband is absent, she says 'Fly away, O raven.' If it fly away in obedience to her order, it is an omen that her husband will soon return. Here the word raven is understood to mean man's evil passions.

Saith Kabir, perform God's service to obtain the dignity of eternal life ;

The name of God is the one support ; repeat it with thy tongue.

There are many excellences in the body ; God resides within it and Kabir is delighted to behold Him.

LXVI

There are many shrubs of sweet basil ; near and within them is the village of Barsana.[1]

The milkmaid *Radha* on seeing *Krishan's* beauty became enamoured : 'Leave me not ; go not hither and thither.

'My heart is attached to thy feet ; O holder of the bow, very fortunate is she who meeteth thee.'

Enchanting is Bindraban where the fascinating Krishan grazed his kine.

Since thou art my Lord, O holder of the bow, Kabir (*great*) is my name.

Vain is the devotion of anchorets and idolaters.

LXVII

How many wear the bark of trees as clothes, but what availeth it to dwell in the forest ?

What availeth it to man to offer incense *to idols* ? What to drench his body with ablutions ?

O my soul, I know that thou shalt depart ;

O silly one, think of thy fall.[2]

Wheresoever I look, I see none but those who are entangled in worldly love ;

Men of divine knowledge and meditation, great preachers are all *engrossed* in this world's affairs.

Saith Kabir, without the name of the one God this world is blinded *by* mammon.

[1] In the neighbourhood of Mathura and Bindraban. The original has Banāras, but the word does not suit the context. *Bana ras gāon* is also read—In the midst of them is made an excellent village.

[2] *Abigat* means descent, but the word may also here mean God, from the Sanskrit *avyakt*, imperceptible, transcendental.

Fearlessly worship God.

LXVIII

O man, victim of mammon, abandon doubt, come forth and dance.[1]

Doth a hero dread the conflict of the battle-field, doth a sati collect utensils *when she is about to die*?

Cease to waver, O foolish man;

Now that thou hast taken the red lead[2] in thy hand, burn and die, and obtain perfection.

The world is ruined by being absorbed in lust, wrath, and mammon.

Saith Kabir, forsake not the sovereign God who is the highest of all the high.

Kabir places himself altogether in God's power.

LXIX

Thy commands are acceptable to men; I consider not their propriety.

Thou art the river, Thou art the pilot, from Thee is salvation.

O man, embrace the service *of God*,

Whether He be angry with thee or love thee.

Thy name, O God, is my support, as a woman rejoiceth on *beholding* her son.[3]

Saith Kabir, I am the slave of Thy house, preserve me or destroy me.

A homily against the worship of Krishan.

LXX

Nand[4] became very weary wandering through the wombs of the eighty-four lakhs of existences;

[1] Scorn the opinion of the world.

[2] It was the custom for a sati on the pyre to take some vermilion paint (*sindūr*) in her hand, make a tilak on her forehead with it, then apply it to the foreheads of the bystanders and sprinkle it on them. After this ceremony she might not change her mind and must die. The sindūr is generally carried in the rind of a coco-nut and is employed at marriages. Its use at the concremation of widows was emblematic of a second marriage to which death is likened.

[3] Also translated—As a flower bloometh in the water.

[4] The adoptive father of Krishan.

Through his devotion *Krishan* became incarnate; great was the poor man's good fortune.

You who say that *God* was the son of Nand, whose son was Nand?

When the earth and the firmament and the ten quarters of the world were not, then where was this Nand?

He whose name is the Bright One falleth not into trouble, and undergoeth not birth.

Kabir's Master is such a Lord as hath neither father nor mother.

Kabir hails slander to preserve his humility and lead him to God.

LXXI

Slander, slander me, ye people, slander!
Slander is right pleasing to *God's* servant.
Slander is my father, slander my mother;[1]
If I am slandered and store in my heart
The wealth of God's name, I shall go to heaven.
If I am slandered my heart becometh pure,
The slanderer washeth my clothes for me.[2]
He who slandereth me is my friend;
My heart goeth out to the slanderer;
He is the slanderer who preventeth my being slandered.
The slanderer desireth *long* life *for me*;
I bear love and affection to *him who* slandereth me;
Slander effecteth my salvation.
To God's servant, Kabir, slander is the best thing;
The slanderer is lost, I am saved.

Kabir feels that he has parted with egoism and become absorbed in God.

LXXII

O sovereign God, Thou art very fearless; Thou art a raft to save the world, O God.

When I was proud, Thou *wert* not *in me*; now that Thou art *in me* I am not proud.

[1] Is dear to me as my father and mother.
[2] That is, he takes my impurity on himself.

Now Thou and I have become one; seeing that we are both one, my mind is satisfied.

When there is *worldly* wisdom, how can there be *spiritual* strength?

Now I have *spiritual* wisdom, but no bodily strength.

Saith Kabir, God hath taken away my *worldly* wisdom, and instead of it I have obtained perfection.

The human body under the allegory of a house.

LXXIII

The Creator made the six mystical chambers [1] into a house, and in it He put a peerless thing; [2]

Without delay He made *divine knowledge* its key, *spiritual ignorance* its lock, and life its watchman.

Now, my brother, let thy mind remain awake;

Through carelessness thou hast lost thy *human* life; thy house is being robbed by thieves.[3]

Thy five *senses* stand as sentinels at the gate, but they cannot be trusted.

Carefully think of God, and thou shalt obtain the light of divine knowledge.

If woman go astray through only heeding the body of nine apertures, she shall not obtain the peerless thing—God's name.

Saith Kabir, thieves may plunder the body of nine apertures; *God's* spirit dwelleth in the tenth.

Kabir obtained perfection and complete faith on meeting the guru.

LXXIV

O mother, I know none beside *God*;

My soul dwelleth in that *God* whose praises Shiv and the sons of Brahma sing.

[1] The six mystical chambers of the body are—*Mulādhara*, the parts about the pubis; *Swadhshthānam*, or umbilical region; *Manipūram*, or pit of the stomach or epigastrium; *Anāhatam*, the root of the nose; *Visuddham*, the hollow between the frontal sinuses; and *Ajnyākhyam*, the fontenelle or union of the coronal and sagittal sutures. [2] The soul. [3] Thy evil passions.

On meeting the guru enlightenment and divine knowledge entered my heart, and I meditated on God in my brain ;

The disease of the deadly sins, fear, and worldly entanglements fled away, and my soul knew happiness in itself.

Imbued with devotion I know and obey the one *God*, and think of none beside.

Having abandoned the pride of my heart, my soul is perfumed with the perfume of sandal.

God dwelleth in him who hath sung and meditated on His praises.

Very fortunate are they in whose heart *He* dwelleth, and distinguished is the destiny recorded on their foreheads.

I have destroyed Maya,[1] divine knowledge is kindled in my heart, and I have become absorbed in the one God.

Saith Kabir, on meeting the guru I have felt great comfort ; my mind hath ceased to wander and is happy.

KABIR'S ACROSTIC

1

Everything connected with the three worlds is contained in the fifty-two letters ;

These letters shall perish, but He who is beyond letters is not in them.

2

Where there is speech, there letters are used ;

Where there is no speech there no mind abideth.

God is contained both where there is speech and where there is not ;

Nobody appeareth like unto Him.[2]

3

If I obtain God, what shall I say ? and if I say anything, what kindness *do I show God*,

[1] *Shakti Shiv.* Literally—the energy of Shiv ; but Shiv may also be a separate word, meaning bliss or happiness, and the next clause of the verse would then be translated—happiness was being kindled in my heart, and God naturally appeared to me.

[2] Also translated—No one knows Him as He is.

Who is diffused through the three worlds *as well as* in the *tiny* seed of the banyan-tree ? [1]

4

For him who hath obtained God, and knoweth to some extent God's secret, the difference *between God and himself* hath disappeared.

God's secret penetrated my heart when it turned away *from the world*; and I have obtained Him who is Indestructible and Impenetrable.

5

The Musalmans accept the Tariqat ; the Hindus the Veds and Purans ; *but for me the books of both religions are useless.*

A man ought to study divine knowledge to some extent to instruct his heart.

6

I know the one God who was in the beginning ;
I do not believe in what can be written and erased.
Whoever beholdeth the one God,
Becometh as God, and shall not pass away.

7

K. When the rays of *divine knowledge* fall on the lotus *of the heart*,
It closeth not even at the rising of the moon ; [2]
And if *man* obtain the sweetness of that flower,
He would grow mute in describing it, *yea*, to whom could he explain it ?

8

KH. My mind hath entered *God's* cave ; [3]
It leaveth it not to wander in every direction.
He who, knowing the Master, practiseth resignation,
Shall become imperishable, and obtain the imperishable dignity.

[1] Also translated—He whose expansion the three worlds are, is contained in the tiny seed of the banyan-tree.

[2] Once a man has obtained divine knowledge he is not again subject to spiritual ignorance.

[3] Has become attached to God.

9

G. They who understand the guru's instruction,
Lend their ears to nothing else.
He who graspeth the Ungraspable,[1] and having grasped Him keepeth Him in his brain,
Shall abide *wealthless as* a bird, and wander nowhere.

10

GH. God's dwelling is in every heart;
Even though the heart break, *God* is never *thereby* diminished.
When man findeth a way *to God* in his heart,
Why should he leave that way and follow a difficult one?

11

NG. Grasp the love *of God*, dismiss doubts.
Even though thou *see no way to God*, flee not away; this is the highest cleverness.

12

CH. *God* painted the great picture of the world;
Dismiss the picture, and think of the Painter.
This painted picture is an *abode* of strife;
Dismiss the picture, and keep thy mind on the Painter.

13

CHH. God the Lord of the umbrella is near;
Why dost thou not abandon desires and be happy?
O man, I admonish thee every moment;
Why dost thou leave God and entangle thyself *with the world*?

14

J. If a man burn his body alive,
And efface his youth, he shall find the *right* way.
When man burneth the wealth of this and the next world,[2]
He shall then proceed and obtain *God's* bright light.

[1] God.

[2] When man only thinks of God, and not of rewards in this or the next world.

15

JH. Thou art entangled *with the world*, and knowest not how to disentangle thyself;
Thou shrinkest back, and art not accepted of *God*.
Why talk nonsense trying to convince others?
Since thou stirrest up controversy, controversy thou shalt have.

16

NY. Since *God* dwelleth near thee in thy heart, why leave Him and go far *to find Him*? [1]
Him for whom thou searchest the world, thou shalt find near thee.

17

T. The difficult way *to God* is in man's heart.
Why open not the doors of thine *understanding*, and repair to His court?
There shalt thou behold the Immovable One, and thou shalt not move elsewhere.
Thou shalt remain attached *to God*, and thy heart shall be glad.

18

TH. Keep the world, which is a deceitful mirage, at a distance—
I have with difficulty rendered my mind patient—
The cheat which cheated and devoured the whole world
I have myself cheated, and my mind is now at ease.

19

D. When the fear *of God* is produced, *all other* fears depart;
All other fears are absorbed in that fear.
If man reject the fear *of God*, then he hath fear *of man*;
When he no longer feareth man, the fears of his heart flee away.

20

DH. Search for God near thee; why *search* elsewhere?
While searching for Him elsewhere life departeth.
When I ascended the mountain to search for Him, and returned *home disappointed*,

[1] Why lead the life of an anchoret in the forest.

I found Him in the fortress[1] which He Himself had made.

21

N. The life of him is accounted happy
Who, though surrounded in the battle-field, standeth fast like a man,[2]
Who doth not quail or retreat,[3]
But killeth the opposing chief, upon which his army fleeth away.[4]

22

T. The world is unfordable ; it cannot be forded.
My soul is absorbed in the Lord of the three worlds.
If *the Lord of* the three worlds enter into my heart,
My soul shall blend with Him, and I shall find the True One.

23

TH. The Unfathomable cannot be fathomed.
God is unfathomable ; this *body* shall not abide for ever.
Though man's span of life be brief, he beginneth *to build* many a mansion[5]—
But can mansions be supported without pillars ?

24

D. Everything we see is perishable ;
Meditate on Him who is Unseen.
When thou appliest the key of *divine knowledge* to the tenth gate,
Thou shalt then behold the merciful One.

25

DH. Everything is settled when the soul *blendeth* with God
Who dwelleth in earth and heaven.
When the soul leaving earth goeth to heaven,
The soul and God shall meet and happiness be obtained.

[1] My body.
[2] Happy are they who are victorious over their evil passions.
[3] The gyānis generally translate capitulate.
[4] When the heart is subdued, the evil passions flee away.
[5] Man's ambition is too great for the brief span of his life.

26

N. Man's nights and days pass away waiting for *God*;
His eyes grow blood-shot by such waiting.
When man findeth God after long waiting,
He who waiteth is blended with Him who is waited for.

27

P. The Boundless One hath no bounds;
I am gladdened with the Supreme Light;
I have controlled the five senses,
And relinquished *all idea of* demerits and merits.

28

PH. Fruit is produced without the blossom;[1]
If any one looked at a section[2] of that fruit,
And reflected on it, he would not contract duality.
That section of fruit shall destroy all bodies.[3]

29

B. Blend drop with drop,[4]
When drop *is blended with* drop, both cannot be separated.
Let man, becoming *God's* servant, embrace His service,
And He becoming a friend will take care of His servant.

30

BH. Remove the difference between thyself and God, and thou shalt be united *with Him*;
Then shall thy fear be shattered, and thou shalt gain confidence.
Him whom I thought without me I *now* find within me:
When I found this secret, I recognized the Lord of the world.

[1] If God pleases, divine knowledge may be obtained without effort.
[2] *Phānk*, a natural division of fruit as seen, for instance, in the orange.
[3] Shall remove all transmigration. It is believed that bodies are made for the soul, but, when the soul is absorbed in God, bodies will of course not be necessary for it.
[4] Blend thy soul with God.

31

M. He who graspeth the First Principle,[1] shall be happy at heart ;
He who is in this secret knoweth his own mind.
Let no one delay to attach his heart *to God* ;
He who obtaineth the True One shall be immersed *in delight.*

32

M. Man's business is with his heart ; he who chasteneth it obtaineth perfection.
Kabir communeth with his heart, ' I have found nothing like thee, O my heart ! '

33

This heart is power ; this mind is God ;[2]
This heart is the life of the five elements *of the body.*
If man restrain his heart and remain in a state of exaltation,[3]
He can tell the secrets of the three worlds.

34

Y. If thou know anything, destroy thine evil propensities and conquer the citadel of the body ;
Thou who art surrounded *by foes* in battle and fleest not away, shalt be called a hero.

35

R. He knoweth the real pleasure, who spurneth the pleasures *of this world* ;
Having spurned the pleasures of the world he recognizeth the Real Pleasure ;
When he abandoneth the former, he obtaineth the latter ;
And when he quaffeth the latter, the former please him not.

[1] God.

[2] Even Shiv and his consort are not superior to the human intellect which decides on the worship of one God.

[3] *Unman.* The gyānis generally translate this word—to turn away from the world and direct one's thoughts to God.

36

L. O man, so apply thy heart to God,
That thou mayest not go elsewhere, but obtain the primal True One.
If thou heartily love Him,
Thou shalt obtain Him, and, obtaining Him, become absorbed in His feet.

37

W. Every moment remember God;
Remember God and defeat shall not come to thee.
I am a sacrifice to those who sing the praises of the sons of God [1];
He who meeteth God shall obtain all truth.

38

W. Know God; by knowing Him thou shalt become *as* He.
When the soul and God are blended, no one can distinguish them.

39

S. Carefully strive to know Him;
Restrain every thought which alloreth the heart.
When love for God springeth up, there is mental happiness,
And the Lord of the three worlds will fill thy heart.

40

KH. He who searcheth,
He who searcheth for God shall not return.
He who searcheth and knoweth God by meditation,
Shall cross over the terrible ocean without delay.

41

SH. She who dispelleth *all* doubts *of her spouse's affection for her*,
Shall adorn his bed.
She resigneth a little comfort and obtaineth the highest gratification.
Then is she *justly* styled a wife and he a husband.

[1] *Bishantana*, an equivalent of the Persian *ahl-i-khuda*—sons of God, saints.

42

H. *God* existeth, *but the spiritually ignorant* know not of His existence.

From the moment man *knoweth that God* existeth his heart is satisfied.

God certainly doth exist, if any one could see Him ;

But in that case God alone would exist, and man exist not at all.

43

Everybody goeth about saying, 'I will take this, and I will take that.'

They therefore feel great sorrow *when they are disappointed.*

He who fixeth his attention on God,

Shall obtain all happiness and his sorrows shall depart.

44

KSH. How many have pined away and perished !

But, despite such destruction, man will not even now think of *God.*

If any one *even* now know that the world *is fleeting* and restrain his heart,

He shall obtain an abiding place with Him from whom he is separated.

45

The *Pandits* have in another way joined the fifty-two letters,

But they cannot recognize one letter.[1]

Kabir uttereth the word of the True One—

He is a pandit who abideth without fear—

To join letters [2] is the business of the Pandits ;

To meditate on God *is the business* of the holy man.

Saith Kabir, man will understand *which to do*

According to his intelligence.

[1] They cannot recognize the Imperishable One (*Akshar*), a play on the Sanskrit word.

[2] To write essays and theological disquisitions.

Kabir's calendar is arranged according to lunar days. The lunar month has thirty days. Fifteen of them are called *shudi*, the light half, and the other fifteen *wadi*, the dark half of the month. In this composition, however, sixteen days are counted.

KABIR'S LUNAR DAYS

There are fifteen lunar days and seven week days.
Saith Kabir, they have no limits.[1]
The Strivers and Sidhs who know their secrets,
Are creators and gods themselves.

II

On the day when there is no moon remove worldly desires ;
Remember God the Searcher of hearts,
So shalt thou *even* in life obtain the gate of salvation,
And the real word of the Fearless One, which is the essence of everything.
He who loveth God's lotus feet,
And is night and day watchful in His praises, becometh pure in heart by the favour of the saints.

1

On the first day *of the moon* meditate on the Beloved ;
He who cannot be lessened, and who hath no equal, sporteth in the heart.
He who is absorbed in the primal God,
Shall never suffer the pain of death.

2

On the second day know that there are two parts of the body,
Maya and God,[2] who are contained in everything.
God doth not increase or diminish ;
He is unknowable, spotless, and changeless.

[1] Literally—they have no hither and thither sides; a metaphor from the banks of a river. The meaning is that time has no limits.
[2] Matter and spirit.

3

On the third day let man apply his mind to God *in the three states of waking, dreaming, and sleeping.*[1]
Thus shall he obtain the Root of Joy and the Supreme Delight.
In the company of the saints ariseth the faith in man
That *God's* light is ever within and without him.

4

On the fourth day restrain thy fickle mind;
Never associate with lust and anger.
God is all in all in sea and land;
He repeateth His own praises.[2]

5

On the fifth day *know that* the world was extended from the five elements,
And that the pursuit of gold and women form its occupation.
Whoever quaffeth the nectar of *God's* love,
Shall not again feel the pains of old age and death.

6

On the sixth day the mind and the senses run in six directions;
The *mind* will not be restrained without the love *of God.*
Efface duality and hold fast endurance;
Endure not the torture of *absurd* religious ceremonies.

7

On the seventh day know that the Word is true,
And the Supreme Spirit will hold thee accepted;
So shall thy doubts and troubles be effaced,
And thou shalt obtain happiness in the celestial sea.

[1] Also translated—Let man bring together the ira, pingla, and sukhmana.
[2] Contained as He is in man.

8

On the eighth day know that the body is made of eight ingredients.

In it is the Unknowable, the King of great treasures.

The guru who is versed in divine knowledge discloseth the secret

How man may turn away *from the world*, and remain *absorbed in* the Infrangible and the Indivisible.[1]

9

On the ninth day keep watch over the nine gates,

And restrain thy flowing desires;

Forget all covetousness and worldly love,

And thou shalt eat the immortal fruit and live through all ages.

10

On the tenth day joy prevaileth in the ten directions;[2]

Doubts are dispelled and God is found.

God is light, the essence *of all things*, incomparable,

Pure without a stain; *where He dwelleth* is neither shade nor sunshine.

11

On the eleventh day, if man run in one direction,[3]

He shall not again suffer the pain of birth;

His heart shall become cool and pure,

And God, *whom men* say is distant, he shall find near.

12

On the twelfth day let twelve suns[4] arise for thee,

And day and night trumpets shall play spontaneous music.

[1] Also translated—

When a man meeteth a guru the latter discloseth to him the secret of divine knowledge,

And man turneth away from the world and remaineth absorbed in the Infrangible and Indivisible.

[2] A Hindi idiom for everywhere.

[3] Towards God.

[4] The Hindus believe that every month has a sun of its own. On the last day the twelve suns shall shine together and burn the world. The twelve suns of the text mean the bright lights of divine knowledge.

Thou shalt behold the Father of the three worlds ;
A miracle shall be wrought *for thee,* and from man thou shalt become God.

13

On the thirteenth day they who repeat *the name of* the Inaccessible escape *transmigration* ;
Know that God is equally diffused below and above.
God is neither low nor high, in Him is neither honour nor dishonour ;
He is equally contained in all things.

14

On the fourteenth day *remember that God* filleth the fourteen worlds,
And that He dwelleth in every hair of man's body.
Meditate on truth and patience,
And recite the legend of divine knowledge.

15

On the day of the full moon the moon is full in the heavens
And there is gentle light *diffused* from its beams.[1]
God is firmly fixed in the beginning, the middle, and the end *of all things.*
Kabir is absorbed in the ocean of happiness.

KABIR'S WEEK DAYS

Sing God's praises all the days *of the week* :
On meeting the guru thou shalt obtain God's secret.

1

On Sunday begin *God's* service,
Restrain the desires in the temple of thy body.
Let man day and night keep *his attention* on the Infrangible One,
And the lute shall tranquilly play spontaneous music.

[1] Also translated – divisions. The Hindus divide the moon into sixteen sections. During the full moon the whole sixteen sections are seen. *Solah kala sampūran*—It is complete in its sixteen divisions. The same expression is applied to men of eminent virtue and goodness.

2

On Monday nectar trickleth from the moon ;[1]
When tasted, it is a speedy antidote to all poison ;
He who drinketh it shall become intoxicated.
Let thy mouth remain closed *to idle converse*.[2]

3

On Tuesday learn what thou really art ;
Know how to guard against thine evil passions.[3]
Leave not the God who is in thine own home[4] to wander *abroad* ;
If thou do, He will be exceeding wroth.

4

On Wednesday let man enlighten his understanding,
So that God's dwelling may be in the lotus of his heart.
Let him, on meeting his guru, consider both his soul and God as the same,
And set erect the inverted lotus of his heart.[5]

5

On Thursday let him throw his evil passions into the river,
And consider the three gods *of the Hindus* the same.[6]
Why doth he not day and night wash away his sins
At the junction where the three rivers[7] meet ?

6

On Friday by the practice of endurance man shall attain his object.

[1] That is, from the guru.
[2] Literally—let the door of thy speech be locked up.
[3] Literally—know the way of the five thieves, that is, the way by which they approach.
[4] Heart.
[5] Inverted owing to its devotion to the world.
[6] Being, as the great God's creatures, equally impotent for good or evil.
[7] The ira, pingla, and sukhmana, i. e. by the practice of Jog.

By struggling with himself daily,
And carefully restraining all his five senses,
He shall never fall into duality.

7

On Saturday if man keep strong within him
The wick of God's light which shineth in his heart,
He shall be illumined without and within,
And all his sins shall be erased.

8

Know that as long as man hath duality in his heart,
He shall not attain God's court.
Let him love the omnipresent God,
And then, saith Kabir, his heart shall be pure.

ASA

The first three lines of the following were addressed by Kabir to his guru Ramanand. The remainder of the hymn contains Ramanand's replies and instruction.

I

Touching my guru's feet I bow and ask him why the soul was made,

Why man was born and why he shall perish—tell and explain to me.

O divine one, show mercy to me and put me in the way of escaping from worldly entanglements and the fear *of transmigration.*

The pain of transmigration resulteth from deeds done, and happiness cometh when the soul is released from it.

Man bursteth not the entanglements of worldly love, and *therefore* is not absorbed in God.

He knoweth nothing of the rank of nirvan, and so his fears are not dispelled.[1]

[1] Also translated—He is not without fear and hath erred.

The soul is not born, though men think it is; it is free from birth and death.[1]

When the idea of birth and death [2] departeth from man's mind, he shall for ever be absorbed in God.

As the reflection *of an object* in a vessel of water blendeth with the object when the vessel is broken,

So, saith Kabir, through virtue doubts flee away, and the soul is absorbed in God.[3]

The following is a satire on the Brahmans of Banaras :—

II

They wear loin-cloths three and a half yards long and sacrificial threads of three strands;

They carry rosaries on their necks and glittering *brass* utensils in their hands;

They should not be called saints of God, *but* cheats of Banaras—

Such saints are not pleasing to me—

They gulp down trees with their branches;

They scrub their vessels, and put them on fires whose wood hath been washed;[4]

They dig up the earth, make two fire-places,[5] and eat up men whole!

Those sinners ever wander in evil deeds, yet they call themselves Aparas.

Ever and ever they wander about in their pride and ruin all their families.

Man is attached to what *God* hath attached him, and his acts correspond.

[1] This line is also translated—The guru's words make no impression on him, he thinketh his own ideas best, he hath no love for God and no hate for Maya.

[2] Literally—the rising and the setting of the sun. This phrase is also translated—when the feeling of joy and sorrow is dispelled.

[3] Kabīr means that the soul is the reflection of God, and blends with Him when the vessel of the body is broken.

[4] So that impurities in the wood may not remain.

[5] One for their bread and another for their lentils. Some strict Hindus suppose that a fireplace once used is unclean.

Saith Kabir, he who meeteth the true guru shall not be born again.

Thanksgiving to God the father.

III

The Father gave me *this* consolation—
He *made* me a comfortable bed and put ambrosia into my mouth.
Why should I forget that Father?
When I go to the next world I shall not lose my game.[1]
My mother[2] is dead, and I am quite happy.
I do not put on a beggar's coat; I feel not the frost.
I am a sacrifice to that Father who begot me,
Who put an end to my companionship with the five *deadly sins*,
Who enabled me to subdue, and trample on them.
When I remember God, my soul and body are happy
My Father is the great Lord of the earth.
To that Father how shall I go?
When I met the true guru, he showed me the way—
The Father of the world then became dear to my mind;
I am Thy son, Thou art my Father;
We both live in the same place.
Saith Kabir, *God's* slave knoweth the one *God*;
By the guru's favour I know everything.

The central idea of the following is the worship of Maya. She is represented in a hideous and repulsive guise, her nose having been cut off for her infidelity. The first two lines of the hymn describe Tantric ceremonies.

IV

Into one vessel they put a slaughtered cock, and another they fill with liquor.
Five Jogis sit round, and the noseless queen in the midst.
The bell of the noseless one resoundeth in both worlds;
But some discriminating person cut off thy *nose, O Maya*.

[1] If I remember God. [2] Māya, or worldly love.

The noseless one hath her dwelling everywhere; she killeth every one and looketh out for more.

'I am,' *saith she*, 'the sister and niece of all;[1] I am the handmaiden of him who weddeth me.[2]

My husband is very wise and calleth himself a saint.[3]

He standeth continually over me; no one else cometh near me.'

It was I, saith Kabir, who cut off her nose and her ears, and assaulted and expelled her,

Because, though dear to the three worlds, she was an enemy of the saints.

All must die at last; God's name is their only salvation.

V

Jogis, celibates, penitents, anchorets, they who wander on many pilgrimages,

They who pluck out and shave their hair, they who practise silence, and they who wear matted locks, must all die at last;

Wherefore worship God.

What can the Jamna do for those whose tongues love God's name?[4]

They who know the Shastars, the Veds, astrology, and various languages,

Who know written and spoken incantations, and all medical science, must die at last.

They who enjoy empires, umbrellas, thrones, many beautiful women,

Betel, camphor, and highly fragrant sandal, must die at last.

The Veds, Purans, and Simritis I have all searched, but there is no salvation anywhere *in them*.

Saith Kabir, so repeat God's name that transmigration may be at an end.

[1] Every one treats me well and cherishes me.

[2] I serve him who controls me.

[3] It is only the saint who can control her.

[4] The river *Jamna* is a place of pilgrimage. It is supposed that death cannot molest those who bathe in it.

Kabir was asked whether the world was real or unreal. The following hymn was his reply. His meaning is that the world is unreal like the impossibilities mentioned.

VI

Can an elephant be a rebeck-player, or an ox a drummer? can a raven play the cymbals?

Can an ass put on a dancer's skirt and dance? Can a buffalo perform worship?

Can Raja Ram[1] cook cakes of ice?

Can any man in his senses eat them?

Can a lion seated in his den prepare betel? Can a mammoth rat serve it when made up?

Can a mouse sing a song of rejoicing from house to house? Can a tortoise blow a shell?

Can a barren woman's son go to wed, and build a mansion in the sky?

Can he marry a fair and beautiful virgin? Can the hare and the lion sing their eulogies?

Saith Kabir, hear, O saints, hath an ant eaten a mountain?

Can the tortoise say, 'I want fire'? Can the gnat proclaim God's word?[2]

The following was addressed to a Jogi who maintained the superiority of his sect and the advantages of its external accessories.

VII

I have one wallet which containeth seventy-two *chambers* and one door.[3]

In the whole world he *alone* is a Jogi

Who craveth *for God* in the earth containing nine regions.[4]

That Jogi shall obtain the nine treasures

[1] An eminent confectioner of Kabīr's time.

[2] Some begin with 'The son of a barren woman went to wed' and make the animals mentioned the marriage procession, putting the whole in narrative form.

[3] The seventy-two chambers of the body and the brain or tenth gate.

[4] In the body containing nine gates.

Who lifteth his soul from below to heaven,

Who maketh divine knowledge his patched coat, meditation his needle,

Who twisteth the thread of the Word and putteth it therein,

Who maketh the five elements his deer-skin *jacket*, and walketh in the way of his guru,

Who maketh mercy his fire-shovel, his body his fire-wood, and applieth to it the light of knowledge,[1]

Who loveth God within his heart, and ever sitteth in the attitude of contemplation.

All the Jogi's craft consisteth in the name of God, to whom belong the body and soul.

Saith Kabir, if *God* be merciful, He will give man a true mark.[2]

Trust to God alone and not to thy relations.

IX

As long as the oil and the wick[3] are in the lamp, everything is visible;

When the oil is spent, and the wick goeth out, the chamber is dark.

O madman, *when thy lamp is out*, no one will keep thee even for a ghari,

Therefore repeat the name of God.

Who hath a mother? who hath a father? what man hath a wife?

When the vessel bursteth,[4] no one asketh about thee; it is all 'Take him out! Take him out!'

Thy mother sitteth and weepeth on the threshold, thy brother taketh away thy bier.

Thy wife openeth the plaits of her hair and weepeth; the soul departeth alone.

Saith Kabir, hear, ye saints, regarding this terrible ocean.

The slave man suffereth torture, and the lord of death retireth not from him, O God.

[1] The power of knowing the reality of things seen.
[2] Mark him off for salvation.
[3] The oil and wick mean life and breath.
[4] When thou diest.

The body under the allegory of a churn from which salvation is obtained through the Word.

X

Sanak and Sanand, *sons of Brahma*, never found *God's* limits.
Nor did Brahma himself *though* he spent his life reading the Veds.
Churn God's churn,[1] my brethren.
Gently churn it that the butter may not be lost.[2]
Make thy body the churn, thy heart the churning-staff;
Into the churn *put* the Word *instead of milk*;
Make hearty meditation on God thy churning.
Pour the guru's favour into it as thy cold water.
Saith Kabir, he on whom the King looketh with favour,
And who clingeth to His name, shall gain the shore.

When the deadly sins are subdued man arrives at a knowledge of the one God and obtains salvation.

XI

When the wick *of pride* is dry and the oil *of worldly love* is spent;
When the drum *of boasting* is not heard, and the mind[3] is fast asleep,
When the fire *of avarice* is out, and the smoke *of desires* no longer issueth,
Then shall man know that one God is everywhere contained, and that there is no second.
When the strings are broken, the rebeck no longer playeth,[4]—
Man hath ruined his affairs by error—
When man obtaineth understanding he shall forget
Preaching, ranting, arguing, and intoning.
Saith Kabir, the highest dignity shall not be far from those
Who crush their deadly sins.

[1] Meditate upon divine knowledge.
[2] Rapid churning is believed to spoil butter.
[3] *Nat*, literally—the acrobat.
[4] When desires are at an end, man obtains deliverance.

If Kabir commits sin he hopes that God will pardon him as a mother pardons her child, when he prays for forgiveness.

XII

A mother beareth not in mind
All the faults her son committeth.
O God, I am Thy child ;
Why destroyest Thou not my demerits ? [1]
If a son in great anger rush at *his mother*,
Even then she beareth it not in mind.
Since I have fallen into the prison of anxiety,
How shall I be saved without *God's* name ?
O God, ever cleanse my mind and body,
And Kabir will tranquilly sing Thy praises.

XIII

My pilgrimage is to the bank of the Gomti,[2]
Where dwelleth the yellow-robed priest.[3]
Bravo ! bravo ! how sweetly he singeth
God's name delighteth my soul ;
Narad and Saraswati wait on him,
And near him sits lady Lakshmi as his handmaiden.
With my rosary on my neck and God on my tongue
I repeat His thousand names and salute Him.
Saith Kabir, I sing God's praises,
And instruct both Hindus and Musalmans.

Kabir deprecated the destruction of life in any form for idol worship.

XIV

Thou cuttest leaves, O flower-girl ; in every leaf there is life.
The stone for which thou gatherest the leaves is lifeless.
Thou art in error, O flower-girl, in this ;
The true Guru is a living God.

[1] Why dost Thou not pardon my sins?
[2] This apparently is not the river which flows by Lakhnau (Lucknow).
[3] Krishan.

Brahma is in the leaves, Vishnu in the branches, and Shiv in the flowers.

Thou destroyest three gods in our presence; whom dost thou worship?

The *sculptor* carving the stone turned it into an idol; and, *in doing so*, put his foot upon its breast.

If it were a real God, it would have destroyed him.

Men cook rice, dal, lapasi, pancakes, kasar;[1]

The Brahman feasters feast on these things, and put ashes into the idol's mouth.

The flower-girl is in error, and leadeth the world astray, but I go not astray.

Saith Kabir, God hath mercifully preserved me from error.

The stages of man.

XV

Twelve years pass away in childhood; man performeth no penance even to the age of twenty;

Until thirty he worshippeth not God; he repenteth when old age cometh upon him.

His life hath passed in talking about his property;

His arms strong as the sea have dried up.

He with his own hands constructeth a fence for a tank that hath dried up and a hedge for a reaped field.

When the thief cometh, he quickly taketh what the fool hath preserved as his own.

When the feet, head, and hands begin to totter,

And water floweth copiously from the eyes;

When words come indistinctly from the tongue,

Dost thou then, sir, hope to perform religious *works*?

If God be merciful and thou love Him, thou shalt obtain His name as thy profit.

By the favour of the guru thou shalt obtain the wealth of God,[2]

Which shall go with thee as thou departest.

Saith Kabir, hear, O ye good people, ye shall not take other wealth with you;

[1] *Lāpasī and kāsār* are both made from clarified butter, flour, and sugar, but the former is made liquid by the addition of water. They are both Oriental puddings.

[2] God's name.

When the Supreme God's summons cometh, ye shall depart leaving your wealth and homes.

The inequality of life due to man's own acts and not to God's caprice.

XVI

To one man God hath given silks and satins and a niwar bed,[1]

Others have not even a ragged coat or straw in their houses *to lie on.*

Indulge not in envy and bickering, O my soul,

Do good deeds and gain *their reward.*

Out of the same earth the potter mouldeth *vessels,* but painteth different designs on them ;

Into one vessel is put strings of pearls, and into another *filth.*

God gave the miser wealth to keep, *but* the blockhead calleth it his own.

When Death's mace toucheth his head, it shall be decided in a moment *whose wealth it is.*

God's slave is the highest saint ; he obeyeth God's order and obtaineth happiness.

He accepteth as true what pleaseth God, and God's will he treasureth in his heart.

Saith Kabir, hear, O good people, *to call things* one's own is untrue ;

Death, breaking the cage, taketh away the bird ;[2] its wires and strings[3] are then relaxed.

The following is a remonstrance to a Qazi who desired that Kabir should perform the usual Muhammadan fasts and ceremonies :—

XVII

I am God's poor slave, royal state is pleasing to thee ;

The Supreme God, the Lord of religions, never ordained tyranny.

[1] A niwār bed is one whose bottom is of broad cotton tape instead of the grass rope used by the poorer classes.

[2] That is, the soul.

[3] Also translated—The cups for the bird's food and water, that is, man leaves his possessions including his food and drink behind him.

O Qazi, nothing is done by *mere* talk ;

It is not by fasting and repeating prayers and the creed that one goeth to heaven.

The inner veil of the temple of Makka is in man's heart, if *the truth* be known.

Just decisions should be thy prayers, knowledge of God, the inscrutable One, thy creed,

The subjugation of thine evil passions the spreading of the prayer-carpet ; then shouldst thou know what religion is.

Recognize thy Master and fear Him in thy heart ; despise and destroy thy mental pride.[1]

As thou deemest thyself so deem others, then shalt thou become a partner in heaven.

Matter is one but hath assumed divers shapes ; in the midst of all recognize God.

Saith Kabir, thou hast abandoned heaven and attached thyself to hell.

The following was composed on the occasion of Kabir's visit to the house of a Jogi friend whom he found dead :—

XVIII

Not a drop now trickleth from the citadel of thy brain—where is the music that filled it ?

The great saint hath departed with *the name of* the supreme Brahm, the supreme God.

O father, whither hath departed the soul which dwelt with thy body,

Which revelled in divine knowledge, expounded, and preached ?

Whither hath the player gone who played the drum of *thy body* ? [2]

Thy tales, thy words, thy divine instruction, are no *longer* heard ; all thy vital energy hath been drawn away.

Thine ears have become deaf, the vigour of thine organs hath declined ;

Thy feet have failed, thy hands are relaxed, no word issueth from thy lips ;

[1] Also translated—Despise thy lust and pride.

[2] Where is now the life of thy body ?

The five enemies,[1] robbers all, which wander according to their own will have grown weary;

The elephant,[2] thy mind, hath grown weary; the heart which beat by the force *of thy soul*, the wire-puller, hath grown weary;

Thou art dead; the ten *breaths* which kept thee together have escaped; thou hast left thy friends and relations.

Saith Kabir, he who meditateth on God bursteth his bonds even while alive.

Mammon under the guise of a serpent.

XIX

Nothing is potent against the serpent
Which deceived Brahma, Vishnu, and Shiv.

The serpent having completely subdued *the world* hath entered pure water.[3]

By the guru's favour I have seen her *coming* who hath stung the three worlds, *and guarded myself against her.*

O my brethren, why call out 'Serpent, serpent'?

He who knoweth the True One hath destroyed the serpent;

No one else is free *from her attack.*[4]

When the serpent is vanquished what can Death do *to man*?

This serpent is God's creature;

She is weak, what can she do?

As long, however, as she abideth *with man, his soul* shall abide in bodies;[5]

By the favour of the guru Kabir hath easily escaped from her.

'Throw not pearls before swine.'

XX

What *availeth it* to read the Simritis to a dog?

What to sing God's praises to an infidel?

[1] The five evil passions.

[2] The mind is likened to an elephant for it heedlessly pursues pleasures as the male elephant the female.

[3] Has found access even to the holy.

[4] Also translated—There is no other creature so vile as she.

[5] He shall suffer transmigration.

Continue to repeat God's name ;
Speak not to the infidel even by mistake.
What availeth it to give a raven *valuable* camphor to eat ? [1]
What to give milk to a viper ? [2]
Discrimination and understanding are obtained in the company of the saints.
By the touch of the philosopher's stone iron becometh gold.
The dog of an infidel acteth in everything as he is caused to act ;
His acts are in accordance with his original destiny.
Wert thou to take nectar and water the nim-tree with it,
Saith Kabir, its natural *bitter* qualities would not depart.

Worldly greatness secures not salvation.

XXI

There is no trace of Rawan or his line,
Though Ceylon was his fortress and the ocean its moat.
What shall I pray for ? nothing remaineth stable ;
While I look on, the world passeth away.
Though Rawan had a lakh of sons and a lakh and a quarter of grandsons,
Yet at last he had neither lamp nor wick in his house.
The sun and moon used to heat his kitchen,[3] the fire to wash his clothes.[4]
He who through the guru's instruction putteth God's name *in his heart*,
Shall remain permanent and be released from transmigration.[5]
Saith Kabir, hear, O ye people,[6]
Without the name of God there is no salvation.

[1] He will still rejoice in filth.
[2] It will only become the more venomous after nourishment.
[3] That is, to cook his food.
[4] So potent was he over the heavenly bodies and the elements, that he subjugated them to his private purposes.
[5] Literally—and go nowhere.
[6] Loi. This word means people, but it was also the name of Kabīr's wife.

A mystical hymn with its interpretation.

XXII

Hear these wonderful things, my brethren—
First a son [1] *was born*, and afterwards his mother ; [2]
The guru [3] worshipped his disciple's [4] feet ;
I have seen a lion [5] herding kine ; [6]
A fish [7] out of water give birth upon a tree ; [8]
I have seen a cat [9] taking away a dog ; [10]
The branches *of a tree* [11] below, its roots [12] above ;
And its trunk bearing fruit [13] and blossom ;[14]
A buffalo [15] on horseback going to graze a horse ; [16]
An ox [17] on his way *while* his burden [18] arrived at home *before him.*
Saith Kabir, he who understandeth this hymn,
Shall know everything on repeating God's *name.*

The soul's toil to obtain a human body shall all be lost if God be not remembered.

XXIII

God maketh the body from seed and placeth it in the pit of fire ;
For ten months He keepeth it in the mother's womb ; worldly love attacheth to it on emerging.
O mortal, why attaching thyself to covetousness losest thou the jewel of thy life ?
In former births thou didst not sow the seed in this world :
From childhood thou hast grown to old age ; what was to be hath been.

[1] Purity. [2] Maya. [3] Soul.
[4] Heart or mind. [5] Conscience.
[6] The organs of action and perception. [7] Understanding.
[8] To the company of the saints. [9] Contentment.
[10] Greed. [11] Worldly desires.
[12] Meditation on God. [13] Salvation. [14] Worship.
[15] Endurance. [16] Fickleness. [17] Laziness.
[18] Good works.

When Death cometh and catcheth thee by the top-lock,[1] why then weep ?

Thou hopest for *longer* life, while he waiteth for thy *last* breath—

The world is a game, O Kabir, carefully throw the dice.[2]

Kabir was invited to a marriage feast. He said his own marriage was being celebrated, and he could not go elsewhere. The following is a description of it.

XXIV

I turned my body into a dyer's vat and then dyed my heart therein ;[3] the five virtues[4] I made my marriage guests ;

With God I made my marriage circumambulations,[5] my soul being dyed with His *love.*

Sing, sing, ye brideswomen, the marriage song :

The sovereign God hath come to my house as my husband.

I made the bridal pavilion[6] in the lotus of my heart, and divine knowledge the recitation[7] *of my lineage* ;

I obtained God as my bridegroom ; so great hath been my good fortune.

Demigods, men, saints, and the thirty-three karors of gods in their chariots came as spectators

Saith Kabir, the one God, the divine Male, hath wed and taken me with Him.

[1] A lock of hair left unshaven on the top of a Hindu's head.

[2] Also translated—Make recollection of God thy throw of the dice.

[3] Kabīr represents himself as a bride and God the bridegroom. It is usual on occasions of marriage for people to have their clothes dyed.

[4] The word *panchon* is also translated the elect.

[5] The Hindu bridegroom and bride circumambulate fire, in some places seven times and in other places four times, on the occasion of a marriage.

[6] Four posts are erected to denote the mind, understanding, thought, and pride. The posts support a cloth covering, beneath which the very youthful Indian brides and bridegrooms are married.

[7] *Uchār* now called *gotrāchār*, a panegyric on the families of the bride and bridegroom intoned by the ministering Brāhmans. The word is also translated—the repetition of the Vedic sloks for marriage.

In the following again Kabir represents himself as a wedded woman :—

XXV

I am plagued by my mother-in-law,[1] beloved by my father-in-law ;[2] I dread the *very* name of my husband's eldest brother.[3]

O my friends and companions, my husband's sister[4] hath seized me, and I burn by separation from my husband's youngest brother.[5]

My mind hath become insane since I have forgotten God ; how can I abide ?

I behold not with mine eyes Him who enjoyeth me on the couch ; to whom shall I tell my sorrow ?

My step-father quarrelleth *with me* ; my mother is ever intoxicated ;[6]

As long as I remained with my elder brother[7] I was dear to my Spouse.

Saith Kabir, I have lost my life struggling with the five evil passions—

Deceitful Maya hath led captive the whole world, *but* I have obtained immunity by repeating God's name.

Mammon a thieving courtesan.

XXVII

Worldly life is like a dream,

But, believing the world to be real, I attached myself to it, and abandoned the Supreme Treasure.

O father, I made love to the *courtesan* mammon,

And she stole from me the jewel of divine knowledge.

With its eyes open the moth becometh entangled ; the insect regardeth not the flame ;

[1] Māya. [2] God. [3] The god of death.
[4] Evil thought. [5] Discrimination.
[6] Step-father here means the body, and the mother is selfishness. *Bāp sāwaka* is also translated—my former heart, that is, when I was unregenerate.
[7] God's love. Some understand contentment ; others, divine knowledge.

So, stupid *man* attached to gold and women heedeth not Death's noose.

Reflect, abandon sin ; and God will save thee.

Saith Kabir, such is the Life of the world ; He hath no equal.

Kabir has found God and put an end to his transmigration.

XXVIII

Though I have assumed many shapes, this is my last.[1]

The strings and wires of the musical instrument are all worn out ; I am now in the power of God's name ;

I shall not have again to dance *to the tune of birth and death* ;

Nor shall my heart accompany on the drum.[2]

I have taken and destroyed my bodily lust and anger ; the pitcher of avarice hath burst ;

Lust's raiment hath grown old, and all my doubts are dispelled.

I recognize one God in all creatures ; vain wranglings *on this subject* are at an end.

Saith Kabir, when God was gracious unto me, I obtained Him, the Perfect One.

The following was addressed to a Qazi :—

XXIX

Thou fastest to appease God, yet thou destroyest life to please thy palate.[3]

Thou regardest not others as thou dost thyself ; why pratest thou ?

O Qazi, thy one God is in thee, but thou beholdest Him not by thought and reflection.

Mad on religion, thou heedest not, wherefore thy life is of no account.

[1] I have had many births, but I shall not be born again.

[2] At a nāch, or Oriental dance, the performers are the musicians, the female singers and dancers, and the drummers.

[3] On the first day after the lent of Ramzān, the Muhammadans offer a sacrifice to God. Here Kabīr hints that the sacrifice is made to please their palates, not to please God.

Thy books tell thee that God is true, and that He is neither male nor female;

Thou gainest nothing by thy reading and study, O madman, since thou regardest Him not at heart:

God is concealed in every heart; reflect on this in thy mind.

Kabir loudly proclaimeth—there is the same God for the Hindu as for the Muhammadan.

God becomes not propitious by the mere wearing of religious garbs.

XXX

I decorated myself to meet my *Spouse*,
But God the Life and Lord of the world met me not.
God is my husband, I am his wife;
He is big; I am little.
The wife and her husband dwell together, but to cohabit is difficult.
Blessed the woman who is pleasing to her husband;
Saith Kabir, she shall not be born again.

God under the allegory of a diamond.

XXXI

When the soul meeteth God,[1] the *once* fickle mind is easily absorbed in Him.

This diamond God filleth everything with light; I have found this by the instruction of the true guru—

The praise of God were an endless story—

When a man becometh perfect he recognizeth the Diamond.

Saith Kabir, I have seen such a Diamond as filleth the world with its light;

The concealed Diamond became manifest; when I met the guru he showed it to me.

In the following allegory Kabir refers to his early

[1] Literally—when a diamond pierceth a diamond. There are several interpretations of this line.

understanding as his first wife and to his conversion as his second wife :—

XXXII

My first wife was ugly, of low caste, and bad character, evil both in her father's house and mine.

My present wife is handsome, sensible, of good character ; I naturally took her to my heart.

It turned out well that my first wife departed ;

May she whom I have now taken live for ever !

Saith Kabir,. when the young wife came I ceased to cohabit with the old one ;

The young wife is with me now, the elder hath taken another husband.

Kabir's mother addresses him in the first four lines of the following hymn. Kabir was married to Dhania. The holy men who frequented the house called her Ramjania, or worshipper of God. But the name is also applied to courtesans dedicated to idols, and it was consequently offensive to Kabir's mother. She also complains that Kabir had devoted himself to religion and neglected his business :—

XXXIII

My daughter-in-law was called Dhania ;

They have *now* given her the name of Ramjania.

These shaven fellows have ruined my family ;

They have set my son uttering the name of God.

Saith Kabir, hear, O my mother,

These shaven men have done away with my caste.[1]

The following is a lecture against the veiling of women. It was addressed to the second wife of Kamal, Kabir's son :—

XXXIV

Stay, stay, my daughter-in-law, veil not thy face ;

At the last moment it will not avail thee the eighth of a paisa.

[1] That is, I am no longer known as a weaver, but a worshipper of God.

She who preceded thee used to veil her face ;
Follow not thou in her footsteps.
The only advantage of veiling thy face is
That for five or ten days *people will say* a good daughter-in-law hath come.
Thy veil will *only* be real
If thou sing God's praises and skip and dance *in His service.*
Saith Kabir, O daughter-in-law, thou shalt be victorious [1]
When thou passest thy life in singing God's praises.

Kabir's wife Loi refused to prepare a meal for a holy visitor, upon which Kabir manifested his displeasure. The following hymn except the last two lines is Loi's pleading for forgiveness :—

XXXV

Better would it be *to be cut in twain* with the saw than that thou shouldst turn thy back on me.
Hear my entreaty and embrace me ;
I am a sacrifice unto thee ; turn thy face towards me, my beloved.
Why killest thou me by turning thy back on me ?
Even though thou cut my body I will not turn it away *from thee* ; [2]
My body may perish, but I will not cease to love thee.
There hath been no quarrel between thee and me ;
Thou art the same good husband and I the same wife *as before.*
Saith Kabir, hear, O Loi,
I shall believe in thee no longer.

The following was Kabir's reply to a Brahman who had advised him to bathe in the sacred rivers of the Hindus.

XXXVII

He who is foul within will not go to heaven by bathing at a place of pilgrimage :

[1] Thou shalt obtain salvation.
[2] Also translated—I will not wince.

Nothing is gained by pleasing men ;[1] God is not a simpleton.

Worship the Lord, the only God ;

Serving the guru is the true ablution.

If salvation be obtained by bathing in water, the frogs which are continually bathing *will obtain it* ;

But as the frogs so the pilgrims ; they shall be born again and again.

If a hardened sinner die in Banaras, he cannot escape hell.

If a saint of God die in Haramba,[2] he saveth a whole multitude.

Where there is neither day nor night, Veds nor Shastars, there dwelleth the Formless One.

Saith Kabir, meditate on Him, ye foolish denizens of the world.

GUJARI

The following was addressed to a Brahman who Kabir supposed would be turned into an ox for his idleness and gluttony. The Hindus believe that they who live on others' wealth without any exertion on their own parts will become oxen, in which condition they will have to labour and suffer for their idleness in human lives.

I

With four legs, two horns, and a dumb mouth, how wilt thou sing *God's* praises ?

Standing or lying down the stick will fall on thee ; then where wilt thou hide thy head ?

Without God thou shalt become somebody [3] else's bullock ;

Thy nose shall be torn, thy shoulders maimed, and thou shalt eat worthless straw ;

All day shalt thou wander in the forest, but even then thy belly shall not be satisfied.

[1] That is, by deferring to custom.

[2] Previously called Magahar.

[3] Thou shalt be lent to somebody who will treat thee badly, and not as he would treat his own.

Thou didst not listen to the advice of holy men, and thou shalt suffer for thine omissions.

Overwhelmed with great superstition thou shalt endure hardship, and wander in many births.

Thou hast lost thy precious life by forgetting God ; when wilt thou *again* have such an opportunity ?

Thou shalt turn and revolve like an oilman's bullock [1] *round his press*, and restless shalt thou pass the night.

Saith Kabir, for not having repeated God's name thou shalt smite thy head and repent.

Kabir's mother was distressed at his conduct in relinquishing his trade and adopting a religious life. The following is a conversation between the mother and son on the subject.

II

Kabir's mother sobbeth and weepeth—
O God, how shall these children live ? [2]
Kabir hath given up all his weaving,
And hath inscribed God's name on his body.
Kabir replieth—
While the thread was passing through the bobbin
I forgot my Beloved God.[3]
My understanding is mean, my caste is that of weaver ;
I have gained the name of God as my profit.
Saith Kabir, hear, O my mother,
The one God will provide for us and them.

SORATH

All are lost without devotion.

I

The Hindus kill themselves worshipping idols, the Musalmans make prostrations ;

The former are burned, the latter buried ; but neither sect knoweth anything of Thee, *O God*.

[1] Also translated—Like a monkey after red seeds.

[2] How shall Kabīr's children be maintained?

[3] Kabīr means that even that was too long a time for him to abstain from repeating God's name, and so he gave up weaving.

O my soul, the world is stark blind ;

On all sides Death's noose is thrown, *but men see it not.*

Poets kill themselves reciting verses ; the Kaparis kill themselves going to Kedarnath ;

Jogis kill themselves wearing matted hair ; but they know nothing of Thee, *O God.*

Kings kill themselves amassing wealth and burying masses of gold ;

Pandits kill themselves reading the Veds, and women in gazing on their beauty—

Without the name of God all these are lost ; think and ponder upon this, O man.

Without the name of God who hath obtained salvation ? Kabir giveth his admonition.

The body is frail, yet it attaches itself to worldly things which desert it.

II

When the body is burnt, it becometh ashes ; when it is not burnt, a host of worms eat it up.

A soft clay vessel *will break* when water is put into it—such is the nature of the body.

Why, O brother, goest thou about puffing and blowing thyself out ?

How hast thou forgotten the ten months thou didst remain inverted in the womb ?

As the bee collecteth honey with great zest, so the fool collecteth wealth.

When a man is dead, they say ' Take him away ! take him away !

' Why allow a ghost to remain ? '

His wedded wife accompanieth him to the door, and after that his male friends.

All the *other* members of his family go as far as the cremation-ground ; the soul departeth alone.

Saith Kabir, hear, O mortals, they who have entangled themselves with the deceitful world,

Are seized by Death, and *fall into* the pit like the parrot deceived by the trap.

None may escape physical death, but it brings salvation to the holy.

III

Man hearing all the instructions of the Veds and the Purans, desireth to perform religious ceremonies *to overcome death.*

Death hath seized all people, *even* the wise ; the pandits *too* depart without hope.

O man, thou hast not succeeded in thy sole object [1]

Since thou hast not worshipped the supreme God.

Men have gone to the forests, practised jog, performed austerities, and lived on the tubers and roots they picked up.

The Nadis,[2] the readers of the Veds, the Ekshabdis, and the Monis [3] are all enrolled in Death's register.

Loving service [4] entereth not into *man's* heart ; he pampereth his body and giveth it *to Death* ;

He hypocritically *singeth* hymns, but what can he obtain from God ?

Death hath fallen on the whole world ; in his *register* the sceptical theologian is recorded.

Saith Kabir, they who know *God's* love and devotion to God are pure.[5]

The holy are completely saturated with God.

IV

With both mine eyes I look,
But I behold nothing save God ;
Mine eyes gaze affectionately *on Him* ;
There is now no other subject mentioned.
My doubts have departed, my fear hath fled
Since I applied my mind to God's name :
When the Actor beateth the drum,

[1] To save thyself in this human birth.
[2] Jogis who go about playing a small pipe.
[3] Men vowed to perpetual silence.
[4] Service such as that performed by Nārad, the famous rikhi.
[5] The Persian word *khulās*, freed or delivered, was here originally written, but the tenth Guru altered its spelling to the Arabic *khālis*, pure.

Everybody cometh to *see* the show.[1]
When the Actor collecteth the stage properties,[2]
He abideth alone in His happiness.
Doubts are not dispelled by the use of words ;
Everybody continueth to talk.
God filleth the heart of him
To whom through the guru's instruction He hath revealed Himself.
When the guru bestoweth even a little kindness,
Bodies and minds are all absorbed in God.
Saith Kabir, I am dyed with the dye *of God*,
And have found the munificent Life of the world.

Man under the allegory of a milkmaid is won by the guru from neglect of God.

V

The words of the sacred texts are *as* seas of milk :
For that ocean let the guru be the churning-staff.
Be thou the churner of that milk ;
Why shouldst thou be despoiled of thy butter ?
O damsel, why makest thou not God thy husband ?
He is the life of the world and the support of the soul.
The strait collar[3] is on thy neck and chains on thy feet ;
God hath sent thee wandering from birth to birth.
Thou heedest not even yet, O damsel ;
Thou art the wretched victim of Death.
It is God who acteth and causeth men to act ;
What power hath the poor handmaiden ?
The damsel whom God awaketh
Attendeth to the duties He assigneth her.
O damsel, where hast thou obtained that wisdom
By which thou hast erased the line of doubt ?
Kabir feeleth great delight,
And by his guru's favour his mind is happy.

[1] When God creates the world, men appear.
[2] When God draws the world within Himself.
[3] Connected by a chain with the feet and hindering the recumbent posture.

In reply to an inquiry Kabir describes the happiness he obtained from humility and devotion.

VI

When He without whom one cannot live
Is found, man's toil is productive.
Men call it a good thing to live for ever,
But there is no life without death.[1]
Where divine knowledge is discussed what more remaineth to be said ?[2]
As we look on, the things *of this world* pass away ;
As men rub and mix saffron and sandal, *so man's soul is blended with God,*
And thus seeth the world without *bodily* eyes.[3]
Abandonment of the world as a father hath begotten *divine knowledge* as a son.
Though placed in an unsubstantial city,[4]
I a beggar have found the Giver.
He hath given me so *much* that I cannot eat it ;
I cannot leave off eating[5] or finish it ;
And I have ceased to go to strangers.
The elect who know life to be death,
Have obtained a mountain of happiness.
Kabir hath obtained that wealth,
And effaced his pride on meeting God.

The lamp of holiness, not the Veds and Purans, lights up man's heart.

VII

What availeth reading, what studying,
What hearing the Veds and Purans ?
What avail reading and listening
If divine knowledge be not obtained ?

[1] Without effacing oneself.
[2] Also translated—*If man efface himself not*, what use discussing divine knowledge ?
[3] Also translated—Men grind and mix saffron and sandal and *waste them by applying them to idols* ;
The world appeareth to have no eyes.
[4] The body. [5] So dear is God's name to me.

Thou repeatest not the name of God, O ignorant man ;
Every moment of what thinkest thou ?
A lamp [1] is required in this darkness
To find the One Incomprehensible Thing.[2]
The lamp hath lit up my heart,
And I have found the Incomprehensible Thing.
Saith Kabir, I now recognize Him ;
And when I recognize Him my mind is happy.
People do not believe that my mind is happy ;
But even if they do not, of what consequence is it ?

The following was addressed to a hypocritical Brahman who advised Kabir to bathe at Hindu places of pilgrimage.

VIII

In thy heart is deception, in thy mouth religion ;
False man, why churnest thou water ?
What advantage is it to bathe the body
If there be filth in the heart ?
It the gourd be washed at the sixty-eight places of pilgrimage,
Even then its bitterness will not depart.
Thus saith Kabir deliberately—
Cause me to cross over the terrible ocean, O God.

Men should not practise deceit for the advantage of relations.

IX

With great deceit man acquireth other men's wealth,
And taketh it and lavisheth it on his son and wife.
O my man, practise not deception even by mistake ;
At the last moment it is thine own soul that shall have to render an account.
Every moment the body wasteth away and old age warneth thee ;
Then no one will pour water into thy hands,
Saith Kabir, thou shalt have no *friend* then ;
Why not repeat God's name in thy heart betimes ?

[1] Divine knowledge. [2] God.

The guru has shown man how to protect himself from ferocious animals, to which the evil passions are compared.

X

O saints, my wandering mind hath obtained rest.
I reckon that I have obtained my deserts.
The guru hath shown me the passage
Through which wild animals surreptitiously enter.
I have closed the gates thereof,
And spontaneous music playeth for me.
The pitcher of my heart was filled with the water *of sin* ;
When I upturned it, the water was spilled.[1]
Saith Kabir, the man *of God* knoweth this,
And knowing it, his mind is happy.

Kabir once felt hungry and rebelled against God.

XI

A hungry man cannot perform service ;
Take back this rosary of Thine.
I *only* ask for the dust of the saints' feet.
Since I owe not any man.[2]
O God, how shall I fare if I am shamed before Thee ?
If Thou give me not *of Thine own accord*, I will beg for it.
I beg for two sers of flour,
A quarter of a ser of clarified butter and salt ;
I beg for half a ser of dal
Which will feed me twice a day.
I beg for a bed with four legs to it,
A pillow and a mattress ;
I beg for a quilt over me,
And then thy slave will cheerfully serve Thee.
I have never been covetous ;
Thy name alone becometh me.[3]

[1] This metaphor has often occurred. The hearts of men generally are said to be inverted. The holy have theirs erect.
[2] I am not under an obligation to any one.
[3] That is, I only ask for these things that I may be able to repeat Thy name.

Saith Kabir, my soul is happy ;
And when my soul is happy, then I recognize God.

The gods of the Hindus are ignorant of the Creator.

DHANASARI

I

Beings like Brahma's *four* sons, Shiv,
And Sheshnag know not Thy secret.
Through association with the saints God dwelleth in the heart.
Beings like Hanuman and Garuda.
Indar and Brahma, know not, O God, Thine attributes.
The four Veds, the Simritis, and the Purans,
Vishnu, and Lakshmi know them not.
Saith Kabir, he who toucheth God's feet and seeketh His shelter,
Shall not wander *in transmigration.*

Life gradually draws to a close: man should practise devotion betimes.

II

Pahars are made up of gharis, days of pahars ; life draweth to a close ; the body pineth away ;
Death wandereth about like a poacher *in quest of* game : say what shall man do *to escape* ?
The *last* day approacheth ;
Mother, father, brother, son, wife—say whose are they ? [1]
As long as the light of *life* remaineth in man's body, the brute knoweth not himself.
He is anxious to obtain a long life, but he seeth not *Death who is at hand.*[2]
Saith Kabir, hear, O mortal dismiss thy mental doubts ;
Repeat only the one Name, O mortal, and seek the asylum of the one *God.*

[1] Literally—does any one belong to any one ?
[2] Also translated—He is anxious to live longer though his eyes see not.

Salvation depends on the state of man's heart not on the place of his death.

III

What is strange to him who knoweth something of the love and service of God ?

As water when blended with water separateth not again, so the weaver[1] hath blended with God.

O men of God, I am out of my senses—

If Kabir leave his body at Banaras, what obligation is he under to God ?[2]

Saith Kabir, hear, O people, let no one make a mistake ;

What *difference is there between* Banaras and the barren Magahar, if God be in the heart ?

Kabir requires nothing but God's name.

IV

It is through insufficient devotion men go
To the heavens of Indra and Shiv and are born again.
What shall I pray for ? nothing is stable.
Keep God's name in thy heart ;
Fame, power, wealth, and greatness
Help no one at the last moment.
Say who hath derived any happiness
From son, wife, or wealth.
Saith Kabir, nothing else availeth me ;
The name of God is *sufficient* wealth for my heart.

Remember and love God.

V

Remember God, remember God, remember God, my brethren !

Without remembering God's name the majority of men shall be lost.

Wife, son, body, house, and wealth confer happiness ;

[1] *Julāho.* There is a pun on this word. It means a weaver, and elsewhere it is applied to the soul.

[2] Because all people who die at Banāras must be saved, according to Hindu belief.

But none of these shall be thine when the time of death arriveth.

Ajamal, the elephant, and the courtesan committed sinful acts;

Yet they were saved by repeating God's name.

My brethren, you have wandered in the wombs of pigs and dogs, and yet you are not ashamed.

Why forsake the ambrosia of God's name and eat poison?

Abandon doubt regarding acts which are prescribed as well as those which are forbidden, and take God's name.

The slave Kabir saith, by the favour of the guru love God.

SUHI

Kabir calls on a worldly man to render an account of his life.

I

Having been born what hast thou done?

Thou hast never repeated God's name.

Thou wilt not repeat His name; of what thinkest thou?

What *preparation* art thou making for death, O luckless one?

Though through woe and weal thou hast brought up thy family,

At the time of death thou shalt bear thy troubles alone.

When Death seizeth thee by the neck, thou shalt utter loud cries.

Saith Kabir, why did I not remember *God* before?

The condition of one who fears God.

II

My woman's *heart* palpitateth and trembleth;

I know not how my Spouse will treat me.

The night hath passed away; let not the days also pass.[1]

The *black* flies have gone; the *white* cranes have now taken their place.[2]

[1] That is, my youth has passed, let not my old age also pass in vain

[2] My dark hair has changed to grey.

As water will not remain in a frail vessel,[1]
So the soul departeth when the body hath faded.
I adorn myself like a young virgin,
But how can I enjoy dalliance without my Spouse ?
My arm is pained from driving away the crows.
Saith Kabir, this tale is at an end.[2]

A dialogue between the soul and the messengers of Death. He who feels God's love needs have no apprehension.

III

Thy stewardship being ended, thou must give thine account,
When the cruel messengers of Death come to take thee.
They will ask thee what thou hast earned, and where thou hast squandered it ;
They will say to thee, 'Come quickly, thou art summoned to court ;
'The warrant of God's court hath come for thee.'
Thou shalt implore them, *and say,* '*I have to collect* some outstandings in the village,
'And I shall adjust my accounts to-night ;
'I will also pay you something for your expenses ;[3]
'At dawn we shall pray at an inn *on the road* '.[4]
Blest, blest is he and fortunate is his lot,
Who feeleth God's love by association with the saints.
That man shall ever be happy in this world and the next ;
He hath won the priceless *prize* of human birth.
He who while awake *to the world* is asleep *to God*[5] hath lost that birth ;
The property and wealth he hath accumulated shall become another's.
Saith Kabir, that man hath gone astray,

[1] A vessel made of clay not hardened by fire.
[2] That is, life is at an end.
[3] As a bribe to the messengers of Death to allow the soul time to answer the warrant.
[4] That is, give me time to-day, and we shall be well on our journey early to-morrow morning.
[5] Also translated—He who after being awakened falleth asleep.

Who forgetting the Bridegroom hath mixed himself up with *things of* clay.

When avarice only departs with life and there is no thought of God, human birth is in vain.

IV

The eyes grow weary of seeing, the ears grow weary of hearing, *this* fair body groweth weary.

When old age urgeth thee, all thy senses grow weary; *the desire for* wealth alone wearieth not.

O foolish man, thou hast not obtained divine knowledge and meditation;

Thou hast lost thy *human* birth in vain.

O mortal, serve God as long as there is breath in thy body;

Even though thy body perish, let not thy love for Him perish; dwell thou at His feet.

He in whose heart God hath implanted His Word hath ceased to thirst.

Let the comprehension of God's will be thy game of chaupar, and the conquest of thy heart the throwing of the dice.

They who know and worship God shall not perish.

Saith Kabir, they who know how to throw such dice shall never lose their game.

Kabir has triumphed over his evil passions, his senses, and death itself.

V

There are five kings of one fortress; the whole five ask for revenue[1]—

I have not tilled land belonging to any of them; it would be hard on me to pay *a tax* for nothing.

O God's people, the village accountant[2] continually worried me,

[1] *Hāla* from *hal*, a plough—so much revenue levied on every plough. The five evil passions claim their shares.

[2] Here meant for death.

But I raised my arms aloft, complained to my guru, and he saved me.

Nine surveyors [1] and ten judges [2] go on *tour*, and will not allow the agriculturists [3] to live ;

They measure not with a full tape, and they take many bribes.

The one Being who is contained in the seventy-two chambers of the body hath written off my account ;

I have searched Dharmraj's office, *and find* I owe him not an atom.

Let no one revile the saints ; the saints and God are one.

Saith Kabir, I have obtained that Guru whose name is Bibeko.[4]

Death triumphs over all except God's sincere worshippers.

BILAWAL

I

This world is like a show ; none may remain here ;

Proceed the straight way, otherwise thou shalt be severely buffeted.

Children, the old, and the young, O my brethren, shall all be taken away by Death.

God hath made poor man like a mouse ; Death like a cat eateth him up ;

He payeth no regard to rich or poor ;

He destroyeth kings equally with their subjects—so mighty is Death !

They who please God *become* His worshippers, and theirs is a special case ;

They neither come nor go ; [5] they never die ; God is with them.

Know in your hearts that by forsaking son, wife, wealth, and property *which are perishable*,

[1] The nine gates of the body.

[2] The organs of action and perception.

[3] Virtues or good qualities.

[4] *Bibeko*, God who makes one (*ek*) out of two (*bib*), who joins the soul of man with Himself.

[5] They do not suffer transmigration.

Saith Kabir, you shall meet the Lord; hear this, O ye saints.

Kabir is frenzied with devotion.

II

I am not skilled in book knowledge, nor do I understand controversy;

I have grown mad reciting and hearing God's praises.

O father, I am mad; the whole world is sane; I am mad;

I am ruined; let not others be ruined *likewise*;

I have not grown mad of mine own will; God hath made me mad—

The true guru hath dispelled my doubts—

I am ruined, and have lost my intellect;

Let nobody be led astray in doubts like mine.

He who knoweth not himself is mad;

When one knoweth himself he knoweth the one God.

He who is not intoxicated *with divine love* in this human birth shall never be so.

Saith Kabir, I am dyed with the dye of God.[1]

Kabir's self-abasement.

III

Though man leave his home for the forest region and gather tubers to live on,

His sinful and evil mind even then abandoneth not misdeeds.

How shall I be saved? how cross over the great terrible ocean?

Preserve me, preserve me, O God; I Thy slave *have come to* Thine asylum.

The desire to gratify my evil passions forsaketh me not;

Though I make many efforts to guard myself against them, I am entangled in them again and again.

My life hath passed—youth and old age—no good have I done;

[1] I am imbued with God's love.

This priceless human life attached itself to a kauri and became like it.

Saith Kabir, O my God, Thou art contained in everything ;

There is none so merciful as Thou, none so sinful as I.

The superiority of God's saint.

V

There is no king equal to God ;

All the kings of this world are only for four days, they make false display.[1]

Why should the slave of Him who overshadoweth the three worlds waver ? [2]

Who can lay hands on him when one cannot even speak with due respect before him ?

O thoughtless and foolish mind of mine, think *upon God*, and the unbeaten music of ecstasy shall play for thee.

Saith Kabir, all my doubts and uncertainties are at an end ; *God* hath favoured me as He did Dhru and Prahlad.

Kabir depreciates himself.

VI

Preserve me, O God, though I have offended Thee.

I have not practised humility, the duties of my religion, repetition of Thy name, or worship ; I am proud, I *wear* my turban on the side of my head.

Believing this body immortal I have pampered the frail and perishable vessel ;

I have forgotten Him who made and favoured me, and I have attached myself to strangers.

I am Thy house-breaker and not Thy saint ; I fall at Thy feet for protection—

Saith Kabir, hear this supplication ; send me not intelligence of death.[3]

[1] Also translated—They make a false claim to greatness.

[2] That is, allow his mind to wander from God.

[3] Holy men are not led off in triumph by Death; they become insensibly blended with God.

An appeal to God.

VII

O God, I stand wearied at Thy court ;

Who but Thee careth for me? open Thy door and show Thyself unto me.

Thou art my wealth, O Master ; Thou art generous ; Thou art lavish ; I hear with mine ears Thy great praise.

Of whom shall I beg ? I see every one poor ; from Thee alone I obtain salvation.

Thou didst confer endless favour on Jaidev, Namdev, and the Brahman Sudama.

Saith Kabir, Thou art all powerful, Thou art generous, Thou bestowest the four blessings without delay.

The following was addressed to a Jogi :—

VIII

Thou dependest on a club, earrings, and patched coat ;

In error thou wanderest in a *Jogi's* garb.

Put away thy devotional attitudes and thy suspension of breath ;

Abandon deception, and ever worship God, O fool.

The wealth thou beggest for, the three worlds have enjoyed.[1]

Saith Kabir, God is the *only* Jogi in the world.[2]

Kabir mourns his lukewarmness and condemns all worldly things.

IX

O Sovereign of the world, Lord of the earth, mammon hath caused me to forget Thy feet.

Even a little affection for Thee is not felt by Thy slave ; what shall Thy poor slave do ?

Curse on *this* body, curse on *this* wealth, curse on *these* worldly things, a double curse on this perishable intellect and understanding !

O man, firmly restrain this worldly love ; if thou subjugate it, thou shalt be saved.[3]

[1] That is, it is the leavings of the three worlds.

[2] Also translated—He who is united with God is the real Jogi.

[3] Also translated—Thou shalt be released from thine entanglements.

What availeth agriculture? what commerce? false is worldly pride.

Saith Kabir, *they who practise such things* are ultimately ruined, and death cometh to them at last.

The soul's dependence is on God, not on the perishable body.

X

The body is a lake in which a peerless lotus [1] bloometh;

The Supreme Being who hath neither outline nor form, the Primal Light, *is within it.*

O my soul, worship *that* God, abandon doubt; God is the life of the world.

The *soul* is not seen either coming or going, as *is the body.*

Where the *body* is born, there it perisheth [2] like the leaves of the water lily.

They who knowing the world to be transitory abandon it are happy in the contemplation of God.

Saith Kabir, worship God in thy heart.

During life Kabir was absorbed in God as the sound of a bronze vessel is absorbed in it when broken.

XI

Since my attention is fixed on God, I no longer suspect that I shall suffer transmigration; [3]

Even in life I am absorbed in the Infinite; the guru's instruction hath awakened me.

The sound which is produced from bronze blendeth again with it;

When the bronze is broken, O Pandit, where will the sound be?

At the union of the three breaths [4] *in the brain* I have seen Him who is awake in every heart,

[1] The heart.

[2] That is, the body is resolved into the elements whence it sprang.

[3] Literally—my doubts regarding birth and death have departed.

[4] Of the left and right nostrils and their junction. *Trikuti sandhi* also includes *gyāta*, the knower; *gyān*, the means of knowledge; and *geya*, the subject of knowledge. Devout men endeavour to unite all three.

And now such understanding hath entered my heart that I have abandoned *the world.*

When I knew myself, my light was blended with *God's* light—

Saith Kabir, I now know *God* and my mind is satisfied.

The holy man will not waver but be everywhere happy.

XII

O God, why should that man waver in whose heart abide Thy lotus feet ?

Believe that all happiness and the nine treasures are his who tranquilly repeateth God's praises.

When God openeth the hard knot,[1] man shall be wise enough to behold Him in everything.

He who ever avoideth worldly love and weigheth his heart in the scale *of meditation,*

Shall be happy wherever he goeth, O Lord, and worldly love shall not sway him.

Saith Kabir, my heart is happy since it hath been absorbed in God's love.

An inquirer asked Kabir with whom one should converse. The following was his reply :—

GAUND

I

When thou meetest a saint, have some conversation with him ;

When thou meetest a man who is not a saint, remain silent.

Kabir was asked again—

O father, if I speak what shall I speak about ?

For instance, ' Continue to repeat God's name.'

They who talk to saints confer advantage on others ;

They who talk to fools talk in vain.

[1] The distance between God and the soul.

By incessant talking *with them* sin increaseth ;
If I speak not to them, what harm can the wretches do me ? [1]
Saith Kabir, an empty vessel soundeth ;
When it is full it never giveth forth a sound.

Man's dead body is much more worthless than that of a beast, and consequently an object of contempt.

II

When a man dieth he is of no use ;
When a beast dieth he is of ten uses.
What do I know regarding my fate ;
What do I know, O sir ?
Man's bones burn like a heap of fire-wood ;
His hair burneth like a bundle of grass.
Saith Kabir, man only awaketh
When the club of Death toucheth his head.

God is everywhere, even in the acts which attach to the soul.

III

God abideth in the heaven above, in the earth beneath, and in every direction.
The Supreme Being is ever the root of joy ; the body may perish, but God shall not.
I am anxious to *know*
Whence the soul cometh and whither it goeth.
Five elements combined form the body ; out of what were the elements formed ?
Thou sayest that the soul is bound by its acts ; who gave life to the acts ?
The body is contained in God, God in the body ; He is uninterruptedly in all things.
Saith Kabir, I will not abandon God's name, come what may.

[1] Also translated—If I talk not *to saints*, how can I practise discrimination ?

The soul described by negatives.

V

Somebody asked Kabir :—

What is that whose limit hath never been found,
Which dwelleth within the temple of the body ?
Kabir replied—It is neither man nor demigod ;
It is not a Jati or *a worshipper of* Shiv ;
It is not a Jogi or an Audhut ;
It hath no mother, nor is it any one's son ;
It is not a householder or an anchoret ;
It is not a king or a beggar ;
It hath neither a body nor a drop of blood ;
It is not a Brahman or a Khatri ;
It is not an ascetic or a shaikh ;
It is not born, nor is it observed to die ;
Whoever weepeth for its death
Shall lose his honour.[1]
By the favour of the guru, I have found the steep way ;
Birth and death have both been erased for me.
Saith Kabir, this *soul* is a part of God,
As ink cannot be erased from paper.[2]

Kabir's wife thus addressed him on the neglect of his trade and his attentions to saints.

VI

Thy threads are broken, thy size is at an end,
Thy reeds shine over the door,
Thy poor brush hath gone to pieces—
May death light on this shaven fellow's head !
This shaven fellow hath lost all his property.
I am persecuted by those *fakirs* coming and going.[3]

[1] Shall only excite contempt.

[2] Also translated—His praise cannot be erased from paper; that is, His praise is continually written and shall be permanent.

[3] This and the two preceding lines are also translated—
Death hath lighted on these shaven fellows' heads.
They have caused us to lose all our property.
There is no end to their coming or going.

Kabir now never speaketh of his beam or his shuttle;
His mind is only concerned with the name of God.
His daughter and sons have nothing to eat;
Men with shaven heads are crammed night and day;
One or two are in the house, and one or two on the way.
We have only a pallet *on the ground*; they get a bed to *sleep on.*
They rub their heads *with satisfaction* and *carry* books in their waist-bands;
We get parched pulse, they bread *to eat.*
The shaven-heads and my shaven-headed *husband* have become all one.
Kabir replieth—These shaven-heads are the support of the drowning.
Hear, O blind misguided Loi,
Kabir hath taken the protection of these shaven-heads.

When man dies, mammon, who is described, weeps not for him.

VII

When the husband dieth, his wife weepeth not.[1]
She findeth another protector;
And when that protector also dieth,
Hell awaiteth him *though* he have enjoyed pleasures here.
One woman[2] alone is dear to the world;
She is the wife of all sentient beings.
With a necklace on her neck she looketh beautiful;
She pleaseth the world, but is *hateful* as poison to the holy.
Adorning herself she either sitteth like an abandoned woman,
Or the wretch wandereth about accursed of the saints.
When the saints flee from her, she pursueth them;
But, by the favour of the guru, she feareth punishment.
She is the body and soul of the infidel;
Her dreadful witch's eye falleth on me.

[1] When man dieth, his wealth does not weep for him.
[2] Māya, wealth. She never becomes a widow, hence the title *suhāgan.*

When the merciful holy guru met me,
I became well acquainted with her secrets.[1]
Saith Kabir, I have now turned her out,
And she hath attached herself to the skirt of the world.

A further description of mammon.

VIII

The guest cometh and departeth hungry
From the house which hath no wealth.
The guest loseth patience,
And the host is blamed because he hath not means *to entertain him.*
Hail to the woman who hath turned the heads
Of very holy men and penitents high and low!
She is a miser's daughter;
Rejecting God's worshippers she sleepeth with everybody.
At last standing at the saints' door,
She saith, 'I have sought your protection, save me!'
The woman is very beautiful;
Her ornaments tinkle on her feet;
As long as man is alive she attacheth herself to him;
When he dieth she quickly departeth without waiting for her shoes.
The woman hath conquered the three worlds;
She hath made the eighteen Purans and the places of pilgrimage love her;
She hath pierced *the hearts* of Brahma, Vishnu, and Shiv,
And infatuated great kings and sovereigns.
There are no bounds to the woman;
She is in collusion with the five evil passions.
Where the vessels of the five evil passions burst,
Saith Kabir, I was delivered thence by the favour of the guru.

Without a guru man must fall and perish.

IX

If the rafters be taken from a house, the roof will fall;
So without *God's* name how can man be saved?

[1] And was thus the better able to guard against her.

As water will not remain without a vessel,
So without a religious guide man shall go to hell.
Burn him who thinketh not on God,
But whose mind is ever absorbed in the field of his body.
As without a ploughman land cannot be tilled,
As without a thread jewels cannot be strung,
And as without a loop clothes cannot be fastened,
So without a holy guide man shall go to hell.
As a child cannot be born without a father and mother,
As clothes cannot be washed without water,
As one cannot ride without an equipage,
As without music there cannot be dancing,
So without a guru *man cannot reach God's* court.
As the bad woman leaving her husband looketh for another, *thus eager should man be to* obtain a *guru.*
Saith Kabir, do one thing—
Become holy and thou shalt not die again.

The following hymn was a reply to some one who had addressed vile abuse to Kabir and called him a pander, a dancer, a street-walker, and a thief :—

X

Is he a pander [1] who chasteneth his heart ?
He who chasteneth his heart shall escape from death.
The pander who thoroughly chasteneth his heart, and applieth to it the touch-stone *of love,*
Shall obtain complete deliverance.
Whom do you call a pander, O people ?
In everything that is spoken discrimination *should be used.*
Is he a dancer who danceth with his mind,
Who is not satisfied with falsehood, who is pleased with truth,
And who beateth time *with* his heart in the presence *of God* ?
God, whose mind is pure, preserveth such a dancer.[2]

[1] *Kūtan* as a noun is a pander and as a verb to beat or chasten. There is a play on the word in the original. It was applied to Kabīr, because when his daughter was visiting him, he allowed a strange man shelter in his house.

[2] Also translated—God steadieth the mind of such a dancer.

Is he a street-walker who sweepeth the market-place,[1]
And lighteth up the five wicks ? [2]
I accept as my guru that street-walker
Who embraceth the service of the lord of the nine continents.[3]
Is he a thief who is not envious,
Who uttereth God's name and curbeth his senses ?
Saith Kabir, blessings on my divine guru,
Who possesseth all such qualities and who is very handsome and clever.

The following is an encomium on the staff of life :—

XI

Hail, O God, hail, O divine guru !
Hail to the corn by which the hearts of the hungry rejoice !
Hail to that saint who realizeth this !
He shall meet God.
Corn cometh from the Primal Being—
Repeat God's name with the relish of corn.
Praise His name, praise His corn ;
With water pleasant is its taste.
He who abstaineth from corn,[4]
Shall lose his *honour* in the three worlds.[5]
She [6] who abandoneth corn and practiseth hypocrisy,
Is neither a wife nor a widow.[7]
They who publicly boast that they live on milk,
Secretly eat a whole five sers of corn.
Without corn no one is happy ;
Abandon corn and you shall not meet God.
Saith Kabir, such is what I think ;
Blessings on that corn by which man loveth *his* God !

[1] That is, cleanses his heart.
[2] Illumines his five senses. This is also translated—Who admonisheth his five evil passions.
[3] Also translated—Who knoweth the nine forms of devotion to God.
[4] As some ascetics do.
[5] Because he practises hypocrisy.
[6] The feminine gender, as usual, for man in general.
[7] Is neither a worldly person nor an anchoret.

The following was addressed to a Jogi who endeavoured to induce Kabir to drink wine.

RAMKALI

I

Make thy body the vat, the guru's instruction thy molasses;
Cut up avarice, lust, wrath, pride, and envy as thy kikar bark; thus mix thy yeast.
Is there any saint, in whose heart composure and happiness dwell, to whom I may offer my devotion and penance as commission *for procuring me such wine*?
I will give my soul and body for one drop of the wine which that vat produceth.
I have made the fourteen worlds my furnace, and heated it with the fire of divine knowledge;[1]
I have sealed the still with the gentle sound of *God's name*, and plastered it with what yieldeth mental happiness.
Pilgrimage, fasting, daily religious ceremonies, purifications, and austerities at *eclipses* of the sun and moon I would pledge *for that wine*.
Make meditation thy cup, God's ambrosial name the pure juice, and drink that elixir;
From such a still a very pure trickling stream ever issueth, and the soul is delighted therewith.
Saith Kabir, all other wines are insipid; this is the true elixir.

On the same subject.

II

Make divine knowledge thy molasses, meditation thy bassia flowers, and the fear of God in thy heart thy furnace:
The drinker who is absorbed in God by means of the breath of the sukhmana imbibeth *such wine*.
O Jogi, my mind is intoxicated—
When that wine ascendeth to the brain man relisheth no other;[2] there is then light in the three worlds.

[1] I have taken the light of divine knowledge to guide me.
[2] Also translated—Those who are intoxicated with *celestial* wine never taste *earthly* wine.

Joining God and the soul I have prepared a furnace and drunk the excellent elixir;

I have burnt lust and wrath as firewood, and escaped from worldliness.

The light of divine knowledge appeared to me when I met my true guru and obtained understanding.

The slave Kabir is intoxicated with that wine, and will never abstain therefrom.[1]

Kabir was likened to a Kotwal for his severity to the wicked, and to a dog for his barking. He accepted both imputations.

IV

I honour the saints and I punish the wicked; this is my court-house.[2]

I shampoo Thy feet, *O God*, day and night; I turn my hair into a chauri and wave it over Thee.

I am the dog at Thy court;

I bark in front of it[3] putting forward my snout.

In a former birth I was Thy servant; *that position* I cannot now resign.

The gentle order of Thy court was branded on my forehead.[4]

They who bear such brand fight bravely in battle; they who bear it not flee away.

He who is holy knoweth how to serve God, and God putteth him into His treasury.[5]

In the house *of the body* is the chamber *of the heart, which becometh* the most precious chamber of all *when filled* with meditation *on God*.

The guru hath granted *God's name*, the Real Thing, to Kabir, *saying*, 'Take it and guard it';

Kabir hath offered it to the world, but only he who was so destined receiveth it—

[1] Also translated—that wine whose intoxication shall never subside.

[2] The Kotwāl in modern times is a police-officer, but in the time of Kabīr the Kotwāl was a magistrate and police-officer combined.

[3] That is, I pray to Thee.

[4] That is, I was branded as Thy slave in a former birth.

[5] Because he is a genuine and not a counterfeit coin.

Abiding is the married state of her who hath found the immortal elixir.

The Brahman trusts not to God but to the Veds and the Gayatri, and hence he shall be lost.

V

Why shouldst thou, O Brahman, forget Him from whose mouth the Veds and the Gayatri issued ?

Why shouldst not thou, O Pandit, utter the name of God, whose feet every one toucheth ?

O my Brahman, why not repeat God's name ?

If thou utter not His name, O Pandit, thou shalt be cast into hell.

Thou *callest* thyself exalted, yet thou eatest in the houses of the low, and fillest thy belly by the exaction of alms.[1]

On the fourteenth and fifteenth days of the half month thou devisest tales and beggest, but even with a lamp in thy hand thou shalt fall into the pit.

Thou art a Brahman, I am a weaver of Banaras ; how can I be a match for thee ?

By repeating the name of God I have been saved, while thou, O Pandit, shalt be lost by trusting to the Veds.

A mystic hymn in which God is represented under the allegory of a tree.

VI

There is one tree ;[2] it hath endless branches and shoots ; its blossoms[3] and leaves[4] are filled with nectar.[5]

This *world* is a garden[6] of ambrosia ; God who is perfect hath created it.

The few holy men in whose hearts the light of God shineth,

Know the story of my beloved sovereign God.

One bumble-bee[7] intoxicated with the juice of the flowers

[1] Literally– by obstinate acts, by threatening suicide, &c.
[2] God. [3] Saints.
[4] The rest of sentient beings. [5] God's name.
[6] In which the branches and shoots have been planted.
[7] The searcher for God.

hath fixed his mind within the twelve petals of the lotus of the heart ;

He then raising his breath to the lotus of sixteen petals in his brain gaineth the ecstatic fruit thereof.[1]

Another tree [2] was produced in the silent vacuum ; it dried up the waters of the earth ; [3]

Saith Kabir, I am a servant of those who have seen that tree.[4]

The following was addressed to a Jogi :—

VII

Make silence thine earrings, mercy thy wallet, and meditation thy cup ;

Stitch thy body for thy patched coat, and make the Name thy support.

O Jogi, practise such Jog

That thou mayest while enjoying *the world* perform thy devotion, penance, and austerities under the guru's instruction.

Make the knowledge *of God* the ashes thou smearest on thy body,[5] and meditation thy horn ;

Abandoning the world, roam in the city of the body, and play thy heart as a kinguri ;

Plant the five virtues in thy heart so that thy contemplation may be undisturbed by the world.

Saith Kabir, hear, O saints, make honesty and mercy your garden.

[1] There is supposed to be a lotus with twelve petals in the heart. Kabīr means that his mind as a bumble-bee has entered that lotus. There is also supposed to be another lotus in the brain which has sixteen petals, and to this again his mind ascends.

Others suppose that the numbers twelve and sixteen in the above lines mean the repetition of *Oam* similar numbers of times.

[2] This tree is divine knowledge which has its seat in the brain.

[3] It removed man's earthly desires.

[4] In this hymn tree is also said to mean the universe, the branches and shoots are the planets and stars, the flowers are the saints, the leaves the rest of sentient beings.

[5] Jogis smear ashes on their naked bodies as clothing or protection against the elements.

Kabir in a fit of introspection and self-abasement addressed himself.

VIII

For what object wast thou born in the world, and what advantage hast thou gained from thy *human* birth ?

Thou hast not applied thy mind even for a moment to God, the Fulfiller of desires, the Vessel to take thee across the terrible ocean.

O God, such sinners are we,

That we have never performed service for that Lord who gave us our souls and bodies.

The passion to possess others' wealth, children, and wives, and to slander and calumniate others hath not forsaken us.

We suffer transmigration again and again ; this law is not broken.

I have not wandered even for a moment to where the conversation of the saints of God is held.

Libertines, thieves, panders, and drunkards—with them have I ever consorted.

My possessions are lust, wrath, covetousness, pride, and envy.

Mercy, honesty, and service to the guru *have* not *come to me even* in my dreams.

O God, compassionate to the poor, merciful, dear to the saints, Remover of fear,

Prayeth Kabir, preserve Thine afflicted slave, O God, and I will perform Thy service.

Remember God and do Him homage.

IX

Remember in thy heart the Being,

By whose remembrance thou shalt obtain the gate of deliverance,

Go to heaven, and *return not to this* world.

Play the trumpets in the house of the Fearless One,

And the unbeaten strain shall ever fully resound for thee.

Without remembering Him deliverance can never be obtained.

Heartily bow before the Being,
By remembering whom none may refuse thee;
Who conferreth salvation by which great loads *of sin* drop off,
And thy transmigration is at an end.
Remember Him through whom thou enjoyest thyself,
And an everburning[1] lamp shall be placed within thee—
The lamp[2] which rendereth the world immortal,
And expelleth the poison of lust and wrath.
Twine and wear on thy neck the rosary
Of Him by remembering whom Thy salvation shall be obtained.
Wear that rosary, doff it not,
And by the favour of the guru thou shalt be saved.
Remember the Beloved day and night,
And thou shalt have no regard for men;
Thou shalt sleep at home in silken bed-clothes,
And thy heart shall be gladdened by a pleasant couch
Ever remember God in thy heart and sing *His praises.*
By remembering Him thy troubles shall depart,
And Maya affect thee not.
From the true guru learn how to remember God;
Remember Him ever day and night.
Standing or sitting, at every expiration and inspiration,
Waking or sleeping, enjoy the sweets of remembering *Him*;
By remembering God thou shalt be united with Him.[3]
Make the remembrance of God's name thy support;
By remembering Him no weight of sin shall oppress thee.
Neither wrought nor spoken incantations can prevail with Him,[4]
Saith Kabir, who hath no limit.

[1] Literally—a lamp not fed with oil.
[2] Divine knowledge.
[3] Also translated—Thou shalt obtain good fortune.
[4] God is only moved by our remembering Him and repeating His name with devotion.

The condition of him who has put his passions under subjection.

X

He who hath captivated the captivators,[1]
Shall obtain deliverance, and the guru shall put out the fire of his passions.[2]
When I had thoroughly examined my heart,
I made my ablutions within it.
To dwell in God, the Lord of life, is the best thing ;
There is then no death, or birth, or decay.
Turning away from mammon I restrained my mind,
And I entered the region of God.[3]
I have pierced the serpent's way,[4]
And assuredly met God.
Worldly love and mammon no more affect me ;
The sun hath restrained the moon.[5]
When I completely stopped my breath,
The lute played spontaneously.
The preacher hath communicated this instruction ;
The hearer hath heard and treasured it in his heart.
He who acteth according to it shall be saved,
Saith Kabir verily.

God is a luminous diamond whose light fills creation.

XI

The moon and sun are both forms of light ;
God the unequalled pervadeth their light.
O wise man, meditate on God
In whose light creation is contained.
Beholding God, the Diamond, I prostrate myself before Him.
Saith Kabir, He is bright and *yet* invisible.

[1] He who has put his passions under subjection.
[2] These two lines are also translated—
They who are attached to worldly things fall into the net of Death,
While they whose avarice the guru extinguisheth are delivered.
[3] *Gagan*—literally, the firmament—is a word applied by Jogis to the brain or tenth gate of the body where God dwells.
[4] A supposed passage for air through the spinal marrow to the brain.
[5] The brain retains the breath, and a state of exaltation supervenes.

Some Hindus asked Kabir to give them instruction, upon which he composed the following :—

XII

O world, be alert and wakeful ; even while awake you are being robbed, my brethren.

Even while the Veds, who are alert sentinels, look on, Death will take you away.

The fool, the blockhead, and the pagan think that the nim is a mango, and the mango a nim ;[1]

That a ripe plantain-tree[2] is but a prickly bush, and that the fruit of the coco-nut[3] is like the ripe fruit of the simmal.

God is the sugar which hath been spilled in the dust ; it cannot be picked up by the elephant.

Saith Kabir, renounce family, caste, and lineage, become an ant, and thou canst pick up and eat *the sugar*.

A remonstrance to a Brahman for offering animal sacrifice to an idol.

MARU

I

O Pandit, what folly meditatest thou ?

Thou shalt be ruined with all thy family for not having repeated God's *name*, O luckless man.

What availeth thee to read the Veds and the Purans ? It is like loading a donkey with sandal *whose perfume he valueth not*.

Thou knowest not how *to repeat* God's name ; how shalt thou be saved ?

Thou takest life and deemest it religious ; tell me, my brother, what thou callest irreligious.

Thou makest thyself out an excellent muni ; whom callest thou a butcher ?

Mentally blind thou knowest not thyself ;[4]

[1] They think good evil and evil good. The fruit of the nīm is bitter, of the mango sweet.

[2] God's name. [3] Association with saints.

[4] That is, God who is in thee.

What shalt thou cause others to know ?
Thou sellest knowledge for money, thy life passeth in vain.
Narad and Vyas declare—and thou mayest go and ask Shukdev also—
Saith Kabir, *too*, by uttering the name of God ye shall be delivered ; otherwise ye shall perish, my brethren.

It is the condition of the heart, not man's garb or place of residence, which produces happiness.

II

Unless you remove evil from your hearts, how shall you find *God* by dwelling in the forest ?
They who deem their own homes equal to the forest are perfect *among* men.
You shall obtain true happiness,
If you lovingly repeat *the name of* the Life *of the world.*
What avail *wearing* matted hair, smearing yourselves with ashes, and dwelling in caves ?
He who hath conquered his own heart hath conquered the world, because he is free from the deadly sins.
All people use eye-wash, but there is a difference in their blandishments.
The eyes to which the surma of divine knowledge is applied, are acceptable *to God.*
Saith Kabir, I now know *God* ; the guru hath explained divine knowledge *to me* ;
I have met God who dwelleth in the heart ; my mind shall now no more wander.

The following was addressed to a Jogi whom Kabir found begging and boasting that he had obtained all spiritual wealth and perfection :—

III

What hath he who hath obtained spiritual wealth and supernatural power to do with any one ?
What shall I say regarding thy language ? I am much ashamed to speak to thee.
He who hath obtained God,

Wandereth not from door to door.

This false world greatly burneth *for wealth* in the hope of using it for a few days.

Whosoever drinketh God's water shall not be thirsty again ;

He who knoweth *God* by the favour of the guru abandoneth all worldly desires.

When the heart is withdrawn *from the world,* the True One appeareth everywhere.

The name of God saveth him who hath tasted its savour.

Saith Kabir, I have become gold, my doubts have fled, and I have crossed the ocean.

It was made a reproach to Kabir that he being a weaver dared preach to men of high caste. Upon this he preached equality of all men.

IV

As the bubbles of the river are accounted water and blend with the water of the ocean,

So the man who looketh on all with an equal eye, shall become pure and blend with the Infinite.

Why should I return *to this world* ?

Transmigration taketh place by God's order ; he who obeyeth it shall blend with Him.

When this fabric of five elements perisheth, my wandering shall be at an end.

Forswearing sects, I look on all as equal and meditate on the one Name.

I devote myself to and perform the duties which God assigned me.

If God bestow mercy on me, I shall be absorbed in Him under the instruction of my guru.

He who in life is in death, and who from death [1] returneth to life shall not be born again.

Saith Kabir, he who is permeated with the Name fixeth his love on God.

[1] Being dead toward God.

Kabir in a vision beheld God and rushed to embrace Him, but was repulsed. The following was composed on the occasion :—

If Thou repulse me, then show me *the way* of deliverance ;
One God in many forms, Thou art contained in everything ; why dost Thou now illude me ?
O God, whither dost Thou take me for salvation ?
I ask Thee where Thou wilt give me salvation and of what degree,[1] *seeing that* by Thy favour I have already obtained it ?
I called Thee my *future* saviour until I knew the reality ;[2]
I have now become pure in heart, saith Kabir, and my mind is happy.

Kabir is said to have uttered the following to a man whom he found committing an act of immorality.

VI

Rawan had to leave the golden fortress and strongholds which he had made—
O man, why actest thou as it pleaseth thyself ?
When Death cometh and catcheth thee by the hair, *only* God's name will save thee.
Death and life are the work of God ; this deceitful world is only an entanglement ;
Saith Kabir, they who have the elixir of God in their hearts shall ultimately be saved.

The body likened to a village, the soul to its headman, and the senses to its agriculturists.

VII

The body is a village ; the soul placed therein is its headman ; five husbandmen dwell in it—
The senses—eyes, nose, ear, tongue, and touch—which obey not my orders.

[1] There are four degrees of salvation—*saloh*, heaven ; *samīp*, being near God ; *sarūp*, assuming God's form ; *sayuj*, being absorbed in God.
[2] That Thou hadst already saved me.

O father, I shall no longer dwell in this village ;
The accountants called Chitr and Gupt ask for an account of every moment of mine,
So when Dharmraj calleth for my account, there will be a heavy balance against me.
The five husbandmen will then have all fled, and the bailiffs will arrest the soul.
Saith Kabir, hear, O holy men, settle your accounts on the field ;[1]
Pardon for this once thy slave, so that he may not *have* to return to this terrible ocean.

A Bairagi who had come from Dwaraka told Kabir he had seen God there, and he asked him to go there too, and he would also see God. Upon this the following colloquy occurred.

VIII

O Bairagi, no one hath seen the Fearless One ;
Can the Fearless One be obtained without fearing Him ? 'Certainly not.'[2]
O Bairagi, if *man* were to see the Lord present, he would feel fear ;
He who obeyeth God's order is without fear—'Certainly.'
O Bairagi, though all people are imbued with hypocrisy,
Practise it not thou before God—'Certainly not.'
O Bairagi, *men* set not covetousness aside ;
Egoism hath destroyed the body—'Certainly.'
O Bairagi, the fire of care hath burnt the body,
But thou *shalt escape from it* if thou deaden thy feelings—'Certainly.'
Without a true guru there can be no contempt of the world, O Bairagi,
Even though everybody desire it—'Certainly.'
O Bairagi, if it be God's will, thou shalt meet the true guru,

[1] That is, while alive. The metaphor is derived from the practice which prevailed before British rule of taking payments in kind. Creditors' and debtors' accounts were settled on the harvest field.

[2] *Wana hanbai.* In the Mālwa dialect *hanbai* means yes.

And shalt easily obtain God—'Certainly.'
Saith Kabir, O Bairagi, *address* one prayer *to God*,
To take thee over the terrible ocean—'Certainly.'

Krishan was one day going to visit Duryodhan, but he heard that Duryodhan was then holding court. Krishan, in order to avoid the regal ceremonial and entertainments connected therewith, remained the night with Vidur. Next day when Krishan and Duryodhan met, the latter upbraided him in a friendly manner for not having gone straight to him. The following is Krishan's reply :—

IX

O king, who would go to thee ?
I have seen such affection on Vidur's *part* that the poor man pleaseth me.
Beholding thine elephants, thou hast been lost in error and hast not recognized God.
I consider Vidur's water as nectar in comparison with thy milk.
I got vegetables *without condiment*, but to me they were equal to *khir*, and the night passed in Vidur's singing *God's* praises.
Kabir's God is joyous and happy, and payeth no attention to anybody's caste.

SLOKS

The following two sloks in the Rag Maru are attributed to Kabir. The battle referred to is perhaps intended to represent man's struggle with his evil passions. These are the only lines in the Granth Sahib relating to war.

When the drums sound aloud, the conspicuous *warriors* fall wounded ; [1]

[1] Also translated—(*a*) Aim is taken, and wounds are inflicted ; (*b*) When the guru's drum soundeth, the disciple, at whom it is aimed, is wounded.

The brave have entered the battle-field ; now is the time for combat.

Recognize him as a hero who fighteth for the love of his religion ;
He may die cut in pieces, but will never desert the battle-field.

The following was a sharp remonstrance addressed to some men of high rank.

X

You have forgotten your religion, O madmen ; you have forgotten your religion.
You fill your bellies, you sleep like beasts, you have lost your human births ;
You have never associated with saints, but have adopted false occupations ;
You wander like dogs, pigs, and ravens ;
You deem yourselves great and others small ; [1]
I have seen you going to hell in thought, word, and deed.
The lustful, the wrathful, the deceitful, the dissemblers,[2] and the idlers,
Pass their time in doing evil and never remember God.
Saith Kabir, fools, blockheads, and pagans reflect not ;
They know not God's name ; how shall they be saved ?

Men should remember God and not be led astray by worldly pleasures.

XI

Remember God *or* thou shalt repent it ;
O sinful soul, thou practisest avarice, but thou shalt depart to-day or to-morrow.
Through thine attachment to avarice and being led astray by mammon, thou hast wasted thy life.
Be not proud of thy wealth and youth ; they dissolve like paper.

[1] Literally—you deem yourselves vowels and others consonants.
[2] Literally—actors.

When Death cometh and seizeth thee by the hair and knocketh thee down, on that day shalt thou be powerless.

Thou hast not remembered God, or worshipped Him, or shown mercy to His creatures, therefore shalt thou be smitten on the mouth.

When Dharmraj asketh for thine account, what face shalt thou show him ?

Saith Kabir, hear, ye good men, ye shall be saved in the company of the holy.

The condition of him who has obtained salvation during life.

KEDARA

I

They who abandon praise as well as blame, who reject honour as well as dishonour,

Who consider iron and gold the same, are the image of God—

Few, *O Lord*, are Thy servants !

They who abandon lust, wrath, covetousness, and worldly love behold God's feet.

What are called the qualities of impulse, ignorance, and goodness are all contained in Thy Maya.

Only they who understand the fourth degree, have obtained the supreme position ;

They never entertain love for pilgrimages, fasting, or for the religious ceremonies, purifications, and austerities of *the superstitious*.

By meditating on God, avarice, worldly love, and doubt depart ;

The darkness of the mansion in which the lamp *of divine knowledge* burneth is dispelled ;

Its owner abideth completely fearless, and his doubts have fled ; saith Kabir, I am his slave.[1]

The saint deals in holiness and is thus emancipated during life.

II

Some deal in bronze and copper, others in cloves and betel-nut ;

[1] Also translated—The slave Kabīr saith.

The saints deal in God's name ; that is my merchandise.
O dealers in the name of God,
The priceless diamond hath come to hand, and worldly thoughts have fled.
They whom the True One attached to truth, remain attached to it ; truth is their occupation.
They dispatched a load of the true thing, and it reached *God* the storekeeper.
God is Himself the gem, the jewel, and the precious stone ; He is Himself the jeweller ;
He is in every direction immovable ;
He setteth *everything* in motion ;
He is a permanent dealer.
O man, make thy heart the ox, meditation the road, fill thy sack with divine knowledge, and load it *on the ox* ;
Saith Kabir, hear, O saints, my goods have arrived at their destination.

The following was addressed to a Jogi who fortified himself for his austerities by potations of wine.

III

O ignorant and stupid brawler,[1] reverse thy breath and direct it *to thy brain* ;
Then turn thy brain into a furnace, draw the nectareous stream, and thou shalt become *divinely* intoxicated.
O brother, call upon God for assistance.
O saints, ever drink this wine so difficult to obtain, and your thirst shall easily be quenched.
In the fear of God is love ; he who knoweth this shall obtain God's elixir, my brother.
Ambrosia is in every heart ; *God* giveth it to whomsoever He pleaseth.
There is one city ; [2] it hath nine gates ;
Restrain thy wandering *mind from issuing by them.*
After the exercise of the ira, pingla, and sukhmana, the tenth gate openeth and the mind becometh intoxicated.

[1] *Kalwār*—also translated as if written *kalāl*, a wine-seller, then a drunkard. [2] The body.

When *the soul obtaineth* the fully fearless dignity, suffering is at an end, saith Kabir deliberately.

Turning from the way *of the world* I have obtained this wine, a cup of which causeth *divine* intoxication.

Religious instruction addressed to a dissolute fop.

IV

Thou who art saturated with lust, wrath, and covetousness, knowest not the way of the One God.

Thine eyes are burst, thou seest nothing, thou art drowned *even* without water.

Why walkest thou so foppishly?

Thou art a compound of bones, skin, and filth, and saturated with evil odour.

Thou repeatest not God's name; in what doubts hast thou gone astray? Death is not far from thee.

Whatever efforts thou makest to preserve thy body, shall it last when *thy term of* life is complete?

Nothing resulteth from thine efforts; what can any mortal do?

If it be God's will, man shall meet a true guru and repeat the One name.

Thou livest in a house of sand and puffest out thy body, O simpleton.

Saith Kabir, they, however clever, who remember not God are lost.

The following was addressed to the same person.

V

Crooked thy turban,[1] crooked thy gait,[2] thou beginnest to eat betel;[3]

Thou hast naught to do with the love and service of God; *thou sayest* 'I have business in court'.

Thou hast forgotten God in thy pride;

Ever gazing on thy gold and thy very beautiful women thou deemest them permanent;

[1] Thou wearest thy turban on the side of thy head like a fop.
[2] Thou walkest foppishly.
[3] So as to give a rosy colour to thy lips.

Thy life passeth away in covetousness, falsehood, sin, and great arrogance.

Saith Kabir, Death will attack thee at last, O fool.

Kabir reminds a worldly person of his death.

VI

Having beaten thy drum for four days, thou shalt depart.

With all thine earnings, thy ready money, and thy buried treasures, thou shalt take nothing with thee.

Thy dear wife will sit and weep in the portico ; thy mother *will go* as far as the gate with thee ;

All thy friends and relations will accompany thee to the burning-ground ; *but* thy soul shall depart alone.

Thou shalt not again behold thy sons, thy wealth, thy towns, and thy cities.

Saith Kabir, why remember not God ? thy life is passing in vain.

God's name is Kabir's sole property.

BHAIRO

I

The name of God is my wealth ;

I cannot tie it in a knot, or sell it for my livelihood.

The Name is my field, the Name is my garden ;

I Thy slave, *O God*, perform Thy service and *seek* Thy protection.

Thy name is my wealth, Thy name my capital ;

I know none but Thee.

Thy name is my kindred, Thy name my brethren,

Thy name my associates, who will assist me at the last moment.

Saith Kabir, I am a slave to him

Whom *God* keepeth in the world, but *who is* indifferent to it.

The following was addressed to a rich man who had offered Kabir money :—

II

Naked thou camest and naked shalt thou depart ;

None shall remain—*not even* kings or rulers.

I have the sovereign God as my nine treasures ;
Thou hast the love of property, women, and wealth ;
But they did not come with thee, nor shall they go with thee.
What availeth thee to have elephants tied at thy gate ?
The fortress of Ceylon was made of gold,
But what did the fool Rawan take with him ?
Saith Kabir, meditate some good acts :
The gambler shall depart with empty hands.

God alone is pure.

III

Impure is Brahma, impure is Indar ;
Impure is the sun and impure the moon.
This world is defiled with impurity ;
Pure is God alone who hath neither end nor limit.
Impure are the gods of the worlds ;
Impure are nights, days, and months *devoted to idolatry.*
Impure are pearls, impure are diamonds,
Impure are wind, fire, and water ;
Impure are Shiv, Shankar, and Mahesh ;[1]
Impure are Sidhs, Sadhiks, and *those who* wear religious garbs ;
Impure are Jogis, and Jangams with their matted hair ;
Impure is the body with the soul—
Saith Kabir, only those who know God,
Are pure and acceptable.

The following was addressed to a hypocritical Muhammadan priest who had advised Kabir to make a pilgrimage to Makka.

IV

Make thy mind thy Kaaba, thy body its enclosing temple,
Conscience[2] its prime teacher ;
Then, O priest, call men to pray to that mosque
Which hath ten gates.

[1] Three names of Shiv. The Hindus say that there are eleven Shivs.

[2] Literally—thy speaker.

Sacrifice[1] wrath, doubt, and malice ;
Make patience thine utterance of the five prayers.
The Hindus and the Musalmans have the same Lord ;
What can the Mulla, what can the Shaikh do *for man* ?
Saith Kabir, I have become mad ;
Stealing my mind away *from the world* I have become blended with God.

Some one represented to Kabir that he was completely spoiled by his religious exercises. The following was his reply :—

V

When a stream is lost in the Ganges,
It becometh as the Ganges itself ;
Kabir is similarly lost *in God* by invoking Him ;
I have become as the True One and need not go elsewhere.
The perfume of the sandal is communicated to other trees ;
They then become as the sandal itself.
When the philosopher's stone is applied to copper,
It becometh gold ;
So Kabir having met the saints,
Hath become as God.

The following was addressed to some Brahmans who had attributed Kabir's contempt for their religious ceremonies to madness.

VI

You *wear* tilaks on your foreheads, *carry* rosaries in your hands, and *put on sectarial* dresses :
People think that God is a plaything—
If I am mad, *O God*, I am still Thine.
How can people know my secret ? [2]
I gather no leaves [3] and I worship no idol ;

[1] *Mismil* a corruption of the Arabic *bismillāh*, in the name of God, an expression used by Musalmāns when slaughtering animals.
[2] That is, the cause of my madness.
[3] To offer to idols.

Without devotion to God *other* worship is fruitless.
I worship the True Guru, and ever and ever propitiate Him ;
For such service I shall obtain happiness in His court.
People say Kabir is mad,
But *only* God knoweth Kabir's secret.

Kabir renounces both the Hindu and the Muhammadan priests.

VII

Turning away *from the world* I have forgotten both caste and lineage ;
My weaving is *now* in the infinite silence.[1]
I have now no quarrel *with any one* ;
I have given up both the Pandits and the Mullas.
I weave clothes and I wear them myself ;
Where *I see* no pride[2] there I sing God's *praises*.
What the Pandits and the Mullas prescribed for me,
I have received no *advantage* from, and have abandoned.
My heart being pure[3] I have seen the Lord ;
Kabir having searched and searched himself, hath found God within him.

Kabir when reproached with his poverty replied :—

VIII

Nobody respecteth the poor man ;
He may make hundreds of thousands of efforts, but no one will heed him.
If a poor man go to a rich man,
The latter, though opposite him, will turn his back.
If a rich man go to a poor man,
The latter respecteth, *yea*, inviteth him ;
Yet the poor man and the rich man are brothers :—
God's design[4] cannot be set aside.
Saith Kabir, it is he who is poor,
In whose heart the Name abideth not.

[1] In the realms of God. [2] That is, in the society of the saints.
[3] Also translated—being freed from the world.
[4] In making one poor and the other rich.

Worship God betimes.

IX

When man serveth the guru and worshippeth God,
It is only then he really hath a human body.[1]
Even the demigods[2] long for this body;
Therefore having obtained it,
Worship God; forget Him not;
That is the advantage of human birth.
Before the disease of old age hath come upon thee,
Before Death hath seized thy body,
Before thy voice hath grown weak,
O man, worship God.
If thou worship Him not now, when wilt thou, my brother?
When the end cometh thou canst not do so.
Whatever thou doest, it is best to do now;
Otherwise thou shalt not be saved, and shalt afterwards repent.
He is a worshipper whom God applieth to His worship;
It is he who shall obtain the pure God.
The doors *of his understanding* shall open to him by meeting the guru,
And he shall not return again by the way of the womb.
This is thine opportunity, this thy time;
Look into thy heart and reflect *on this.*
Saith Kabir, *O man,* whether thou win or lose,
I have many times called out to thee.

In the following Kabir appears to mean that God resides in the brain.

X

The best knowledge abideth in the city of Shiv;[3]
Having obtained it there, meditate *upon God.*[4]

[1] That is, it is only then his human birth is profitable.
[2] The demigods are proud, and do not praise God. They can only obtain deliverance by being born in human bodies.
[3] The brain or tenth gate.
[4] This and the preceding line are also translated—Men of the highest intellect raise their breath to the brain;
Do thou meeting them contemplate God.

And thou shalt know this world and the next.
Why should I kill myself performing works of pride ?
My attention is fixed on the special place—*the brain* ;
The name of the Sovereign God is my divine knowledge.
He who hath closed his sphincter ani,[1]
Hath placed the moon above the sun.[2]
At the western gate the sun is hot ; [3]
The breath then riseth to the brain from the spine.
The western gate is closed by a rock ; [4]
There is a window [5] over that rock.
Over the window is the tenth gate—
Saith Kabir, *He who dwelleth there* hath neither end nor limit.

Kabir gives his ideas of what a Mulla, a Qazi, and a superior of Jogis ought to be.

XI

[6] He is a Mulla who struggleth with his heart,
Who by the instruction of the guru contendeth with Death,
And crusheth Death's pride.
Salutation ever to that Mulla !
God is present ; why describe Him as distant ?
If thou restrain *thy* pugnacity, thou shalt obtain the Beautiful One.
He is a Qazi who pondereth on his body,
Who burneth it with divine fire,
And alloweth not his seed to drop even in his dreams—
For such a Qazi there is no old age or death—
He is an emperor [6] who *knoweth how* to draw up his two breaths,[7]

[1] So that all the breath of the body may go to the brain. This act is done mechanically by resting the anus on the heel.
[2] This verse is explained—He has set knowledge with its tiny light above universal ignorance.
[3] When the breath rises to the top of the spine.
[4] A piece of flesh which the Jogis suppose to be at the top of the spinal column.
[5] This is a second obstacle to the passage of the breath.
[6] Sultān—By this word is here meant a superior of Jogis.
[7] Who knows how to exercise the ira and pingla. Also translated—who shoots two arrows—knowledge and contempt of the world.

Who recalleth his mind when it goeth abroad, who collecteth the army *of breaths*[1] in his brain—

Such a one is an emperor, and hath an umbrella over his head.

The Jogis cry out 'Gorakh, Gorakh';
The Hindus repeat 'Ram, Ram';
The Musalmans have Khuda,
But Kabir's God is the All-pervading.

The following hymn, which is a homily against idolatry, is said to have been composed by the fifth Guru from a theme of Kabir.

XII

Vain is his devotion,
Who saith a stone is God.
Idle shall be his labour
Who falleth at the feet of a stone.
My God always speaketh;[2]
He bestoweth gifts on all living things.
He who is blind knoweth not God who is within him;
He is led away by superstition, and entangleth others.
A stone speaketh not, nor bestoweth gifts;
Vain are the ceremonies *of idolaters* and fruitless their service.
Say what advantage can be gained
By anointing a corpse with sandal.
If any one roll a corpse in the dirt,
What harm can it do the corpse?
Saith Kabir, I proclaim with a loud voice—
Understand me, ye infidels and pagans;
The love of other *gods* hath destroyed many homes,
The saints of God are ever happy.

The universal influence of Maya and the means of counteracting it.

XIII

The fishes in the water are led by Maya;[3]

[1] The body is supposed to have ten breaths, all of which the Jogis believe they can collect in the brain. [2] He is not silent like an idol.
[3] Their sense of taste, their palates.

The moths round the lamp are influenced by Maya ;
Through Maya the elephant feeleth lust ;
Creeping things and bumble-bees [1] perish through Maya—
My brethren, Maya is so bewitching
That she illudeth all living beings—
Birds and beasts are imbued with Maya ;
She causeth great hardship to the honey-bees ; [2]
Horses and camels are saturated with Maya ;
The eighty-four Sidhs are the sport of Maya ;
The six Jatis are the slaves of Maya ;
So are the nine Naths, the sun, and the moon ;
Penitents and the supreme Rikhis are lulled by Maya ;
In the power of Maya are Death and his five messengers ; [3]
Dogs and jackals are imbued with Maya ;
So are monkeys, leopards, lions,
Cats, sheep, and foxes ;
Trees and tubers are subject to Maya ;
The demigods are saturated with Maya ;
So are the ocean, the firmament, and the earth.
Saith Kabir, he who hath a belly *is subject* to Maya ;
But man shall be freed *from her influence* when he hath found a saint.

Let man fix his attention on God and not on worldly things.

XIV

As long as man speaketh of things as his own,
So long not one of his affairs shall prosper.
When he ceaseth to speak of things as his own,
Then God shall come and adjust his affairs.
To that end, O man, ponder on divine knowledge.
Why rememberest thou not God, the Destroyer of misery ?
As long as lions inhabit the forest,
So long shall the forest not flourish.[4]
When the jackal eateth the lion,[5]
The whole forest bursteth out in bloom.

[1] The lotus closes on them at night.
[2] In their anxiety to store honey.
[3] The five evil passions.
[4] The other animals of the forest will be unhappy.
[5] When divine knowledge destroys pride.

They who think themselves victorious are lost: *and they who think themselves* defeated are saved;[1]
By the favour of the guru they cross over.
The slave Kabir admonisheth all men
To fix their attention on God alone.

A brief description of God's court to which Kabir craves admittance.

XV

Who will introduce poor me to Him
Who hath seven thousand commanders,
A lakh and a quarter of prophets,
Eighty-eight karors of men called Shaikhs,
And fifty-six karors of servants to amuse Him?
His court is afar off; who can reach His private chamber?
He hath thirty-three karors of play-houses;
Eighty-four lakhs *of* beings wander *in them*.[2]
He showed some favour to father Adam,
And put him into paradise for a long time.
The faces of those whose hearts are not right are pale, and their utterance *is confounded*;
They forsake their books and work evil.
They who attribute blame *to God* and are angry with Him,
Shall obtain the fruit of their acts.
Thou art the giver, *O Lord*; I ever beg of *Thee*:
If Thou refuse me, I am ruined.[3]
The slave Kabir is in Thy sanctuary.
Keep me, O Merciful One, near Thee.

Kabir desires not heaven but absorption in God.

XVI

Everybody saith he is going thither;[4]
I know not where heaven is.
They who know not the secrets of their own hearts

[1] This verse is also translated—They who are overcome by their evil passions are lost, and they who conquer them are saved.
[2] Also translated—wander as His jesters.
[3] The gyānis translate—A stain shall attach to Thee. The line is also translated—If I reply, I shall be at fault. [4] To heaven.

Glibly talk of heaven.
As long as man desireth heaven,
He shall not dwell at God's feet.
I know not where heaven's gate is,
Nor its moat, nor its plastered fortress.
Saith Kabir, what *more* can I now say
Than that the society of saints is heaven ?

Kabir tells how he subdued his evil passions.

XVII

How shall I subdue this beautiful fortress,[1] my brother,
Which hath double walls [2] and triple moats,[3]
Whose entrenchments are the five *subtle elements*, the twenty-five *categories*,[4] worldly love, pride, jealousy, and very powerful Maya ?

I who am poor cannot obtain strength to *take that fortress* ; what shall I do, O God ?

Lust is its folding doors, woe and weal its gate-keepers, demerits and merits its gates ;

Anger, which is very quarrelsome, its commander ; and the heart its rebel king.

The *defenders* had dainties for their coats of mail, egoism for their helmets, and evil understanding for the bows they drew ;

Covetousness, which dwelleth in *the quiver* of the heart, became their arrows ; thus the fortress was impregnable ;

But I made *divine* love the fuse, meditation the howitzer, and divine knowledge the shells ;

I gently lit the fuse with the fire of God's *name*, and captured *the fortress* with one shot.

I began to fight assisted by truth and contentment, and battered both its doors ;

[1] The body.
[2] The two walls are doubt and wrong-headedness.
[3] The three moats are the three qualities.
[4] The twenty-five categories of the Sānkhya philosophy. See Monier Williams's *Indian Wisdom* and the Introduction to Cockburn Thompson's *Bhagavat Gita*. An enumeration of the categories here would not assist the Sikh student.

By the favour of the congregation of the saints and of the guru I made its king a prisoner.

By dint of remembering God I, a coward, have cut the noose of Death.

The slave Kabir hath scaled the fortress, and secured an imperishable empire.

The following refers to another persecution of Kabir :—

XVIII

The Ganges is a deity deep and profound ;
I, Kabir, was made to stand in it with chains on my feet.
My spirits fell not ; why should my body fear ?
My mind was absorbed in God's lotus feet ;
My chains were broken by the ripples of the Ganges,
And I found myself seated on a deer-skin.
Saith Kabir, I had no friend or companion
But God the Protector both by water and land.

God and His residence.

ASHTAPADI

I

God constructed an inaccessible fortress[1] for His residence,
Which He illumined with His light.
The lightning playeth and pleasure reigneth
Where the youthful[2] Lord God reposeth.
If the soul love God's name,
Man shall be released from old age and death, and his doubts shall flee away.
He whose mind loveth *to consider* whether a man's caste is high or low,
Chanteth the hymn of egoism.
The sound of the unbeaten music is heard
Where the Lord God reposeth.
He who fashioned continents and different countries,
The three worlds, the three *gods*, and the three qualities,

[1] The tenth gate or brain.
[2] Some translate this the minute or invisible.

Though styled inaccessible and invisible, dwelleth within the heart.

None can find the limit or the secret of the Sustainer of the earth ;

He shineth in the plantain blossom and in the sunshine,
And hath taken His dwelling in the pollen of the lotus.
God's spell is within the twelve petals of the heart
Where the holy Lord of Lakshmi reposeth.

The great *God* reacheth from the lower to the upper regions of the firmament ;

He illumineth the silent realm,
Where there is neither sun nor moon.
He was in the beginning ; He is without stain and happy.
Know that he pervadeth the body *as well as* the universe ;
He batheth in Mansarowar ; [1]
His pass-word is ' Soham ' (I am He) ;
He is not subject to merits or demerits,
Nor concerned with caste, with sunshine, or with shade ;
He is only found in the guru's asylum.

He who fixeth his attention on Him removeth it not, becometh released from transmigration,

And absorbed in the Infinite.
He who knoweth God in his heart
And repeateth His name, becometh as He.
Saith Kabir, that mortal shall be saved
Who fixeth in his heart *God's* light and spell.

God, God's servants, and God's court.

II

Millions of suns shine for Him ;
He hath millions of Shivs and Kailases ;[2]
Millions of Durgas shampoo *His limbs* ;
Millions of Brahmas recite the Veds for Him—
If I beg, *let me beg* only of God ;
I have naught to do with any other god—
Millions of moons form His lamps ;
Thirty-three demigods cook His food ;

[1] In the lake of the heart.
[2] A peak in the Himālayas where the Ganges is supposed to rise.

The nine planets[1] *multiplied* millions of times stand *on duty* in his court ;
Millions of Dharmrajas are His porters ;
Millions of winds from the four cardinal points fan Him ;
Millions of Sheshnags lay His bed ;
Millions of oceans are His water-carriers ;
The eighteen million loads *of vegetables* are His hair ;
Millions of store-keepers fill His store-houses ;
Millions of Lakshmis decorate Him—
He removeth many millions of demerits and merits—
Millions of Indars wait on Him ;
The fifty-six millions of *clouds* are His messengers ;
He is celebrated and unrivalled in every land.
With His tresses loose and with terrible *aspect* He moveth—
God playeth in millions of ways—
There are millions of feasts at His court ;
Millions of celestial singers hail Him ;
Millions of sciences all describe His attributes,
But even then they cannot find His end.
In His hair are millions of Bawans,
And *Rams* who out-generalled Rawan's army,
And Krishans who humbled the pride of Duryodhan,
Greatly extolled by a thousand million Purans.
Millions of Cupids cannot compete with Him *in beauty*—
He stealeth away the inmost heart.
Saith Kabir, hear me, O God,
Grant me the fearless dignity, the gift I crave.

The following was written under the grateful influence of early spring in the north of India.

BASANT

I

The earth bloometh, the firmament rejoiceth ;
Every heart is gladdened by God's light.
The Lord God rejoiceth in endless ways ;

[1] These are—Sūraj, Chānd, Mangal, Budh, Brihaspati, Shukkar, Sanīchar, Rāhū, and Ketū. The days of the week are named, in India, after the first seven.

Whithersoever I look, there is He contained.
The four Veds rejoice in worldliness ;
So do the Simritis with the books of the Musalmans.
Shiv practising Jog rejoiceth—
Kabir's Lord bloometh equally in all things.

Kabir accepts as saints Shukdev, Akrur, Hanuman, and Shiv, famous for their continence, and rejects the hypocritical Brahmans, Jogis, Sanyasis, and Penitents of his time.

II

The Pandits grow proud reciting the Purans,
The Jogis in practising Jog,
The Sanyasis in saying there is no one like themselves ;
The Penitents even in their different penances
Are all intoxicated with pride ; none of them is awake.
The thieves[1] who rob houses are *already* with them.
Shukdev and Akrur[2] are awake ;
Hanuman with the tail is awake ;
Shiv is awake and worshippeth *God's* feet ;
In this Kal age Namdev and Jaidev *are awake.*[3]
There are several forms of waking and sleeping :—
He who is awake under the guru's instruction is the best.
The most important duty of this body,
Saith Kabir, is to repeat God's name.

To obtain salvation without a guru would be impossible.

III

Hath a wife ever given birth to her husband ?
Hath a boy ever dandled his father ?
Hath a woman without breasts ever suckled ?
See, O people, the peculiarity of this Kal age—
Hath a son ever taken his mother in marriage ?
Can a man without feet ever leap ?
Can a man without a mouth burst into laughter ?
Without sleep can man repose ?

[1] The evil passions. [2] An uncle of Krishan.
[3] The persons mentioned did not allow worldly matters to interrupt their devotions.

Can one churn milk without a churn ?
Can a cow without an udder give milk ?
Can one accomplish a long journey without a road ?
So the way cannot be found without a true guru,
Kabir saith, and admonisheth *all men.*

God saves his saints as He did Prahlad.

IV

Prahlad was sent to school for instruction ;
He took several boys with him as his class-fellows.
He said to his teacher :—' Why teach me worldly entanglements ?
' *Rather* write on my tablet *the name of* God.
' I will not, sir, abandon the name of God ;
' I have no concern with any other instruction.'
His tutor's sons, Sanda and Marka,[1] went and reported *the matter to Prahlad's father.*
He sent for Prahlad, *telling them* to run quickly to him ;
Then he addressed him :—' Abandon the habit of repeating God's name ;
' I will let thee go at once if thou obey my words.'
Prahlad replied, ' Why dost thou continually annoy me ?
' I should be a sinner were I to abandon the one God
' Who made the water, the dry land, the hills, and the mountains.
' Throw me into the fire or kill me if it please thee.'
His father became angry and drawing his sword *said*,
' Show me that Preserver of thine.'
Upon this God expanding came forth from a pillar,
And killed Harnakhas by tearing him with His nails.
It was the Supreme Being, the God of gods, *who appeared.*
For the sake of His saint He became *incarnate* as the man-lion.
Saith Kabir, He whose limit cannot be seen
Saved Prahlad several times.[2]

[1] Brahmā's son was Bhrigu, Bhrigu's son was Shukkar, Shukkar's sons were Sanda and Marka.

[2] His life had been often in danger before from the bigotry and violence of his father, and the present occurrence was but the culmination of many acts of paternal cruelty.

Kabir prays to be protected from lust.

V

Within this body and mind is the thief Cupid,
Who hath stolen my jewel of divine knowledge.
I have no patron, O God, to whom I may make my complaint.
Whom hath *Cupid* not ruined? Who am I *that I should escape*?
O God, this terrible pain cannot be endured;
What power hath my fickle mind *against Cupid*?
Sanak Sanandan, *the sons of Brahma*, Shiv, Shukdev,
Vishnu, Brahma, and others know *his power*.
The poets, the Jogis, the wearers of matted hair,
Passed their lives guarding themselves against him.
Thou, O God, art unfathomable; I cannot find Thy depth.
O God, Lord of the poor, to whom *else* may I tell my woes?
Let the pain of birth and death subside, *and grant me* continence.
Kabir singeth the praises of the Ocean of happiness.

The body under the allegory of a merchant.

VI

There is one head of the firm and five traders,[1]
Who take with them spurious *wares* on twenty-five oxen.[2]
There are ten bags[3] and nine poles[4] *to lift them*;
The body is bound by seventy-two ropes.
I have nothing to do with that commerce
By which my capital is lessened, and my interest ever increased.
I have trafficked by joining the seven threads;[5]

[1] The head of the firm is man, the five traders the five senses.
[2] The spurious wares are worldly things.
[3] Generally understood to be the ten breaths of the body.
[4] The nine gates of the body.
[5] *Bairāg*, contempt of the world; *bibek*, discrimination; *khat sampat*, the six acquisitions; *moksh ichha*, desire of deliverance; *shrawan*,

I have joined with them *good* acts and *God's* love.
The three tax-gatherers[1] wrangle *for their share*;
But I a trader put them aside and departed.
The capital of the five traders is lost, their trade is ruined,
And the oxen disperse in every direction.
Saith Kabir, O man, thy business shall prosper,
And thy doubts depart when thou art absorbed in God.

A Brahman had censured Kabir for not having paid due attention to caste rules in eating. The following was his reply :—

VII

Thy mother was impure, thy father was also impure, and impure is the fruit they have borne.

The unlucky people came impure, they departed and died impure.

Tell me, O Pandit, what place is pure
Where I may sit and take my food.

My tongue is impure, what it saith is impure, the ears and eyes are all impure.

The impurity of the senses departeth not, O thou who art burning with Brahmanical wrath.

Fire is also impure, water is impure, and impure the place where thou sittest and cookest it.

With an impure ladle it is served up, and impure are those who sit and eat it.

Impure thy cow-dung, impure thy cooking-square, and impure the lines which mark it out.

Saith Kabir, that man is pure who hath obtained true knowledge.

hearing God's name; *manan*, obeying God's will; *nididhyāsan*, profound and continued meditation.

The six sampats or acquisitions are—*Sam*, restraint of the mind; *dam*, restraint of the senses; *uparati*, the preservation of the heart from love and hate; *tatiksha*, endurance of pain; *shradha*, faith; *samādhānta*, attention to the guru's instruction. Others, by the seven threads, understand the five organs of perception, the mind, and the understanding.

[1] The three qualities.

Kabir's wife had ground corn and gone out without collecting the flour. Kabir being left alone in the house paid more attention to his devotion than to his housekeeping. A dog came and began to lick the flour on the hand-mill. The following was addressed to the intruding animal :—

VIII

Thy stride is like that of a cow ;
The hair over thy tail is shiny.
Search for and eat anything in this house ;
Go not to another's house,
Lick the hand-mill, eat the flour ;
Whither takest thou the towel [1] of the hand-mill ?
Thou gazest very intently on this safe ;
Take care that the stick fall not on thy back.[2]
Saith Kabir, thou hast fared well ;
Take care that no one throw a brick or a clod at thee.[3]

Kabir endeavours to recall man to a sense of his insignificance.

SARANG

I

Why, O man, art thou proud of a small matter ?
With a store of only ten *mans* of corn and four double *paise* in thy pocket thou swaggerest along.
Even if thou obtain greatness, yea, a hundred villages, and have an income of two lakhs of rupees,
Thy authority shall only last for four days like the green leaves of the forest.
No one hath brought wealth with him, and no one shall take it away.
Greater sovereigns than even Rawan departed in a moment ;
God's saints who worship Him and repeat His name *abide* for ever.

[1] A cloth to collect the flour as it falls from the hand-mill.
[2] That is, run away before my wife or my son returns ; you shall meet with a different reception from them.
[3] This hymn is also applied allegorically to man.

They to whom God is merciful meet the society of the saints.

Neither mother, father, wife, son, nor wealth shall go with thee at the last moment.

Saith Kabir, worship God, O fool, *or* thy life shall pass away in vain.

God's omnipotence.

II

O God, I know not the measure of Thy regal authority ;

I am the handmaiden of Thy saints.

They who go laughing return weeping, and they who go weeping return laughing ;

What is inhabited becometh deserted, and what is deserted becometh inhabited.

God turneth water into dry land, dry land He turneth into wells, and wells into mountains;

He can raise man from earth to heaven, and when he hath ascended to heaven dash him down.

He can turn a beggar into a king, and a king into a beggar.

He can turn an idiot into a pandit, and a pandit into an idiot.

He can turn a woman into a man, and a man into a woman.

Saith Kabir, God is beloved of the saints ; I am a sacrifice unto Him.

Man should rely on God and practise humility.

III

Without God what succour hath man ?

The love of parents, brethren, sons, and wife is all fleeting.

Construct a raft for the other world ; what reliance can be placed on wealth ?

What confidence can be reposed in this vessel, if it be chinked in the slightest ? [1]

Thou shalt obtain the fruit of all religion and good works if thou desire to become the dust of everybody's feet.

Saith Kabir, hear, O saints, the mind is like the flying bird of the forest.

[1] If it receive even the slightest external pressure.

Kabir's bliss in feeling that he is saved—

PRABHATI

I

My dread of transmigration is at an end
Since God displayed His love for me.
The light hath dawned, the darkness is dispelled;
I have obtained the jewel God by meditation on Him.
When *He conferreth* happiness sorrow fleeth away;
The jewel of my heart is absorbed in God's love.
Whatever occurreth is according to Thy will, *O God*;
He who understandeth this shall be easily absorbed *in Thee.*
Saith Kabir, all my sins have been blotted out,
And my soul is absorbed in the Life of the world.

God is not confined as regards place to the mosque or the temple, or as regards time to any month or day.

II

If God dwell only in the mosque, to whom belongeth the rest of the country?

They who are called Hindus *say* that God dwelleth in an idol: I see not the truth in either sect.

O God, whether Allah or Ram, I live by Thy name,
O Lord, show kindness unto me.

Hari dwelleth in the south, Allah hath His place in the west.

Search in thy heart, search in thy heart of hearts; there is His place and abode.

The Brahmans *yearly* perform twenty-four *fastings* on the eleventh *day of the dark and light halves of the lunar month*; the Musalmans fast in the month of Ramzan.

The latter put aside eleven months of the year, *and say* that the Treasure is in one alone.

What availeth the Hindus to bathe *at Jagannath* in Urisa (Orissa), what *the Musalmans* to bow their heads in a mosque?

With deception in their hearts they repeat prayers; what availeth them to go on a pilgrimage to Makka?

The men and women Thou hast created, *O God,* are all in Thy form.

Kabir is a child of Ram and Allah, and accepteth all gurus and pirs.

Saith Kabir, hear, O men and women, seek the sanctuary of the one God ;

O mortals, only repeat God's name, and then shall you be assuredly saved.

In Kabir's presence a Brahman and a Muhammadan priest were reviling each others' sacred books. The Muhammadan expatiated on the merits of sacrifice.

IV

Say not that the Hindu and Musalman books are false ; false is he who reflecteth not on them.

If you say that the one God is in everything, then why kill fowls ?

O priest, say *is this* God's justice ?

Thy mental doubts forsake thee not ;

Thou seizest and bringest living things, and takest their lives, but thou *merely* killest *their bodies of* clay.

Their souls return to the Indestructible ; say what hast thou killed.

What avail thy purifications, thy rinsings of the mouth, and thy prostrations in the mosque ?

If thou pray with deception in thy heart, what availeth thee thy pilgrimage to Makka ?

Thou art impure ; thou knowest not the Pure One ; thou knowest not His secrets.

Saith Kabir, thou hast missed heaven, and art satisfied with hell.

Kabir offered to God the following oblation instead of incense, light, and the other accessories of Hindu worship.

V

Hear[1] me, God of gods, Supreme Lord, primal and omnipresent, *I offer my* vespers unto Thee.

[1] *Sun,* also translated—as an epithet of God—without desires.

The Sidhs *even* in *deep* meditation have not discovered Thy limits, but they continue to cling to Thine asylum.

Accept this oblation,[1] O bright Spirit ; worship the True Guru, my brethren.

Brahma standeth and readeth the Veds, but the Unseen is seen not by him.[2]

With divine knowledge as mine oil and Thy name my wick I have made a lamp to illumine my body.

I have lit *the lamp* with the light of the Lord of the world ; he who knoweth *how to do this* knoweth the Omniscient.[3]

The unbeaten sounds of God who dwelleth with man, are my five musical instruments.

O Thou Formless and Undisturbed, Thy slave Kabir hath made Thee this oblation.[4]

KABIR'S SLOKS

I

Kabir, my rosary is my tongue, on which I repeat God's name ;

In every age it bringeth peace and comfort to all *God's* servants.

II

Kabir, everybody laugheth at my caste ;

I am a sacrifice to this caste in which I repeat the Creator's name.

III

Kabir, why waverest thou ? Why lettest thou thy mind vacillate ?

God is the Lord of all happiness ; quaff the essence of His name.

[1] Of flowers, incense, light, &c.

[2] That is, God does not heed him.

[3] Also translated—The wise man knoweth how to do this. If *sūjhe* were read for *būjhe* the two words would be translated—The Omniscient would become manifest.

[4] This hymn is included in the Ārati of the Sikhs.

IV

Kabir, if golden earrings were to be made and rubies set in them,

They would appear like burnt reeds if God's name were not in the *wearer's* heart.[1]

V

Kabir, there are few who while alive are dead,[2]

And who fearlessly sing God's praises; whithersoever I look there is He *to save me.*

VI

Kabir, on the day I am dead there shall be rejoicing after me;[3]

I shall *then* have met my God, and my friends will worship Him *instead of weeping.*

VII

Kabir, I am the worst of men; except myself everybody is good;

He who holdeth the same opinion is my friend.

VIII

Kabir, *worldly love* came to me in various disguises,

But my guru preserved me; *worldly love then* made me obeisance and *departed.*

IX

Kabir, destroy that *Maya* whose death shall make thee happy;

Every one shall *then* say it is well; no one shall *deem it* ill.

X

Kabir, when the nights are dark, thieves arise;

They run about with nooses *for men*; know that they are accursed of God.

[1] This is understood to be a satire on Indian bankers who generally wear large earrings.

[2] That is, who practise humility and efface their pride.

[3] Also translated—On the day my pride is dead there shall be rejoicing.

XI

Kabir, the sandal-tree is good even though surrounded by the dhak-tree ; [1]

If the latter be near the sandal-tree, it will also become fragrant as sandal.

XII

Kabir, the bamboo is drowned in its pride ; [2] may nobody be drowned so !

It may grow near the sandal, but it is never perfumed by it.[3]

XIII

Kabir, man hath lost his faith through mammon, *but* mammon will not accompany him ;

He hath carelessly struck his foot with an axe by his own hand.

The following is said to have been written in reply to some one who had invited Kabir to attend a religious fair :—

XIV

Kabir, wherever I wandered I saw spectacles everywhere ;

Without the saint who loveth God, *the world* is in my opinion a desert.

XV

Kabir, the hut of the saints is comfortable ; the village of the false is a furnace.

May fire prey upon that mansion where the name of God is not !

XVI

Kabir, why weep when a saint dieth, *since* he is merely going home ?

Weep *rather* for the poor infidel who is sold at every shop.[4]

[1] The *Butea Frondosa*.

[2] It holds its head high, yet it is hollow in the centre.

[3] They who are hardened in their pride are not improved by association with the humble.

[4] Who has to undergo transmigration.

XVII

Kabir, the infidel is like a dinner of garlic ;
One may sit in the corner and eat it, *but its smell* becometh manifest at last.

XVIII

Kabir, the body [1] is a churn, the breath *of life* its churning-staff ;
The saints eat the butter, the world drinketh the butter-milk.

XIX

Kabir, the body is the churn, the breath *of life* the stream of iced water ; [2]
He who hath churned shall eat the *butter*, and *so shall* his helpmates also.

XX

Kabir, Maya is a thief who breaketh into and robbeth the shop ; [3]
One man, Kabir, who hath chased her in every direction,[4] she shall not rob.[5]

XXI

Kabir, they who make many friends are not happy in this world ;
But they who keep their minds fixed on the one God ever enjoy happiness.

XXII

Kabir, while the world feareth death, my heart is pleased therewith ;
Since it is only by death supreme bliss is obtained.

XXIII

Kabir, when thou obtainest the jewel of God's *name* keep it to thyself,[6]

[1] *Māya* here means body, because it is the result of illusion.
[2] Put into the churn in India in the hot weather to assist the churning process.
[3] Who breaks into the heart, and robs it of its virtues.
[4] Others translate—Kabīr hath cut her up in twelve pieces.
[5] Kabīr chased her to arrest her, but she ran in every direction, literally, by twelve ways to avoid him, and so she cannot rob him.
[6] Literally—Open not the knots of thy dress in which it is tied.

For there is no bazaar *to sell it in,* no connoisseur, no purchaser, no price *for it.*

XXIV

Kabir, love him who *hath made* God his master ;
Learned men, kings, lords of the soil—of what avail is *love for them* ?

XXV

Kabir, by loving the one God all other love departeth,
Whether thou wearest long hair, or shavest thy head clean.[1]

XXVI

Kabir, the world is a chamber of soot ; blind are they who enter it, *and they become defiled.*
I am a sacrifice to those who have entered it, and come forth *clean.*

XXVII

Kabir, this body shall depart ; if possible detain[2] it :
They who had hundreds of thousands and millions departed barefooted.

XXVIII

Kabir, this body shall depart ; put it on some road
On which it may either hold converse with saints, or sing God's praises.

XXIX

Kabir, everybody dieth in his turn, but no one even knoweth how to die ;
When thou diest, so die that thou shalt not have to die again.[3]

XXX

Kabir, it is difficult to obtain human birth ; it cometh not again and again ;
As the ripe fruit of the forest, when it falleth to the ground returneth not to the *parent*-branch.

[1] Some understand this line to mean—Whether thou adoptest a worldly or an ascetic life. Sanyāsis or hermits shave their heads.
[2] Let not thy human birth go in vain.
[3] That thou shalt have no more transmigration.

Somebody came to visit Kabir, and asked him if Kabir (great) was his name. The following, addressed to God, was his reply :—

XXXI

It is Thou, *O God*, who art Kabir (*great*), and whose name is Kabir (*great*);
Man shall only obtain the jewel of the Lord when he despiseth his body.

XXXII

Kabir, utter not idle complaints *against God*; nothing shall result from what thou sayest;
No one can set aside what the merciful One doeth.

XXXIII

Kabir, nobody who is counterfeit can withstand God's touchstone;
Only he who in life is dead can bear its ordeal.

XXXIV

Kabir, men wear gaudy robes, and eat betel leaves and betel nut;
But without the name of the one God they shall be bound and taken to the city of Death.

XXXV

Kabir, my boat is old, and leaketh in a thousand chinks;
Boats very lightly laden cross over, but those with *heavy* cargoes [1] founder.

XXXVI

Kabir, *man's* bones burn like firewood, his hair burneth like grass;
Kabir is sad on seeing everybody burning.[2]

XXXVII

Kabir, be not proud of thy bones wrapped up in skin;
They who rode excellent horses, *and* under umbrellas, were at last buried in the earth.

[1] Of sin is meant.
[2] This was written after witnessing a cremation.

XXXVIII

Kabir, be not proud on seeing thy lofty dwellings ;
To-day or to-morrow thou shalt lie *beneath* the earth, and the grass shall grow over thee.

XXXIX

Kabir, be not proud, let none laugh at the poor ;
Now thy bark is on the sea ; who knoweth what shall happen.[1]

XL

Kabir, be not proud on seeing thy beautiful body ;
Thou shalt leave it to-day or to-morrow as a serpent its slough.

XLI

Kabir, if thou must plunder, then plunder, but let thy plunder be the name of God ;
Otherwise thou shalt afterwards repent *when* life hath left thy body.

XLII

Kabir, few[2] have been born who have applied the fire of *divine knowledge* to their bodies,
Who have burnt the five evil passions, and with *the same fervour* continued to love God.

XLIII

Is there any one who will sell me his son ; any one who will sell me his daughter ?[3]
Is there any one who will go into partnership with Kabir, and deal in God's *name* with him ?

XLIV

Kabir, I remind thee, O man—and entertain no doubt on the subject—

[1] Thou mayest be brought low thyself, and men will laugh at thee.
[2] In the original, none, but this apparently is an exaggeration of religious enthusiasm.
[3] This slok is an allegory. By son Kabīr meant soul, and by daughter body. Is there any one who will devote his soul and body to God's worship? Another explanation is the following—Is there any one who will give me his son—his heart—in exchange for my daughter, religious instruction.

Thou canst not exchange the pleasures thou hast already enjoyed for even a morsel of coarse sugar.[1]

XLV

Kabir, I *first* thought that learning was good, *then* that the Jog *philosophy* was better than learning;

But *now* I shall never forsake the service of God, even though men revile me for it.

XLVI

Kabir, how can the wretched people who have no divine knowledge in their hearts, revile me? [2]

Kabir having abandoned every occupation continueth to repeat God's name.

XLVII

Kabir, the wanderer's skirt hath caught fire on all sides; [3]

The tattered garment hath been burnt and reduced to charcoal, but the flame hath not touched the waist-string.[4]

XLVIII

Kabir, the tattered garment hath been burnt and reduced to charcoal, the skull hath burst into atoms;

The poor Jogi hath had his day, and dust only remaineth where he sat.

XLIX

Kabir, man is like a fish in a little water; the angler casteth in his net;

Man shall not escape in this little pond; he ought to think of returning to the Ocean.[5]

L

Kabir, leave not the Ocean, though it be very brackish; [6]

[1] The pleasures thou hast enjoyed are useless to thee now.

[2] That is, what care I for their reviling?

[3] Death has attacked man's body. [4] The soul.

[5] The little water and the little pond mean the world. The ocean is God from whom man emanated, and with whom he ought to seek refuge from the angler's net, that is, death.

[6] Forsake not God's service even though it be attended with hardship.

If thou search for shelter in every pond,[1] no one shall call thee good.

LI

Kabir, they who had no guru were wafted away ; there was no one to stop them—

Practise meekness and humility,[2] come what may.

LII

Kabir, the bitch of God's saints is good, but the mother of the infidel is bad ;

The former ever heareth the Lord's name and praises, the latter goeth to commit sin.

LIII

Kabir, man is like a lean stag ; this world is a lake surrounded by verdure ;

There are hundreds of thousands of hunters and but one life—how long can it escape ? [3]

LIV

Kabir, if thou make thine abode on the bank of the Ganges, thou mayest drink pure water ;

But thou shalt not obtain salvation without devotion to God ; the great departed have said this.[4]

LV

Kabir, me whose mind is pure as Ganges water,
God followeth and addresseth, ' Kabir ! Kabir ! ' [5]

LVI

Kabir, turmeric is yellow and lime white ;
When both colours are blended, the beloved God is met.[6]

[1] If thou have recourse to the gods and goddesses of the vulgar.

[2] Also translated—make humility thy religion.

[3] Man is like a hungry stag let loose on the grassy margin of a lake. He revels in the rich pasture afforded him, has no time for other reflection, and consequently becomes an easy prey to Death the hunter.

[4] Also translated—Saying this, Kabīr departed from Banāras for Magahar.

[5] Also translated—Kabīr, God followeth those whose minds are pure as Ganges water, and saith that they are superior to it.

[6] Turmeric and lime stand for men of different castes. Turmeric

LVII

Kabir, turmeric then loseth its yellowness, and not a trace of *the whiteness* of lime remaineth ;

I am a sacrifice to that love by which tribe and caste and lineage are effaced.

LVIII

Kabir, the door of salvation is narrow, *the breadth* of the tenth of a grain of mustard ;

The mind is *as large as an* elephant ; [1] how can it pass through ?

LIX

Kabir, if I meet a true guru and he kindly favour me,

The door of salvation shall be *made* wide, and I can easily pass through.

Kabir's hut once fell, and people asked him to repair it ; the following was his reply :—

LX

Kabir, I have no hut or shed ; I have no house or village ;

I have no caste or name that God should ask who this man is.

LXI

Kabir, I desire to die, *but* when I die let it be at God's gate,

So that God may ask, 'Who is this lying at My door ?'

LXII

Kabir, I did not do this, nor will I do it again, nor am I physically able to do it ;

How do I know what God may have done ? *Yet* it was all Kabir.[2]

means men of low castes, lime men of high castes. High caste men were originally fair in comparison with the brown aborigines of India. When turmeric and lime are blended, a red product used for sacrificial marks on the forehead results. When holy men of different castes meet, God is obtained by their association, and their castes disappear.

[1] Man is very proud.

[2] This slok has already been given in the life of Kabir.

LXIII

Kabir, the skin of my body shall be shoes for his feet
From whose mouth in his muttering dream issueth God's name.

LXIV

Kabir, we are puppets of clay, but bear the name of men ;
Though guests for only four days, we occupy very great space.

LXV

Kabir, I have converted myself into henna and thoroughly ground myself,
But, even so, God never inquired about me and never allowed me to touch His feet.

LXVI

Kabir, the door from which no visitor is repelled
How shall I leave, since such a door there is ?

LXVII

Kabir, I was drowning, but the wave of good qualities quickly *washed me ashore* and saved me ;
When I saw the bark was rotten, I leapt from it at once.

LXVIII

Kabir, the saint is not pleasing to the sinner ; the latter cannot bear the worship of God ;
The fly avoideth the sandal, and goeth where there is an evil odour.

LXIX

Kabir, the physician is dead, the patient is dead, the whole world is dead in *spiritual* ignorance ;
One person alone, Kabir, for whom none shall weep is not dead.

LXX

Kabir, man meditateth not on God ; such great sin attacheth to him :

The body is a wooden pot ; it cannot be put on the fire a second time.[1]

LXXI

Kabir, it so happened to me that God did what was pleasing to my mind ; [2]

Why fear death when thou hast taken the red lead [3] in thy hand ?

LXXII

Kabir, as one sucketh sugar-cane, so ought one to strive most earnestly [4] for virtue :

None calleth that man good who is without virtue.

LXXIII

Kabir, *the body is like* an earthen pot filled with water ; it will burst to-day or to-morrow :

If thou remember not thy great *God*, thou shalt be plundered half-way.[5]

LXXIV

Kabir, I am God's dog ; Moti [6] is my name ;

There is a string [7] on my neck ; where I am pulled there I go.

LXXV

Kabir, why displayest thou to men thy wooden rosary ?

If thou remember not God in thy heart, what availeth this rosary ?

LXXVI

Kabir, separation from God, like a serpent which yieldeth to no charm, dwelleth in the heart ;

[1] Human birth shall not be again obtained by those who meditate not on God.

[2] God admitted me to His service.

[3] That is, why fear death which is imminent and unavoidable ?

[4] Literally—to weep and die in one's efforts to obtain it.

[5] All the good works you have performed shall only help you half-way ; but, if you have meditated on God, you shall be saved.

[6] Moti—literally pearl—is a common Indian name for a favourite dog.

[7] God's love.

He who is separated from God shall not live, or if he do, he shall become insane.[1]

LXXVII

Kabir, the philosopher's stone and sandal have one good property *in common* ;

By the touch of the former iron becometh the best *metal* ;[2] *by the touch of the latter* inodorous wood *is perfumed.*

LXXVIII

Kabir, Death's club is bad ; it cannot be endured :

I have met a holy man[3] and he hath attached me to his skirt.

LXXIX

Kabir, the physician, saith, 'I am the only good physician ; *all* medicines are in my power' :

This thing *life* is God's property, He taketh it when He pleaseth.

LXXX

Kabir, take and beat thy drum for ten days ;[4]

This world is like the meeting on a river-boat *of persons* who shall never meet again.[5]

LXXXI

Kabir, were I to make the seven oceans my ink, the trees of the forest my pens,

And the earth my paper, I should not *succeed* in writing God's praises.

LXXXII

Kabir, what harm can my weaver caste do me since God dwelleth in my heart ?

God hath embraced Kabir, and released him from all his entanglements.

[1] The serpent shall sting him, and he shall either die or become insane.

[2] Gold.

[3] Rāmānand.

[4] Be happy while you may.

[5] Compare—

> The world's a city full of straying streets,
> And death the market-place where each one meets.

LXXXIII

Kabir, there are few willing to burn their own houses,[1]
Destroy their five children,[2] and concentrate their love on God.

LXXXIV

Kabir, there are few who will set fire to their own bodies ;[3]
Fools understand not though Kabir continueth to shout to them.

LXXXV

Kabir, the sati mounted on the pyre crieth out 'Hear my friends on this cremation-ground ;
As people have all departed, so do we at last.'

LXXXVI

Kabir, the mind is a bird which flieth and flieth in every direction ;
Man is rewarded according to the company he keepeth.

LXXXVII

Kabir, the position thou wast seeking thou hast found ;
Thou hast changed into God whom thou thoughtest was different.

LXXXVIII

Kabir, I am dying of evil company like the plantain near the wild caper ;
The latter waveth and the former is pierced *by its thorns*, so avoid the apostate.

LXXXIX

Kabir, men[4] affect to travel with the burden of other men's sins on their heads ;
Why fear they not the burden *of their own*, since the road in front *of them* is difficult to travel ?

[1] To mortify their flesh.
[2] The five evil passions as dear to men as their children.
[3] To subdue their concupiscence.
[4] The Brāhmans.

XC

Kabir, a standing forest tree[1] which is burning calleth out—
'May I not fall into the power of the smith[2] who would burn me again *in his forge*.'[3]

One day Kabir was sitting on the bank of the Ganges. He saw a hunter who had shot a deer. The deer had two young ones in her womb. Both these died. The buck then came, and was also shot by the hunter. The latter went to pick up the animal and was mortally bitten by a snake. The hunter's wife then came and died through grief, or because the snake bit her too. Thus died four males and two females.

XCI

Kabir, on the death of one two died; on the death of two, four;
On the death of four, six died—four males and two females.[4]

XCII

Kabir hath seen and searched the world, but found no *abiding* place anywhere:
Why doth he, who hath not thought of God's name, lose himself in other *speculations*?

XCIII

Kabir, associate with the saint; he will save thee at last;
Associate not with the infidel; his company will be thy ruin.

XCIV

Kabir, knowing that God is everywhere diffused in the world,[5] I have remembered Him in this life;

[1] The body. [2] The god of death.
[3] That is, subject me to transmigration after the miseries of this life.
[4] This enigmatical couplet is thus explained—On the death of spiritual ignorance, superstition and attachment to worldly things die. When these two evils die, then die lust, anger, worldly love, and covetousness. When these four deadly sins die, then die birth and death (jointly called transmigration), joy, grief, hope, and desire. The first four are feminine, the last two are masculine.
[5] That is, not in the temple, or the mosque, or in any other place especially set apart for religious worship.

They who have thought not of God's name, have been born in vain.

XCV

Kabir, hope in God ; all other hope is hopeless :
They who are bereft of God's name shall admit *its power* when they fall into hell.

XCVI

Kabir hath made many disciples and followers, but hath not made God his friend :
He set out to meet God, but his heart failed him halfway.

XCVII

Kabir, what shall poor man do if God assist him not ?
Whatever branch I put my foot on bendeth *beneath me.*

XCVIII

Kabir, sand shall fall into the mouths of those *who practise not* what they preach to others ;
They watch others' property, while their own fields are being eaten up.

XCIX

Kabir, associate with holy men even though thou eat only barley bran :
What will be, will be ; associate not with the apostate *even though he give thee better fare.*

C

Kabir, by association with the saints the love *of God* doubleth day by day :
The infidel is like a black blanket ; he becometh not white by washing.

CI

Kabir, thou hast not shaved thy heart ; why shave thy hair ?
Man's sins are the work of his heart ; shaving the head is out of place.

CII

Kabir, forsake not God ; if thy body and wealth must go, let them go.

They whose hearts are devoted to God's lotus feet, shall be absorbed in His name.

CIII

Kabir, the strings of the instrument we play upon are all broken ;[1]

What can the poor instrument do when the player[2] hath departed ?

CIV

Kabir, shave the mother of that guru from whom doubt departeth not ;

He is drowned himself in the four Veds and he drowneth his disciples therein.

CV

Kabir, man concealeth all the sins he committeth ;

But at last they are all disclosed when Dharmraj maketh his inquiry.

CVI

Kabir, ceasing to remember God thou hast reared a numerous family :

Thou continuest to practise thine avocations though thy brethren and relations are no more.[3]

CVII

Kabir, the woman who ceasing to remember God goes to a wake at night[4] *to practise witchcraft,*

Shall be born again as a serpent, and eat her own offspring.[5]

[1] The body has grown old, and its limbs have become useless.

[2] Life.

[3] That is, thou wilt not take warning by the fate of others.

[4] After the cremation of a corpse and before the bones are collected strangers go to the burning-place at night, and practise incantations with the object of retaining the ghost of the departed so as to be serviceable to them in their worldly objects. When the relatives of the departed know of the ceremony, they do not allow it.

[5] It is supposed that a female snake draws a circle round her eggs and then breaks them herself. The young snakes which can go outside the circle are allowed to depart and live, but those not so able the mother is said to eat.

CVIII

Kabir, the woman who ceasing to remember God fasteth in honour of Hoi,[1]

Shall be born again as a donkey and carry a weight of four mans.[2]

CIX

Kabir, very great skill *is required* to utter God's *name* in the heart ;

If the *acrobat* who performeth on the high pole fall, he cannot survive.[3]

CX

Kabir, blest is his mouth who uttereth God's *name* ;

His *whole* village shall be blest, *to say nothing of* the poor *creature* himself.

CXI

Kabir, the family is fortunate in which a slave of God is born ;

The family in which a slave of God is not born shall be *fruitless* as the *dhak*-tree.

CXII

Kabir *hath seen* hundreds of thousands of horses, elephants, and carriages, and banners wave as thick as clouds—

Begging, when the days pass in remembering God, is better than *all* this state.

CXIII

Kabir, I have traversed the whole world with my drum on my shoulder ;

I have seen and carefully examined[4] everything, and *I find* no one hath a friend.

[1] Hoi is a representation of the goddess of small-pox. A festival is held by women in her honour in the month of Kārtik, eight days before the Diwāli. Unmarried women make clay images of her with the object of obtaining their desires. These images are thrown into water after the Diwāli. In the Panjāb Hoi is known as Sānjhi.

[2] At that time the man (maund) only weighed thirty-five pounds avoirdupois. At present it weighs eighty pounds.

[3] If man, having once entered the path of devotion deflect from it, he shall find no abiding place.

[4] *Thok bajāna* is to clink a vessel with the middle finger to test its soundness.

CXIV

Kabir, pearls were scattered on the road ; a blind man came that way *and saw them not* ;

Without the light of the Lord of the world everybody like the blind man passeth the pearls by.

It is said that Kamal, Kabir's son, met a rich leper who was going in despair to drown himself in the Ganges. Kamal begged him to desist and promised to cure him. Kamal took up some Ganges water in the palm of his hand, breathed on it, repeated the name of God, and then threw the water on the leper. The latter was instantaneously cured. He rewarded Kamal with a large gift of money. In the following couplet Kabir censures his son for having accepted it :—

CXV

Kabir's family was ruined when his son Kamal was born ;
Ceasing to remember God he brought home wealth.

CXVI

Kabir, go to meet a holy man but take no one with thee ; [1]
Do not go back ; go on, come what may.

CXVII

Bind not thyself, O Kabir, with the rope [2] by which the world is bound ;

As salt is lost in flour, so shall this gold-like body *disappear.*

CXVIII

Kabir, the soul shall fly away and the body be buried ; man knoweth not *when his time shall come* ; [3]

Yet even now he will not let covetousness escape from his eyes.

[1] That is, do not wait for a companion. It may also mean—take not with you a companion who may want you to change your mind, and turn back on the way. [2] Worldly love.

[3] Also translated—He expresses his wishes to his relations by signs.

CXIX

Kabir, may I behold Thee, *O God*, with mine eyes, hear Thy name with mine ears,

Utter Thy name with my tongue, and put Thy lotus feet within my heart !

CXX

Kabir hath escaped from heaven and hell by the favour of the true guru ;

I bask for ever and ever [1] in the joy of God's lotus feet.

CXXI

Kabir, say how can I guess the joy of God's lotus feet ;

Their beauty cannot be described ; it can only be realized when seen.

CXXII

Kabir, even if I see them, to whom shall I describe them ? no one would be satisfied *with my words* ;

God is His own parallel ; I dwell in the delight of singing His praises.

CXXIII

Kabir, the kulang pecketh *its food* and at the same time remembereth *its young* ; it pecketh, and pecketh, and pecketh and remembereth *its young* ;

As its young are dear to the kulang, so is worldly love to the mind.

CXXIV

Kabir, the sky is overcast with clouds ; lakes and tanks are filled with rain-water ;

Yet what shall be the condition of those who *choose* to remain thirsty as the chatrik ? [2]

CXXV

Kabir, the sheldrake which at night is separated from her mate, meeteth him in the morning ;

But the man who is separated from God meeteth Him again neither in the morning nor in the evening.

[1] Literally—in the beginning and the end.

[2] Those who accept not the teaching of holy men which is as plentiful as rain.

CXXVI

Kabir, O shell, remain in the ocean ; if thou leave it,
Thou shalt have to scream at sunrise at every temple.[1]

CXXVII

Kabir, what dost thou, O man, by sleeping ? arise and weep through fear *of hell and its* torments :
How can he whose dwelling is in the grave sleep in peace ? [2]

CXXVIII

Kabir, what dost thou by sleeping ? why not arise and repeat God's *name* ?
One day thou shalt sleep stretched out at full length *in the grave.*

CXXIX

Kabir, what dost thou by sleeping ? awake, arise ;
Attach thyself to Him from whom thou art separated.

CXXX

Kabir, leave not the way of holy men, walk on their road ;
Purify thyself by the sight of them, and repeat God's name on meeting them.

CXXXI

Kabir, associate not with the infidel ; flee far away *from him* ;
If thou touch a black pot, some filth shall attach to thee.

CXXXII

Kabir, thou hast not thought of God, and old age hath come upon thee ;
When the door of thy house is on fire, what can be taken out and saved ?

[1] That is, O man, remain absorbed in the contemplation of God, otherwise thou shalt have to undergo many births. At Hindu temples it is a custom to blow shells in the morning to summon worshippers.
[2] Unless we have repented before death.

CXXXIII

Kabir, the work which the Creator did was accomplished *once for all.*

There is no God *but Him*, the one Creator.

CXXXIV

Kabir, when the fruit *trees* begin to bear fruit, and the mango beginneth to ripen,

The fruit reacheth its owner if meantime the crows[1] have not eaten it.

CXXXV

Kabir, men purchase and worship an idol, and obstinately go on pilgrimages ;

Like actors they imitate one another, but they only err and lose their way.

CXXXVI

Kabir, men have turned a stone into God ; everybody worshippeth it ;

They who abide in this belief are drowned in the sable stream.

CXXXVII

Kabir, books[2] form a prison, the doors of which are the writing thereon :

Stones[3] have drowned the world ; pandits have pillaged the road.

CXXXVIII

Kabir, do now the work of to-morrow ; and if thou do it now, do it at once ;

Nothing can be done hereafter when Death standeth over thy head.

[1] If the evil passions of men do not mar their good works, they shall reach God. *Kānb* is also an insect which destroys fruit. The meaning of the slok is—Man may perform penance and many acts of worship, but all will be unavailing if there be a flaw in his devotion, if his heart be not right.

[2] The writings in which idolatry and pilgrimages are prescribed.

[3] Idol worship.

CXXXIX

Kabir, I have seen such and such a person polished like wax ; [1]

He appeareth quick and very virtuous, but he is without understanding and unholy.

CXL

Kabir, Death will not disgrace mine understanding [2]

Since I have repeated the name of the Cherisher who created him.

CXLI

Kabir, *God* is as musk ; all His saints are as the bumble-bees *around it* :

The more Kabir's service, the more God dwelleth *in his heart.*

CXLII

Kabir, man falleth into the clutches of family ; God is left in the background :

Dharmraj's myrmidons fall on man in the midst of his pomp.

CXLIII

Kabir, better than an infidel is a pig [3] which keepeth the village clean ;

When the poor infidel dieth, nobody will mention him.

CXLIV

Kabir, men have amassed hundreds of thousands and millions, kauri by kauri ;

But when departing they get nothing ; *even* their waist-cloths are taken from them.

CXLV

Kabir, were one to be a follower of Vishnu and wear a beautiful [4] necklace, what would it avail him ?

[1] Bracelets made of white wax are worn by women. They are showy but unsubstantial.

[2] That is, he will do as I request him.

[3] He is the village scavenger, and is remembered when the poor infidel is forgotten.

[4] Also translated—four necklaces as some followers of Vishnu wear.

He may be externally gold twelve times purified, but within he is only stuffed with wax.

CXLVI

Kabir, become the broken stones of the road ; lay aside thine intellectual pride ;

If such a servant there be, he shall meet God.

CXLVII

Kabir, *but* what would it avail to be the broken stones ? they would hurt the traveller's feet ;

O God, Thy servant should be as the dust of the earth.[1]

CXLVIII

Kabir, *but* what would it avail to be dust which flieth and falleth on men's bodies ?

The servant of God ought to be like water which *cleanseth* all the limbs.[2]

CXLIX

Kabir, *but* what would it avail to be water ? it becometh cold or hot *according to the season* ;

Every servant of God ought to be *perfect* like God Himself.

CL

Flags wave on the tops of lofty mansions *full* of gold and of women—

Better than all are the bread of alms[3] and singing God's praises in the company of His saints.

CLI

Kabir, the wilderness where God is worshipped is better than a city ;

The place without the beloved God is in my opinion as the city of Death.

[1] Which is soft, and hurts not the traveller's feet.

[2] When soiled by the dust.

[3] *Madhūkari.* This word is derived from the Sanskrit *madhūkar*, the bee which extracts honey from every flower.

CLII

At the ferry of Sahajsun where the Ganges and the Jamna meet,[1]

Kabir hath built a hut where saints and men *of God* seek the way.

CLIII

Kabir, were man to continue to the end *loving God*[2] as he was born,

Millions of precious stones, to say nothing of one poor diamond, would not be equal to him.

CLIV

Kabir, I have seen a strange thing—a diamond was sold in a shop ;

In the absence of a purchaser *who knew its worth*, it went for a kauri.[3]

CLV

Kabir, where there is divine knowledge there is virtue ; where there is falsehood there is sin ;

Where there is covetousness there is death ; where there is forgiveness there is *God* Himself.

CLVI

Kabir, what availeth it to abandon worldly love if pride be not *also* abandoned ?

Munis and their spiritual superiors perished by pride ; their pride ate them all up.

CLVII

Kabir, a true guru met me and shot one word at me ;

When it struck me I fell to the earth ; there was a hole made in my heart.

[1] The gyānis generally translate this—In the sukhmana where the breath of the left and right nostrils meet.

[2] The belief is that the foetus in the womb prays to God, but when a child is born and brought into contact with the world, his devotion fails.

[3] Divine grace so priceless was spurned by the common herd, and only valued at a kauri.

CLVIII

Kabir, what can the true guru do if his disciples be at fault ?

Not one *word* of his impresseth the *spiritually* blind : it is like blowing into a bamboo.

CLIX

Kabir, the lady of a monarch who possesseth horses, elephants, and carriages in abundance,

Is not equal to the female water-carrier of a saint of God.

CLX

Q. O Kabir, why revilest thou the king's lady ? Why honourest thou God's handmaiden ?

A. The former parteth her hair with evil intentions ; the latter remembereth God's name.

CLXI

Kabir, I propped myself up with *God's name*, and steadied myself ; the true guru gave me courage :

I purchased large diamonds on the bank of lake Mansarowar.

CLXII

Kabir, God is the diamond, God's servant the jeweller who hath taken *the gem* and set up a shop *for it* ;

As soon as an assayer is found, the price of the diamond shall be *ascertained.*

CLXIII

Kabir, as thou rememberest God when occasion requireth, so remember Him always ;

Make thine abode in the immortal city ; God will restore the wealth thou hast lost.

CLXIV

Kabir, for worship two beings are necessary, one the saint, and the other God—

God who bestoweth salvation, and the saint who causeth us to repeat His name.

CLXV

Kabir, crowds followed the pandits by the way they went ;
The one road to God by which Kabir hath been ascending is difficult.

CLXVI

Kabir, man acteth out of regard for his family and thus dieth from worldly troubles ;
Who hath family pride when he is placed on the cremation-ground ?

CLXVII

Kabir, O wretched people, ye shall be ruined through your great regard for *the opinion of* others ;
Know that the fate of your neighbours shall also be yours.

CLXVIII

Kabir, good is the meal of alms made of different kinds [1] of corn ;
I have no claim on any one *for it* ; great is the country and great its government.[2]

CLXIX

Kabir, heart-burning ariseth from claims ; he who hath no claim is without anxiety ;
He who hath no claim deemeth Indar poor in *comparison with himself*.

CLXX

Kabir, the lake is filled to the brim, yet few can drink the water ; [3]
With great good fortune hast thou found it ; drink it in handfuls, Kabir.

[1] And thus affording variety.

[2] That is, the world is wide, and great is the empire of the holy. The words *dāwa kāhū ko nahīn* are also translated—To which no one hath a claim.

[3] The saints are filled with holiness, yet few accept instruction from them. The verse is also translated—The lake is full, but there is a dike in front owing to which few can drink the water. The dike means worldly love, which hinders men from having recourse to the guru.

CLXXI

Kabir, as the stars pass away in the morning, so doth this body pass away ;

But the two letters of God's name pass not away ; Kabir holdeth them fast.

CLXXII

Kabir, the house of wood is on fire on all sides ; [1]

The pandits perish in the fire while the illiterate escape.

CLXXIII

Kabir, dispel doubts, leave the books of *the pandits* ;

Having searched the Sanskrit books fix thy thoughts on God's feet.

CLXXIV

Kabir, saints abandon not their saintship, even though they meet millions who are not saints :

Even though sandal be entwined with serpents, it loseth not its coolness.[2]

CLXXV

Kabir, the mind becometh cool when it hath obtained the knowledge of God :

The fire which burneth the world is as water to God's servant.[3]

CLXXVI

This world is the Creator's play ; hardly any one understandeth this ;

The Master Himself or the slave at His court [4] understandeth it.

CLXXVII

Kabir, it is well for me that I felt the fear *of God* and forgot all else :

[1] That is, evil passions assail the body.

[2] As poisonous serpents have no effect on sandal-wood, so the evil do not corrupt the holy.

[3] The evil passions which inflame mankind produce no impression on him.

[4] *Diwāni* may also mean divine enthusiast deemed mad by the world.

From hail I melted into water, and flowing on I blended with the Ocean.[1]

CLXXVIII

Kabir, *God* having collected dust made bodies like a *physician's* powders—

Spectacles for four days, but after all they are only dust.

CLXXIX

Kabir, all bodies are as the rising and *setting of* the sun and moon;[2]

But if they meet not God and the guru, they all turn into dust again.

CLXXX

Where the Fearless One is, there is no fear of others; where there is fear, there God is not:

Kabir speaketh *thus* deliberately; O saints, give me willing ear.

CLXXXI

Kabir, they who know naught pass their time in the sleep of peace:

While they who think they know have their till of trouble.

CLXXXII

Kabir, they who are subdued *by worldly love* utter many cries, but different is the cry of the pir:[3]

Kabir who was struck on a vulnerable spot[4] fell where he stood.

CLXXXIII

Kabir, slight is the stroke of a lance; though struck by it man may breathe *for a time*;

But he who can endure the stroke of the Word is a guru,[5] and I am his slave.

[1] Kabīr's heart was at first cold and hard as hail. When the fire of divine love shone on it, it melted into water, which, flowing on, blended with the ocean of God.

[2] Animals' bodies are born and die.

[3] Also translated—Many cry out that they are struck by God's love, but the pain *they exhibit* tells a different story. The word *pīr* has two meanings: (*a*) a priest or saint; (*b*) pain.

[4] That is, the heart. [5] It can only be endured by a guru.

CLXXXIV

Kabir, why, O Mulla, ascendest thou the minaret? the Lord is not deaf:

Search within thy heart for Him for whose sake thou callest to prayer.

CLXXXV

Why doth the Shaikh who is without resignation, perform a pilgrimage to the Kaaba?

Kabir, how can God be for him whose heart is not firm *in his faith*?

CLXXXVI

Kabir, offer thy homage to God, by remembering whom trouble shall depart;

The Lord will be manifest in thy heart, and the fire[1] which burneth thee shall be extinguished.

CLXXXVII

Kabir, to use force is tyranny though thou call it lawful;

When thine accounts are called for at *God's* office, what shall be thy condition?

CLXXXVIII

Kabir, an excellent dinner is khichari[2] *seasoned* with *sufficient* salt to make it palatable;

Who would cut his own throat by *eating* meat with his bread?[3]

CLXXXIX

Kabir, know that the guru will have touched thy heart when worldly love and ambition have been effaced;

Joy and sorrow shall not then affect thee; thou *shalt become* God Himself.[4]

CXC

Kabir, there are different ways of saying Ram;[5] there is one point to be considered:

[1] Some read *nāi* and translate—The fire *of thy heart* shall be extinguished by God's name. [2] Rice and *dāl* boiled together.

[3] Kabīr was a vegetarian, and objected to the slaughter of animals.

[4] Thu shalt have no consciousness of existence distinct from God.

[5] Rām is the name of God throughout Kabīr and the other Bhagats'

He whom everybody calleth Ram was *only* a mountebank.[1]

CXCI

Kabir, call Him Ram who is omnipresent; we must discriminate in mentioning *the two Rams*;

The one Ram (God) is contained in all things; the other (Ram Chandar) is only contained in one thing, *himself*.[2]

CXCII

Kabir, in the house in which saints are not served God is not served;

That house is like a cremation-ground, and ghosts dwell therein.

CXCIII

Kabir, I have become dumb, insane, deaf,

And lame from the stroke of the true guru's arrow.

CXCIV

Kabir, the brave true guru shot an arrow *at me*;

On its striking me I fell to the ground with a hole in my heart.[3]

CXCV

Kabir, the pure rain of heaven[4] hath fallen on barren soil;

compositions. Sometimes Har, Hari, Gobind, and other names are used, but it is understood that the reference is always to the Supreme God, the Lord of creation.

[1] Although in some of their hymns Kabīr and some of the other Bhagats of the Granth Sāhib appear to have believed in the Hindu incarnations, they occasionally ridiculed them.

[2] Some Sikhs translate this and the preceding slok as follows:—

CXC

Kabīr, there are different ways of uttering Rām; in this there is an important point.

People in general utter Rām one way, and the saints another way.

CXCI

Kabīr, utter Rām, Rām, but use discrimination in uttering it.

Some *while doing so* are engaged in their various *pursuits* while others are absorbed in the one God.

[3] That is, the guru's exhortation made an impression on my heart.

[4] The true guru's instruction.

Know that without good association it becometh like the ashes of a furnace ;

CXCVI

But, Kabir, when the pure rain of heaven meeteth absorbing soil,[1]

It cannot be removed, however much clever men may worry themselves.

CXCVII

Kabir, I was going on a pilgrimage to the Kaaba, and I met God on the way ;

The Lord fell a-quarrelling with me, ' Who ordered thee to go to that place ? '

CXCVIII

Kabir, I have often made the pilgrimage to the Kaaba—how many times, O Kabir ?

O my Master, what fault have I committed that Thou wilt not speak to me ?

CXCIX

Kabir, when God produceth His record, what shall be the fate of him

Who violently killeth animals and calleth it lawful ?

CC

Kabir, to use violence is tyranny ; God will call for thy defence ;

When thine account is produced from His office, thou shalt be beaten on the mouth.

CCI

Kabir, to render thine account is easy, if thy heart be pure ;

In that True Court no one shall molest thee.[2]

CCII

Saith Kabir, O duality, in earth and heaven thou art very difficult to destroy ;[3]

[1] When the guru's instruction is communicated to men capable of receiving it.

[2] Literally—catch thee by the coat.

[3] If *tūbari* be read as one word, the translation will be—In earth and heaven there are two beggar's bowls—desire and covetousness—difficult to destroy.

The six religious systems and the eighty-four Sidhs are involved in doubt.

CCIII

Kabir, whatever there is in me is not mine ; whatever there is, is Thine, *O God.*

If Thine own property be rendered unto Thee, what doth it cost me ?

CCIV

Kabir, by repeating, ' Thou, Thou,' I have become Thou, O God ; I have not remained in myself ;

When the difference between Thee and me was removed, wherever I looked there *wast* Thou.

CCV

Kabir, man meditateth sin and entertaineth delusive hopes ;

None of his desires is satisfied ; he departeth in despair.

CCVI

Kabir, he who remembereth God is happy in *this* world ;

He whom the Creator protecteth wavereth not either in this world or the next.

CCVII

Kabir, I was being pressed like a handful of sesame when the true guru rescued me ;

He came and appeared to me by primal and ancient destiny.

CCVIII

Kabir, my days have been spent in evading *payment of my debts to God* ; interest goeth on increasing ;

I worshipped not God, nor had I my account torn up when Death arrived.

Guru Arjan has here inserted the three following couplets :—

CCIX

Kabir, man is a barking dog which runneth after carrion : [1]

By grace I have obtained the true guru who hath delivered me.

[1] Literally—a skeleton.

CCX

Kabir, the earth belongeth to the holy, but thieves have taken possession of it ;

The earth feeleth not their weight ; to them it is clear gain.[1]

CCXI

Kabir, on account of the husk rice is beaten with a mallet ;

So when men sit in bad company, Dharmraj shall call them to account.

Here Kabir's couplets continue :—

CCXII

'O Namdev, worldly love hath bewitched *thee*,' said his friend Trilochan ;

'Why printest thou chintzes and thinkest not on God ?'

CCXIII

Namdev replied, 'Repeat God's name with thy lips, O Trilochan,

'Perform all thy duties with thy hands and feet, *but* let thy heart be with God.'

Guru Arjan again interposes :—

CCXIV

O Kabir, no one hath any concern with me nor I with any one ;

I am contained in Him who hath created this world.

Kabir's instructions are resumed :—

CCXV

Kabir, when flour hath fallen into the mud, none of it is saved ;

It is that which is chewed while being ground that availeth.[2]

[1] In this line if *bhāran* be read as one word, the translation will be—The earth feeleth their weight; *O God*, remove them.

[2] Human life is the time for man to work out his salvation. It is too late when the soul has departed.

CCXVI

Kabir, man knoweth everything, and yet he knowingly committeth sin ;

What advantage is it to a man to have a lamp in his hand if he fall into a well ?

CCXVII

Kabir, my love is for the Friend ; foolish people *try* to dissuade me ;

How can it be proper to break with Him to whom belong my life and soul ?

CCXVIII

Kabir, why killest thou thyself on account of houses, and mansions, and their decoration,

When three and a half cubits, or at most three and three quarters, shall be thy lot ?

CCXIX

Kabir, if *God* do not what I desire, what availeth my desiring it ;

God doeth what He Himself desireth, not what I desire.

The following couplet of Guru Amar Das, is here found :—

CCXX

God produceth anxiety in man, and also freeth him therefrom ;

Nanak, praise Him who taketh care of all.

A couplet of Guru Arjan here follows :—

CCXXI

Kabir, man thinketh not of God ; he goeth astray through greed ;

He dieth committing sin, and his life is at an end in a moment.

Here Kabir's couplets continue :—

CCXXII

Kabir, the body is a frail vessel of only frail metal ;

If thou wish to make it permanent, worship God, otherwise it will perish.

CCXXIII

Kabir, call out the name of God ; sleep not listlessly ;
By calling out night and day *God* may sometime hear thy cries.

CCXXIV

Kabir, the body is a plantain grove, the heart an elephant maddened by passion, which *breaketh it down* ;
The jewel of divine knowledge is the goad, and a rare saint the tamer [1] of the elephant.

CCXXV

Kabir, God's name is a jewel, the mouth a purse to hold it ; open it before him who can appreciate *the jewel* ;
If any purchaser be found, he may take it at a high price.[2]

CCXXVI

Kabir, *man* knoweth not God's name while bringing up a numerous family ;
He dieth in the midst of his worldly duties, and is not heard of in the outer *world*.

CCXXVII

Kabir, in the twinkling of an eye and in a moment life passeth away ;
Since the mind freeth not itself from entanglements, Death beateth his drum, *and leadeth away his victim in triumph*.

CCXXVIII

Kabir, God is as a tree, abandonment of the world as its fruit ;
The saint who hath abandoned bootless discussions [3] as its shade.

[1] *Khewat*, literally—the pilot who steers the elephant.
[2] He may even give his life for it.
[3] The saint, like a tree's shade, affords comfort to man.

CCXXIX

Kabir, plant the seed of such *a tree* as shall bear perennial fruit,

Whose shade shall be cool, whose fruit shall be profuse, and on which birds [1] shall play.

CCXXX

Kabir, the Giver is a tree whose fruit is mercy *which sheddeth* favours on men ;

When the birds which it sheltereth migrate,[2] they say ' O Tree, mayest thou be fruitful ! '

CCXXXI

Kabir, association with saints is obtained by destiny ;

By such association the boon of salvation is obtained, and the difficult road *to God* not obstructed.

CCXXXII

Kabir, even for a ghari, half a ghari, or half that again,

Converse held with the saints is clear gain.

CCXXXIII

Kabir, the mortals who eat bhang and fish [3] and drink wine,

Shall all go to hell, whatever pilgrimages, fastings, and daily devotion they may perform.

CCXXXIV

Kabir, if I cast down mine eyes and take the Friend into my heart,

I enjoy every pleasure with my Beloved, and I disclose this to no one.

The fifth Guru here interposes :—

[1] Holy men.

[2] The saints wander abroad to blazon God's goodness.

[3] In Kabīr's time the Banāras pandits used to partake largely of fish.

CCXXXV

For the eight watches, the sixty-four *gharis* of the day, my soul looketh towards Thee, O God.

Why cast down mine eyes since I behold the Beloved in every heart ?

CCXXXVI

Hear, my companions, either my soul dwelleth in my Beloved or my Beloved in my soul.

I know not whether my soul is in my heart, or my Beloved dwelleth in my soul.

CCXXXVII

Kabir, the Brahman is the guru of the world, but he is not the guru of the saints ;

He killeth himself over the perplexities of the four Veds.

CCXXXVIII

God is as sugar scattered in the sand, but the elephant cannot pick it up ;

Saith Kabir, the guru gave this excellent advice, ' Become an ant and eat it.' [1]

CCXXXIX

Kabir, if thou desire the Beloved, cut off thy head and make it into a ball ; [2]

While playing attain such a state of *ecstasy* that *thou shalt be satisfied* with whatever happeneth thee.

CCXL

Kabir, if thou desire the Beloved, play with a true guru ;

If unripe oil-seeds be pressed, neither oil-cake nor oil will be obtained.[3]

Here a couplet of Namdev is introduced :—

[1] The humble succeed where the proud fail.

[2] Such is the sacrifice that must be made to enable man to play with the saints, and share in their bliss.

[3] Nothing can be obtained from a false guru's instruction.

CCXLI

Man searching for God stumbleth like a blind man and recognizeth not the saint ;

Saith Namdev, how shalt thou obtain God without the mediation of His saints ?

The following lines of Rav Das are here inserted :—

CCXLII

He who forsaking God the diamond yearneth for other gods,

Shall go to hell, verily saith Rav Das.

CCXLIII

O Kabir, if thou embrace a domestic life, act honestly ; otherwise abandon the world ;

But if any one, having abandoned the world, *again* become entangled *with it*, great indeed shall be his misfortune.

RAV DAS

RAV DAS is the author of many hymns in the Granth Sahib. He was certainly a disciple of Ramanand and a contemporary of Kabir, but otherwise there is nothing known regarding his precise date, parentage, or place of birth. When Rav Das arrived at years of discretion he began to wait on saints. He used to present them with everything he could procure from his father's house. His father was displeased at this and gave him a separate place of residence. Though his father's wealth and means were considerable, yet he gave nothing whatever to his son. The latter, who by this time had entered the married state, supported himself and his wife by making shoes, and lived very happily. Whenever he saw a holy man he supplied him gratuitously with covering for his feet. He afterwards built a hut, set up in it an idol which he had made from

a hide, and applied himself to its worship. When he was reproached for making an idol out of a hide, he defended himself by descanting on the various advantages of hides. Drums used in worship were made from hides. The cow held sacred by Hindus had a hide. God is contained in animals which have hides, &c., &c.

Rav Das was ever immersed in his devotions, a circumstance which led to the abandonment of his trade and the deterioration of his circumstances. He soon presented all the external marks of poverty and hard life, yet his heart was glad and happy in the contemplation of God. It was during this period of distress that a holy man desired to render him assistance. Rav Das gave him bread to eat and lavished every attention on him. His visitor in return presented him with a philosopher's stone, explained its qualities, and told him to keep it carefully. Rav Das replied that he did not require it, as his property and wealth consisted in the name of God. When the visitor saw that Rav Das absolutely coveted nothing, he implored him to accept the philosopher's stone. Rav Das told him he might leave it in the thatch of his house, by which he meant that the article was not worth acceptance. The visitor obeyed Rav Das and departed. On that occasion Rav Das composed the following hymn :—

God's name is the great wealth of God's saints ;
Day by day it increaseth and in no way decreaseth.
Nothing can steal it either by day or night ; its possessor sleepeth secure in his home.
O God, what need of a stone hath he who possesseth this wealth ?

After the lapse of thirteen months the visitor returned and found Rav Das in the same circumstances as before. He asked him what had become of the philosopher's stone. Rav Das replied, 'It must be where thou didst put it ; I have been afraid to touch it.' Upon this the visitor took it from the

thatch and departed, fully satisfied that Rav Das desired no earthly wealth.

One day the saint found five gold coins in a basket employed to hold accessories of worship. The result was that he began to fear even devotion to God, lest it might bring him wealth. Then God said to him in a vision, 'Although thou absolutely desirest nothing, yet accept the wealth I give thee now.' Rav Das promised to do so. A pious admirer gave him money with which he built a sara, or rest-house, wherein he entertained holy men. He then built a temple and so decorated it with a canopy, fringes, cords of gold lace, wall lamps, chandeliers, &c., that visitors on seeing its beauty became enchanted. After that Rav Das built a two-storied house for himself on the site of the hut he had hitherto used as a temple, and there he continued to worship with perfect love.

Rav Das experienced the ordinary fate of men suddenly enriched. The Brahmans, through envy and jealousy, complained to the king of Banaras that there was no authority in the Shastars for a shoemaker to make an image of God, yet Rav Das had without any fear or compunction set up such an image and was worshipping it and offering it homage. He ought therefore to be made to suffer for his presumption. The king summoned Rav Das, but was so much impressed with the dignity and reasonableness of his defence that he found no difficulty in immediately declaring him guiltless of any offence against religion.

Jhali, the Queen of Chitaur, hearing of Rav Das's fame, visited him and became a disciple of his. At this her attendant Brahmans waxed highly indignant. They said that the queen had lost her reason, and they went and complained of her to the Rana, her husband, who had accompanied her to Banaras. He sent for Rav Das, and heard the charges of the assembled Brahmans against him. They repre-

sented the supreme importance of caste, and the impropriety of allowing a shoemaker to usurp a higher spiritual or social position than that in which he had been born. Rav Das replied, 'What is dear to God is devotion; He payeth no heed to caste.' Upon this the Brahmans proposed to refer the matter to the arbitrament of prayer. They read the Veds for three full hours and repeated many spells, but did not succeed in inducing God to persuade the Rana of Rav Das's guilt. When it came to Rav Das's turn, he said, 'O Great King, be true to thy name of Pardoner of sinners.' He then sang a couple of stanzas. The first line of the first stanza is:—

O come without delay or call me unto Thee.

The first lines of the second stanza are:—

O God of gods, I Thy protection crave;
Have mercy on me, knowing me Thy slave.

The Rana was easily convinced of Rav Das's innocence and expressed himself accordingly. Upon this it is said all present became believers in Rav Das's sanctity.

After that Queen Jhali left Banaras, and returned to her kingdom, where she decided on holding a thanksgiving festival. With great modesty and humility she invited Rav Das to be pleased to attend it. He accepted her invitation and went to Chitaur. His visit afforded her intense pleasure. She distributed a large sum of money in alms on the occasion, and invited the principal Brahmans of her state to meet the holy man. The Brahmans knew that the queen's guru had been a shoemaker, and it would be better for them to take raw provisions of their own and cook them than partake of food proffered by the queen. They accordingly had food cooked for themselves, but, when they sat down to eat it, it is said, they saw Rav Das seated between every two of them. They then believed in his divine mission and fell at his feet. It is stated that he gained many

disciples on that occasion. Rav Das composed the following after the entertainment :—

Clever men,[1] I am notoriously a tanner by caste,
But in my heart I meditate on God.

If wine be made even with Ganges water, you holy men will not drink it ;

But if wine which is impure, or other liquid be put into Ganges water, the latter will not be altered.[2]

The palmyra palm-tree, sirs, is admittedly impure,[3] as its leaves [4] are also deemed ;

But if God's words be written thereon, men will worship it and bow before it.

My trade is dressing and cutting leather and daily removing dead cattle round about Banaras.

Yet prominent Brahmans now prostrate themselves before me, since I, the slave Rav Das, have sought the shelter of Thy name, *O God.*

Rav Das is said to have been such a perfect saint of God that his conversation and poetry were like suns to dispel the darkness of doubt and infidelity. He performed the meritorious acts prescribed in the Veds and the Shastars. Orientals believe that if milk mixed with water be placed before a swan, it can by its peculiar bill separate both, and drink only the milk. In the same way Rav Das selected virtue from vice, made choice of good acts and avoided things forbidden.

The following compositions of Rav Das are found in the Granth Sahib :

[1] *Nāgar jan,* also translated—Ye city men.

[2] If a man, no matter how highly born, become evil, he is not respected, as wine made with Ganges water is not fit for saints' use. But if, on the contrary, wine be thrown into the Ganges, the Ganges water will still be holy, so the lowly are exalted by association with saints.

[3] Because toddy, an intoxicating liquor, is made out of it.

[4] *Kāgara,* hence kāghaz, the modern Hindustāni name for paper. The leaves of the palm or palmyra-tree were originally used for writing on.

HYMNS OF RAV DAS

God being light and the soul also light, there is no difference between them except that the soul is encumbered with a body.

SRI RAG

Between Thee and me, between me and Thee what difference can there be ?

The same as between gold and the bracelet, between water and its ripples.

If I did not commit sin, O Eternal One,

How shouldst Thou have gained the name of Purifier of sinners ?

Thou who art the Lord, art the Searcher of hearts :

The servant is known from his master, and the master from his servant.

Grant me the wisdom to worship Thee with my body.

Rav Das, some rare person who destroyeth his evil passions,[1] may explain this.

Though Rav Das's birth is low, he is a candidate for God's favour.

GAURI

I

My associations are low—I think of it day and night—

My birth is mean, mine acts are crooked.

O God, Lord of the earth, Giver of life to men,

Forget me not, I am Thy slave ;

Remove my troubles, make Thy servant full of love for *Thee.*

I will not forsake Thy feet even though my body perish to-morrow.

Saith Rav Das, I seek Thy protection, *O God,*

Quickly come to Thy servant, delay not.

[1] The gyānis translate—Some rare person may explain that God is equally contained in everything.

Rav Das's conception of heaven.

II

There is a city named Beghampur,[1]
Where pain and sorrow find no place ;
There is no fear of tribute or of tax ;
There is nor care, nor sin, nor dread nor death,
Now have I found an excellent abode
Where ceaseless happiness doth reign, my friends.
There firm and for aye is sovereignty of God,
No second or third is there adored,[2] He ruleth alone ;
Inhabited and ever famous is that city ;
Its people are full dowered with wealth.
Theirs it is to wander as they please ;
None restraineth them known in the palace,
Saith Rav Das, emancipated tanner,
My friends become my fellow citizens there.[3]

It is said that a Labana offered an ox to Rav Das. On refusing the present, the saint wrote the following :—

III

The road to *God* is very difficult and steep, and I have *already* one useless ox.[4]

My one prayer to God is, ' Preserve my capital,[5] O God.'

Is there any merchant of God *who will join me* ? My goods are laden and about to start.[6]

I am a merchant of God, and deal in divine knowledge.

The wealth I have loaded is God's name ; the world hath loaded poison.

[1] A city where there is no sorrow. This is not Begampur, a village on the left bank of the Bhima, so called because one of Aurangzeb's daughters died and was buried there, while her father was encamped at Brahmapuri on the opposite side of the river.

[2] That is, no Vishnu or Shiv.

[3] That is, they whose lives fit them for that abode are my friends ; and obtain salvation.

[4] My body. [5] That is, my life.

[6] That is, I am prepared to give religious instruction to whoever will join me.

Ye recording angels, who know this world and the next, write whatever nonsense you please *about me, I care not*;

The club of death will not touch me since I have cast away all entanglements.

This world is like the *fleeting* colour of safflower,

But the colour of my God is the *permanent* dye of madder, saith the tanner Rav Das.

Rav Das prays for divine favour.

IV

As a pit full of frogs[1] which know nothing of different countries,

So my mind infatuated with evil passions taketh no thought of this world or the next.

O Lord of all the world, grant me a sight of Thee for a moment;

My mind is not clear, O God, and so I cannot understand Thy condition.

Take pity on me that my doubts may be dispelled, and teach me right understanding.

Even supreme Jogis cannot explain Thine attributes which are beyond expression.

The tanner Rav Das prayeth for Thy love and service.

The following was Rav Das's reply to a holy man who asked the questions contained in the hymn.

V

In the Sat age was truth, in the Treta sacrifice, and in the Dwapar the performance of worship.

In the three ages these three observances were established, but in the Kal age the Name is the only support.

How shall I be saved?

No one explaineth to me

How my transmigration may cease.

There are many forms of religion described, but everyone appeareth to adopt his own.

What are those acts by which I may be saved, and by the performance of which I may obtain all things?

[1] 'Frog in a well' is applied in Hindustāni to an ignorant person.

If what are merits and what demerits be decided by listening to the Veds and Purans,[1] doubt *shall result*;

Doubt shall *thus* ever dwell in the heart; who shall dispel pride?

Man washeth his body with water, but in his heart there is evil of every description.

How shall purity result? My purity is such as the elephant practiseth.

As by the sun's light night departeth, as all the world knoweth;

As copper when touched by the philosopher's stone at once becometh gold;

So if the supreme philosopher's stone, the guru, be found by destiny,

The perturbed mind shall meet God *who is* in the heart, and the doors of adamant shall be opened.[2]

The doubts, the entanglements, and the sins of him who maketh the way of devotion firm in his heart shall be cut away;

He shall restrain his mind, obtain happiness, and meditate on Him alone who possesseth *all* qualities and yet possesseth none.

Many efforts have I made to ward off the noose of doubt, but, however much I tried, I did not succeed.

Love and devotion have not sprung up in me, therefore Rav Das is sad.

Man is a prey to all the five senses and their attendant passions, and not to one predominating and overmastering sense alone like the lower animals. Hence the following hymn:—

ASA

I

The deer, the fish, the bumble-bee, the moth, and the elephant perish each for one sense;

So what hope is there for him who *like man* hath five implacable enemies?

[1] The Veds and Purāns prescribe different forms of worship.

[2] Hardness of heart shall depart.

O God, man loveth ignorance ;
His lamp of discrimination hath grown dim.
The thoughtless are born again as creeping things which distinguish not between good and evil ;
They have now obtained human birth so difficult to obtain, *and yet* in it they associate with the base.
Men and lower animals, wherever they are, are born subject to their previous acts,
And the noose of Death which hangeth over them can by no means be warded off.
Rav Das, renounce worldly love, dispel doubt, and make the guru's divine knowledge thy religious fervour.
O Thou, who dispellest Thy worshipper's fear, grant me supreme bliss at last.

Rav Das prays for the saints' virtues and devotion

II

The company of the saints, who are Thine image, is my life.
Through the divine knowledge of the guru I recognize the saints as gods of gods.
Grant me the company of the saints, a taste for the saints' converse,
The saints' love, O God of gods,
The saints' good works, and the saints' way, that I may become attached to what they are attached.[1]
I pray for one thing more, the miraculous gem of devotion.[2]
Show me not the wicked and the sinner—
Between the saints and the Infinite there is no difference ;
Rav Das saith, he who knoweth this is wise.

Rav Das is exalted by holy association.

III

Thou art sandal, I am the poor palma christi[3] plant, I dwell near Thee :

[1] Some read *olag olagni*, and translate—That I may become their slave of slaves.

[2] *Chintāmani*, a gem supposed to yield its possessor whatever he desired. In England the wishing-cap was said to possess the same virtue.

[3] This is the *Ricinus communis*, or castor-oil plant.

From a humble shrub I have become a lofty *tree*: Thine excellent perfume abideth *in me.*

O God, I have sought the protection of Thy true congregation.

I am without virtues, Thou art beneficent,

Thou art white[1] and yellow twisted silk; we are the poor worms[2] *who toil and make it.*

O God, may I continue to associate with the saints as the bee with the honey!

My caste is low, my lineage low, and low is my birth;

I have not served my sovereign God, saith the tanner Rav Das.

For God's love Rav Das would sacrifice himself.

IV

What would it matter were my body to be *cut* in pieces?

Thy slave, *O God, only* feareth that Thy love may depart:

Thy lotus feet are the home of my heart![3]

By drinking the nectar of His *name,* I have found God who is my wealth.

Prosperity, adversity, worldly love, and wealth screen God from man;

In them Thy servant is not absorbed.

Thy slave is bound by the rope of Thy love;

Saith Rav Das, what advantage is it to escape therefrom?

God's name saves saints and sinners.

V

God, God, God, God, God, God, God;[4]

By remembering God, saints and sinners[5] are saved.

[1] *Makhtūl,* from the Arabic *maftūl.*

[2] *Kīra* is by some gyānis translated canvas.

[3] Also translated—Thy feet are the lotus, my soul the bumble-bee flitting over them. This is on the supposition that *bhawar* is read for *bhawan.*

[4] This line is supposed to be an imitation of the devotee's repetition of God's name. The gyānis translate—They who repeat God's name in their hearts, they who repeat it with their tongues, and they who cause others to repeat it, bloom afresh.

[5] *Nistar,* literally—those who ought not to be saved.

Through the name of God, Kabir became renowned, and the accounts of his sins of many births were torn up.

Namdev as in duty bound [1] gave milk to god to drink ;

Wherefore he had not the pain of being born again in the world.

The slave Rav Das is dyed with God's love,

And so, through the favour of the guru, he shall not go to hell.

They who think not of God shall be condemned.

VI

How *man*, a puppet of clay, danceth !

He looketh and looketh, heareth, speaketh, runneth about.

When he acquireth anything he is proud,

But when his wealth is gone he beginneth to weep.

In thought, word, and deed he is fascinated by pleasures,

So when he perisheth he is contained somewhere else.[2]

Saith Rav Das, the world is a play, my brethren ;

I have established loving relations with the True Actor.[3]

The object of the following hymn is to show that nothing offered to God by idolaters, even according to their own ideas, is pure, and that the true offering to God is the sincere heart.

GUJARI

The calf hath defiled the milk in the cow's udder *by tasting it* ;

The bumble-bee hath spoiled the flowers, and the fish the water—

My mother, where shall I find anything to offer in God's worship ?

I cannot find other flowers superior to these.

Serpents twine round the sandal-tree ; [4]

[1] *Nimat*, Sanskrit *niyāmit*. His father, before going on a journey, enjoined him to give milk to the family idol during his absence.

[2] Instead of being absorbed in God's light he is born again as an inferior animal.

[3] And not with the play.

[4] Serpents love the perfume of the sandal-tree and twine around it. They thus, in the estimation of strict Hindūs, spoil and render it unfit to be offered in worship, as is commonly done.

Poison and ambrosia dwell together;
Incense, lamps, and consecrated bread are polluted.[1]
How shall thy slave perform Thy worship?
Let me dedicate and offer my body and soul as my worship,
Thus, by the guru's favour, shall I find the Pure One.
I cannot perform Thine adoration and worship *according to Hindu rites*;
Saith Rav Das, in what condition am I?[2]

Rav Das concludes that everything is God.

SORATH

I

When there was egoism in me, Thou wert not with me; now that Thou art with me, there is no egoism.
Huge waves are raised by the wind in the ocean, but they are only water in water.[3]
O God, what shall I say? Through illusion things are not as they are supposed to be.
A king sleepeth on his throne; in a dream he becometh a beggar;
He suffereth pain at losing his empire, *though* it is intact: such hath been my condition.
Like the story of the rope and the serpent, I have now had the secret[4] explained to me.
On *seeing* several[5] bracelets I erroneously supposed *that they were distinct from the gold*; but what I then said I now say no longer.
In all things the one Lord assumeth various shapes; God sporteth in all hearts.

[1] Somebody has touched them.
[2] Since I cannot worship Thee with all the accessories of Hindu worship.
[3] The meaning is, since the poet has abjured egoism, he has become a portion of God as the waves blend with the sea.
[4] I thought a rope was a serpent, but it was not. I thought that man existed, but now I find everything is God.
[5] If *kanik* were here read, the translation would be—As man mistaketh by calling a thing a bracelet instead of calling it gold.

Saith Rav Das, God is nearer to us than our hands and feet; it is what taketh place by His will that taketh place.

Rav Das so loves God that he feels he has a claim on His mercy.

II

When Thou didst bind us with a noose of illusion, we bound Thee with a bond of love;

Try to release Thyself; we have been released by adoring Thee.

O God, Thou knowest how we feel towards Thee;

Now what wilt Thou do with us, such *being our love for Thee?*

Man catcheth a fish, sliceth it, cutteth it up, and cooketh it in various ways;

He biteth and eateth it, still it forgetteth not the water.[1]

The Supreme Ruler is no man's heritage; He belongeth to him who loveth Him.

Though the screen of illusion be spread over the whole world, yet it troubleth not the saint.

Saith Rav Das, my devotion to the one God hath increased; to whom shall I tell this now?

Shall I still suffer misery for the removal of which I worship Thee?

Rav Das on introspection finds himself wanting.

III

I obtained this birth difficult of attainment as the reward of merit, but it passeth away in vain *on account of my* want of discrimination.

Say of what account would a palace and a throne like King Indar's be without devotion to God?

I have not thought of the pleasure in the Supreme God's *name,* a pleasure in which all other pleasures are forgotten.

What we ought to have known we knew not; we have

[1] That is, its eater becomes thirsty.

become mad, and not considered what we ought to have considered, and so our days have passed away.

Our passions are strong, and our discrimination weak; our understanding cannot enter into God's designs.

We say one thing, and do another; worldly love hindereth us from understanding.

Saith Rav Das, I, Thy slave, am sad at heart;
Avert Thine anger from me and have mercy on my soul.

We should fix our attention on God who can adequately reward us.

IV

God is an ocean of pleasure; in His power are the miraculous tree, and gem, and cow.

The four advantages, the eighteen miraculous powers, and the nine treasures are in the palm of His hand.

Why repeat not, 'God, God, God,' with thy tongue,
And abandon all other device of words?

The epic poems, the Purans, the Veds of Brahma, are *all composed* out of thirty-four letters.[1]

Bias having reflected expressed his conviction that there was nothing equal to the name of God.

Very fortunate are they who tranquilly contemplate and fix their attention upon God; they shall afterwards be freed from their troubles.

Saith Rav Das, the fear of death and birth fleeth from him who hath put the light of *divine knowledge* into his heart.

The saint's relation to God.

V

If Thou art a hill, then I am Thy peacock;[2]

If Thou art the moon, then I am Thy chakor;

O God, if Thou break not with me, I will not break with Thee;

[1] Omitting the modifications and combinations of the Sanskrit characters and retaining only one s. The meaning apparently is that the letters which form God's name are superior to all the other letters employed in the Hindu sacred writings.

[2] In India peacocks generally live on undulating lands.

If I break with Thee, whom shall I join ?
If Thou art a lamp, then I am Thy wick ;
If Thou art a place of pilgrimage, then I am Thy pilgrim.
I have joined true love with Thee ;
Joining Thee I have broken with all others.
Wherever I go there is Thy service ;
There is no other Lord like Thee, O God.
By worshipping Thee Death's noose is cut away.
Rav Das singeth to obtain Thy service.

Man is too proud of his body though its origin and its end are contemptible.

VI

The body is a wall of water supported by a pillar of air ; blood [1] and semen are its mortar.
The poor soul dwelleth in a skeleton of bones, flesh, and veins ;
O mortal, what is mine and what is thine ?
As a bird percheth on a tree, *so doth the soul on the body.*
Thou layest foundations and buildest thyself a house ;
Three and a half cubits shall be thy measure *at last.*
Thou curlest thy hair, and wearest thy turban on the side of thy head ;
But thy body shall become a heap of dust.
Even though thou possess lofty palaces and beautiful women,
Without the name of God thy game is lost.
My caste is low, my lineage low, and base is my birth :
I have sought Thy shelter, O God, saith the tanner Rav Das.

The following was addressed to some one who reproached Rav Das for not following his trade :—

VII

I a cobbler know not how to mend shoes,
Yet people want me to mend their shoes.

[1] *Rakat,* the portion supposed to be contributed by the female instead of the ova of modern physiology.

I have no awl to stitch with ;
I have no knife to patch with.
People have been thoroughly ruined by mending shoes [1]—
I have attained my object without mending shoes.
Rav Das repeateth God's name ;
I have now no concern with Death.

Rav Das's devotion and hope in God.

DHANASARI

I

There is none so poor as I, none so compassionate as Thou ; *for this* what further test is now necessary ?
May my heart obey Thy words ! fill Thy servant therewith.
I am a sacrifice to Thee, O God ;
Why art Thou silent ?
For many births have I been separated from Thee, O God : This birth is on Thine *own* account.[2]
Saith Rav Das, putting my hopes in Thee I live ; it is long since I have seen Thee.

Rav Das's love for God.

II

I remember Thee, O God, in my heart ; I behold Thee with mine eyes ; I fill mine ears with Thy hymns [3] and praises ;
I make my mind the honey-bee, I put Thy lotus feet into my heart, and with my tongue I utter Thine ambrosial name.
May my love for God not decrease !
I have bought it dear in exchange for my soul.
Without the companionship of the saints no love is produced, and without love no service is performed for Thee.
Rav Das offereth one prayer to God—preserve mine honour, O my sovereign Lord.

[1] And neglecting God, the expression *ganthi ganthi* also means to be attached to worldly things.
[2] That I may worship Thee in human body.
[3] The clause is also translated—I fill my ears and my tongue with Thy praises.

God's name is for Rav Das equal to all the Hindu oblations.

III

Thy name, O God, is mine Arati and mine ablutions ;
Without the name of God all display is vain.
Thy name is my prayer-mat, Thy name my saffron-grater, Thy name the saffron which I sprinkle *for Thee* ;
Thy name is the water, Thy name the sandal, the repetition of Thy name the grating thereof ;[1] taking it I offer it unto Thee ;
Thy name is the lamp, Thy name the wick, Thy name the oil I pour therein ;
Thy name is the light which I have applied to it, and which hath enlightened the whole world ;
Thy name is the string, Thy name the necklace of flowers ; all the eighteen loads of *vegetables* are too impure[2] *to offer Thee.*
Why should I offer Thee the work of Thy hands ? Thy name is the chauri which I wave over Thee.
The whole world is engrossed in the eighteen *Purans*, the sixty-eight *places of pilgrimage*, and the four sources of life.
Saith Rav Das, Thy name is the Arati ; the true Name is the food I offer unto Thee, O God.[3]

God alone can save man from his evil passions.

JAITSARI

O Lord, I know nothing ;
I have sold my soul to mammon.
Thou art styled the great Lord of the world, and we the sensualists of the Kal age.
The five evil passions which have corrupted my heart,
Have at every moment thrown a barrier between Thee and me.
Whithersoever I look, there is a stock of trouble.

[1] Sandal is grated and sprinkled by Hindus on their idol.
[2] Because the bee has tasted them.
[3] This hymn is recited in a collection of Sikh prayers called the *Ārati.*

I am not yet satisfied, although the Veds bear witness *to God.*

As, for his sin, on the body of Indar, the paramour of *Ahalya* Gautam's wife, a thousand vaginae formed ;

As the head of *Brahma* adhered to *the hand of Shiv* the lord of Uma [1] *for his sin,*

So these wicked enemies, *the deadly sins,* have bound and beaten me *also a sinner.*

I am very shameless, and have not yet grown weary of their company.

Saith Rav Das, whither *shall I go?* What shall I do?

Except God's protection whose shall I seek ?

The saint and the sinner under the allegories of a good and a bad wife contrasted.

SUHI

I

The good wife knoweth her spouse's worth ;

She renounceth pride and enjoyeth conjugal happiness ;

She giveth her husband her body and soul, and maketh no distinction *between him and herself* ;

She seeth no one else, heareth no one else, and speaketh to no one else.

How should she, into whose heart no sorrow hath entered,

Know of the woes of others ?

The bad wife [2] who hath not served her spouse continually

Is unhappy, and loseth both worlds—

The way by the bridge of Sirat [3] is difficult—

She shall have no companion, and must go alone.

In grief and in pain, O God, I have come to Thy door ; I am very thirsty, and I have received no answer *from Thee.*

Saith Rav Das, I have come to Thy protection ; effect my salvation as Thou thinkest best.

[1] Also called Pārbati.

[2] Wife here is used for man in the generic sense, and the spouse is God.

[3] *Sirāt-ul-mustakīm.* The bridge which leads to heaven, according to Muhammadans.

As everything here changes, man should make provision for the hereafter.

II

The days which come, pass away again ;
We must march on, nothing remaineth stable.
Our companions are going, we too must go ;
The journey is long ; Death standeth over us.
Why sleepest thou ? Awake *for God's service*, O silly one ;
Thou thoughtest life a real thing in this world, *when thou oughtest to have thought of God.*
He who gave thee life conveyeth thee sustenance,
And in every heart openeth a shop.[1]
Worship God, lay aside egoism ;
In thy heart remember God's name betimes.
Thy life hath come to an end, yet thou hast not prepared thy way ;
It is evening, and darkness is on every side.
Saith Rav Das, O fool and madman,
Didst thou not reflect that the world is a transitory abode ?

Man can only rely on God, not on property or relations.

III

Man buildeth lofty mansions with halls and kitchens,
But after *Death* he cannot remain in them for a ghari.
This body is like a wainscoting of grass ;
When the grass is burnt, it is blended with the dust.
Even thy relations, thy family, and thy companions
Set up a cry, ' Take him out quickly ! '
The wife of thy house who embraced thee *in life*,
Crieth out, ' Ghost ! ghost ! ' and runneth away from thee.
Saith Rav Das, *Death* hath plundered the whole world,
But I have escaped by repeating *the name* of the one God.

[1] To dispense food.

God's grace is unparalleled.

BILAWAL

I

Everybody used to laugh on seeing my poverty—such was my condition;

But *I hold* the whole eighteen supernatural powers in the palm of my hand through Thy favour.

Thou knowest I am nothing, O God, Destroyer of fear;

All men have sought Thy protection, O God, Fulfiller of desires;

They who have sought Thy protection no longer bear the load *of sin.*

High and low have been delivered from the shameless [1] world through Thee.

Saith Rav Das, why say more regarding the Ineffable?

Thou, O God, art Thine own parallel; to what can I liken Thee?

The glorification of the saint.

II

The family in which a saint of God is born,

Whether it be of high or low caste, poor or rich, shall have its unalloyed fame blazoned through the world.

Whether man be a Brahman, a Vaisya, a Sudar, a Khatri, a Dum, a Chandal, or a Malechh,

He becometh pure by worshipping God; he saveth himself and the families of both his parents.

Blest the village, blest the place *of his birth,* blest his pure family in all worlds!

He hath quaffed the supreme essence; abandoning all others, he hath become intoxicated with it, and renounced sin.

Among pandits, heroes, and emperors, there is none equal to the saint.

[1] Also translated—Have been delivered from the entanglements of the world through Thee.

As the leaves of the water-lily[1] in the water, saith Rav Das, is the saint's existence in the world; *he remaineth uncontaminated by it.*

God as the Dispenser of salvation.

GAUND

I

Repeat the name of God, the Dispenser of salvation, ye people.

Without the Dispenser of salvation the body groweth weary *in transmigration.*

The Dispenser of salvation is the Giver of deliverance;

The Dispenser of salvation is our father and mother.

Living *repeat* His *name*, dying *repeat* His *name*;

His worshipper is ever happy—

The Dispenser of salvation is my life.

If it have been so recorded on thy forehead, thou shalt repeat His name.

Only he who hath ceased to love the world can serve God.

That Dispenser of salvation, I, poor *though I be*, have obtained as my wealth.

If the one Dispenser of salvation do me a favour,

What can the world do to me?

Having effaced my caste I have become a courtier *of God*—

Thou, O God, art able to save the world—

Divine knowledge hath sprung up, and I have become enlightened;

God hath graciously accepted this worm as His slave.

Saith Rav Das, my thirst hath now ceased;

I repeat the name of God and *perform* His service.

The fate of the slanderer.

II

If man bathe at the sixty-eight places of pilgrimage,

If he worship the twelve *lingam* stones,

[1] The water-lily is supposed to remain dry in the water.

If he dedicate a well or a tank,[1]
But practise slander, all shall be in vain.
How shall the slanderer of a saint be saved ?
Know that he shall assuredly fall into hell.
If man celebrate eclipses at Kurkhetar,
Offer his wife with her decorations *to the Brahmans*,
And hear with his ears all the *Simritis*,
Yet if he practise slander, all shall be in vain.
If he prepare many feasts *to Brahmans*,
Make them gifts of land, and build them splendid public mansions ;
If, neglecting his own business, he perform that of others,
And yet practise slander, he shall wander in many births.
O, ye people, why do ye slander ?
The slanderer's character is well known.
Holy men have considered and decided regarding the slanderer—
Saith Rav Das, he is a sinner, and shall go to hell.

It is the guru who communicates the Name by which God's designs are manifested.

RAMKALI

Men read, study, and hear all God's names, yet God's designs are not known.
How shall iron become pure gold unless it be touched by the philosopher's stone ?
O God, the knots of doubt unravel not ;
Lust, wrath, worldly love, pride, and jealousy—these five combined plunder *the world*.
'We are great poets, of high family,[2] we are Pandits, we are Jogis, Sanyasis,
'Gyanis, virtuous heroes, we are generous '— these ideas shall never perish.

[1] *Tata*, here for *tarāg*, a tank. Others understand the word to mean a margin, and translate *kūp tata* as a well with its surrounding land.

[2] *Kulīn*. This word is now applied to a race of Brāhmans in Bengāl, who marry a large plurality of wives.

Saith Rav Das, all these men do not understand *God*, they go astray like madmen.

God's name is my support, my life, my soul, and my wealth.

Rav Das in obtaining salvation acknowledges God's favour.

MARU

Who but Thee, my Jewel, could do such a thing ?

Cherisher of the poor, Lord of the earth ; Thou hast put over my head the umbrella *of spiritual sovereignty*.

Thou relentest towards him whose touch defileth the world ;

The lowly dost Thou exalt, my God, and none dost Thou fear.

Namdev, Kabir, Trilochan, Sadhna, and Sain were saved—

Saith Rav Das, hear, O saints, through God everything is done.

The man of low birth and caste may be saved by devotion.

KEDARA

Though one perform the six good acts and belong to a *high* family, yet if he heartily worship not God,

And love not the mention of His lotus feet, he is equal to a pariah.

O thoughtless man, think upon God in thy heart ;

Why not look at Balmik ? [1]

From a low caste what a high position he attained by his special devotion to God ;

Though an eater of dogs, the lowest of all, he was beloved by Krishan.

How can poor mortals praise God ? His praise extendeth to the three worlds.

Ajamal, the courtesan, *Lodiya* the huntsman, and the elephant went to God.

[1] This is the man whose feet Krishan washed, not the author of the *Rāmāyana*.

Such degraded beings were saved; why shouldst not thou too be saved, O Rav Das?

The advantages of repeating God's name.

BHAIRO

Without beholding *God* there is no hope;
Everything that we see perisheth.
He who repeateth God's name with *due* praise
Is the only Jogi free from desires.
If any one employ himself in repeating God's *name*,
And God, the philosopher's stone, touch him, his duality shall no longer remain.
He who destroyeth the duality of his mind is a *muni*;
He shall be absorbed in God[1] who filleth the three worlds.
Everybody acteth according to his natural inclinations;
It is only the Creator who abideth without fear.
Vegetables blossom to produce fruit;
When the fruit appeareth the blossoms decay.
For the sake of divine knowledge men practise religious ceremonies;
When divine knowledge is obtained, religious ceremonies are not performed.
To make butter, knowing people churn coagulated milk;
So *those who strive for divine knowledge* obtain deliverance while alive, and are ever at rest.
Saith Rav Das, *having embraced* supreme contempt *for the world*,
Why not heartily repeat God's name, O luckless man?

Rav Das endeavours to humiliate his body.

BASANT

Thou knowest nothing, *O my body*;
On seeing thy *fine* clothes thou puffest thyself up.
No place can hold the proud;
Yet over thy head the crow caweth.[2]

[1] *Bindwāre*—God who is without the organs of action.
[2] By some Oriental people the dead are thrown to crows, kites, and vultures.

Why art thou proud, O demented *body?*
Thou art much more short-lived than a toadstool in the month of Bhadon.
The deer knoweth not the secret *of his musk*;
He hath it in his body, yet he searcheth for it abroad.
He who understandeth his own *fleeting* body,
Shall never be disgraced by the myrmidons of Death.
Man is proud of his son and wife;
It is from him God will take an account.
Thou shalt suffer for what thou thyself hast done, O soul.
Whom shalt thou afterwards address as 'Dear one, dear one?'
If thou seek the protection of holy men,
Thy sins, even though millions upon millions, shall all be erased.
Saith Rav Das, he who repeateth God's name
Hath no concern with caste, or birth, or transmigration.

The saint, no matter how low his caste, is superior even to the demigods.

MALAR

II

Neither the Lord of Lakshmi,[1] nor the Lord of Kailas,[2] nor any one else is equal to those who repeat God's name:
He is one alone though diffused in many ways; recall, recall Him *to your thoughts*; He filleth *creation.*
He in whose house *devotion to* God and nothing else was seen, was by caste an untouchable calico-printer.
The greatness of God's name was seen in Vyas; it was observed in the sons of Brahma; it is *famous through* the seven islands[3] of the earth.
He whose family[4] used to sacrifice cows at the Id and Bakr Id, and who worshipped Shaikhs, and martyrs, and pirs,

[1] Vishnu.
[2] Where Shiv is supposed to reside.
[3] The conception of ancient Hindu geographers.
[4] The reference is to Nīrū, Kabīr's adoptive father. This verse proves that Musalmāns killed cows at the two festivals referred to long before the British occupation of India.

Kabir, the son of a father who used to do such things, so succeeded that he became celebrated in the three worlds.

All the *chamārs*[1] of my family even still go round Banaras removing dead cattle,

Yet strict Brahmans prostrate themselves before their offspring, Rav Das, the slave of God's slaves.

The following hymn was composed in reply to a Brahman who inquired how Rav Das could obtain salvation :—

III

By what devotion shall I meet my Beloved, the Lord of souls ?

The supreme state is obtained by association with saints.

Soiled is my vesture,[2] how long shall I wash it ?

How long shall I remain in this sleep[3] which hath come upon me ?

The things[4] to which I was attached have all perished ;

The shop of spurious traffic hath closed.[5]

Saith Rav Das, when my account is taken,

I shall see whatever I have done *recorded to my credit.*

MIRA BAI

A HYMN of Mira Bai is preserved in the Granth Sahib of Bhai Banno, which can be seen at Mangat in the Gujrat district of the Panjab, but it is not included in Guru Arjan's collection.

Mira Bai was daughter of Ratan Singh Rathaur of Merata, a town between Bikaner and Jodhpur in Rajputana. She was born about A.D. 1504. She appears to have inherited her religious proclivities

[1] Leather-cutters supposed by the higher Hindu castes to be unclean.

[2] Until God enters it, it is hopeless to suppose my heart can be purified.

[3] Spiritual ignorance. [4] The pleasures of the world.

[5] I have no longer dealings with the world.

from her mother. When Mira Bai was yet a child, the bridal procession of a youth of position passed by the palace. All the ladies of the court, except Mira Bai's mother, went to the upper apartments to view the procession. She took the opportunity of their absence to worship an image of Krishan, called Girdhar Lal, which was set up in her private apartment.

Mira Bai laid aside her playthings to follow her mother, and said to her, 'Who is my bridegroom?' Her mother smiled, took her in her arms, and, pointing to Girdhar Lal, said, 'There is your bridegroom.' Upon this Mira Bai instantly accepted him, and veiled her face according to the Oriental practice, which requires a wife to veil her face even from her mother in the presence of her husband. She became so enamoured of Girdhar Lal that she could not pass an instant without seeing him. Her love for him is compared to that of the milkmaids of Bindraban for Krishan. She in time indulged her passion without fear or shame, and without any regard for the traditions of her family concerning the retirement of women from the public gaze.

While her affections were thus engaged, she was betrothed to Kanwar Bhojraj, son of Rana Sanga of Mewar. The subsequent marriage in A.D. 1516, as might well have been expected, proved unhappy. Bhojraj came to Merata in great state with a large retinue, but when the marriage ceremony was being performed and the time came for the bride to circumambulate the pavilion set up for the ceremony, Mira Bai walked around the idol of Girdhar Lal, and took no notice of the bridegroom. When the time for her departure with her husband arrived, her parents wished to send her off with suitable marriage presents, but she was miserable at leaving Girdhar Lal. She grew sad and restless, and wept to such an extent that she became insensible. When

she regained consciousness, her parents affectionately told her that, if it made her happy, she might take Girdhar Lal with her without any further ceremony. She replied that if they valued her present and future happiness, they would give her the image, and she would worship it with heart and soul. Her parents had already perceived that she was a saint and lover of God, and so at the moment of separation from their beloved daughter they presented her with the image as part of her dowry.

Mira Bai, who was overjoyed at obtaining possession of the object of her devotion, set it up in her palanquin, and during the journey feasted her eyes on its beauty. On arriving at her new home, her mother-in-law, the Rani, had hardly paid her the rites of hospitality, when she asked her to worship Durga, a goddess of a totally different temper from the playful Krishan. Mira Bai replied that she had devoted her body to Girdhar Lal, and she would bow her head to none but him. Her mother-in-law replied that a good wife was improved by worshipping Durga. But Mira Bai closed the discussion by saying it was of no use to press her further, and she would abide by her first determination. On this the Rani became very angry, and went to complain of Mira Bai to the Rana : ' This daughter-in-law of ours is worthless, for on the very day of her arrival she refuseth to obey me and putteth me to shame. It is clear what our future relations are to be.'

The Rana became excessively incensed, and went to his daughter-in-law with the intention of punishing her. The Rani, however, had sufficient sense to restrain him ; and he decided that the interests of domestic peace would be consulted by putting Mira Bai into a separate apartment. Though it is admitted by Nabhaji that Rukmini, who became Krishan's consort, and the milkmaids who became Krishan's playfellows, did not meet him until they

had sacrificed to Durga, yet as Mira Bai had already obtained Krishan, it was unnecessary for her to worship Durga, and no exception could be taken to her conduct on the precedent of Rukmini and the milkmaids.

Mira Bai on finding herself in a private apartment became excessively happy, and gave full scope to her religious enthusiasm. She set up her image, decked and adorned it, and devoted herself night and day to the company of holy men. Her sister-in-law Udai Bai was sent to remonstrate with her, and said, 'Thou art the scion of a noble house. Be wise and desist from the company of faqirs, which casteth a slur on both our families.' Mira Bai replied, 'The slur of hundreds of thousands of births departeth on association with saints. The slur is on her who loveth not their company. My life dependeth on the company of saints. To any one who is displeased with it thy remonstrance would be proper.' It was on this occasion that Mira Bai composed the following hymns :—

O my friend, my mind is attached to Krishan ; I shall not be restrained from loving him.

If any one give me a reproach, I will give a hundred thousand in return.

My mother-in-law is severe, my sister-in-law obstinate ; how can I endure this misery ?

Mira for the sake of the lord Girdhar would endure the obloquy of the world.

I have the god Girdhar and no other ;

He is my spouse on whose head is a crown of peacock feathers,

Who carrieth a shell, discus, mace, and lotus, and who weareth a necklace.[1]

I have forfeited the respect of the world by ever sitting near holy men.

[1] This is a description of Vishnu, of whom Krishan was an incarnation.

The matter is now public ; everybody knoweth it.
Having felt supreme devotion I die as I behold the world.
I have no mother, father, son, or relation with me.
I laugh when I behold my beloved ; people think I weep.
I have planted the vine of love, and irrigated it again and again with the water of tears.
I have cast away fear of the world ; what can any one do to me ?
Mira's love for her god is fixed, come what may.

The Rana, on being informed of Mira Bai's determination, became beside himself with rage, and sent her a cup of poison under the name of *charn-amrit*, that is, water in which an image had been bathed. When she tasted the liquor she knew it was poison, and thus apostrophized : ' The body is perishable, so why weep if it perish in the service of Krishan ? There needs be no regret at the disappearance of a mirage or at the failure of the son of a barren woman to wed. It is not right to say that the moon perisheth on the thirtieth day of the lunar month. Lamentations are as vain as the grief of a bee at the fading of an imaginary flower. As the fruit of a tree falleth, sooner or later, so have I fallen at Krishan's feet. As a pearl born in the ocean is turned into an ornament, so shall I glitter in Krishan's diadem. The world itself is an illusion.'

Mira Bai's only grief at leaving her body was that the worship of Krishan might decline. Having informed the god of her father-in-law's intention, she thus addressed the object of her worship—' People will say that the king poisoned his daughter-in-law because she worshipped thee. I fear therefore that thy worship will be neglected, and the apprehension causeth me poignant misery. Who will now put on thy decorations ? Who will put the saffron mark on thy forehead, attach dazzling rings to thine ears,

twine a garland of pearls round thy neck, girdle thee with a jewelled zone, tie on thy golden armlets and anklets, light incense to gratify thy nostrils, make thee offerings of sweet basil, present thee with sacred food to satisfy thy hunger, and prostrate herself in adoration before thee ? My father-in-law hath already abandoned thy worship in his displeasure with me, others too will reproach thee with my death and cease to do thee homage. But after all why should I be anxious ? Thou thyself knowest the past, the present, and the future. Thou hast ever preserved thy saints from poison, fire, and sword, so why should I be anxious now ? '

On this Mira Bai put the cup of poison on her head in token of submission, and then cheerfully drank it. On that occasion she composed the following verses :—

Radha[1] and Krishan dwell in my heart.

Some say that Mira is insane, others that she hath disgraced her family.

Opening her veil and baring her breast, she danceth with delight before her god.

In the bowers of Bindraban, Krishan with the tilak on his forehead gladdeneth my heart.

The Rana sent a cup of poison and Mira drank it with delight.

Mira's lord is the all-wise Girdhar ; she is bound to his service.

The Rana waited to hear of Mira's death, but her life was miraculously preserved, and her cheeks gradually assumed a higher bloom. She devoted herself to the further decoration and ornamentation of the image, and decked it out in fashions ever new. She sang the praises of her god and filled

[1] Wife of Ayana Ghosha (a cowherd) and favourite mistress of Krishan while he lived as Gopāl among the cowherds in Bindrāban. —Dowson's *Dictionary of Hindu Mythology*.

her heart with delight and immortal love. She also composed the following on this occasion :—

I knew the Rana had given me poison.
God who caused my boat to float across, separated the milk and water for me.[1]
Until gold is annealed, it is not perfectly pure.
O king, keep thine own family in seclusion ; I am the wife of another.[2]
I sacrifice my mind and body to the saint even though he be a pariah ; I have sold myself to god.
Mira for the sake of worshipping the lord Girdhar is entangled in the feet of holy men.

When the Rana found that the poison had produced no effect, he appointed tipstaffs to watch Mira Bai, and report when she again conferred with faqirs, so that she might be put to death when detected in the act. She was in the habit of laughing and holding playful converse with the idol. One day a tipstaff went and said to the king, 'At this very moment Mira Bai is holding conversation and laughing with some one.' The king took up his sword, and called out to her to open the folding doors. He asked her where the person was with whom she had been holding such pleasant discourse. She replied, 'There he is before thee, mine idol, mine adored. Open thine eyes and look. He is neither afraid nor ashamed of thee.'

Nabhaji states that Mira Bai and the idol had been playing at Indian draughts, and at the time of the Rana's entrance the idol actually extended its arm to move a piece. The Rana on witnessing the miracle became ashamed. There was, however, no real impression made on his obdurate heart.[3]

[1] That is, saved me in the ordeal.
[2] I am wedded to Girdhar Lāl, not to thy son.
[3] Mīra Bāi's idol is still preserved in a temple dedicated to her in the old abandoned fortress of Chitaur, once the home of the ancestors of the Mahārāna of Udaipur.

Once when Mira Bai was ill she composed the following :—

Krishan with the large eyes looked at me, and smiled
As I was going to draw water from the Jamna and the vessel glittered on my head.
Since then the delightful image of the dark and beautiful one hath dwelt in my heart.
You may write and bring me incantations, you may write and bring me spells, grind medicine and give it me, *that will not cure me.*
If any one bring me Krishan as my physician I will gladly arise.
His eye-brows are bows, his eyes the arrows which he fitted thereto, and dischargeth to pierce me.
Mira's lord is the wise Girdhar; how can I abide at home?

A dissolute and abandoned person tried to tempt Mira Bai's virtue. He told her that he was armed with Girdhar Lal's permission to give her such pleasure as she could only obtain from man's embraces. She replied that she humbly submitted to Girdhar Lal's order, but that they must first dine. She meantime had a couch placed and dressed in the enclosure where saints were assembled. She there addressed her would-be paramour: 'Thou needest not be ashamed or afraid of any one, as the order of Girdhar Lal is on every account proper.' The man replied, 'Does any one do such things before others?' She said she knew of no secret place, for Krishan was everywhere present. 'He seeth the good and bad acts of all and rewardeth men according to their deserts.' On hearing this the ruffian turned pale, and vice gave place to virtue in his heart. He fell at her feet and with clasped hands asked her mercy and divine intercession. Mira Bai felt compassion and brought him, in the words of the chronicler, face to face with God.

Tulsi Das, according to all received accounts, lived nearly a century after Mira Bai, but some

poets have made them contemporaries. The following letter to Tulsi Das is attributed by Raja Raghuraj Sinh to Mira Bai :—

To the holy lord Tulsi Das, the virtuous, the remover of sin, greeting—

I ever bow to thee, dispel all my sorrow.

All my husband's relations give me continual annoyance.

They cause me to endure great suffering when I associate with saints, and perform my worship.

Since childhood Mira hath contracted love for Girdhar Lal :

She cannot now free herself from it in any way ; it completely overpowereth her.

Thou art to me a father and mother ; thou conferrest happiness on God's saints.

Write and inform me what it is proper for me to do.

Tulsi Das's reply :—

They who love not Ram and Sita

Should be abandoned as if they were millions of enemies, however much we love them.

Prahlad abandoned his father, Bibhishan his brother Rawan, and Bharat his mother,

Bali his guru, the women of Brij their husbands, and their lives were all happier for having done so.

The opinion of all holy saints is that relations with and love of God are alone true.

Of what avail is the eye-salve which causeth the eyes to burst ; what more can I say ?

Saith Tulsi Das, that spouse is worshipful, that son is dearer than life,

Who is attached to Ram ; he is my real friend in this world.

As Mira Bai has been made a contemporary of Tulsi Das, so also she has been made a contemporary of the Emperor Akbar. It is said that having heard of the virtues and beauty of Mira Bai, he went with his minstrel, Tansen, both disguised as

hermits, to visit her. The following lines in attestation of this circumstance are attributed to Mira Bai :—

O mother, I recognize Krishan as my spouse. .
Akbar came to test me and brought Tansen with him :
He heard singing, music, and pious discourse ; he bowed to the ground again and again.
Mira's lord, the all-wise Girdhar, made me his protégée.

It is said that, on observing her devotion, Akbar was very pleased with the good fortune which enabled him to behold her. He made her a present of a jewelled necklace which she accepted with some misgivings, as it appeared too valuable an article for an ascetic to possess. The emperor was equal to the occasion, and said that he had found it while performing his devotional ablutions in the river Jamna, and thought it would be a suitable present to make her god. Tansen, it is said, composed an ode in her honour, and he and his royal master then returned to their capital. The necklace was too valuable not to provoke remarks unfavourable to its recipient. The Rana submitted it to assayers who valued it at a fabulous sum of money. On inquiry it was found to be the same that a jeweller had sold not long previously for a large price to the emperor. Further inquiry led to the identity of the two strolling hermits with Akbar and his favourite minstrel. Mira Bai's fate was now sealed. Her husband suspected that she had been polluted by the emperor. For this there was but one penalty in that age—she must die. Mira Bai's father-in-law sent her a cobra in a box, so that when she opened it the reptile might sting her to death. She was told it was a salagram. Before opening the box she addressed it as follows :—

O salagram in the box, why speakest thou not ?
I speak to thee, but thou repliest not ; why art thou silent ?

This ocean of the world is very immense ; take mine arm and extricate me.

Mira's lord, wise Girdhar, thou alone art my helper.

On opening the box Mira composed the following:—

What shall the Rana do to me ? Mira hath cast off the restraints of her line.

The Rana once sent a cup of poison to kill Mira ;

Mira drank it with delight, loving it as if it were water blessed by her lord.[1]

The Rana hath now sent a box containing a cobra ;

But when I opened it and looked, the cobra became a salagram.

There was a sound of rejoicing in the company of the saints ; Krishan had mercy on me.

I decorated myself, attached bells to my feet, and, keeping time with both my hands,

Danced before the idol, and sang the praises of Krishan.

The holy are mine and I am theirs ; the holy are my life.

Mira is absorbed in the holy as butter is in milk before churning.

Rana Sanga, Mira's father-in-law, was still obdurate and determined that she should die by the sword, but no one could be found to act as executioner. She was then ordered to kill herself in whatever way she thought fit. By this time she was a widow, her husband having predeceased his father, and her person was at her own disposal. Promising that she would obey the Rana's command she retired to her solitary apartment, during the night put on the dress of a mendicant, and left the palace. She plunged in the nearest river to die in obedience to the order she had received. It is said that she was miraculously preserved by an angel who brought her to shore and addressed her : ' O queen, thou hast obeyed thy father-in-law and art worthy of all praise for thy devotion, but thou

[1] Water in which her idol had been bathed.

hast a higher duty still to perform. It is thine to set a high example to the world, and show unto men how to fulfil the designs of the Creator and become absorbed in Him.' When she recovered she found herself alone on the river's bank with the current flowing at her feet. She stood up in amazement, not knowing for the moment what to do. She met some cowherds, of whom she inquired the way to Bindraban. They presented her with milk, and directed her whither to proceed. She walked on singing her hymns, the object of blessings and attentions in the villages through which she passed.

On her arrival in Bindraban she desired to see Jiv Gosain. To her disappointment he sent her word that he would allow no woman into his presence.[1] She replied, 'I thought everybody in Bindraban a woman, and only Girdhar Lal a man.[2] I learn to-day that there are other partners than Krishan in Bindraban.' By this she scoffingly meant that the Gosain placed himself on an equality with Krishan as god of Bindraban. The Gosain, on hearing her rebuke, went barefooted to do her homage, and beholding her became filled with the love of God.[3]

[1] This originally Oriental exclusiveness had long previously been imitated by Christian ascetics. St. Senanus is represented as thus addressing a female saint who sought to land in his island—

Quid foeminis
Commune est cum monachis?
Nec te nec ullam aliam
Admittemus in insulam.

[2] On the principle, already stated, that God is deemed a husband and human beings His wives.

[3] Jīv Gosāīn was the son of Ballabh Āchārya, and uncle of Rūpa and Sanātan, two devout followers of Chaitanya, the great Vaishnav reformer of Bangāl (A.D. 1485–1533). Rūpa and Sanātan had been ministers of the Muhammadan ruler of Bihār, and were of royal blood, high rank, and great wealth, all which advantages they relinquished to lead religious lives. Jīv Gosāīn was an author of some pretensions. He annotated a treatise of his nephew Rūpa, describing religious pleasures and emotions. He wrote a book on the acts of Krishan, but his greatest work was one in which he amplified his annotations

Mira Bai with loving devotion traversed every grove and pathway of Bindraban, and having fixed the sweet image of Krishan in her heart returned to her late husband's home. On finding her father-in-law still obdurate, she went on a pilgrimage to Dwaraka, where Krishan reigned after leaving Mathura. There again she became entranced with the pleasure of adorning and enhancing the beauty of her favourite god.

During her absence from Chitaur, the capital of Mewar, the visits of holy men to that capital ceased. Dissensions arose in the state. It was only then that the Rana realized what a holy person he had lost. He sent several Brahmans and instructed them to use every entreaty to Mira Bai to induce her to return, and finally to tell her that it was impossible for him to live unless she complied with his prayer. The Brahmans executed his orders, but Mira Bai refused to put herself again in the Rana's power. Upon this the Brahmans sat at her door and declared their intention of neither eating nor drinking till she had returned with them. She replied that she lived in Dwaraka only by the favour of Krishan. She would go and take leave of him and return to the Brahmans. She went to do homage to Ranchhor,[1] the visible representation of that god, became absorbed in his love, and what she had she gave—a humble offering of verses at his shrine :—

O god, remove thy servant's sufferings ;

Thou didst supply Draupadi with endless robes and save her modesty ;

For the sake of thy saint Prahlad thou didst assume the body of a man-lion ;

Thou didst kill Hiranyakashapu, who had not the courage to oppose thee ;

on the treatise of Rūpa, and dwelt at length on the various phases of devotional exaltation.

[1] Krishan received the name Ranchhor when he fled from Rāja Jarāsandh to Dwāraka.

Thou didst kill the crocodile and extricate the drowning elephant from the water.

O beloved Girdhar, Mira is thy slave ; her enemies everywhere annoy her.

Take me, my friend, take me to thy care as thou knowest best.

I have none but thee ; do thou show mercy unto me.

I have no appetite by day and no sleep by night ; my body pineth away.

Lord of Mira, all-wise Girdhar, come to me now ; I cannot live in thine absence.

It is said that Ranchhor, on beholding her supreme love, could resist no longer. He incorporated her in himself, and she became lost to human gaze. The Brahmans searched for her in vain. The only trace of her they could obtain was her *sarhi*, which was found enveloping the body of the idol. The Brahmans' faith in Krishan was confirmed, but their mission otherwise was unsuccessful, and they returned sore disappointed to the Rana. The latter soon experienced the further mortification of beholding his state conquered and plundered, it is said, by the victorious army of Akbar as a retribution for the ill-treatment of Mira Bai.

The following is one of the hymns whose passionate devotion is said to have produced the result of Mira Bai's union with Ranchhor :—

O Lord Ranchhor ; grant me to abide in Dwaraka, to abide in Dwaraka.

With thy shell, discus, mace, and lotus dispel the fear of death.

All places of pilgrimage ever abide in the Gomti for me.

The clash of thy shell and cymbals is to me ever the essence of pleasure.

I have abandoned my country, my queenly robes, my husband's palace, my property, and my kingdom.

Mira, thy slave, cometh to thee for refuge ; her honour is now totally in thy keeping.[1]

[1] The hymns in this life of Mīra Bāī are translated from Rāja Raghurāj Sinh's *Bhagat Māl*.

It is said that in commemoration of the miraculous disappearance of Mira Bai, her image is still worshipped at Udaipur in conjunction with that of Ranchhor, the beloved Girdhar of her childhood.

The following is Mira Bai's hymn in Bhai Banno's Granth Sahib.

MARU

God[1] hath entwined my soul, O mother,
With His attributes,[2] and I have sung of them.
The sharp arrow of His love hath pierced my body through and through, O mother.
When it struck me I knew it not; now it cannot be endured, O mother.
Though I use charms, incantations, and drugs, the pain will not depart.
Is there any one who will treat me? Intense is the agony, O mother.
Thou, O God, art near; Thou are not distant; come quickly to meet me.
Saith Mira, the Lord, the mountain-wielder,[3] who is compassionate, hath quenched the fire of my body, O mother.
The Lotus-eyed hath entwined *my soul* with the twine of His attributes.

SHAIKH FARID

THERE are hymns and sloks bearing the name of Farid found in the Granth Sahib. The Persian historian Farishta states that when Taimur Lang approached Ajodhan (Pak Pattan) in the Panjab in the year A. D. 1318, Sad-ul-Din,[4] a grandson of Shaikh Farid, who was then on his spiritual throne, fled with several of the leading inhabitants of the city to Bhatner in the state of Bikaner, where

[1] Kawalnain, the Lotus-eyed, an epithet of Krishan, the object of Mīra Bāī's special worship.
[2] *Gun* has two meanings—a rope or twine, and an attribute.
[3] Krishan.
[4] In Arabic names the *l* is generally silent in such combinations.

they subsequently made peace with the invaders. Guru Nanak was born in A. D. 1469, so he could not have met the original Farid. It is stated too in the oldest account of the Guru's life that it was with Shaikh Brahm (Ibrahim), Farid's successor, known as Farid the Second, he had two interviews. It is certain that it was Shaikh Brahm who composed the sloks and hymns bearing the name of Farid in the Granth Sahib, though he used the name of the founder of his spiritual line as his poetical *nom de plume.*

The following is the genealogy of Shaikh Brahm. He was the son of Khwaja Shaikh Muhammad, who was son of Diwan Pir Ataulla, who was son of Diwan Shaikh Ahmad Shah, who was son of Diwan Pir Baha-ul-Din styled Harun, who was son of Khwaja Munawwar Shah, who was son of Khwaja Diwan Pir Fazal, who was son of Khwaja Diwan Muiz-ul-Din, who was son of Khwaja Diwan Pir Ala-ul-Din called Mauj-i-darya—a wave of piety—who was son of Diwan Badar-ul-Din Sulaiman, who was son of Hazrat Baba Farid-ul-Din Masaud Shakar Ganj, the original Farid of Pak Pattan.

Shaikh Brahm holds a distinguished place in the list of great saints, and bears several titles or appellations. He is called Farid Sani or Farid the Second, Salis Farid or the arbitrator Farid, Shaikh Brahm Kalan (Shaikh Brahm the elder), Bal Raja, Shaikh Brahm Sahib, and Shah Brahm. He is said to have performed many miracles. The following is given as an example. A thief once entered his house with criminal intent, but by God's will was struck blind and could not find his way out. When Shaikh Brahm rose at night to pray, he told his servant to fetch water for his ablutions. The servant saw the blind thief standing helpless on the floor, and informed his master. The thief prayed for forgiveness, and promised that, if he recovered his sight, he would renounce his evil ways. Upon this Shaikh

Brahm prayed for him; he recovered his sight, and became a devout Musalman. Another of Shaikh Brahm's miracles is this. In a season of drought he took off his turban and began to whirl it about, upon which rain fell abundantly.

Two sons of Shaikh Brahm are mentioned—one Shaikh Taj-ul-Din Mahmud, a great saint, and another Shaikh Munawwar Shah Shahid. Shaikh Brahm had several disciples, such as Shaikh Salim Chishti Fatahpuri, Shaikh Almadi of Chunian, Baba Ahmad Lanak of Dipalpur, Maulvi Jalal-ul-Din of Shaikhabad, Shah Abdul Fatah of Ghazipur, Haji Niamat Ulla of Shaikhupur, &c.

Shaikh Brahm died on the 21st of Rajab, A. H. 960 (A. D. 1552), after a spiritual reign of forty-two years. The *Khulasat-ul-Tawarikh* states that he was buried at Sarhind. Whatever other details are known of him have been given in the life of Guru Nanak, who went on two occasions to meet and converse with him.

There is a great deal known or written regarding the original Shaikh Farid, and it appears that this sketch would be incomplete without some account of him.[1] Two genealogies of Shaikh Farid, subsequently called Farid Shakar Ganj, are given in

[1] The materials for the life of Farīd, which are preserved at the shrine of Pāk Pattan, are the *Jawāhir-i-Farīdi* (the Gems of Farīd) by Ali Asghar of Bahadāl, a town near Sarhind; the *Rāhat-ul-Qulūb* (Repose of Hearts), being a diary of Farīd's acts and instructions compiled by Nizām-ul-Dīn Auliya; the *Makhazan-i-Chishti*, and the *Asrār-i-Itrat-i-Farīdi* (Private lives of Farīd's descendants), by Pīr Muhammad of Pāk Pattan. The first three are in the Persian, the fourth in the Urdu language.

Ali Asghar's work, the *Jawāhir-i-Farīdi*, was completed during the reign of Jahāngīr on the 4th day of the month of Rajab A. H. 1033 (A. D. 1623). Ali Asghar took the work for examination and correction to Maulvi Shaikh Muhammad. The latter was grandson of Shaikh Tāj-ul-Dīn Mahmūd, who was, as we have seen, a son of Shaikh Brahm, called Farīd the Second. The details given in the *Jawāhir-i-Farīdi* are said to have been obtained from several volumes deposited in the sacred library at Baghdād.

the *Jawahir-i-Faridi*—one spiritual, the other temporal. He received his spiritual position from his priest Khwaja Qutub-ul-Din Bakhtiyar Ushi[1] of Dihli, whose spiritual predecessors ascend in a direct line to the Prophet of Makka. Farid's temporal or family genealogy is traced back through princes and kings to Hazrat Amir-ul-Mumanin Umr-bin-ul Khitab Qureshi Makki Faruqi, the second Khalifa of the Muhammadans.

When Farrukh Shah, from whom Farid was descended, was king of Kabul, the kings of Ghazni and other states were subject to him. When Kabul was subsequently captured by the king of Ghazni, Farrukh Shah's son went to him in quest of a livelihood. The king of Ghazni treated him with respect, and not only restored him his kingdom of Kabul, but gave him his daughter in marriage. It would appear that the kings of Ghazni and Kabul at the time were relations, for Shaikh Farid's father, Shaikh Jamal-ul-Din, was nephew of the king of Ghazni.

Shaikh Farid's great-grandfather was killed in the struggles of that period.[2] Farid's grandfather, Shaikh Shaib, with his relations, including three sons, the eldest of whom was Jamal-ul-Din Sulaiman, abandoned their country and took refuge in the Panjab in A.H. 519 (A. D. 1125). The Qazi of Kasur, who had been educated in Kabul and who was acquainted with the high position Shaikh Shaib had held there, treated him and his relatives with great respect and hospitality.[3] After some time Shaikh Shaib pro-

[1] So called as having come from Ūsh in Farghāna. See *Āīn-i-Akbari*.

[2] In the original it is stated that when Halāku, the grandson of Changez Khān, invaded Ghazni and Kābul, he killed several princes and learned men, including Shaikh Farīd's great-grandfather. This is not correct. Halāku's era was long subsequent. It was in A. D. 1258 he captured the city of Baghdād, and brought the Arab Khalāfat to a close.

[3] In the account preserved at Pāk Pattan it is stated that the Qāzi of Kasūr, through the subādār of Lahore, informed the Emperor of Shaikh Shaīb's arrival in the Panjāb. This must be an error. The

ceeded to Multan where he deemed he should be less exposed to worldly influences or the temptings of ambition. When he heard of the attentions in store for him in that city, he decided that he could not there carry out his intention to lead a life of obscurity and self-effacement. He accordingly took up his abode in Kothiwal, now known as Chawali Mushaikh, not far from Dipalpur.

Shaikh Shaib, established in Kothiwal a private college for religious instruction, and in spite of himself attracted much attention. His eldest son Jamal-ul-Din married Bibi Miriam,[1] daughter of Saiyid Muhammad Abdula Shah—a descendant of Ali—and adopted daughter of Maulvi Wajih-ul-Din, a descendant of Abbas, uncle of the Prophet of Makka. Wajih-ul-Din had fled from Kabul during political difficulties and taken up his abode in Karor in the Multan district. Miriam is described as a very pious lady and worker of some great miracles. She had three sons, Khwaja Aziz ul-Din, Farid-ul-Din Masaud, Khwaja Najib-ul-Din, and one daughter, Bibi Khatun Jamila, the mother of Saiyad Ala-ul-Din Ali Ahmad Sabir.

Nizam-ul-Din Auliya, a disciple of Farid, relates a legend of a robber who went to Farid's mother's house to steal. On beginning his operations he lost his sight. He then cried out that there must be some saint or miracle-worker present. He vowed that, if his lost sight were restored, he would renounce thieving and become a good Muhammadan. On hearing this vow Miriam prayed for him, and his sight was restored. He went home, and returned to her the following morning with an offering of milk. Accompanied by his wife and children, he expressed a desire that they should all become Muhammadans.

Emperor of Hindustān was then Prithwi Rāj. Shahāb-ul-Dīn's victorious Indian career did not begin until about fifty years afterwards.

[1] *Isrār-i-Itrat-i-Farīdi.* In the *Jawāhir-i-Farīdi* Jamāl-ul-Dīn's wife, Farīd's mother, is called Quresham.

Miriam caused his wishes in this respect to be gratified, with the result that they all became holy. In reply to her, he said his name was Chawa. His shrine among others in that locality subsequently became a place of devout pilgrimage.

When Farid was conceived, his mother used to spend her days and nights in prayer. He was born at Kothiwal on the first day of the month of Ramzan, A.H. 569 (A.D. 1173). The night of his birth was dark and cloudy, and the moon, whose appearance indicates the beginning of Ramzan—the Muhammadan Lent—could not be seen, so men did not know when to begin their fast. A holy man arrived and said that a wonderful son had been born to Jamal-ul-Din Sulaiman. If the infant suckled, the time for fasting had not yet begun, but if, on the contrary, he refused the breast, then all good Muhammadans must fast. Farid did not suckle, and so it was apparent the fast had begun. During the whole of the month of Ramzan, it is said, the infant only took milk by night in the Muhammadan fashion and fasted by day.

When Farid was a few years old his mother taught him his prayers. The boy asked what was gained by prayer. His mother replied 'Sugar'. She used accordingly to hide some sugar under his prayer-carpet, and, when he had finished his prayers, draw it forth, and give it to him as a reward for his devotion. On one occasion, when his mother was absent, he prayed a great deal, and, it is said, a great supply of sugar—a miraculous gift of God—was found under his carpet. Some he ate himself and the rest he gave to his playfellows. He related the circumstance to his mother on her return. It was then his mother gave him the surname Shakar Ganj, meaning a treasury of sugar.

The following is another version of the reason why the name Shakar Ganj was bestowed on Farid. It is related that, when the Prophet Muhammad ascended

into heaven, God gave him a plate of sugar, which He said was from the treasury of a saint who should be born in his sect. The Prophet was to eat some of it himself, and give the remainder to his disciples. When the Prophet returned to earth, his friends asked him whence he had obtained the sugar. He replied that a holy man should be born in his sect, who would become a mediator for sinners. When the Prophet was asked the holy man's name he said, 'He shall receive from God the name Farid, as being fard-i-alam, unique in the world, and he shall be called by me Shakar Ganj.' A third reason for the name will subsequently be given.

His mother sent Farid to school at the age of four or five years. In a short time he committed the whole of the Quran to memory. He was then sent to Multan, where he became proficient in secular learning. His mother, it is said, was then counselled by an angel to send him on a pilgrimage to Makka. Farid himself had previously conceived the same desire, though he was then hardly more than a child. He was at the time reading the *Abul Nafa* with Saiyid Nazir Ahmad. When the latter heard of Farid's intended departure, he began to weep at the loss of his beloved pupil. His parents then resolved to take the boy's preceptor also. They set out from Kothiwal on the 13th day of Jamadi ul Sani, A. H. 585, and arrived in the harbour of Jadda on the 12th of Zi Qada of the same year, that is, after a journey of five months. Thence they proceeded to Makka.

Farid's party stayed in the house of Abdul Rahim Ansari, whose wife was very attentive to them. They heard that Abdul Qadir Jilani, styled Hazrat Ghaus Pak Qutub-i-Alam, had come from Baghdad to perform the great Muhammadan pilgrimage, and taken up his position in the cave of Hura on mount Abu Qabis near Makka.[1] Hazrat Ghaus's praises

[1] We here follow the annals of the shrine at Pāk Pattan. According to the *Āīn-i-Akbarī* Abdul Kādir died before the birth of Farīd.

were in every body's mouth, and Farid did not conceal his admiration of the distinguished saint. An unkempt faqir on hearing Farid's language foretold the boy's subsequent greatness. The faqir whispered something into his ear, and he at once became insensible. He was taken up and carried to Abdul Rahim's house.

Farid afterwards averred that while he was in this state of apparent insensibility the Prophet appeared to him, and foretold his future distinction and the fame of his shrine. Muhammad promised he would stand on Farid's tomb every fifth day of the Muharram for nine hours through all time. Farid's mother suggested to him to commit to writing all the details of his interview with the Prophet; but the memorandum made in obedience to his mother's suggestion has not been found.

When the pilgrimage to Makka was over, Hazrat Ghaus invited Farid and his party to visit him in his cave. Hazrat Ghaus there produced an iron box containing relics of the Prophet. They consisted of two banners which used to precede him in war, two covers for them, a cup made of olive wood, a pair of buskins, a saffron-coloured turban, and some alpaca cloth for a neckcloth. When these things after examination were restored to the iron box, it was placed on Farid's head and bestowed on him.

After this Farid's party went to visit Madina, and after a brief sojourn there returned to India. On their way from the sea they visited Ajmer, where Farid received instruction from Khwaja Gharib Nawaz.

Farid was in due time sent to Kabul to study theology. Having completed his course there he returned to Multan. At Minhaj-ul-Din's mosque he met the saint Qutub-ul-Din, and became his disciple.

Farid's cousin, Baha-ul-Din Zakaria,[1] Saiyid Jalal-

[1] Surnamed Makhdūm-i-Ālam. His tomb is within the Multān fort. An account of this saint will be found in the *Khulāsat-ul-Tawārīkh.*

ul-Din Bukhari, and Lal Shahbaz Qalandar asked Farid to join them on a religious peregrination. They were to proceed as fancy dictated in quest of some man of eminent sanctity. Farid said that he only believed in his own priest Qutub-ul-Din. Baha-ul-Din, however, pressed him to join the party, and Farid finally consented. On the journey they arrived at a place where two ways met. On one way which was short there were thieves, while on the other which was long they might travel in safety. Baha-ul-Din advised them to go by the safe road even though it cost more trouble, lest they might be deprived of the money they had with them for their travelling expenses. Farid gave it as his opinion that they should divest themselves of everything that was likely to be stolen, and then proceed by the short road. This advice was adopted.

On their way they arrived at the river Indus, where they found fishermen casting nets. Farid and his party were hungry and agreed to cast nets into the river, each in his turn and in his own name, in the hope of catching some fish for their dinner. The nets were cast and found empty until it came to Farid's turn. His net became so full of fish, and therefore so heavy, that the fishermen could not draw it out of the water. Farid repeating Bismillah easily drew it forth.

The party then proceeded to cross the river. On the opposite shore there lived a saint called Shaikh Suf, under whose spiritual guidance Farid and his party wished to place themselves. Shaikh Suf told Farid and his friends that he had no power to make them his disciples, and referred them to Shaikh Shahab-ul-Din Saharwardi, the cynosure of the age, who lived in Bukhara. Farid and his three friends then set out for Bukhara. Shahab-ul-Din declared that Farid was a man of wonderful courage, and destined to obtain a high spiritual position. At the same time he ought to return to his own priest

Qutub-ul-Din. Before the return of the party Baha-ul-Din became a disciple of Shahab-ul-Din.

As Farid, Baha-ul-Din, Saiyid Jalal-ul-Din Bukhari, and Lal Shahbaz Qalandar were returning from Bukhara they stayed near a village in Sindh. A charitable person gave them a little corn for food, which they much required after a long fast. Farid bade his companions go and pray in the forest, while he took the corn to the village to be ground. He went to a woman's house and asked her to grind the corn and take some of the flour for her labour. She seeing that he was very handsome invited him into her house, and told him that he might grind the corn himself. When he entered, she proposed that he should make love to her. Preparatory to the hoped-for act she put her child of three months old into a cradle. Farid repulsed her, and when she further pressed her proposal took to flight. She then cried out, called all her neighbours to witness an indecent assault, and charged the runaway with having dishonoured her. The villagers collected, pursued and arrested Farid, and took him before the magistrate. He was called upon for his defence, and asked to produce witnesses of his innocence if he had any; otherwise he should suffer the punishment provided for such a heinous crime. Farid said his witness was the woman's child, who would support his statements. The child was brought to court in his cradle. Farid adjured the child by his Creator to speak the truth, and tell what had occurred. He, to the astonishment of all, not only spoke intelligently, but gave evidence calculated to completely establish Farid's innocence. Upon this the magistrate rebuked and imprisoned the woman.

When Farid reached Khwaja Qutub-ul-Din, the latter was at the height of his fame. The author of the *Jawahir-i-Faridi* states that he enjoined the observance of the following four rules on all who aspired to perfection—sleep little, eat little, speak

little, associate little with the world. Farid said that, even were every hair on his body a tongue, he could not describe Qutub-ul-Din's virtues.[1]

Qutub-ul-Din, on finding Farid deficient in scholarship, sent him to the shrine of Abdul Shakur of Sarsa to finish his education.[2] On that occasion Farid repeated the following :—

O Farid, thou hast not walked in God's way ; therefore He hath not appeared unto thee.

Who is there who hath knocked at God's door for whom it hath not been opened ?

Lose thy life on the way of the Friend if thou desire to be even as those holy men.

The high reputation Farid obtained in Dihli soon became irksome to him. He therefore made his way to Hansi, where he remained for some time. Meantime his high priest in Dihli appears to have died. Upon this Farid paid a second visit to that city, and assumed the mantle of his late spiritual guide. He ultimately left it in the keeping of Jamal-ul-Din of Hansi, and thence proceeded to Ajodhan, the present Pak Pattan, where he afterwards died, and where his followers now reside and receive offerings at his shrine.

[1] Khwāja Qutub-ul-Dīn Bakhtiyār Kāki was a Saiyid of the Jāfiri Husaini tribe. He was born about the middle of the twelfth century A.D. Having studied under Abu Hifz, a celebrated Muhammadan doctor of Ūsh, he went to Ajmer and became a disciple of Muayan-ul-Dīn Hasan Chishti. In due time he proceeded to Dihli where not only Farīd, but the Emperor Sultān Shams-ul-Dīn Altmish became his disciple. He is said to have been a worker of miracles, and to have obtained his surname Kāki from his ability to produce hot cakes (kāk) at will from under his arm-pits. He died in A.D. 1235, and was buried in Dihli, where his tomb is held in devout reverence by pious Muhammadans. His descendants are called Chishtis from the tribe of his priest.—*Makhazan-ul-Tawārīkh.*

Qutub-ul-Dīn's tomb near the natural spring called Jhālra in Ajmer was a favourite place of pilgrimage of the Emperor Akbar.—*Badāūni.*

[2] The *Rāhat-ul-Qulūb* here gives a different legend.

The manner in which the name of the place became changed to Pak Pattan may be here stated. A canal which derived its water from the Satluj passed near the town. It was usual for all who visited Farid to wash their hands and feet there. The place then became known as *Baba Sahib ki Pak Pattan*, or Farid's cleansing ferry.

When Farid first went to Ajodhan, it is said that he lived on the fruit of the jal and the wild caper. These formed his staple food even when he subsequently became great and famous.

Abu Musalla, a qazi of Pak Pattan, grew jealous of the new-comer Farid, and complained to the subadar of Multan that he sang and danced. The subadar forwarded the complaint to the Emperor, who issued an order, as usual, in the Persian language, 'Anra az shahar ba dar kuned,' turn him out of the city. When this order reached the subadar he read, 'Qazira az shahar ba dar kuned,' turn the qazi out of the city. The words, it was said, had been miraculously changed during the transit of the order from Dihli to Multan. When the qazi heard of the order he, deeming repentance convenient and more profitable than expulsion, fell at Farid's feet, implored his forgiveness, and became his disciple. The qazi in due time gave his daughter in marriage to Farid's son Makhdum Badr-ul-Din. From this marriage was born Hazrat Ala-ul-Din Mauj-i-Darya.

Farid after some time, in accordance with his mother's advice, went to a forest, and lived there as an anchoret for twelve years, subsisting on the leaves of trees. On his return she began to comb his dishevelled hair. Farid complained that the operation caused him pain. His mother replied that he must have caused similar pain to the trees when he robbed them of their leaves and fruit for food. It is written in the Quran that everything prays to God, hence the trees must be sentient beings. Farid then felt for the first time that his penance had been profit-

less. He accordingly set out on another pilgrimage of twelve years. This time, so as not to hurt any living thing, he tied a wooden cake to his stomach, and, it is said, subsisted on the imaginary sustenance it afforded him for the full term of his vow. If any one asked him to eat, he used to point to the wooden cake, and say that he had already dined, and that the remainder of his meal was attached to his stomach. One day in the dire pangs of hunger, it is said, he bit the wooden cake in the hope of satisfying his appetite. The reputed marks of his teeth are shown on a piece of wood still preserved in Pak Pattan.

Farid in his wanderings visited in A. D. 1244 the Girar hill in the Wardha district of Central India, and lived there for some time. Two travellers, who at first mocked him and subsequently felt the effects of his miraculous power, became his disciples. They died on the hill where their graves are still pointed out.

Farid subsequently visited the hill of Datar in the state of Junagarh and abode there for some time. He was known under the name of Shakar Bhai. His fireplace near a spring called Qalandar ka chashma—the Qalandar's well—is still pointed out and revered by pilgrims. Hindu lepers visit the place to be healed of their malady, and in the event of success become Musalmans. Of such are the men in a temple on the slope of the hill, who have acquired several well-marked Muhammadan characteristics.

His mother, finding that Farid on his return had not lost all remnants of pride, dismissed him to do penance for a third period of twelve years. This time, it is said, he caused himself to be suspended by the feet in a well. He used sometimes, when wearied by the unnatural position of his body, to go out and pray, and express his satisfaction with the Divine will. It is said that birds used to build their nests in his hair, and beasts of prey to peck at or devour his flesh. He composed the following couplet in reference to these circumstances :—

Farid, thy body is on the stake; thy head hath become a cage; the crows peck at thy feet.

If God come to me even now, happy shall be my lot.

This couplet was subsequently expanded into the 90th, 91st, and 92nd sloks of Shaikh Brahm found in the Granth Sahib. After twelve years thus occupied it is said a voice called out to him, 'God will grant any favour thou askest.' Farid replied that he only desired salvation.

Farid, on being questioned why he had endured so much penance, said that he desired to save all the followers of Muhammad whom he could fold within his arms. His questioner replied, 'Thou canst fold only two men within thine arms.' Farid then stretched out his hands, whereupon one of them seemed to reach to the east and the other to the west, and he said, 'All persons within the circuit of my arms shall accept Islam and be saved.' His questioner stood abashed on hearing this and became his disciple.

It is stated in the *Gulshan-i-Auliya* that God had an understanding with Farid, that He should give him three terms of life of forty years each. After the first forty years God said, 'Thou hast been searching for Me.' After the second forty God said, 'Thou hast done My bidding.' After the third forty God again said, 'Thou hast done My bidding; now I will do thine.' It would thus appear that after a holy career Farid died at the age of one hundred and twenty years. Other writers, however, as we shall see, assign the saint a shorter period of life.

The fame of Farid's miracles widely extended, and some men through envy became exceedingly hostile to him. Two darweshes, displeased at his high reputation for sanctity and thaumaturgy, came from a great distance to kill him. Farid spoke gently to his intended murderers, with the result that they departed fully satisfied that he was a great saint, and deserved praise rather than censure, long life rather than death.

After that two saints arrived from Mount Lebanon to decide the question as to who was the spiritual ruler of India. On making Farid's acquaintance, they became so enamoured of the beauty and saintliness of his character, that they decided to pass the remainder of their lives in his service. Others arrived on the same errand and from the same locality, so it was said that Lebanon was denuded of its male population. Farid in due time dismissed them all, saying that Lebanon was the home of saints, and they ought not to abandon it.

In the train of other holy men who came from Ghazni, Kabul, and the cities to the west of it to engage in missionary enterprise in India, was Ahmad Danyal of Bukhara [1], the father of Nizam-ul-Din Auliya. Having stayed for some time at Lahore, Ahmad Danyal in A. D. 1234 proceeded to Badaun, then a famous city of Muhammadan learning. There, three years after his arrival, Nizam-ul-Din, originally called Muhammad, was born to him. Nizam-ul-Din was left an orphan at the age of five years. He was carefully and piously instructed by his mother Zulaikha, and in early youth showed such extraordinary ability, that he was known as Nizam-ul-Din Bahhas, or the Controversialist, and Mahfil-Shikan, the assembly-router. On arriving at manhood he was offered by the Emperor the coveted post of Qazi at Dihli, but, that being principally of a secular character, he preferred to embrace a religious life, and become a disciple of Farid. From him, according to Abul Fazal, author of the *Ain-i-Akbari*, he obtained the key of the treasury of inward illumination.

Nizam-ul-Din had heard much of Farid, and longed to meet him and receive his spiritual instruction. Farid too was equally anxious to meet such a holy man. He said he had had an inspiration to confer the spiritual sovereignty of Hindustan on a man

[1] The *Khulāsat-ul-Tawārīkh* gives Ghazni as the birthplace of Ahmad Danyāl.

called Nizam-ul-Din. Accordingly, when the two holy men met, Farid gave Nizam-ul-Din his patched coat and wooden shoes, and appointed him head of the Muhammadan faith in India. He bade him be of good cheer and promised ever to assist him. On that occasion Farid made the following couplet :—

The fire of separation from thee roasteth our hearts ;
The torrent of thy love destroyeth our lives.

These lines were intended to compliment Nizam-ul-Din on his personal popularity, and the love with which he inspired his associates.

In the time of the Emperor Nasir-ul-Din there was a celebrated preacher called Afsah-ul-Din in Dihli. He visited Farid in Ajodhan to hold a religious controversy with him, and was encountered by Nizam-ul-Din, whom Farid deputed for the purpose. Nizam-ul-Din gave Afsah-ul-Din most unexpectedly clever and satisfactory replies to all his arguments, whereat he marvelled greatly and departed, saying, 'If the disciple is so, what must the master be?' Farid ultimately made Afsah-ul-Din a disciple of his.

Farid used generally to reject offerings of money. One day the emperor presented him with two plates of gold coins. Farid would only accept two muhars out of the imperial offerings. Those he accepted were devoted to the purchase of provisions for his public kitchen ; the remainder he ordered to be distributed among faqirs. In the process of distribution two of the coins fell and were picked up by a disciple of Farid. Farid not observing this began to pray, but could not fix his thoughts on God. He knew therefore that some one in the assembly must have worldly dross on him. After much inquiry he became aware of the act of his disciple, and ordered him to throw away the coins immediately. It was only then that Farid could fix his attention on his devotions.

As an example of Farid's frugal habits, the follow-

ing anecdote is related. Nizam-ul-Din Auliya one day cooked some coarse lentils which he seasoned with borrowed salt. Farid ordered him to distribute the lentils and then give him his share. When it was brought to Farid, he said that it savoured of excessive expenditure. Nizam-ul-Din admitted that he had seasoned it with borrowed salt, whereupon Farid said he had done wrong. Food obtained in that way should not be eaten. Upon this Farid sent the food away.

Farid accompanied Baha-ul-Din Zakaria at his request on another journey, namely, to the mountain of Qaf, the Caucasus. On descending therefrom they are said to have seen a man with a fiery dress riding on a fiery tiger, an allegory intended to represent the burning zeal of the first propagators of Islam. The man put Farid behind him, and rode off with him for the conversion of the world.

Farid, on returning to Ajodhan from his missionary journey, was hospitably received and entertained by Shaikh Nasir Ulla's mother, a widow named Bibi Um-i-Qulsum, whom he afterwards married. She brought him valuable building land to the west of the town. Farid cherished Nasir Ulla, and educated and brought him up as his own son.

During Farid's absence in the Caucasus a Jogi gained great spiritual ascendancy over the people of Ajodhan, and made many converts among them. In due time they all returned to Farid, who promptly repaired the mischief that had been done, and restored his flock to their former spiritual allegiance.

The Emperor Nasir-ul-Din deputed Nawab Alif Khan to present Farid with a large sum of money in gold and a perpetual grant of the revenue of four villages. Farid refused both the money and the grant, and told Alif Khan to take them to those who needed them. If he himself accepted them, he would no longer be reckoned a darwesh. Men would upbraid him for his worldliness, and on the day of judgement

he would not be allowed to take his place in the ranks of the elect. On this occasion Farid cited the precepts and example of his priest Qutub-ul-Din Bakhtiyar Ushi. Once the Emperor Shams-ul-Din Altmish sent him a dish of gold and silver coins and a lease of six villages. Qutub-ul-Din rejected the royal offerings, saying that none of his predecessors had ever accepted such things, and, were he to do so, he would be no true follower of theirs.

When Nawab Alif Khan was on his return journey to Dihli, it occurred to him that the Emperor Nasir-ul-Din had no heir, and he reflected that, if he could secure Farid's intercession, he might become emperor himself. He therefore returned to Farid who gave him the following verses :—

The great Faridun was not an angel ;
He was not constructed out of rose-water and ambergris ;
He obtained greatness by his justice and generosity.
Dispense thou justice and generosity, and thou shalt be even as Faridun.

Alif Khan receiving these lines joyfully returned to Dihli, and ultimately, on the death of Nasir-ul-Din, was saluted emperor under the title of Ghiyas-ul-Din Balban.[1]

Farid went to Dihli during the life-time of Nasir-ul-Din and received a most hospitable reception. The Emperor introduced him to his queens and made them his disciples. While in the female apartments Farid's glance fell on Hazabra, the Emperor's daughter. Farid first looked at her, and then looked up to heaven. He inquired whose daughter she was, and on being duly informed took his departure. The Emperor understood Farid's desire, and sent his prime minister to offer him Hazabra in marriage. Farid, who had already made up his mind on the subject, said that God, the Prophet, and the elders of the Chishtis had all given him orders to ally

[1] *Jawāhir-i-Farīdī.*

himself with the Emperor's daughter. He averred that he had seen a sign on Hazabra's forehead that she was intended for him. Upon that occasion Farid addressed God—'Thou hast drawn away my heart from Thy love, and inclined it in another direction.' God is said to have replied—'Perform the marriage for the love of my friend the Prophet.' Farid prayed God to pardon him. God again replied—'I have an object in this. When sons are born to thee, it shall be to the advantage of thy people, and they shall be pardoned.' Farid, still anxious on the subject, urged, 'If any of my descendants sin, I shall be called to account in Thy court.' God replied, 'Keep the good children thyself, and entrust the bad ones to Me.'

Farid and the Emperor's daughter were duly married. The Emperor sent three hundred servants to wait on her. Of these Farid only allowed her to retain two men and two women. The first night the lady, richly apparelled, lay on a gorgeous couch. Farid produced his prayer-carpet, and slept on it on the ground near her. Next day she told her nurse that Farid had not approached her. The nurse remonstrated with him on the subject. He replied that he did not approve of the regal style the lady had adopted. She must sell her jewels and rich dresses, devote the price of them to God's service, and wear the habit of a darwesh. When the lady received this message, she said she would do as her husband had ordered. She accordingly devoted the proceeds of the sale of her jewels and dresses to the relief of the poor. Farid then procured for her wear a coarse jacket of a dirty brown colour, black paejamas, green glass bangles, and a pewter nose-ring. The Emperor was not pleased that his daughter should appear in such mean habiliments, and again supplied her with new clothes and jewellery to wear instead of what she had rejected at her husband's desire. The new articles she again gave to the

poor. A third time the Emperor sent her what he deemed suitable apparel and ornaments, but she and her husband parted with them as before. The Emperor continued to send her presents, but they were only a source of disagreement between her husband and herself. At last the lady proposed that they should leave Dihli and proceed to Pak Pattan. This was agreed upon. Farid left his brother Najib-ul-Din to do spiritual duty for him in Dihli. It may be here stated that the females of the shrine are still married in dresses similar to what Farid procured for his wife. After the honeymoons raiment more suitable to their worldly position is adopted.

The Emperor's daughter bore Farid five sons—Badr-ul-Din, Shahab-ul-Din, Nizam-ul-Din, Yaqub, and Abdulla Shah; and three daughters—Fatima, Mastura, and Sharifa. In the *Itrat-i-Faridi* it is stated that Farid had a third wife named Najib-ul-Nissa, sister of Shaikh Zakaria, and we shall subsequently see that he procured a fourth wife on the Panjab mountains.

Farid being once very ill sent Nizam-ul-Din and other darweshes to a cemetery to pray for him. The idea was and is, that prayers offered in the presence of men who have gone to God, are acceptable and successful. The prayer, however, proved of no avail. Upon this one of the darweshes remarked that the prayers of the worthless were of no advantage to the perfect, that is, the prayers of ordinary darweshes could not benefit Farid. This expression was subsequently repeated to Farid by Nizam-ul-Din. Farid was pleased with the compliment and, it is said, granted Nizam-ul-Din supernatural power. Nizam-ul-Din then returned to the cemetery, prayed for Farid's recovery, and on his return found him in perfect health.

To show the spiritual and social position held by the family it is related that Farid addressed his cousin as 'Hazrat Ghaus Shaikh Baha-ul-Din Zakaria'.

His cousin addressed him in reply, ' Mashuq-i-Khuda wa ashik-i-zat-i-Kibria Farid, fard-i-alam, Shah Shakar Ganj Ajodhani Chishti '—Beloved of God and loving the Almighty Being, Farid, unique in the world, king, treasury of sugar, Chishti of Ajodhan.

Shaikh Badr-ul-Din, descended from a noble family of Ghazni, was a disciple of Qutub-ul-Din of Dihli. Farid, highly impressed with Badr-ul-Din's reputation for sanctity, went one day to visit him. Badr-ul-Din had nothing for him to eat, so he sent his coarse blanket to the market to be sold for whatever it would fetch, in order to provide a meal for his distinguished guest. Malik Nizam-ul-Din, a different person from the Nizam-ul-Din Auliya with whom we have been concerned, made a monastery for Shaikh Badr-ul-Din, who was pleased to reside in it, and dispense to the poor the provisions which Nizam-ul-Din had provided for them in abundance. It happened that this Nizam-ul-Din subsequently in some way offended the Emperor and was imprisoned. Badr-ul-Din wrote to Farid to pray to God for his release. Farid refused on the ground that Nizam-ul-Din had constructed a monastery for self-aggrandizement, a course which was not in accordance with the humble practice of his predecessors who sought retirement and self-effacement.

There was a religious man called Shams Dabir who lived in great indigence in Sunam in the present state of Patiala. He wrote some verses in praise of Farid, and went to him to recite them. Farid on hearing the eulogium asked the poet what he wanted. Shams Dabir replied that he was very poor, and had not wherewithal to support his aged mother. Farid replied that he gave not money, but he would pray very fervently for him. Shams Dabir ultimately became secretary to the Emperor's prime minister.

The Emperor Ala-ul-Din Masaud made Hamid, a learned man, his viceroy of Bengal. One day as Hamid was standing with clasped hands before the

Emperor, a form of light appeared to him, and asked why he was standing in a suppliant attitude before a fool. The same question was asked Hamid the next day, and the next day again. Upon this he resigned his post and proceeded to Ajodhan, whither he was attracted by Farid's spiritual power. On reaching Farid's dwelling, he fell down and kissed his threshold. When Farid had heard his story, he made him his disciple, and gave him the patched coat of a Khalifa. Hamid remained for some time with Farid, and became a very eloquent preacher. Farid often called him a bright particular star, but at the same time remarked that a star looks not bright in the presence of the sun—a subtle compliment to himself. Farid suggested that he should return, and live in the town of Andina near Dihli, and benefit God's people by his preaching. Hamid, however, stated that his intention was rather to make a pilgrimage to Makka and Madina, the cities hallowed by the residence of his Prophet. Upon this Farid allowed him to take his departure.

Maulana Badr-ul-Din, son of Saiyid Minhaj-ul-Din Najjari,[1] was professor of Arabic in the Muhammadan college of Dihli. In the course of his theological studies he encountered several difficulties for which he could receive no satisfactory solution from the holy men of his acquaintance. He therefore resolved to travel to Bukhara, then the seat of some of the greatest Muhammadan scholars of the age. He went by Multan, whose learned men also he wished to consult. On the way he met some pious hermits, one of whom was a disciple of Farid, and had Farid's name ever on his tongue. Badr-ul-Din, after a short conference with him, told him he was wasting his time in such occupation. The disciple said he could not help it, for Farid's name issued spontaneously from his lips. The disciple and his friends then

[1] In the English translation of the *Āīn-i-Akbari* Bukhāri is found for Najjāri.

suggested to Badr-ul-Din to pay Shaikh Farid a visit, and perhaps he would solve some of his difficulties. Badr-ul-Din replied that he had met several Shaikhs, that they were merely impostors, and that men wasted their time in converse with them. The disciple and his friends argued the matter with Badr-ul-Din, and represented to him that he could only appreciate Shaikh Farid's merits when he had made his acquaintance. Badr-ul-Din at last gave way, and was conducted by his casual friends to Farid. Farid solved his theological difficulties in a satisfactory manner, and then made him his disciple. Upon this Badr-ul-Din decided not to proceed to Bukhara, but remain in Ajodhan with Farid. He became so humble that he used to wait on holy men, cut firewood in the forest, and cook their food with it. He was at the same time very attentive to his devotions, and used to mortify his body with fasting.

Once, when there was a marriage in Pak Pattan, Badr-ul-Din, on seeing the relations of the bride draw water with which to bathe the bride and bridegroom according to ancient custom, thought that if he were in his own country and among his people his own marriage also might be duly celebrated.

Sometime afterwards Badr-ul-Din proceeded on a pilgrimage to Makka and Madina. On his return Farid informed him of the thoughts which had passed through his mind on seeing water drawn to bathe the bride and bridegroom, and said he could either have a temporal or a permanent marriage, as he deemed most advantageous. By permanent marriage Farid meant death, as among the ancient Greeks; and if Badr-ul-Din desired it, not only water but milk and sugar should ever be offered at his shrine, and the fame of such a marriage should resound both in earth and heaven.

It would appear from the *Jawahir-i-Faridi* that Badr-ul-Din accepted both forms of marriage. Farid gave him his daughter Fatima in marriage. He also

made him his chamberlain with the title of Badr-ul-Diwan. Whenever Farid spoke to him on the subject of appointing him to a position corresponding with that of bishop *in partibus infidelium*, he used to reply that he desired to live for ever under Farid's shadow. Farid built him a house near the great mosque of the city, and there he lived in the service of God. After his death a mausoleum was erected over his remains. As promised by Shaikh Farid, his marriage ceremonies are celebrated once a year by a fair held on the sixth day of the month Jamadi ul Sani, when copious libations of sharbat are offered at his shrine.

One day as Farid awoke from a trance, he said, 'The eye which looketh not towards God had better be blind; the tongue which uttereth not His name had better be dumb; the ear which heareth not His praises had better be deaf; and the body which performeth not His service had better be dead.' After this utterance Farid relapsed into his trance.

Once seven hundred holy men were sitting together. An inquirer put them four questions to which they gave identically the same replies—

Q. 1. Who is the wisest of men? *A.* He who refraineth from sin.

Q. 2. Who is the most intelligent? *A.* He who is not disconcerted at anything.

Q. 3. Who is the most independent? *A.* He who practiseth contentment.

Q. 4. Who is the most needy? *A.* He who practiseth it not.

The following sentences are taken from Farid's sermons:—

God hesitateth to raise His hand against His creatures.

Be not overjoyed with worldly wealth, and, if thou have none at all, be not depressed.

The day we obtain not our desires should be to us as

a time of rejoicing like the night of the Prophet's ascension into heaven.

Man should not allow his ambition to be cooled by the discouraging remarks of the world.

When a faqir putteth on rich clothes, they become his winding-sheet.

Of all attractions, attraction towards devotion is the best.

It fareth well with him who thinketh on his own faults and not on the faults of others.

To the pure all things are pure; nothing can defile them.

If you aspire to attain the dignity of the departed saints, bow not to monarchs.

The learned man is the most noble among men, and the holy man the most noble among noblemen.

The holy man among the learned is like the full moon among the stars.

The most contemptible of men is he who occupieth himself with eating and dressing.

The repetition of the following lines gave great spiritual comfort to Farid:—

Last night sad thoughts possessed me,
But afterwards I reflected on my beautiful Lover.
I said I would do everything to go to His door.
My tears ran, and my Lover then caught my sleeve.

A student asked Farid if singing were lawful and proper. He replied that, according to the Muhammadan religion, it was certainly unlawful, but its propriety was still a matter of discussion.

Nizam-ul-Din Auliya told Nasir-ul-Din, a disciple of his, that one day when he went to visit Farid he stood at his door, and saw him dancing as he sang the following:—

I wish ever to live in Thy love, O God.
If I become the dust under Thy feet, I shall live.
I Thy slave desire none but Thee in both worlds;
For Thee I will live and for Thee I will die.

The following was a favourite couplet of Farid:—

Not every heart is capable of finding the secret of God's love.
There are not pearls in every sea; there is not gold in every mine.

One of Farid's beloved friends was Shaikh Jamal-ul-Din of Hansi, whom he called his senior Khalifa. Hazrat Shaikh Baha-ul-Din Zakaria of Multan, hearing of this man's fame, begged Farid to lend him to him to preach to the faithful. Farid refused, but, when pressed by Jamal-ul-Din, who was attracted to Baha-ul-Din by supernatural influence, replied, 'Go and blacken thy face.' It is said that upon this Jamal-ul-Din's face became black, and he fled to the forest to hide himself from human gaze. Farid forbade all persons to intercede for him or assist him in any way. It happened that, as a man called Alim was going to Ajodhan from Multan, he met Jamal-ul-Din on the way. Jamal-ul-Din begged him to intercede with Farid, and he did so. Lapse of time and importunity caused Farid to relent. He wrote to Jamal-ul-Din the four following lines and then restored him to favour:—

Go round the world, and in wandering raise blisters on thy feet;
If thou find any one like me, then forsake me.
Come one morning with pure heart to my door;
If thou attain not thine object, then make complaint.

Jamal-ul-Din returned to Farid, and Farid's love for him increased after the rupture. Jamal-ul-Din was a descendant of Abu Hanifa of Kusa.

Farid visited Mokalhar, now called Faridkot in honour of the saint. The country was then ruled by Mokal. At the time of Farid's visit, Mokal was building his capital, and used to impress all visitors for the work. Though Farid wore the patched coat of a re-

ligious man, he too was pressed into the Raja's service. The masons and workmen on making Farid's acquaintance bowed at his feet, and prayed him to grant them forgiveness of their sins. The Raja too followed their example, and for some days personally waited on him. Farid asked what name the king was going to give his city. The king replied Mokalhar. Then said Farid, 'Berun khair wa andarun darr'—it is fair without, but a ruin[1] within—by which the saint meant that it should never be thoroughly inhabited. The king represented his hard fate to Farid. Though thousands of rupees had been spent on his capital, no one came to dwell in it. If his holiness Farid ordered, it should soon be full of inhabitants. Farid then told him to change the name and dwell in it himself. Mokal consented and called the city Faridkot in compliment to his holy guest. Farid then said, 'Go, God the most high will cause thee and thy descendants to abide in that fort.'

There is a legend that Farid once visited a city on the Panjab mountains. One day, as he was bathing, a beautiful young lady accidentally saw and conceived a desire to approach him, for a son by such a man should become king of the realm of beauty. It is said that Jamila Khatun—the beautiful lady—while revolving this in her mind, became pregnant. After Farid's departure there was great commotion in the tribe on hearing of the young lady's condition. She averred that she had committed no impropriety, but no one would believe her. Every one said it was of course that stranger Farid's doing. Farid chanced to return to that part of the country six months afterwards. He was charged with the young lady's seduction, which, apart from being a sin, was a grievous offence against the tribe. He solemnly denied the charge, but no one would accept his statement. He requested his accusers to ask the lady if she had ever conceived a desire to have a child by

[1] *Darr* is so understood in Farīdkot.

him. She then admitted that such a desire had arisen in her mind. Upon this Farid, in self-defence, instanced the well-known case of Jesus having been born without a human father, and also the case of Adam, who had been produced without father or mother, and said that nothing was impossible to God's Omnipotence, and He might in His mercy have given a son to the virgin. The tribe heeded not Farid's words, and said they would only believe him if he wrought a miracle in their presence. They found no difficulty in suggesting a subject. They told him that no sugar-cane grew in their country. If he went with them to the forest and caused sugar to rain, they would accept his story of the young lady's immaculate pregnancy, but not otherwise. Farid then said in the Persian language, which he habitually spoke, 'Chi ajab az Afridgare ki zan-i-bikr ra az qudrat-i-kamila-i-khud hamila be wasta shohar sakht, az asman shakar nisar farmayad?' What wonder would it be if the Creator, who out of His perfect power maketh a virgin pregnant without human intervention, should rain sugar? It is said that sugar immediately began to rain, and from that time Farid obtained the name of Shakar Ganj, the treasury of sugar.[1] After this miracle all the people of the tribe became his followers, and he was formally wedded to Jamila Khatun, who soon afterwards gave birth to a son. Farid remained there for six months, during which time he fasted forty days. He locked up the house in which he had dwelt, saying that his successor would open it, and then returned to Ajodhan.

As his successor Diwan Taj-ul-Din was returning from a pilgrimage to Makka and Madina, he happened to visit that part of the country. He asked the people to what tribe they belonged. They said that they were descendants of Qutub-ul-Alam Baba

[1] Farishta, the Persian historian, has given other reasons for the appellation. Vide vol. II, p. 288. Lakhnau edition.

Farid Shakar Ganj. He inquired from which of Farid's sons they were descended. They replied that they had not come in that way, but had been miraculously born. When Taj-ul-Din had heard the whole story, he unlocked the door of Farid's hut. The people were delighted to see Taj-ul Din, and became his followers in large numbers.

Farid died of pneumonia on the fifth day of the month of Muharrim, A.H. 664 (A.D. 1266). The date of Farid's death is commemorated by the chronograms (*a*) 'Farid asari,' (*b*) 'auliyae Khudai'—He was unique, a saint of God.[1] Farid's last words were in Arabic, 'Ya hayyo, ya qayyum'—O ever living, O eternal God! At the last word 'qayyum' Farid expired.

Farid was to have been buried outside the town of Pak Pattan at a place called the Martyrs' graves, where he had first alighted on his arrival, but his son Makhdum Khwaja Nizam-ul-Din arrived in time to alter the proposed arrangement. This son who had been a general in the Emperor's army, was then living in retreat at Patali. As he lay asleep one night before his father's death, he thought he heard his father calling him. He arose and went to Ajodhan, but, as the gates of the town were all locked at the time, he could not gain access to Farid's dwelling. Farid knew of his son's arrival, but it was too late to see him. 'His advice, however,' said Farid, 'should be taken in all matters regarding my funeral and burial.' The son advised that the family should wait for Nizam-ul-Din Auliya from Dihli, and expressed his intention of temporarily burying his father in the house where he had lived, and where subsequently his eldest son Khwaja Shahab-ul-Din was buried.

On the arrival of Nizam-ul-Din Auliya from Dihli, he had a mausoleum erected for Farid. He

[1] Farishta and the author of the *Khulāsat-ul-Tawārīkh* give different dates, but they are proved false by the chronograms.

directed that the Quran should be read over clean bricks, that the reader should then blow on them and employ them for the construction of Farid's grave. This direction was obeyed. The Hafizes and the Khalifas read the Quran over bricks consecrated as directed, and made Farid's grave with them. A shrine was built with stone windows on the east and north sides for women to see through, and with a door on the south side to be called the bihishti darwaza, or gate of paradise, for men to enter by. The body was then exhumed from its temporary grave, and after being well perfumed placed within the mausoleum thus constructed. It is said that the souls of Muhammad and all the Muhammadan saints appeared on the occasion. At the advice of Nizam-ul-Din Auliya, the stone window at the east was broken at Farid's re-interment to admit of the exit of the souls of the Prophet and his saints. Where the soul of Muhammad had taken up its position within the mausoleum, there was a hujra or small chapel built, called Qadam Rasul or the Prophet's footsteps. Nizam-ul-Din then stated that he had received a message from the departed Farid, that God would pardon and save from hell all who passed through the paradisal gate. This was everywhere proclaimed from the rising to the setting of the sun. Some persons, however, who had no internal eyes, refused to believe that the gate possessed such supreme efficacy. Upon this Nizam-ul-Din said to the Prophet, 'If the populace be allowed to behold thee, their spiritual darkness shall be dispelled.' It is said that the Prophet then appeared to the whole multitude, and not a scintilla of doubt remained in any one's mind as to the advantages to be obtained from passing through the sacred portal.

It was subsequently ordered that women should pray at the stone window on the north side, and that a wall should be built outside it to secure their

privacy. The door opening to the east was then called the door of light. It is that by which men generally enter and leave the shrine.

After Farid's death his son Badr-ul-Din Sulaiman succeeded him in his spiritual, and Saiyid Maulvi Badr-ul-Din Ishaq in his temporal duties. Envious persons set the two Badr-ul-Dins at variance, upon which Nizam-ul-Din Auliya came from Dihli and made peace between them.

We have mentioned the *Rahat-ul-Qulub* as one of our authorities for the life of Farid. The first entry in it was made on the 11th of the month Rajab, A.H. 655 (A.D. 1254); and the last on the 25th of Safar, A.H. 656. The diary thus shows Farid's acts and conversations for the space of eleven months. We shall here give some extracts from it.

Farid considered that faqiri or holiness consisted in four things, namely, to be blind to the faults of Muhammadans, to be deaf to slander, to be dumb when evil speaking is suggested, and to be lame when there is a desire to visit evil places.

On one occasion Shaikh Badr-ul-Din of Ghazni, Jamal-ul-Din of Hansi, Sharaf-ul-Din of Nabha,[1] and Qazi Hamid-ul-Din of Nagaur met at Farid's house. Farid dilated to them on the virtues of hospitality, and said it was proper for a host to give something to every guest whether he received an equivalent or not.

At a religious conference at Farid's house, where were assembled Maulvi Hamid-ul-Din of Nagaur, Shaikh Shams-ul-Din, Shaikh Burhan-ul-Din, and others, Shaikh Farid mentioned an expression in the Hadis, or traditional sayings of the Prophet, that love of the world was the source of all evil. A man called Shaikh Abdulla Suhel of Tastar said that God and man were all one. There was no difference between them except that, in propor-

[1] *Nāḍha*, so in the original.

tion as man loved the world, he fell away from God. Farid expressed his concurrence with this statement, and added that the heart was like a mirror, and love of mammon was as rust on it, which should be removed by the file of God's love. Land covered with tares and thistles produced no good crop until they were eradicated. Faqirs should remain aloof from the world, and not visit even kings and nobles.

Once when the king of Iraq was ill, he sent for Abdulla Suhel to treat him. Suhel cured him, but thought it necessary to expiate the offence of visiting a king by living a life of absolute retirement for seven years. The friendship of wealthy men was in his opinion as poison for holy men. When a holy man associates with such men, his influence on others is injurious to them. Abdulla defined the word tariqat—a spiritual stage of Muhammadans—to mean absolute disregard for the things of this world.

Farid said he had lived for ten years with the saint Abu Yusuf Chishti, and during that time had never moved a foot in the direction of a king or noble, except on Fridays when he went to pray, for prayers should be said in common on the Sabbath. He thought that whenever a faqir has visited a monarch, his patched coat and hat ought afterwards to be burned in order to remove the contagion of wealth and pride.

It is not surprising to hear that a man of Farid's sanctity and force of character made many converts among the Hindus within the reach of his influence. The Bahlis, the Sirhangs, the Jhakars, and the Adankans are enumerated among the tribes whom he induced to accept Islam.

When Badr-ul-Din Sulaiman, Farid's son, succeeded him, he was invested with the turban which Farid himself had received from Shaikh Abdul Qadir Jilani (Hazrat Ghaus). The turban was of three colours, saffron at one end, brown at the other, and white in the centre. Nizam-ul-Din

purchased several white turbans, and steeped them with Abdul Qadir Jilani's in the same pot. The object of this was that Abdul Qadir Jilani's turban might communicate some of its virtues to the white turbans, and that the latter after such contact might confer blessings on Farid's disciples and friends, when they bound them on their heads. When Badr-ul-Din had put on Abdul Qadir Jilani's turban, and Farid's disciples and friends the white turbans, the whole company went outside the gate of paradise and sat down. Sweets were produced, and a priest read texts from the Quran over them. They were then distributed for the repose of the souls of the Chishti Khwajas to whom Farid spiritually belonged.

This custom is still observed by the followers of Farid. On the approach of the Muharrim, the Quran is read over a jug of sharbat for the souls of ancestors, and the sharbat is then distributed among the faithful. When the Muharrim begins, there is singing after breakfast, to which the high priest listens on his carpet of prayer. The whole audience then enters on a state of exaltation. The priest puts on a turban like Farid's, and binds white turbans on the heads of his brethren and disciples. On the fifth day of the Muharrim he opens the 'Gate of paradise', and the crowd enters with a rush, in the hope that, when they cross the barrier, they shall secure in reality the bliss of the elect.

The gate of paradise is a small door in the shrine, which is only opened twice a year, and on both occasions at night. In our time the crowd which passes through, shouting 'Haji Qutub Farid', or simply 'Farid', to maintain their fervour, has been estimated sometimes at thirty thousand souls. To reach the gate of paradise three outer portals have to be traversed. Among the immense crowd there is a rivalry to reach heaven in the shortest time, not by good deeds, but by physical strength; and in

the struggle numbers are continually maimed, and some aged and infirm persons occasionally killed. Were not a large force of police, generally reinforced from neighbouring districts, marched to the shrine to maintain order, great indeed would be the destruction of human life at this religious ceremony. Men are not content to pass the gate for themselves, they return again and again to vicariously conduct their female relatives to the abode of bliss, and this reiterated service increases the crowd, the confusion, and the danger to human life.

On the seventh day of the Muharrim there is again singing, the reading of the Quran is finished, and the gate of paradise is left open. On the tenth of the month Farid's mausoleum is washed and perfumed within and without.

In the month of Ramzan the banners which Abdul Qadir Jilani received from Madina and gave to Farid, are taken out and fitted with new cloth. The high priest's followers present him with an ordinary coat and a patched coat—meaning thereby temporal and spiritual raiment. When he puts them on, the prayers appointed for the Id in the end of Ramzan are read. Farid's cup, stick, and rosary are then produced and prayers offered. The high priest with a rosary in one hand and Farid's staff in the other begs for alms, upon which his followers present him with cakes of sugar, almonds, and coco-nuts. Such offerings are afterwards distributed among the poor.

It remains to add a few words regarding Nizam-ul-Din Auliya, the author of the *Rahat-ul-Qulub* and Farid's faithful friend and disciple. He states that he visited Ajodhan three times during the life of Farid, and Farid charged him with the education of his children.

Subsequently Nizam-ul-Din was sent by Farid as Khalifa or spiritual ruler of Hindustan, and in that capacity amassed great wealth and became known

as Zar-i-zar Baft—woven, or altogether, of gold, a name given him by Bu Ali Shah, a religious man of Panipat.

It is probable that Nizam-ul-Din's great wealth aroused the jealousy of Mubarak Khilji, who ascended the Dihli throne in A. D. 1317. He summoned Shaikh Rukn-ul-Din from Multan in the hope of counteracting Nizam-ul-Din's unquestionably great influence with the people. Nizam-ul-Din went forth to meet the man who had been chosen as his antagonist, and produced a highly favourable impression on him. When the Emperor afterwards asked Rukn-ul-Din who had been the principal person to go forth and welcome him to Dihli, Rukn-ul-Din replied 'The foremost man of the age', by which he meant Nizam-ul-Din. The Emperor after this testimony to Nizam-ul-Din's greatness withdrew his opposition to him, and allowed him to dwell in peace.[1]

The imperial hostility to Nizam-ul-Din descended to Ghiyas-ul-Din Tughlak, one of the successors of Mubarak Khilji. When Ghiyas-ul-Din was returning from his expedition to Bengal, he no longer desired to see Nizam-ul-Din, and ordered him to leave the city. Nizam-ul-Din had no alternative but to obey, but decided to do so at leisure. He said to his friends 'Hanoz Dihli dur ast'—Dihli is still far off—by which he meant that the Emperor should never reach Dihli. The Emperor on his homeward march put up in a house at Afghanpur, hastily constructed for his reception by his son Alaf Khan. The house fell upon the monarch and killed him in A. D. 1325. The Emperor's death was popularly attributed to his hostility to the saint. Nizam-ul-Din's expression 'Dihli is far off' has passed into a proverb.[2] It corresponds to the

[1] *Āin-i-Akbari.*

[2] Farishta gives many details of Nizām-ul-Dīn which it is not necessary to reproduce here.

English saying, 'There is many a slip 'twixt the cup and the lip.' Nizam-ul-Din himself died the same year as the Emperor.

Nizam-ul-Din, notwithstanding his worldly success, raised many men in Dihli, Bengal, Chanderi, Malwa, Bihar, Ujjain, Gujrat, and the Dakhan to the heights of spiritual sanctity. Having conferred his khalifaship on Khwaja Hazrat Nasir-ul-Din Chiragh, he died in Dihli on Wednesday, the 18th day of Rabi ul Sani, A. H. 725, A. D. 1325, that is, sixty years after the death of his beloved priest.[1] He was buried in a quarter then known as Ghyaspur. He wrote the following Persian lines in praise of Farid :—

Pir-i-man pirest maulana Farid ;
Hamchu o dar sihar Maula na-farid.
My priest is the holy Farid ;
God created no one in the world like him.

HYMNS OF SHAIKH FARID

Miscellaneous Religious Instruction :—

ASA

Saith Shaikh Farid, my dear friends, attach yourselves to God.

This body shall become dust and its abode be the unhonoured grave.[2]

To-day God can be met, Shaikh Farid, if thou restrain the feelings which agitate thy mind.

Had I known that I should die and not return again,

I would not have devoted myself to this false world and ruined myself.

[1] The *Khulāsat-ul-Tawārikh* gives the date of his death as A. H. 710. We accept in preference the date given in the *Āīn-i-Akbari.*

[2] *Nimāni gor* is a common expression in the writings of Farīd. *Nimāni* is not an epithet of the body as some suppose.

Honestly speak the truth ; utter not falsehood.

The disciple ought to travel by the way the guru pointeth out.

When the lover [1] is saved, the heart of the beloved [2] taketh courage.

Thou who turnest to the glitter of gold shalt be split in twain by the saw.

O Shaikh, no man's life is permanent in this world ;

How many have sat on the seats on which we sit !

As kulangs come in Kartik, forest fires in Chet, lightning in Sawan,

As woman's arms adorn her husband's neck in winter,

So transitory things pass away ; reflect on this in thy mind.

Man taketh six months to form [3] and one moment to break up.

The earth asked heaven,[4] *saith* Farid, how many pilots [5] had passed away ;

Some have been burnt, others are in the cemeteries, and their souls suffer reproaches *from the angels of Death.*

Farid's longing to meet God :—

SUHI

On account of the severe burning of high fever *induced by separation from God*, I wring my hands ;

I have grown crazy longing for my Spouse.

Thou, O Spouse, wast angry with me in Thy heart ;

It was through my demerits, and not my Spouse's fault.

My Lord, I did not know Thy worth ;

I have lost my youth and repent too late.

O black kokil, why art thou black ?

[1] *Chhail*, literally—a handsome young man ; here the reference is to the elect.

[2] *Gori*, a handsome young woman ; here the reference is to those who are striving for perfection.

[3] That is, the foetus is formed after six months in the womb.

[4] That is, the disciples asked the guru.

[5] Religious guides.

The kokil—'I have been burnt by separation from my Beloved;

Can she who is separated from her Beloved ever be happy?'

If the Lord be merciful, He will cause me to meet Him.

Painful is the well[1] into which lone woman[2] *hath faller*;

She hath no companions and no helper.

Thou hast mercifully, O God, caused me to meet Thy saints;

When I look again, God is my helper.

My way is thoroughly tedious;

It is sharper than a two-edged sword and very narrow;

Over that is my passage;

Shaikh Farid, prepare thyself betimes for that road.

SLOKS OF SHAIKH FARID

I

The day that woman was to be married was previously fixed.[3]

The Spouse, the angel *of Death* of whom we have heard, hath come to show his face;

Having cracked the bones *of the body* he will take away the poor soul.

The time recorded cannot be altered;[4] explain this to thy soul.

The soul is the bride, death the bridegroom; he will marry her and take her away.

As she goeth, whose neck shall she run to embrace with her arms?[5]

Have you not heard of the bridge of Sarat, which is finer than a hair?

Farid, when the summons cometh, arise and deceive yourselves not.

[1] That is, the world. [2] The soul.
[3] Marriage here means death. [4] Man shall live his allotted span.
[5] Whose help shall the soul seek at the last moment!

II

Farid, since I walk in the way of the world, it is difficult to be like the darwesh at God's gate.[1]

I have tied and taken up my bundle of *worldliness*; whither shall I go to throw it away?

III

I know nothing, I see nothing, the world is a smouldering fire;

My master did well to *warn me*, otherwise I too should have been burnt.

IV

Farid, had I known my sesames[2] were to be so few, I should have husbanded my handfuls;

Had I known that the Bridegroom[3] was so young, I should *have been* less vain.

V

Had I known that my dress[4] was opening, I should have put a fast knot on it.[5]

So great as Thou I have found none; I have seen and wandered the world over.

VI

Farid, if thou have acute wisdom, write not a black mark *against others*.

Bend thy head and look beneath thy collar.[6]

VII

Farid, if men beat thee with their fists, beat them not in return;

Nay, kiss their feet and go home.

[1] That is, it is difficult for worldly people to be holy. [2] Breathings.

[3] Had I known that God, like a very young and innocent bridegroom, did not value me, I should have been less vain. The verse is also translated—Had I known that the Bridegroom was for the humble, I should have been less proud.

[4] The body which contains the soul tied up in it.

[5] If I had known that this trumpery body was so soon to pass away, I should have taken greater care.

[6] Look into thy heart, consider thine own faults and not those of others.

VIII

Farid, when it was time for thee to earn,[1] thou wast in love with the world :

Death's foundations are strong ;[2] when *the last breath* is drawn, *thy soul* shall be packed away.

IX

See, Farid, what hath occurred—thy beard hath grown grey ;

The future is near, the past is left far behind.

X

See, Farid, what hath occurred—sugar hath become poison.

To whom shall I tell my sorrow except to my Lord.

XI

Farid, mine eyes have seen enough, and mine ears heard enough ;

The tree *of the body* hath become ripe,[3] and hath assumed another colour.

XII

Farid, hath any one who enjoyed not *her spouse when her hair was* black, enjoyed him *when her hair was* grey ?

Love thy Spouse, so shall the colour *of thy hair* be restored.[4]

Guru Amar Das offers the following objection to this couplet :—

XIII

Farid, whether man's hair be black or grey, the Lord is ever *present* if any one remember Him :

[1] That is, to serve God.

[2] Literally—increase by a fourth *daily*.

[3] The gyānis translate—The vegetables have become ripe. That is, the field of life has yielded its harvest, and it is time for death.

[4] That is, youth shall return, and thou shalt have another opportunity of enjoying thy Spouse. *Rangan wela hoi* is also read and translated—This is the time for enjoying Him.

Even if all men desire to love God, *they will not succeed* by their own endeavours :

This cup of love belongeth to God ; He giveth it to whom He pleaseth.

XIV

Farid, I have seen those eyes which charmed the world—

They could not endure the streak of lampblack,[1] yet in them birds have hatched their young.

XV

Farid, men shout and shriek and ever give advice ;

But how can they whom the devil hath led astray, turn their thoughts *to God* ?

XVI

Farid, if thou long for the Lord of all, become the grass the pathway *for men to tread on* ;

When one man breaketh thee and another trampleth on thee,

Then shalt thou enter the court of the Lord.

XVII

Farid, revile not dust, there is nothing like it ;

When we are alive it is beneath our feet, when we are dead it is above us.

XVIII

Farid, where there is greed, what love can there be ? *Where there* is greed, the love is false.

How long canst thou pass thy time in a broken hut in the rain ?

XIX

Farid, why wanderest thou from forest to forest breaking down branches and thorns ? [2]

It is in the heart God dwelleth ; why seekest thou Him in the forest ?

[1] Used to darken the eyelids. This slok is said to have been written on seeing the skull of a beautiful courtesan who used to find fault with her servant for touching her eyes when applying lampblack.

[2] Also translated—When the thorns of the forest seek to drive thee back.

XX

Farid, with these spindle-shanks I have traversed plains and mountains.

But to-day for Farid to *lift* his jug hath become *as toilsome as a journey of* hundreds of miles.

XXI

Farid, the nights have grown long; my sides ache and ache.

Curse on the lives of those who have hopes other *than in God.*

The following was written on Farid's missing the visit of a holy friend who had come to see him:—

XXII

Farid, had I been present when my friend came, I would have devoted myself to him.

Now *my body* burneth like madder on the cinders, *and I cannot pay him a return visit.*

XXIII

Farid, the Jat[1] planteth the kikar, yet he wanteth the grape-tree of Bijaur;

He spinneth wool, yet he wanteth to wear silk.

XXIV

Farid, in the streets there is mud; the house of my dear friend whom I love is distant;

If I go to him, I shall wet my blanket; If I remain *at home,* our love shall be severed.

XXV

O God, though Thou send Thy rain, and wet, and drench my blanket;

Yet shall I go to meet that friend so that our love may not be severed.

[1] A tribe generally employed in agriculture.

It is said that when Farid was one day putting on his turban, it slipped from his hand. The following was composed on the occasion :—

XXVI

Farid, I fear that my turban will be soiled;
My thoughtless soul knoweth not that dust will rot my head also.

XXVII

Sugar unrefined and refined, loaf sugar, molasses, honey, and buffalo's milk,
Are all sweet things, but not, O God, so sweet as Thou.

XXVIII

Farid, my bread is made of wood,[1] hunger is my condiment;
They who eat buttered bread shall suffer great pain.

XXIX

Eat hard dry bread, and drink cold water;
Farid, on seeing another's buttered bread let not thy heart long for it.

XXX

I slept not with my husband last night; my body is pining away;
Go ask the wife whom her husband hath put away, how she passeth the night.[2]

Guru Amar Das has given the following reply to this question :—

XXXI

She findeth no entrance to the house of her father-in-law, and no place with her parents.

[1] A reference to the wooden cake Farīd I wore on his stomach to satisfy the cravings of hunger.

[2] This and the preceding line are explained.—If man feel so much from a temporary separation from God, what shall he feel from an eternal separation?

Can she for whom her husband careth not, be called a happy wife ?

XXXII

Woman, whether in this world or the next, belongeth to her Spouse, the inaccessible and unfathomable One ;

Nanak, she is a happy wife who is pleasing to *God* the Unconcerned.

XXXIII

They who bathe, and wash, and adorn themselves, and then heedlessly sleep regardless *of their spouses,*

Farid, are as it were smeared all over with asafoetida, and the perfume of their musk departeth.

XXXIV

I dread not the departure of youth if my Spouse's love depart not therewith ;

Farid, how often hath youth become dry and withered without love !

XXXV

Farid, my bed is anxiety ; its bottom, affliction ; its mattress and coverlet, separation from God ;

Such is my life ; do Thou, O true God, look upon me.

XXXVI

Men continually speak of love ;[1] O Love, thou art a monarch ;

Farid, deem the body in which there is not love a place of cremation.

XXXVII

Farid, *pleasures*[2] are like poisonous sprouts smeared with sugar ;

Some die while planting them ; others are ruined while gathering them.

[1] Literally—separation, but here it means love in absence.

[2] Some make women the subject of this slok, but this is contrary to the teaching of the Granth Sāhib. Thus Guru Nānak writes, 'Why call woman bad?' Guru Arjan, through his regard for women, rejected a stanza brought to him by Pilo for insertion in the Granth Sāhib. It began, 'Look not even on a paper likeness of woman.'

XXXVIII

Farid, men have lost the four *watches of the day* in wandering and the four watches of the night in sleep ;

God will call for thine account and ask why thou camest *into the world.*

XXXIX

Farid, when thou wentest to the gate of the court, sawest thou *not* the gong ?

When that sinless thing is thus beaten, what shall be the condition of us sinners ?

XL

It is beaten every ghari and receiveth *complete* punishment at the end of every watch ; [1]

So the body like the gong passeth a painful night.

XLI

Shaikh Farid hath grown old, and his body hath begun to totter ;

Were he to live even for hundreds of years, his body would become dust *at last.*

XLII

Saith Farid, allow me not, O Lord, to sit *and beg* at another's gate.

If that is how Thou art about to treat me, then take the life from my body.

XLIII

O blacksmith, thou goest to the forest with thine axe on thy shoulder, and thy water-pot on thy head ;

Saith Farid, I am longing for my Lord, thou art longing for charcoal.[2]

[1] At the end of the first *ghari* of the *pahar* the gong was struck once ; at the end of the second *ghari* twice, and so on till the end of the *pahar* of eight *gharis*, when it was struck sixteen times.

[2] This is believed to be an appeal from Farīd to his friend Jassa, a smith, to spare the tree under which the saint used to pray. Jassa was not a wood-cutter, as the English reader may suppose. In the East smiths go to the forest to cut down trees to make charcoal from them for the purpose of their trade.

XLIV

Farid, some have a great deal of flour, others have not even salt ;

When they have *all* departed, it will be known who shall suffer punishment.

XLV

They who had drums, and trumpets, and umbrellas *over their* heads, and bards to sound their praises,

Went to sleep in the cemetery, and were buried as if they had been *poor* orphans.

XLVI

Farid, they who built houses, mansions, and lofty palaces also departed ;

False was their business and they dropped into their graves.

XLVII

Farid, there are many tacks on the patched coat to make it last, but there are no such tacks on the soul ; [1]

Shaikhs and their disciples have departed, each in his turn.

XLVIII

Farid, while the two lamps *of man's eyes* are shining, the angel of Death cometh and seateth himself *on his body* ; [2]

He captureth the fortress, robbeth it of the soul, and having put out the lamp departeth.

XLIX

Farid, see what happeneth to cotton, what befalleth sesame,

Sugar-cane, paper, earthen utensils, and charcoal ;

The punishment they receive awaiteth those who do evil.

L

Farid, men carry prayer-carpets on their shoulders, wear a sufi's *robe*,[3] and speak sweetly, but there are knives in their hearts ;

[1] There is nothing to restrain the soul from flying away from the body.

[2] That is, death comes while man is looking on.

[3] *Sūph*, also called a *kafni*, a patched coat without sleeves worn by

Externally they appear bright, but in their hearts is sable night.

LI

Farid, if any one were to cut my body, not a drop of blood would issue from it,

Since the body which is dyed with God containeth no blood.

On this couplet Guru Amar Das made the following commentary :—

LII

This body is all blood ; the body cannot exist without blood ;

But the blood of greed entereth not the body which is dyed with its Lord.

When the fear *of the Lord* entereth *the heart*, the body groweth lean and the blood of greed departeth from it.

As metals are purified by fire, so the fear of the Lord removeth the filth of evil inclinations.

Nanak, that man is handsome who is dyed with the love of God.

LIII

Farid, search the lake [1] where the Real Thing [2] is to be found ;

What availeth it to search in a pond ? [3] one's hand *merely* sinketh into the mud.

LIV

Farid, the little girl did not enjoy her Spouse ; when she grew up she died.

Lying in the grave she calleth, ' I have not met Thee, O my Lord.'

Musalmān faqīrs. *Sūf* is generally supposed to come from the Greek *sophia*, wisdom, but in Arabic the word means wool. Sūfīs affected woollen garments.

[1] The guild of the saints. [2] God's name.

[3] In inferior company.

LV

Farid, the hair of my head is grey, my beard is grey, my moustaches also are grey ;

O my heedless and insensate soul, why art thou devoted to sensual pleasures ?

LVI

Farid, how far canst thou run on a house-top ? banish thine indifference to the Dear One ;

The days which were counted and allotted thee have passed away in vain.

LVII

Farid, attach not thy heart to houses, mansions, and lofty palaces ;

When unweighable earth falleth on thee, thou shalt have no friend.

LVIII

Farid, set not thy heart on mansions and wealth ; think upon the grave ;

Remember that place whither thou must go.

LIX

Farid, forsake those occupations from which no advantage resulteth,

Lest thou be put to shame in the court of the Lord.

LX

Farid, perform the service of the Lord, dispel the doubts of thy heart ;

Darweshes require the endurance of trees.

LXI

Farid, black are my clothes, black my vestment ;

I wander about defiled by sin, yet men call me a darwesh.

LXII

That which hath been rotted by water, will not bloom if it be kept immersed in it ;

Farid, the wife rejected by God ever and ever grieveth.

LXIII

When a woman is a virgin she is happy; when she is married her troubles *begin*.

Farid, she hath this regret that she cannot again become a virgin.[1]

LXIV

The swans have alighted in a little tank of brackish water;[2]

They dip in their bills, but drink not; they thirst to fly away.

LXV

The swans fly away and alight on a field of kodhra;[3] people go to drive them away;[4]

Heedless people know not that swans eat not kodhra.[5]

LXVI

The birds[6] which occupied the lake[7] have flown away;

Farid, the full lake shall also pass away, and the lotuses[8] alone remain.

LXVII

Farid, bricks shall be thy pillow, thou shalt sleep *beneath* the earth, worms shall eat thy flesh;

How many ages shall pass away for thee lying on one side.[9]

LXVIII

Farid, the beautiful water-pot[10] shall be broken; the excellent rope[11] shall part therefrom;

In whose house shall the angel Azrail be a guest to-day?

[1] The soul which has lost its opportunities of salvation regrets that it cannot again return to a human body.

[2] That is, saints have fallen into the company of the wicked.

[3] An inferior Indian cereal, the *Paspalum scrobiculatum*.

[4] The saints fare badly among the perverse who annoy and slander them.

[5] Holy men do not covet worldly things.

[6] That is, kings and persons in high positions.

[7] The lake means the world.

[8] Holy men.

[9] Not moving.

[10] The body.

[11] The rope by which the water-pot is let down into the well. Here it means life.

LXIX

The beautiful water-pot shall be broken ; the excellent rope shall part therefrom ;

How shall our friends who were a burden to the earth return now ?

LXX

Saith Farid, thou dog who prayest not, this custom of thine is not good ;

Thou never goest to the mosque at the five times of prayer.

LXXI

Rise in the morning, Farid, perform thine ablutions, repeat thy prayer ;

Cut off the head which boweth not to the Lord.

LXXII

What is to be done to the head which boweth not to the Lord ?

Burn it instead of firewood under the earthen pot.

LXXIII

Farid, where are the father and mother who gave thee birth ?

They have departed from thee ; art thou not yet convinced *that the world is unstable* ?

LXXIV

Farid, make thy heart a plain, level all its hollows and hills ;

And the fire of hell shall never approach thee hereafter.

Guru Arjan makes the following observation on this :—

LXXV

O Farid, the Creator dwelleth in creation and creation in the Creator ;

Whom callest thou bad, since there is none beside Him ?

LXXVI

Farid, if my throat had been cut on the same day as my navel string,

I should not have fallen into such trouble, nor undergone such hardship.

LXXVII

My teeth, my feet, mine eyes, mine ears have ceased their functions ;

The body crieth aloud, 'Those acquaintances have gone away.'

LXXVIII

Farid, do good for evil, clothe not thy heart with anger :

Thus shalt thy body not suffer pain, and thou shalt obtain everything.

LXXIX

Farid, the birds [1] are guests in the beautiful garden of the world ;

The morning drum beateth ; make preparations for thy departure.

LXXX

Farid, musk is distributed at night ; they who sleep obtain no share of it.

How can they whose eyes are asleep obtain it ?

LXXXI

Farid, I thought I alone had sorrow, but the whole world also hath sorrow ;

When I ascended an eminence and looked, I found the same anguish in every house.

Guru Arjan replies to this as follows :—

LXXXII

Farid, in the midst of this fair earth there is a thorny garden ;

But the man favoured by the spiritual guide feeleth not its prickles.

[1] That is, souls.

LXXXIII

Farid, few are found who love the Dear One ;
They who do, find their lives happy and their persons beautiful.

LXXXIV

O river,[1] destroy not thy bank ; thou too must give an account ;
The river floweth whithersoever God willeth.

LXXXV

Farid, my days have passed in sorrow, and my nights in anguish ;
The ferryman standeth up and shouteth, 'The wind is driving the boat into the whirlpool.'[2]

LXXXVI

The long river *of life* floweth and wasteth away its banks ;[3]
If the ferryman be on the alert, what harm can the whirlpool do the boat ?

LXXXVII

Farid, there are twenty friends in words ; but if thou search for one *real friend*, thou shalt not find him.
I am suffering like smouldering fuel for my beloved friends.

LXXXVIII

Farid, these people are ever barking ;[4] who can endure the continual annoyance ?
I have stopped mine ears, and I care not how much wind is blowing.

LXXXIX

Farid, God's dates are ripe ; rivers of honey flow past them ;[5]

[1] This was addressed to the Satluj.
[2] The guru warns man that he is going to die.
[3] The body wastes away and death gradually approaches.
[4] Crying out for worldly things.
[5] The dates are the saints of God, the rivers of honey His praises.

The days that pass in enjoying them are profitable to my life.[1]

XC

Farid, my dry body hath become a skeleton ; ravens peck at the hollows of my hands and feet ;

Up to the present, God hath not come to mine aid ; behold His servant's misfortune !

XCI

O ravens, you have searched my skeleton and eaten all my flesh ;

But touch not these two eyes, *as* I hope to behold my Beloved

XCII

O ravens, peck not at my skeleton ; if *haply* you sit on it, fly away ;

At any rate, eat not the flesh from where my Lord dwelleth in my skeleton.

XCIII

Farid, the wretched tomb calleth out, ' O homeless, come home !

' You shall assuredly come to me ; fear not death.'

XCIV

How many have departed before my very eyes !

Farid, men have different anxieties, and I have mine.

XCV

God saith, ' If thou reform thyself, thou shalt meet Me ; on meeting Me thou shalt be happy ;

' Farid, if thou remain Mine, all the world shall be thine.'

XCVI

How long shall the trees on the banks retain their place ?

Farid, if thou put water into a frail vessel, how long will it remain ?

[1] Dates and honey are promised to Muhammadans in heaven, but Farīd means that they can be obtained on earth.

XCVII

Farid, places have become empty and their occupants gone below ;

The wretched graves take possession of souls ; [1]

O Shaikh, say good-bye *to your friends* ; [2] thou must depart to-day or to-morrow.

XCVIII

Farid, death hath no more a boundary than a river [3] which washeth away *its banks* ;

When Death appeareth hell burneth in front ; *terrible* cries and sounds of woe are heard.

To some all understanding hath come ; others wander about recklessly.

Men's acts in this world shall bear witness in *God's* court.

XCIX

Farid, the crane [4] sitteth on the bank of the river and sporteth ;

While it is sporting the hawk suddenly striketh it ; [5]

When the hawk of God striketh it, it forgetteth its sport.

God hath accomplished such things as could never have been conceived.

C

A body of three and a half *mans* is moved by water and grain ;

Man entereth the world entertaining high hopes ;

When the angel of Death cometh, he will break open every door ;

He will take man prisoner in the presence of his dear brethren.

[1] The Musalmāns believe that the soul remains with the body till its account is taken.

[2] Also translated—worship God. Some say this hymn was addressed to a disciple of Farīd. Farīd told him to worship God, as his sojourn in this world was uncertain.

[3] Literally—the boundary of death appears like that of a destroying river. Death does as much havoc in the world as a large tropical river during the rainy season to the surrounding country.

[4] The soul.

[5] Death strikes the soul.

Lo! man departeth on the shoulders of four men,
Farid; *but* the *good* acts he performed in this world shall be serviceable to him in God's court.

CI

Farid, I am a sacrifice to those birds [1] which live in the forests;
They live on fruit, sleep on the ground, and never leave God's side.

CII

Farid, the season changeth,[2] the forests wave, the leaves drop off;
I have searched in every direction, but *found* no place of rest.

CIII

Farid, tear thy coat into tatters and wear a blanket *instead*;
Adopt a dress by which thou mayest obtain the Lord.

Guru Amar Das makes the following reflection on this couplet:—

CIV

Why tear thy coat and put on a blanket?
Nanak, if thine intentions be good, seated at home thou shalt find the Lord.

Guru Ram Das has added the following:—

CV

O Farid, they who were proud of their greatness and possessed youth and untold wealth,
Went away bare from the Lord like a hillock after rain.[3]

CVI

Farid, terrible are the countenances of those who have forgotten the Name;

[1] Hermits. [2] That is, old age comes on.
[3] Water will not rest on a hill, neither will God's grace on him who holds his head too high.

Here they have abundant sorrow, and hereafter neither house nor home.

CVII

Farid, if thou awake not in the end of the night, thou art dead while alive ;
Even if thou forget God, God will not forget thee.

Guru Arjan has here composed the following four couplets :—

CVIII

Farid, the Bridegroom is merry, and far beyond all need ;
To be dyed with God is the true decoration.

CIX

Farid, treat pain and pleasure as the same ; banish sin from thy heart ;
Consider what pleaseth God as good, and thou shalt gain His court.

CX

Farid, the world playeth as mammon maketh it play ; thou too playest with it ;
The soul for which God careth playeth not.[1]

CXI

Farid, the heart is dyed with the world, though the world be worthless ;
To be like faqirs is difficult ; their *excellence* can *only* be obtained by perfect acts.[2]

Farid then proceeds :—

CXII

Devotion in the beginning of the night is the blossom, in the end of the night the fruit ;
They who watch obtain gifts from the Lord.

[1] Is not subject to worldly love.
[2] Also translated—by perfect good fortune.

Guru Nanak offers the following objection to this doctrine :—

CXIII

Gifts are the Lord's ; what can prevail against Him ?
Some who are awake receive them not ; others who are asleep He awaketh and conferreth presents upon.

Farid continues to expound his doctrines :—

CXIV

Thou who searchest for thy Spouse, must have some fault in thyself ;
She who is called a good wife never looketh for any one else.

CXV

Make patience thy bow, patience thy bowstring,
Patience thine arrow, and the Creator *will not allow* thee to miss thy mark.

CXVI

With such patience do the patient mortify their bodies ;
They thus become near God, but tell their secrets to no one.

CXVII

This patience is the main object ; if thou, O mortal, adopt it,
Thou shalt become a great river and not a separate branch thereof.

CXVIII

Farid, to be a darwesh *at God's* gate is difficult ; my love for God is only on the surface.
Few there are who walk in the way of the darweshes at God's gate.

CXIX

My body is heated like an oven ; my bones burn like firewood ;
Were my feet to tire, I would walk on my head to meet the Beloved.

Guru Nanak has here composed the following couplet :—

CXX

Heat not thy body like an oven, burn not thy bones like firewood ;

What harm have thy head and feet done thee ? Behold the Beloved within thee.

The following is by Guru Ram Das :—

CXXI

I go searching for the Friend, but the Friend is with me ;

Nanak, the Unseen is not seen, *but* the pious show the way to Him.

The following couplets have been contributed by Guru Amar Das :—

CXXII

The crane seeing the swan [1] swimming conceived a desire *to swim* ;

But the poor crane was drowned ; and its body turned upside down.

CXXIII

I thought he was a great swan, wherefore I associated with him ;

Had I known that he was only a wretched crane, I would never have touched him.

CXXIV

What mattereth it whether he whom God looketh on with favour be a swan or a crane ?

Nanak, if it please God, He can change a crow into a swan.

Farid thus closes his spiritual instructions :—

CXXV

In the lake there is but one bird, while there are fifty snarers ; [2]

[1] The crane is the hypocrite : the swan the holy man.

[2] That is, the temptations of the world are many to lead the soul astray.

This body is immersed in the waves *of the world* ; O True One, my hope is in Thee.

CXXVI

What is that word, what those virtues, what that priceless spell ;
What dress shall I wear that I may captivate the Spouse ?

CXXVII

Humility is the word, forbearance the virtue, civility the priceless spell ;
Make these three thy dress, O sister, and the Spouse shall come into thy power.[1]

CXXVIII

There are few saints
Who, though wise, are simple,
Though strong, are weak,
And, though having not, divide what they have.

CXXIX

Utter not one disagreeable word, since the true Lord is in all men.
Distress no one's heart ; every heart is a priceless jewel.

CXXX

All men's hearts are jewels ; to distress them is by no means good :
If thou desire the Beloved, distress no one's heart.

BHIKAN

BHIKAN was most probably Shaikh Bhikan of Kakori who died in the early part of the Emperor Akbar's reign. The Persian historian Badauni has the following account of him :—' Kakori is a pargana town in the Sarkar of Lakhnau. Shaik Bhikan was the most learned of the learned men of his time,

[1] In the oldest Janamsākhi this reply is attributed to Guru Nānak.

abstemious and well versed in the holy law, while in devout piety even Abu Hanifa, the greatest of the Imams, was his inferior. For many years he was engaged in teaching and in instructing the people. He had committed the whole of the glorious word of God to memory, according to each of the seven methods of reading it. He used also to give instruction thereon. He reckoned his spiritual succession from Mir Saiyid Ibrahim of Irij, who was himself the most learned of the learned men of his time. The Shaikh would never mention the Sufi mysteries in a public assembly, but only in private to those who had been initiated into their secrets; and one of his sayings was, "If the mystical profession of the Unity of God be made public, it returns solely to him who uttered it, or to the learned [illegible]." He would not listen to singing, and outwardly reprobated it. He left numerous children who attained perfection, all of whom were adorned with the embellishments of rectitude, piety, wisdom, knowledge, and virtue.

'The compiler of these historical selections was honoured, in company with the late Muhammad Husain Khan by being permitted to pay his respects to the Shaikh in Lakhnau. It was the month of Ramzan and a certain one brought to the Shaikh a work on logic, asking him to set him a task in that book. The Shaikh said, "You should read some book on divinity." The Shaikh's death occurred in the year A.H. 981 (A.D. 1573–4).'

Badauni states that when Muzaffar Khan rose in revolt against Akbar, he on one occasion pitched his tent near the burial place of Shaikh Bhikan, no doubt with the object of praying for his intercession for the success of his enterprise.

Badauni also speaks of 'that pilgrim to the two sacred precincts Haji Bhikan Basawani.' This, however, may have been a different person from Shaikh Bhikan of Kakori.

Whoever wrote the following hymns bearing the name of Bhikan in the Granth Sahib, must have been some religious man who resembled Shaikh Farid II, and was largely tinctured with the reformatory ideas then prevalent in India. It has been conjectured, with some show of probability, that Bhikan was a follower of Kabir.

Only God's name can heal a diseased mind and body.

SORATH

From mine eyes tears have flowed, my body hath become lean, and my hair the colour of milk.

My throat is choked; I cannot utter a word; what can mortal now do?

O Sovereign Lord, Gardener of the world, be Thou my clan,

And save Thy saints.

There is pain in my forehead; my body is burning; my heart[1] is in anguish;

Such pangs have been produced in me that there is no medicine for them.

The name of God, a pure nectareous water, is the best medicine in the world.

Bhikan prayeth, may I by the guru's favour obtain the gate of salvation!

The bliss which Bhikan finds in devotion:—

Such a Name, a priceless jewel, I have obtained as the reward of meritorious acts.

With several efforts I put the jewel in my heart; however much I tried to conceal it, it would not be concealed.

Though one try to utter God's praises, they cannot be uttered;

They are like sweets to a dumb person.

My tongue is happy in repeating, mine ear in hearing, and my mind in thinking *on God's name.*

Saith Bhikan, both mine eyes are satisfied; wherever I look there is God

[1] *Kareje*; as in Latin, the liver is used here for the heart.

SUR DAS

THE Sur Das, one of whose hymns is found in the Granth Sahib, must not be confounded with Sur Das, a blind poet famous in the north of India as the author of the *Sur Sagar*. The Sur Das with whom we are concerned was a Brahman born A. D. 1528. On account of his beauty he was surnamed Madan Mohan, an epithet which means that he bewitched Cupid himself, and it was said that his external and internal eyes bloomed like the lotus flower. He became highly proficient in music, poetry, and kindred arts, and at the same time possessed all the joy, comfort and pleasure to be obtained from esoteric divine knowledge. He sang of love, first and greatest of the divine passions which form the proper subjects of poetry. As soon as a verse issued from his mouth it became celebrated. It is said that, even in that age of bad roads and slow locomotion, it would reach four hundred miles in a day as if it had acquired wings for flight.

The Emperor Akbar, who admired poetical talents, appointed Sur Das governor of the province of Sandila. Its capital is in the present district of Hardoi in Oudh. His administration appears to have been by no means successful. The ordinary land revenue of Sandila was thirteen lakhs of rupees per year, but it was all spent by Sur Das in feeding holy men. When he heard of a contemplated inspection of his province and the collection of its revenue, he fled to avoid the consequences of his too profuse generosity. When the officials arrived to take the revenue, they found stones in the sealed treasure-chests instead of money. Each chest was labelled with a slip containing these lines :—

Sandila yields its thirteen lakhs ;
They're eaten up by men who pray :

So Sur Das Madan Mohan now
At dead of night hath run away.

The Emperor on reading these verses said that eating was an excellent thing, but absconding was not a course to be commended. He was even pleased to learn Sur Das's generosity and service to saints, and accordingly wrote an order pardoning his offence and expressing satisfaction at his devotion to holy men, but at the same time requesting him to appear before him. Sur Das said that it was a thousand times better to wipe the shoes of holy men than be governor and revenue collector of a province, and he refused to appear before Akbar. Todar Mal, Akbar's Prime Minister, could tolerate it no longer. He said to the Emperor, 'If such people can with impunity spend the money which belongs to the state and then abscond, there will be an end to all government.' Under the circumstances Akbar altered his resolution and ordered that Sur Das should be imprisoned. The poet's jailor was named Timir Das. The word *timir* means night or darkness; and the word *das*, if pronounced with a short vowel, means ten. From his prison the poet sent the Emperor the following couplet, which in the original contains a pun on the name of the jailor.

One night brings darkness which a small lamp lights;
O may the sun king Akbar save me from Ten Nights!

Sur Das was immediately released from prison and the governor of the jail obtained the sobriquet of Ten Nights from the pun on his name.

Sur Das subsequently wrote a stanza in which he prayed that the title of shoe-holder to the saints of God might be conferred on him. A holy man, to put him to the test, told him he was going to see the great lord Madan Mohan, also an epithet of Krishan, and asked him to keep watch

over his shoes till he returned. Sur Das with great pleasure took up the saint's shoes and said, 'Up to the present my wishes have only been expressed, but now they are fulfilled.' The high priest in collusion with the saint several times sent a man to call Sur Das while holding the shoes. He refused to come until he had completed the menial service he had undertaken. The high priest and the saint were both highly pleased with Sur Das's devotion.

Sur Das passed the remainder of his life in forest tracts in the worship and contemplation of God in the society of holy men. His shrine is near Banaras.

The following hymn of Sur Das in the Sarang measure on the happiness of communion with God is found in the Granth Sahib.

The people of God dwell with God.

They dedicate unto Him their bodies and souls; all they possess they dedicate unto Him. While voicing His name they become intoxicated [1] with divine pleasure.

On beholding Him men become free from sin, and obtain all things.

After gazing on His beautiful face, there needs nothing else.

He who forsaketh God and desireth any one else, is like a leech on a leprous body.

Sur Das, God hath taken my soul into His keeping and granted me deliverance [2] in exchange.

In the Granth Sahib of Bhai Banno, the following hymn of Sur Das in the same measure is also found. The ordinary Granth Sahib only contains the first line. The hymn was originally copied into the Granth Sahib of Kartarpur, but a pen was subsequently drawn through it and sulphate of arsenic rubbed over it for more complete erasure.

[1] *Jhok*, the falling of the head in deep thought or absorption.

[2] *Th parlok*, the next world, by which is understood the joy of the next world, that is, absorption in God and deliverance from transmigration.

The reason for its erasure has not been explained. The subject of the hymn is the old one—Evil communications corrupt good manners—as stated by the old Greek poet Menander.

O man, abandon the society of those who turn away from God ;

In association with them evil desires are produced, and devotion is interrupted.

What availeth it to give milk to a serpent to drink ? It will not part with its poison.

What availeth it to bathe an elephant in the river ? He will soil his body as before.[1]

What availeth it to a crow to peck at camphor, or to a dog to bathe in the Ganges ?

What availeth it to a donkey to be smeared with fragrant oils, or to a monkey to wear jewels on his body ?

Sinners are like stones ; the arrows of divine knowledge pierce them not, even though a quiverful be discharged.

Saith Sur Das, O God, this black blanket cannot be dyed another colour.[2]

[1] This verse is omitted in some recensions of Bhāi Banno's Granth Sāhib.

[2] A blanket made of natural black wool cannot be dyed. The meaning is that the man who turns away from God cannot be regenerated.

Grant to Thy Sikhs the gift of Sikhism, the gift of the Guru's instruction, the gift of faith, the gift of confidence in Thee, and the gift of reading and understanding the holy Granth Sahib.

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