"Baz dar 'aalam biyar ayyam-i-sulha
Jang joyan ra bideh paigham-i-sulha"
—Iqbal

***

THE GREAT GURU
NANAK
AND THE
MUSLIMS

***

N. D. AHUJA

[To see the Truth is the truth of human life,
To say the Truth is the practice of piety].

KIRTI PUBLISHING HOUSE
CHANDIGARH.

***

"Tu jo insan nahin to hai yeh a'bas
Hona tera Hindu, ya Musalman hona".
“Aa ghairiyat ke parde ik bar phir utha dein,
Bichhron ko phir mila dein, naksh-i-dooi mita dein,
Ho jubba khirqa safā poshish Brahmanon ki,
Mathe peh hajion ke kesar tilak laga dein.”

—(Iqbal)

* * * *

“Kufr-o-deen cheest, juz aalaish-i-pindar-i-wajud,
Pak sho pak, ki ham kufr-i-to deen-i-to shavad”.

—(Ghalib)
"Mae-i-nab-e-wahdat pila saqia,
Ki kasrat mein wahdat ho jalwa numa".
—(Raf'at Sherwani)

THE GREAT GURU
NANAK
AND THE
MUSLIMS
52085
by
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Foreword by:
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VICE-CHANCELLOR
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["There is no Hindu and no Musalman,"—but Man]
***

KIRTI PUBLISHING HOUSE
15-A, CHANDIGARH.
Published by: Anand Mohan
For Kirti Publishing House,
402, Sector 15-A, Chandigarh.

(Urdu, Hindi and Punjabi editions to be out very shortly).

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Price: Rs. 35/-

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HINDU MUSLIM SIKH ISAI
Apas Mein Hain Bhai Bhai

* * *

Can also be had through:—

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(ii) Seth N. K. JALAN, 339, Kalbadevi Road, Bombay-2.
Aek Onkar Sat Gur-parsad  
— (Jup-ji)  

** * * *  
"Go nahi wilad, magar hai Maan ka saya barqar;  
Ae 'Munnawar', yeh bhi meri khoobiye taqdir hai".*  

* * *  

DEDICATED  

To  

My Revered Old Mother  
—the pious lady who,  
being a staunch follower of  
Guru Nanak, all through her life,  
infused in me an undying spirit of  
universal love, tolerance and fair-mindedness.  

* * *  

"Jo na murjhaen kabhi who is chaman ke phool hain  
Aap ke pesh-i-nazar bagh-i-sukhan ke phool hain".  

* * *  

—N. D. AHUJA  

---  

*Couplet by B. P. 'Munnawar' Lucknowi; Tr. (N.D.A.) : "Though I have since lost my (respected) father, by the Grace of God, I enjoy the blessings of my (revered) mother".
FOREWORD

Historical accidents rather than differences in teachings of the various religions have created conflicts among their believers. It would have been possible for those who are able to look at the past with a certain degree of detachment and also have a deep understanding of religious values at least to reduce the causes of conflict to the minimum. This has not been done. Instead we have people of goodwill, about whose sincerity there can be no doubt, trying to relate religions to particular historical situations and making them out to be conscious efforts at necessary reforms. Under this treatment, every religion loses its distinctive character, and the causes of misapprehensions and conflicts remain undiagnosed. If we wish to understand any religion, however, we must first distinguish between the reformer and the founder of a new religion, and also look for the unique elements in the religion along with those qualities and principles which it necessarily shares with other religions as expressions of truth. Guru Nanak should not be regarded as a reformer, or his teachings as an amalgam of Hinduism and Islam. His spiritual experience was original and independent. There are, inevitably, elements common to all genuine spiritual experience. Guru Nanak believed in the One God, in submission to His will, in the duty of man to devote himself to His worship. But I am firmly convinced that any similarity that we see in Islam and teachings of Guru Nanak is not an example of borrowing, but of independent confirmation.

I am happy to find that Prof. N. D. Ahuja has shown an appreciation of the distinctive features of Islam and Guru Nanak's teaching, and his work is both satisfying and thought-provoking. It is the kind of unbiased study we need to promote understanding as well as that consciousness of a separate and distinct identity which stimulates the believer to live up to the ideals of his faith.

Jamia Millia Islamia
New Delhi.

M. Mujeeb
Vice-Chancellor

* * * *

"He who slayeth anyone shall be as though he had slain all mankind; but he who saveth a life shall be as though he had saved all mankind alive".

—(The Qur'an)

vi
"Butan-i-rang-o-khoon ko tor kar millat* mein gum ho ja
Na Turani rahe baqi, na Afghani na, Irani".
—(Iqbal)

THE ARGUMENT

"Pas az man shair-i-man khanand wa dar yabar wa me goend,
Jahane ra digar goon kard yak mard-e-khud aagahe".
—(Iqbal).

In these days when truth is a casualty, scholarship a mockery and politics a gainful game, I have ventured to speak the truth, as I find it, believing: "Rasti mujab raza-e-Khudast" (‘To speak the truth is a means to please God Almighty’), and, as such, I have tried to study Guru Nanak not as a Sikh or Hindu but as the real Man who repeatedly emphasized that ‘Man is known as true when truth is in his heart’.

"Name danam ki aakhir chun dam-i-didar me raksam,
Magar nazam ba aan zoge ki pesh-i-yar me raksam"!

It was, in fact, during the tri-centenary celebrations of Guru Gobind Singh that I wrote my book “Muslim-Sikh Relations during the Mughal Period (1526—1707)—A Re-appraisal”. For want of funds and facilities, I could not place the work before the public then, and busied myself in editing and annotating a rare Persian manuscript (on Mughal History)—Sair-i-Manazil—a unique travelogue which I had already translated and worked up^2. The chief reason for my writing The Muslim-Sikh Relations, or The Great Guru Nanak and the Muslims, as now, was the painful memory of the Partition (1947) of my country when people became a pawn in the game of politics and lost all sense of human touch. Tragically, the sense of peace and love was lost in the name of Mahadev, Muhammad and Nanak; Hinduism, Islam and Panth; though all religions are just the other names of paths of peace, self-surrender, love, devotion and human sympathy.

---

*I extend the application of millat to whole humanity and not to a particular community (N.D.A.)

1. Couplet quoted by Dr. M. Mujeeb ; Tr., (N.D.A.);
"Why do I dance at the sight of my Beloved, I do not know;
I feel proud of my urge and that wild joy which makes me dance before my loved one".

2. I hope that both these works now might be before the readers very shortly (N.D.A.)
In place of *tasbih* of *Kalima* or rosary of *Nam*, the necks came in the hands which held naked swords. Seers of innocent blood was flown down the streets, thousands of women were made widows, lakhs of children became orphans, number of infants were nailed to the walls, hundreds of young girls were pierced through savagely. Satan danced naked under the misused cries of *Allah-hu-Akbar*, *Sat-Sri-Akal* and *Bajrang-Bali*.

‘*Khab-o-khyal mein bhi jo dekha-na-tha kabhi Woh din bhi zindgi mein hamen dekhna para*’.

—(P.S. ‘Hunar’)

The melancholy thought pricked me ever since. Wither Man? Whither Humanity? Whither India? The question lanced me throughout these two decades and over. Occasional outbursts of communal frenzy, even after Independence, growing sectarian sentiments, increasing centrifugal tendencies and secessionist inclinations frightened me and I often muttered: —

*Kabak-o-gumri mein hai jhagra ki watan kis ka hai, 
Kal khizan aa ke bata degi watan kis ka hai.*

—(‘Hali’)

Did I risk my life and career as an underground student leader, in the 1942 Movement, for this passe? Was I always duped in the name of nationalism? If this was nationalism, then what could be rascality? Belonging personally to a family of orthodox Hindus who lived in a *Mohalla* habituated by the Hindus, Muslims and Sikhs alike, we had developed a tradition of living harmoniously. Upto my young age, when I had entered the portals of my college, I had a free access within the interior of respectable *purdah* observing Muslim families living round about. Our *Mohalla* was a model of a Commonwealth where the Sikhs, the Hindus and the Muslims enjoyed full freedom of religion and movement, where there was a ‘*Dharamsala*’ (small *Gurdwara*) with the Holy *Granth* in it and which was a visit-must for my mother before she were to take her daily meals. There was a *Shivala* just at a distance of 30-40 feet from it and then there was a mosque about 80 yards further away. The holy hymns, the loud temple-bells and the high pitched *azan*, in the same locality, were a daily feature when I was a tender student and a regular caller at the temple like my revered father. The Muslims, the Sikhs and the Hindus exchanged *bhajis* and offered *nainders* etc., to each other at marriages. It was just quarter of a century ago when the big cities of India had begun to resound with the cries of *Jehad*, Separation, Direct Action and so on under the ‘guidance’ of the sophisticated politicians. Lo! the epidemic
spread and at the eve of Partition, a Hindu brother became a victim of a Muslim brother and vice-versa.

"Aankh jo kuchh dekhti th lab peh aa sakta nahin, Mahv-i-hairat tha ki duniya kya se kya ho jaegt."  

No words can be adequate enough to convey what the eyes saw. A naked dance of savagery! Even in this dire darkness, some silver lines were still shining. Some real followers of Rama, Muhammad and Nanak, regardless of the dangers and threats to them from their own communities, guided and helped their counterparts. Though much was lost of humanity, all was not lost! This work would not have been before the readers if a Muslim friend had not alerted the present writer about the impending trolley of tyranny planned by some Muslim Mads in the newly-created Pakistan.

The present all-round tyranny, uncertainty, anxious suspense, danger of war, insecurity, border disputes, mess of politics, and exploitation by the demagogues remind one of the times of Nanak:

"Har shakh peh ullu bethe hain: Anjam-i-gulistan kya hoga".

Only a rational study of history and a sincere re-appraisal can possibly save the situation. The astute and crafty politicians, move ahead with scissors in hands to cut through the already truncated motherland:

"Muddat se rahbron ki rawash badal chuki hai, Be-chain hun khyal-i-anjam-i-karwan se."

There appears to be none to use his needles dexterously to stitch the patches into one. It was well-said by some sensitive soul:

"To whom can I speak to-day? The gentle man has perished. The violent man has access to everybody. The iniquity that smites the land. It has no end. There are no righteous men. The earth is surrendered to criminals".

Then, who can operate upon the prevailing ills? Who can redeem? Only a self-less, fearless and sensitive saint like Nanak! (dhun Baba Nanak jis jag taya!). Only a sincere practice of true Nanakism could save the situation!

"Ham tang hain zamin se, be-zar asamam se Nanak tumhain bulayen ik bar phir khan se?"

---

3. Adoption from Iqbal’s famous couplet.

Only Nanak’s precept, practiced into action, could possibly cure the cancer of our body politic, social degeneracy and inhuman butchery of communalism. Every field and region has its own idiosyncrasies and peculiar problems. Every problem needs to be probed into accordingly, with reference to Nanak’s solution of co-existence and synthesis. Since some sectarians in India and Pakistan are unnecessarily suffering, even in this age of modernity, from the malady of Hindu-Muslim hatred and more specially from the bitter memories of Muslim-Sikh relations,—during the later Mughal period, Partition, and after, I preferred to narrow down my study to this limited but significant field for my discussion:

“Mujhe hai wasa der-o- haram dono se ae ‘Bismil’,
Ki main Hindu hun Hindu mein, Musalman hun Musalman mein’.
Iqbal’s Faumi Tarana (National Song), very often, resounded in my mind (as in my school and college days) and his lifting couplet:

“Mazhab nahn sikhata aapas mein bair rakhna,
Hindi hain ham watan hai Hindustan hamara”.

ticked in the recesses of my heart like the ticks of a clock which continually remind one of the time. Whenever, I read, or heard, a news about any communal riot, my soul shuddered within me ! I sighed, I groaned !!

“Na samjhoge to mit jaoge ae Hindostan walo,
Tumhari dastan tak bhi na hogi dastanon mein”.

I would often feel and find a bold line of Nanak on the wall: “The jewel-like span of life is bartered away for a trifle”. This work is, thus, a by-product of that groaning and, as such, is both a valuationsal and historical study undertaken even to the risk of being misunderstood in some quarters.

“Woh aur hain kiron peh pate hain jo sakoon,
Hamko aata hai kran, toofan ki aagosh mein’.

I am self-satisfied that my approach is pious and positive, serene and sincere as is evident from the title and the contents of my work (“Mazmoon khud samajh lo unwan-i-dastan se”). I am quite conscious of the possible reaction to this work,—a distinct and perhaps the only attempt of its kind during the celebrations of Nanak’s quincentenary.

“Hai aashqi mein rasam alag sab se bethna,
But-khana bhi, haram bhi, kleesa bhi ohhor de”.

Hence, one of the main objects of the present work is a contribution to harmony which is so vital for national solidarity and
for fostering one nationhood as well as advocacy of co-existence which is a pre-requisite to a universal brotherhood and world federation.

The lessons of history are perhaps the best eye-openers and the job of a historian is to unfold the folios of history in true perspective, otherwise history shall be reduced to a mere record of hostilities and hysteria for war. I am very sure that a proper projection of Islam and Sikhism as the religions of ‘Akhuwat’ or brotherhood can efface a feeling that both were irreconcilably warring factions. In this context, the Sikh heroes may appear as more the champions of liberty; the sympathizers of the down-castes, have-nots and socially-discarded people; as social heroes; wilful men of action than merely as crusaders of religion. Sikhism was not boundary-marked but universal and all-pervading. Similarly, it might help brighten the face of some members of that majestic house of the Mughals who, as children of Reformation, took bold steps to march off the bigotted notions of religion and were responsible for fostering political, social and national unity. If some useful interest is evinced in this pious and purposeful project, I shall deem myself amply rewarded:

‘Nigah-e-mard-e-momin se badal jati hain taqdirain’.

My financial and personal difficulties again stood in my way apart from the time factor. In our present set-up, I failed to realize hopes of redemption from any unit. I felt shaken. But then, “Fool”, said my Muse to me, “Look in thy heart, and write”5.

“Apni hi zat peh hota hai bharosajinko,
Woh kabhi rah nahin takte madadaron ki”.

“It would be un-Nanakwise to lay the oars or to ‘beg’, urged my inner self, “when my Master and Guide, Guru Nanak, had guts to spurn even an offer of an aid from a man like the Emperor Babur himself”. I mustered up. I consoled myself, “sacrifice, gift and penance are the purifiers of the wise and should not be abandoned”6. I muttered:

“Nahin tera nashiman qasar-i-sultani ke gunbad par,
Tu shahin hai, bsera kar paharon ki chatanon par”.

I re-assured myself:

“Karmak-i-nadan tawaf-i-shamma se azad ho
Apni fitrat ke tajjali-zar mein abad ho”.

5. Quotation, Sir Philip Sidney.
Nanak had preached lessons of fearlessness and freedom of conscience. He himself had shown a clear vision and courage of determination. His stress had, all along been on self-purification and self-respect. Then, why worry? By the grace of the Guru and mercy of the Master, this work is now before the readers, of course, after an incessant labour (tapas) of day and night and without help of even a single penny from any source, whatsoever. I am confident that if this work is studied with reference to the broad canvass of our national mess and the deep downs of dismal darkness, it may prove fruitful and perhaps help redeem us from some of our ill-based hallucinations and politically-motivated or artificial divisions between man and man and region and region. It is with this deep sense of integration and note of optimism that the work is hereby presented to the readers:—

"Kya 'ajab ki kisht doob kar bahir nikal aye,
Ki ham ne inqlab-i-charkh-i-gardoone yun bhi dekhe hain".

I am conscious of my pitfalls. Some repetitions, over-lappings and incoherences may be noticed here and there. But I have an explanation for that. The subject-limitation was such that the same angle had to be presented again and again and the same element was to be electrified to bring home the basic essential of unity, love, and oneness of God's Creation. As the work is reflective of my pious emotions, I have maintained the narrative overflow without making re-adjustments. The same factor hampered me from a detailed discussion of the complete message of the Master and the philosophy of Nanak. I did not like to discuss Nanak theologically nor did I like to project him as the founder of a new religious sect as such. For me he was the greatest of the age, who laughed and lamented at the man-made invidious distinctions and in-equities. I did not like to discuss or scan his miraculous powers, or to put the various events of his life, as given in the Janam Sakhis and other traditional accounts, to the strict test of the touch-stone of history. I deliberately avoided to enter into any controversy about the creed of Nanak or events and chronology about him. About that, my interest was only to quote as it was, even if historically something might appear ridiculous because I am strictly of this view that popular tradition, even if historically a flop, at least transmits the intrinsic truth and the spirit behind. As such, I consulted as much material as I could for writing my main work 'Muslim-Sikh Relations' and used my notes now in the present work without 'vivisecting' them or cutting their 'veins'. The material used is medieval as well as modern, foreign as well as indigenous,
historical as well as traditional. The sources consulted are Hindu, Muslim, Sikh and Christian alike, believing in Hazrat Ali’s advice: “O writer! whatever thou writest, will be recorded. It behoves thee therefore to write well because thou wilt have to account for thy writing”. In spite of the fact that I do not entirely approve of M.A. Macauliffe’s object of his writing The Sikh Religion, yet I am deeply indebted to him for deriving ready-made details, events and quotations,—devotional or conversational, from his voluminous work. I acted upon the advice of Sir Oliver Lodge that “to know anything thoroughly nothing accessible must be excluded”. To write my main work, I had earlier consulted the sacred Gita, the holy Qur’an, the celestial Bible and the great Granth. I have given some of my renderings in this work too. I may not have been perfectly correct in my interpretations, here and there, on account of my fallacious understanding or sub-standard intelligence, but I am sure that I found the same thread running through these gems of truth and divine wisdom. I strongly felt that the unity of essentials remains ignored and the apparent differences have been overemphasized by the ingenuity and inventiveness of human brain which can work hell or heaven as it may be ‘switched on’. Since the sincerity of the subject treated by me is obvious, I crave indulgence of the readers, and scholars particularly, for any mistakes or lapses, if noticed, the interpretation or presentation, and beg to be forgiven:—

“Ghulam-i-himmat-i-aan ‘aarifan-i-ba karmam,
Ki yak sawab na beenand wa sad khata bakhshand”.

Suggestions would be deemed a favour and reviews are most welcome.

Een barg-i-sabz ast tohfa-e-darvesh,
Ba hunarmandan me kunam dar pesh.

—N.D. Ahuja

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT
(Complaints & Compliments)

“Arz-i-nakshe ast ki az ma yad manad
Ki hasti ra name beenam baqae”.

—(Latif)

I shall be failing in my moral duty if I do not acknowledge gratitude to my respected old mother who can be called the spirit behind this work. Even now, in spite her ailment, she did not like to use my time for herself when she came to know of my design. My elder brother, Sh. L. C. Ahuja,—an angel indeed, stood by me, throughout, sharing my burdens and responsibilities without any grudge. My greatest and indescribable gratitude
is to my devoted wife who proved to be an A—one companion and friend for me and but for whose personal sacrifices my earlier two works, and this one, would have been a mere dream. My children remained always at my beck and call and, regardless of the loss of their personal studies, they helped me in all possible manner that the tender souls can do. It is thus a joint family venture which withstood various storms in the way to produce a work like this and which is no less than a miracle beyond the comprehension of a single feeble person like I who is bereft of all political or other patronage which has become a ‘must’ for all pursuits—even purely academic. Had I been a “cherished child” of some political ‘biggie’ and had I thus got some financial support, in the form of some grant-in-aid, from some institution or

1. I do not know so far as to what considerations or procedures, other than academic, weigh in earmarking significant projects and funds. For myself, I can say:

“Gunnam tha gunnam hoon, gunnam rahoonga,
Yeh tera karm hai ki main be-nam rahoonga”.

2. The work was finally drafted for publication towards the end of April, 1969. Before it could reach the readers, its writer had to face innumerable hurdles in its publication. Though I was patted by some for its worth, though it was commended by some others as a “wonderful” and “timely” contribution, “highly useful for national solidarity and emotional integration”, though it was recommended as a “scholarly piece of social, political and academic values” and “worth wide circulation amongst the people of India and abroad through ambassies and foreign cultural wings,” yet, I could not manage for even a penny as a grant to me for bringing it out in a more suitable form. When lakhs of rupees were being doled out for publishing literature on Nanak or drained away in holding, un-Nanakwise, grand-scale parties, lunches and dinners in the name of the celebration of the Great Guru’s quincentenary, I could not fork out even a petty amount for my work. “Water, water everywhere, not a drop to drink” (Coleridge). Incidentally, and ironically too, this work was otherwise reckoned as unique, much-needed and the only one of its type during this quincentenary by some ‘Biggs’ who counted and who took trouble too to go through the manuscript. I lacked political pull, partisan patronage and pressurising pranks, or else, I lacked sycophancy. I did apply to various organizations,—Governments, the University, as well as public relations and religious institutions. But “Goabar ba han-i-khesh na darad base baha” (Latif). I have to hang my head in shame as an Indian when I recollect the unequal, unfair step-motherly or irresponsible treatment meted out even in a pious case like this. “Ukkeley gaye woh bat ko baton baton mein; Yeh ik treb hua ‘Shad’ dili- lagi na huyi”. Some offices reported to have lost the file, some misplaced the papers again and again, some did not bother to acknowledge the request, some pretended to have exhausted the funds, some promised to place the case in the meetings of the Celebration Committees and to call me too—a thing which never happened so far.

“Rah-i-khurad mein aacen hein aesi bhi manzlein,
Ich ik ha ahl-i-hosh ho munh dekhna parrā”.
agency, I could have certainly produced much more and much better. My sole strength was the unity of my family, honesty of my cult, integrity of my purpose and an unshakable faith in God with which I weathered the storms by re-assuring myself:

"Tundiyé bad-i-mukhalif se na ghobra ae‘uqab!
Yeh to chalti hai tughe uncha urane ke liye".

I am however grateful to L. Suraj Bhan, Vicc-Chancellor of the Punjab University, who has been gracious, and appreciative too, in his personal capacity and has been affording me an encouraging pat. I am thankful to Drs. M.S. Randhawa, P. L. Mehra, Fauja Singh, Nur-al-Hasan, Muhib-ul-Hasan and others whose words of appreciation, from time to time, continued to re-kindle the candle of research in me inspite of my odds:

"Jamal-i-hammashin dar man asar kard,
Warga man human khakam ki hastam".

I am specially indebted to Principal P.L. Anand for his repeated acknowledgement of my work, to Dr. J. S. Sharma for his liberal provision of facilities to me at the P.U. Library and to the Director, Museum, Chandigarh, by whose courtesy I have been able to procure some significant plates incorporated in this work. I am also thankful to M/s Gopi Chand, H S S; Tara Chand, C.P.S; Beli Ram, A.C.P.S; and Seth N.K. Jalan, for their unflinching and valuable cooperation and guidance. I am beholden to the friends, scholars and persons of various shade viz. Speaker: Dr. Gurdial Singh Dhillon, S. Gurmeet Singh, C.P.S; Shri O.G. Adya, I.A.S; Shri H.G. Trighatia, P.C.S; S Amrik Singh, P.C.S; S.H.S. Nirman, Editor; Sh. H.S. Chatha, Advocate etc., who took trouble to go through the manuscript and offered their spontaneous and encouraging reviews of the work.

I lack in words to express my deep sense of obligation to Prof. Dr. M. Mujeeb, Vice-Chancellor, Jamia Millia, N, Delhi,—an eminent scholar of international fame, for his having written the Foreword to this work.

"Nigah-i-yar jise aashna-e-raz kare,
Woh apni khubi-ye kismat peh kyon na naaz kare.

I deem his Fore-word as a lustrous gem to my work which can now be passed as genuine and pressed into the market of 'jewellers' for test, treat and testimony.

"Dar arzu-e-arzu andar nyamda ast:
Aanha ki shud ba daulat-i-lutfash muyasram". 

—(Latif)

3. "'Moti samajh ke shan-i-karim ne chuni liye,
Qare jo the mere arg-i-insaai ke.'" —(Iqbal)
I cannot but feel gratified at the tender touch I received from the Great Khan Abdu’l Ghaffar Khan, Sarhadi Gandhi,—
the incarnate of humility and Hindu-Muslim brotherhood, whose
magical words and smiling appreciation, after looking at the
manuscript and discussing its contents for 40 minutes (with the
author) injected high spirits in me and the warmth of his shake-
hand is still perceptible to me.

Last but not the least are my thanks due to Shri Anand
Mohan of the Kirti Publishing House and Shri Gopal Krishan who
helped me to bring this work to lime-hight.

—N.D. Ahuja

Publisher’s Apology

‘Hamen kehna hai kuchh apni zuban se’

We express our deep regrets that in spite of our assurance to
the author to bring out this noble and timely work in, or about,
November, 1969 positively, we could not keep up our promise
only because of the delay exercised by the printing presses to
which, in good faith, the job of printing had been earlier assigned
after their solemn commitment to complete it within a stipulated
time and which miserably failed to honour their oft-repeated
promises forcing the Publishers to get the work done from
another Press even by suffering a big loss of time and money as
well as sizeable part of the valuable manuscript, and causing
inconvenience to the author and the interested readers. We
earnestly beg apology for the same.

We also beg forgiveness from the author and the readers for
our failure to include the Bibliography, duty supplied to us by
the author, and the Index at the end of the work. We also
hope to be pardoned for any miscellaneous pitfalls or printing
mistakes which might have crept into it by the carelessness of
the printers.

KIRTI PUBLISHING HOUSE
CHANDIGARH

* * * *

“Nigahon se ulfat ka paigham de,
Agar ho sake dawat-e-‘aam de;
Gae sal ki ranjshen bhool kar,
Naya daur hai ik naya jam de”.*

* * * *
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"Every child is born with sound nature, but his parents make of him a Jew, Christian or Magian."

—(Prophet Muhammad)

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I

THE

TRUTH

Sachh-hu orai sabh ko upar sachh achhar
(Sri Rag, I. Asht, XIV-5).

"Truth is above every thing, but
higher still is the living of Truth."—(Nanak)
THE GREAT GURU NANAK AND THE MUSLIMS

THE TRUTH

(God made man; man made religions)

Max Arthur Macauliffe, by producing his commendable and voluminous work, The Sikh Religion (six volumes), after patient labour of years, did bring out the lives of the Sikh Gurus for the study of the Indians and foreigners and rendered a yeoman service to the students of the History of Punjab and the Sikh Panth. However, his vision appears to be angled in some respects since his aim, apparently, was to please the Sikhs in view of their advantage as brave soldiers, for the Britishers in India. He himself has enumerated a few of the advantages of the Sikh religion to the State as below:

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

When it was represented to Guru Gobind Singh that a Muhammadan army would eventually come to over-power his Sikhs, he replied, 'What God willeth shall take place. When the army of the Muhammadans cometh, my Sikhs shall strike steel on steel. The Khalsa shall then awake, and know the play of battle. Amid the clash of arms the Khalsa shall be partners in present and future bliss, tranquility, meditation, and divine knowledge. Then shall the English come, and, joined by the Khalsa, rule as well in the East as in the West. The holy Baba Nanak will bestow all wealth on them. The English shall possess great power and by force of arms take possession of many principalities. The combined armies of the English and the Sikhs shall be very powerful, as long as they rule with united councils. The empire of the British shall vastly increase, and they shall in every way obtain prosperity. Wherever they take their armies they shall conquer and bestow thrones on their vassals. Then in every house shall be wealth, in every house religion, in every house learning, and in every house happiness.'

It is such prophecies as these, combined with the monotheism, the absence of superstition and restraint in the matter of food, which have made the Sikhs among the bravest, the most loyal and devoted subjects of the British Crown. As to their bravery and loyalty, the following, written by one of them, is by no means an exaggeration: 'As for the bravery and warlike spirit of the Sikhs, no Cossack, no Turk, no Russian, can measure swords with them. There is one trait very peculiar in them such as must make the enemies of the British fear them. The true blood of loyalty and devotion to their master surges in their veins. A true Sikh will let his body be cut to pieces when fighting for his master. The Sikh considers dying in battle a means of salvation. No superiority of the enemies in number, no shot, no shell, can make his heart quail, since his Amrit (baptism) binds him to fight single-handed.
against millions. Some people may say that a soldier sells his head for the small wage paid him every month. But the Sikh does not do so: he devotes his head, body, and everything dear to him to preserving the influence of him whom he once makes his master. A Sikh who shows the least sign of reluctance to go, or goes with an expectation of remuneration, when called upon by his benefactor the King-Emperor to fight His Majesty’s enemies, no matter how strong they may be, will be condemned by the Gurus.

From Macauliffe’s writings one could easily carry an impression that both Islam and Hinduism (or Sikhism) were antagonistic. He has spared no pains to create a wedge where and when he could find a point. On one side, he has listed the excesses of the Muslims on the Sikhs and on the other side, he decries a movement to declare the Sikhs, Hindus. About some young Hindus claiming to be the descendents of the Gurus, he writes: “Whether the object of their tutors and advisers was or was not to make them disloyal, such youths are ignorant of the Sikh religion, and of its prophecies in favour of the English, and contract exclusive social customs and prejudices to the extent of calling us Malechhas, or persons of impure desires, and inspiring disgust for the customs and habits of Christians.” 2 At another place, he writes, “What a gain, it would be to the world if the one hundred thousand Sikhs who attended it (i.e., Hardwar fair of Kumbh) possessed such a very elementary knowledge of their religion as to know that their action was reprobated by all their holy Gurus.” 3 He also advocated for the recognition of Punjabi as an official language in the Punjab, “instead of the alien Urdu.” 4 In his hatred for the Muslims, he appears to have ignored the fact that Urdu was not alien but was of

4. Ibid, p. xxiv
indigenous growth and akin to Hindi and Punjabi. He has quoted an expression, about his works, by Lord Kitchener of Khartoum who had said publicly, ‘we may say with confidence that in putting the study of the Sikh sacred writings within our reach, Mr. Macauliffe has earned the approbation of all who know the great value of the Sikh soldier; the cordial recognition of the rulers of the country, and the gratitude of the chiefs, sardars, and people of the Sikh community.’

The Sikhs had snatched power from the tottering Mughal Empire; so had the English. Macauliffe may have been careful in the selection and presentation of his material but his purposeful approach may prove harmful, as it actually did, to the national and emotional integration of India. Muslim-Sikh question could perhaps be viewed more objectively from economic, social and political aspect than being projected merely as a religious issue. No doubt, there was a lot of religious (and political) persecution of non-Muslims in India from 11th century A. D. to 15th century A. D. The instances gleaned by Macauliffe from *Taj-ul-Maasir* of Nizami-Nishapuri, *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri* of Minhaj-ul-siraj; *Tazjiyat ul-Amsar wa-Tajriyat-ul-Asar* of Abdulla Wassaf; *Khasain-ul-Futuh* of Amir Khusrau; Barani and Batuta etc. might suffice to infuriate the Hindus against their Muslim brethren. But, studying them by ignoring the environs and exigencies of the times, political factors, and internal and external pressures as well as situations would mean shutting our eyes to true History and would tantamount to study of some romantic and thrilling literature.

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The age of Nanak was an Era of Liberalism; of Renaissance and Reformation. Free thinking had stirred the minds of the people all the world over. ‘Why, What and How’

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5. Macauliffe, op : cit; 1-2; p. xxix.
had taken the place of 'Vow, Bow and Low'. People had learnt to die as well as to fight for their cause. Religion was losing its hold as a master and was, here and there, being yoked just as a maid. Its instruments, dogmatism and bigotry, though still in operation, were getting blunt. Enlightenment gave a call to conscience. It is a matter of great relief that Hinduism and Islam—the two major religions in India, one of the conquered, the other of the conqueror; one of the ruled, and the other of the ruler; one indigenous, the other of foreign import; were coming closer, and the gulf was being bridged on one side by the Bhaktas, on the other by the Sufis, at one end by the Saints and at the other by Aulias. The Muslim Wali emphasised "Dil ba dast awar ki Haj-e-Akbar ast" (Get hold of a heart, it is the best pilgrimage). The Hindu Saint stressed—

"Char Ved Shat Shastar mein bat mili hai dohe,
Dukh dine dukh hot hai sukh dine sukh hoe"

(All the four Vedas and eight Shastras preach only two things, i.e., as you sow, so shall you reap—if you injure some body you shall be injured and if you relieve some soul, you shall get relief). The idea of holiness and saintliness through individual character and godliness was, silently but saliently, getting developed.

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Our study could have been more profitable if we had kept in constant view the age in which the Muslims dealt with the Sikh Gurus and, specially what was happening in other countries of Europe and more specially in England itself—the country of Macauliffe. The whole of 16th and 17th centuries in England witnessed religious persecutions or politico-religio tantalization. Sacred men like Becket, Walter Lollard, John Huss and later, Thomas Moore lost their lives for maintaining their conscience. Hundreds of Catholics, under Edward IV (Tudor) and his Regents, Somerset and Northumberland, were put to death. Thousands of Protes-
tants were put to flames under Bloody Mary for the sake of their religion. Uncountable number of Puritans were harried out of the land by James I of England who could declare in his Parliament that the whole Isles was his wife and he was its lawful husband. The Bloody Assizes, High Commission Courts, Special Ecclesiastical Courts etc. bring no credit to the rulers of England. Muslim dealings with the Hindus and the Sikhs shall certainly appear as much more enlightened and creditable if we simultaneously keep in mind the Act of Uniformity, Act of Supremacy, Wentworth's ‘Thorough’ in Ireland, Laud’s ‘System’ in Scotland, Clarenden Code, Five Mile Act etc. etc., forced upon a dissenting element in Great Britain, which do not actually impart greatness to any rule. Civil strifes in England on religious planes resulting merely from differences within the same religion—preaching non-violence, had cost one divine King (Charles-I) his head, brought to another (Charles-II) exile and still to another (James-II) a forced abdication. It was again a religious question which resulted in an inglorious invitation to a foreign ruler (William-III) to invade England and to rule over the English. This could happen in an enlightened England of 1687-88, i.e. even about quarter to two centuries after a Rana Sanga or Daulat Khan could think of inviting a foreigner—Babur, just to redeem them and not to rule over them. Even then in India—the India of Nanak, of Hindus and Muslims alike, a Hindu Chief of Gwalior was prepared to fight, against the intruder, shoulder to shoulder with his Muslim Sultan of Delhi, and share the cup of martyrdom equally with him; and the Hindu Chief Rana Sanga was assisted not only by Hindu Rajputs but also by Hasan Khan of Mewat and Sultan Mahmud son of Sikander Lodi, against Babur at the field of Kanauj in 1527 A.D. The revolution of 1688 may be called Glorious in England and a Trevelyn might boast of it, but it was no glory at all to betray one's own King just for minor religious differences, and no credit for the abdicating Sovereign who tried to curb the
conscience of the community. No patriot would like to invite any foreigner for solving religious problems. This would be the height of treason indeed. The massacre of Macdonald, the extirpation of a whole tribe, just for a trifling failure in taking timely oath of allegiance, may look in no way less horrifying than any woeful event of Indian History.

A contrast between Catholics-Protestants treatment on one side and the Hindu-Muslim dealings on the other, in the 16th century or later, could surely help to wash off, to some extent, the stigma of religious persecutions, from the pages of Indian History, to which writers like Macauliffe feel inclined to allude. Instances are not lacking in the social history of India where handsome grants were made by Muslim Chiefs or rulers to non-Muslim shrines and temples, and non-Muslims (including Brahmins) being appointed as Mutwalli or trustees at Muslim dargahs and tombs e.g. at Hyderabad7 in the south and Depalival8 near Kalanaur

6. The present writer has seen for himself big havelies built at Hardwar by Najibabadi Pathans for accommodating Hindu pilgrims there. These havelies are now in the possession of Hindus and bear clear traits of Pathan architecture. The Najibabadi Pathans ruled over Hardwar and round about for sometime during the last quarter of 18th century (near about 1780). At Loharu (Haryana) there is a beautiful temple which was built by the Muslim Nawab of the erstwhile state before its integration with free India and where the Nawab himself used to attend the Hindu Sankirtan Sammelans on certain occasions. Even in the current year, according to U. N. I. News report dated 18-4-69, a muslim Mr. V. Hasambhai Kalabhai donated Rs. 3,00,000 for a temple and a Primary School at Vadra Village near Amreli (Gujrat). He was congratulated by Mr. Chimanbhai Patel, Gujrat Minister for Cultural Activities, who opened the school (Cf. Tribune, dated 19-4-69.)

7. At Hyderabad (Deccan) a Brahmin family continued to be the Mutwalli of the dargah of a famous Muslim Bizurg and enjoyed a big jagir later granted by the Nizam to this dargah.

8. According to Munshi Sujan Rai of Batala, author of Khulasat-ul-Tawarikh, the tomb of Shah Shams-ud-Din Daryayi situated in village Depalival near Kalanur was visited by large number of Hindus and Muslims and after Shah Daryayi's death his Hindu follower Deepali was appointed the first trustee and keeper of the Shah's tomb with unanimous consent of both Hindus and Musalmans.
in the north. The Hindus have been often seen assembling in large numbers, like their Muslim brethren, at various shrines or tombs. A re-appraisal of our history from a social and political angle rather than from a narrow angle of religious blinking, and an unprejudiced historical perspective is need of the hour. It may also bring much more credit to the valiant Sikhs who, like true followers of their great Gurus, could not afford to tolerate social injustice, economic disparities and political persecutions and were ready to do or die for their civil rights after having been injected with a spirit of bold exposition by Gurus like Nanak who himself had the courage to call Lodi tyrants as 'dogs' and condemn the atrocities of Mughal invaders, and who never discriminated between his Hindu or Muslim followers nor compromised wrong with right.

For centuries, Punjab had been trampled under the feet of invaders who rushed in various currents—each current leaving a sediment behind and each sediment getting intermixed and inter-absorbed. It may be correct and righteous to condemn any atrocity committed by any community, person or party regardless of its religious label. It would be too much to blame all the Muslims as atrocious. We may also find the infliction of tortures and tyrannies as a normal feature during war period—whether it be in the medieval age or the ultra-modern age of Science and Space, whether it be in India or in Europe, in the East or the West, in the country of Gautam or Christ. For example, wars between Hindu Vijaynagar Empire and the Muslim Bahmani Kingdoms were as common as between any two kingdoms in the north. In times of war, the Vijaynagar kings were as ruthless as any other and encouraged plundering of the enemy-territory and carrying away of men, cattle, sheep, goats and horses.  

Kingdom to ashes. The course of Achyute’s (1530-1542) Raichur campaign (during Nanak’s life-time) was marked by the clouds of smoke produced by the burning cities. The burning of villages and towns by Vijaynagar kings on campaigns was a common practice as in the case of campaigns in the north or raids of the Muslim kings and invaders against the Hindu rivals, chieftains or Hindu populace. Still Vijaynagar kingdom was a theocratic state and had a religious stamp and was run on principles of ‘Dharma’ in which Brahmins, cows, temples, gardens, fields and women were to be protected. The State did not assume an attitude of neutrality in religious affairs though its patronage was duly extended to all sects and religions. The horrible persecutions were meted out not only to the members of other religions or sects but to the co-religionists too since the aim used to be deterrent—and more so during wars. While writing about the warfare between the Muslim kingdoms into which the Bahmani kingdom had broken up, Nuniz says, “There is little faith among the Moors, and they bite one another like dogs and like to see one after the other destroyed.” Guru Arjun was tortured to death by the orders of Jehangir—on the basis of some reports against him wrongly or rightly conveyed to the Emperor by his intelligence staff and administrative officers. But what about the awe-inspiring and brutal punishments inflicted by the same Emperor on his own co-religionists—Hasan Beg and Abdul Rahim—supporters of Khusrau? Hasan Beg was sewed up in a raw hide of an ox, and Abdul Rahim in that of an ass, and both were led about the town on asses with their faces towards the tail. The ox’s hide became

10. Lakshminarayana, Shukasaptati by Palakaveri Kadiripati; quoted S.K. Lal, Art, Medieval Indian State, Jamia Millia, Delhi, p. 34.
so dry and contracted that before evening Hasan Beg was suffocated though Abdul Rahim could survive but as a wreck. From the garden of Kamran to the city of Lahore two rows of stakes were fixed in the ground, upon which the other rebels were impaled alive; and the unhappy Khusrau—the eldest son of the Emperor himself and the favourite child for his great grandfather Akbar, was conducted between the ranks of these miserable sufferers—trembling and weeping terribly. Even an exalted Muslim Sheikh Jafal Thaneswari who enjoyed the dignity and reputation of a religious luminary, no less than Guru Arjun for the Hindus, was not spared for his reported blessing to the same prince.

There are innumerable examples to show that the Hindus and Muslims in India were punished and rewarded almost alike in the period under review and religious considerations and hatreds though existent were not a rule as such but were either exceptions or camouflage for political, secular and material ends, as even now-a-days, than for moral considerations. Goods weighed more than the good of the people. Evidently, it would be sheer perversion to presume and generalize that the Muslims were against the Hindus (& Sikhs) and the latter should treat every Muslim as a ‘Musla’ — the spited name coined for the Muslims by the reactionaries. A judicious and rational study of historical facts is bound to shatter this generalization. Late Pt. J. L. Nehru was emphatic, in his *Discovery of India*, to say that “it is wrong to call invasions from the west as ‘Muslim’. In fact these can be called as Turk, Pathan, Afghan, though they used name of Islam and mobilized looters under their banners.” Natural sequence to such raids, in those days, could be deterrent punishments to the Hindus or their conversions. Otherwise, nothing could be more irreligious than to call the barbaric raids as ‘Muslim’ or religious. Qur’anic injunctions are not lacking to condemn bad conduct, aggression, forcible conversions
and even exemplary punishment. In Islam, as in other religions, the test is not profession of a creed but conduct. Ibu Khaledun, in his first Mucaddamah, laughs at the entity of "a Khalifa in a cage, between a boy slave & a harlot, repeating all they tell him parrot-wise." The holy Qu’ran says "Verily, Allah loveth not aggressors". Again, "Let there be no compulsion in religion" ("La iqrah fi al-Din"). The holy Qu’ran also says, "Ayakum wa al-musalat wa lauraba laalab ul-aqoor" i.e., "Woe to you if ye indulge in exemplary punishment even of a savage dog." How could such an Islam warrant vandalism? The great prophet Muhammad declared his views about Jehad in unmistakable words, "Al-jehad-ul-Akbar Jehad-ul-Hawai" i.e. "The greatest jehad is that against a man’s own lust." Prophet Muhammad never advocated it as a sacred duty to wage war against non-believers. He favoured defensive wars, for the sake of righteousness, and not aggressive ones, "Fight in the way of Allah against those who fight against you but begin not hostilities. Allah loveth not aggressors". Even then he said, "Destroy not their means of subsistence." He directed: "Non-combatants, priests, religious institutions are to be protected and respected. Crops must not be made waste; fruit-bearing trees must not be cut down." Prophet Muhammad is quite susceptible about justice and righteousness. His concept of Jehad has so little in common with the war-aims of that school of patriotism which holds that a man should be prepared to fight and die, if need be, for his country,—right or wrong. He plainly said, "He is not of us who sides with his tribe in injustice, and he is not of us who summons others to aid him in aggression, and he is not of us who dies while assisting his tribe in tyranny." It may be interesting to note the following incident quoted in the first chapter of Kitab-ul-Fakiri. When the pagan Mongol Sultan, Khan Hulaqu Khan, sacked Baghdad and held the person of the Abbasid Khalifa, he asked for a Fatwa from the Ulema gathered at Mustansiriyah, "which is preferable—a just non-Muslim ruler or an unjust Muslim
ruler’? (Aima Afzal-ul-Sultan-ul-Kafir-ul-Adil Au ul-Sultan-ul-Muslim-ul-jair). The greatest and the most learned and respected, wise Rizaud-Din Ali ibn Tawas answered, ‘Ul-Sultan ul-Kafir-ul-Adil’. (i. e. the disbelieving just ruler). This clearly shows that Islam aimed to knock down narrow shackles of ecclesiasticism and espoused free thought.

Religion-in-name did play a dirty and irreligious role sometimes when yoked as a maid to politics, as even today. It is, however, noteworthy to find that during the period between the IIInd battle of Terrain, 1193 AD, to the first battle of Panipat, 1526 AD, there sat on the throne of Delhi no less than 35 Sultans belonging to five different dynasties—all Sunni Muslims professing the same orthodox religion and ruling in the name of same religious creed. Each Muslim dynasty amongst these was replaced in its turn by another Muslim dynasty. Out of the 35 Muslim Sovereigns of Delhi, during this period, no less than 19, i.e., over 54% were killed or assassinated—not by any Hindu but by Muslims. Babur was expelled from his ancestral lands by the Sunni Uzbegs and treachery of his own kith and kin. He sought and got help from the Shia Safavi ruler of Persia to recover Samarqand but was severely warned by his Sunni subjects of Kabul against such a move. He was a believer in the maxim of ‘taqiah’ where political necessity so warranted. He came to India to fight against a Sunni ruler—Ibrahim Lodi on the invitation of a Sunni Daulat Khan and a Hindu Rana Sanga. When a Sunni Subedar Daulat Khan was ‘betraying’ his Sunni and lawful master, the latter was being aided, shoulder to shoulder, by a Hindu Chief Vikramaditya of Gwalior who willingly and happily became a martyr with his Muslim brother while trying to check an intruder. Parallely, when Rana Sanga of Mewar opposed Babur who was unwilling to go back after defeating Ibrahim, the Hindu Rajput Chief was assisted by Muslim Hassan Khan of Mewat and Sultan Mahmud Lodi, a son of Sikandar Lodi, who had been acknowledged as King of Delhi by the
Rana. Babur had to defeat here again, at Kanwah, in 1527, a combined multi-complexed force of Hindu Rajputs and Muslim Sunnis to be able to establish his empire in India. Babur thought it as expedient to raise a cry of Jehad when it suited his political ends. He writes in the Tuzuk-e-Baburi, "the Muslim armies were marching forward with slogan of the Holy Jehad."\(^{14}\) However, the Confidential Will of Babur to his dutiful son Humayun, is the real index of the mind of astute Babur as well as a mirror of the time. The Will reads as below \(^{15}\):

"O my son: People of diverse religions inhabit India, and it is a matter of thanks-giving to God that the King of Kings has entrusted the Government of this country to you.

It, therefore, behoves you that:

(i) You should not allow religious prejudices to influence your mind, and administer impartial justice, having due regard to religious susceptibilities.

(ii) In particular refrain from the slaughter of cows which will help you to obtain a hold on the

\(^{14}\) Babur, Tuzuk, Tr.

\(^{15}\) This is a translation by Dr. Syed Mahmud, of a document in the Bhopal State Library believed to be Babur's Confidential Will and Testament to his son Humayun (The Indian Review, August, 1929). For another authoritative Tr, see Rajindra Parsad, India Divided, p. 39 (1947 Ed.). The document was exhibited by the Government of Bhopal at one of the meetings of the Indian Historical Records Commission. For a photographic reproduction of the text and further information, see The Twentieth Century, Allahabad, 1/1926, pp. 239-44. One copy of this Will of Babur is stated to have been in the possession of the late Dr. Balkrishna, Principal, Raja Ram College, Kolhapur,—published in the "Searchlight", dated 30-5-26.—Vide f. n 17, Dr. Rajindra Parsad, India Divided, p. 39.

Prof. Sri Ram Sharma however, asserts that "all the known facts of Babur's death and Hunrayun's accession to the throne militate against this being genuine." (Religious Policy of the Mughals, p. 9, 1940, Ed.). A closer examination of the document is likely to establish its genuineness to the benefit of the students of history.
hearts of the people of India; thus you will bind the people of the land to yourself by ties of gratitude.

(iii) You should never destroy places of any community and always be justice-loving so that relations between the King and his subjects may remain cordial and thereby secure peace and contentment in the land.

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

(v) Always ignore the mutual dissenions of Shias and Sunnis; otherwise they will lead to the weakness of Islam.

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

Humayun's treatment with the widowed and orphaned family of the martyr Vikramaditya of Gwalior is praise-worthy in spite of the fact that the late Hindu Chief had fallen fighting against Babur and Humayun. He saved the honour of the Hindu ladies by personal intervention. It is he who solemnly accepted the Hindu lady of Chittor as his sacred (dharma) sister on her presentation of Rakhi to him. Humayun remained busy throughout, fighting against Sher Khan of Bihar & Bengal, and Bahadur Shah of Gujrat,—his co-religionists. He was betrayed by his own brothers—Kamran, Hindal and Askri or his own heterogenous and opportunist soldiers. Incidentally, all of them were orthodox Muslims. He was, however, helped by a Hindu Rajput chief of Amarkot when Akbar was born or by the Shia ruler of Persia when he became able to recover his lost empire by fighting against his Sunni brothers and Sunni Afghan successors of Sher Shah.

It is an open chapter of history that much of the time and energy of the Mughal emperors in India, as in case of other Muslim rulers abroad, was taken up in suppressing
the rebellions of refractory Muslim Chiefs or in conquering independent Muslim Kingdoms under imperial instincts. Throughout the Mughal period, both Hindu and Muslim Generals are found fighting shoulder to shoulder, on both sides, for their own Masters, which clearly establishes that all wars, as also during Muslim conquest and rule in India, were actuated primarily by the common temporal, secular and mundane motives e.g. dynastic rivalries, personal ambitions, imperial lust or administrative needs.

Babur’s relations with Nanak, or Humayun’s and later Akbar’s relations with the Sikh Gurus—Angad, Amar Dass and Ram Dass, are too well known to be repeated here. Forcible conversion was a crime under Akbar. The relations of the Muslims with the Sikh Gurus and their followers even after Akbar may appear more congenial than projected, by their logical analysis. Even Aurangzeb is stated to have felt a remorse and to have repented when he came to know about the actual execution of Guru Tegh Bahadur and again on learning the true position of Guru Gobind Singh and of the inhuman treatment meted out to him, his family and followers. The study of the whole chapter of Muslim-Sikh Relations up to 1707 in its true perspective might help remove some poisonous fangs from the minds of both the communities. When some Muslim choudhries like Sulhe Khan and Hindu Dewan Chandu Lal as well as some of Guru Arjun’s own nearest kith and kin like Prithi Chand whose hate for the Guru was carried like the pursuit of a demoniac spirit, poisoned the ears of Emperor Jehangir


17. See Macauliffe, op: cit ; Vol., IV, p. 388. Macauliffe writes, “The Emperor on hearing of the Guru’s execution became sad and repentant. His mind is said to have been agitated like leaves moved by the wind. He reflected: ‘As the Guru by his death hath fixed a stain on me, so I think that my own life will now be my guest for only a few days’.............”

against him,—as a part of their loyal administrative duties or for personal ends, Muslims like Mian Mir were not lagging behind in their lamentations for the departed pious soul. According to Sikh tradition itself, even Jehangir as Prince Saleem is said to have himself made a grant of 8846 Ghumaon, 7 Kanals and 15 Marlas of land in Kartarpur to Arjun Dev in admiration and veneration for this very Guru. Guru Hargobind got full support from Mian Mir. In the 6th year of his reign Jehangir issued orders against forcible conversions to Islam. Jehangir is also said to have entrusted Chandu Shah as a criminal into the hands of Guru Hargobind for suitable punishment when the Emperor came to know of the facts regarding Chandu's callous complicity, crookedness and cruel treatment to Guru Arjun. Chandu was tortured to death according to the prevailing customary law. Hargobind carried due weight with the Sunni Emperor Jehangir who is said to have visited him at Amritsar on his way to

19. The following lines from the pen of a Panjabi poet may suffice to depict Mian Mir’s sentiments (Risala, "Amrit", 5/1951; Review of Religions, 3/1942):—

"Sain Mian Mir ditha hal jadon yar da,
Ho be-akal ro piya chikhe te dhain marda"

I. e. “When Mian Mir saw the condition of his friend (Arjun Dev), he was shaken and cried and wept bitterly”.

It was this very Muslim saint Mian Mir, also known as Bala Peer who had earlier laid the foundation of Harmandir (Amritsar)—the holiest and the greatest temple of the Sikhs, in 1588, on the express request of the Sikh Guru Arjun Dev, on account of his piety and personal friendship with the Sikh pontiff. (See Udham Singh, The History of the Darbar of Amritsar; and also Gurdam Didar.)

22. Macauliffe, op: cit; IV, p. 30; Gur Partap Suraj, Ras, 5:3.
23. See Tarikh Guru Khalsa, (Pbi, Ed. 1952), Giani Gian Singh, p 145, 173; Macauliffe, op: cit; IV, p. 30. Bhai Bidhi Chand put rope into the nostrils of Chandu and handed him over to dog-keepers and instructed that everyone who comes should give him five shoes beating. (Tarikh Guru Khalsa, p. 173, Ibid.). Chandu was then killed with red hot sand and other horrible tortures (Ibid, p. 114, Urdu Edition.)
Kashmir, to have felt extremely happy to the see Guru’s magnificent Darbar ‘Aab-e-Hayat’ and to have presented cash and kind worth thousands of rupees to him. The Emperor is said to have even made an offer to the Guru to bear all the expenses for the completion of the building of Akal Takht. Even the Empress Nur Jehan, and her co-queens, went to see the temple and to visit the Guru and his mother. Kindness of Jehangir with the very son and successor of Guru Arjun,— may be after the intercession of Mahobut Khan, the pleadings of Wazir Khan—Mughal noble, and the advocacy of Mian Mir; is quite noteworthy in the study of Muslim-Sikh relations. Mian Mir, also known as Mian Peer alias Bala Peer laid the first brick of Hari-Mandir (Golden Temple, Amritsar). Guru Hargobind, son of the executed Guru Arjun, is said to have built mosques at Hargobindpura, Kartarpur, Bias and Amritsar etc. He had also a band of devoted Muslims in his entourage and many Muslims as personal friends e. g. Mian Mir; Sheikh Jan Mohammad Lahori; Sheikh Karam Shah Qureshi; Pir Kewali; Hasan Ali Arbi; Pir Fazal Irani; Mohammad Ismail;

25. cf: Indian National Congress, 1956, p. 43; Also see Macauliffe, op: cit; IV, p. 33
30. See Udham Singh, The History of the Darbar of Amritsar. Also see f. n, 19, supra.
and Wazir Khan,—Naib Wazir;\textsuperscript{33} etc. etc. The Sikhs were treated and tolerated fairly well throughout India and Sikhism was quietly and steadily making a headway even out of Punjab. In an Article, ‘Sikh Relics in Eastern Bengal’, a sikh scholar, G. B. Singh states, “there was hardly a place of importance during the days of Mughal viceroyalty where some Sikh ascetic had not established himself and gathered a number of followers around him”\textsuperscript{34}. He also states, “there flourished quite a network of prosperous Sikh Sangats and Monasteries all over the province\textsuperscript{35}......” According to the same author, Dacca was called “the home of Sikhism”\textsuperscript{36} by Guru Teg Bahadur. Such a situation not only certifies the popular appeal of Sikhism as a creed but also the appreciable sense of toleration generally depicted by the Mughal rulers.

Guru Gobind Singh was harassed by some Hindu hilly rajas as well as some Muslim Faujdar. He was helped by not only his Hindu followers, but by Pathans as well as by Pir Budhu Shah of Sadhaura who made tremendous sacrifices for his Hindu friend. He lost his brother, sons, and ultimately his own life and property at orders of the Muslim Govt. of the day. Guru Gobind Singh, called Hind Ka Pir by many Muslims, got shelter with the families and even the Harem of Muslims e. g., from Nihang Khan of Kotla Nihang, near Rupar, where famous Gurudwara Bhatta Sahib is situated; in the Macchiwara jungles where he was passed off by Muslim friends—Rohila Pathans-Nabi Khan and Ghanni Khan, and Qazi Pir Muhammad, as Uckka-Pir; or at Duraha where a Sayyid of Balwara told a lie to save him from his pursuers. Hindu Dewan Succha Nand of Sirhind along with some Muslim officers advocated death to the tender children of the Guru,—may be in the performance

\textsuperscript{33} see Macauliffe, op: cit; IV, p. 139.
\textsuperscript{34}—36. Singh, G. B., ‘Relics in Eastern Bengal’, Punjab, Past and Present, op: cit ; 1, 1, pp: 72, 73. For more details see pp 74-93 also.
of their duties, for flattery, or for personal grudge; but kind-hearted and humane dignitaries like the Muslim Nawab of Malerkotla-Nawab Sher Mohammad Khan, had the courage to protest against suchan in human step. Before that, if the Muslim Faujdar had arrested the two infants at Kheri where they were taking shelter at the residence of their Brahmin cook Ganga Ram, the Hindu shelter-giver failed in his pledge to protect them—either due to his incapacity, fear, greed, or misconceived expediency. A still closer peep may divulge, without a doubt, that the Great Gurus had to suffer no less from the domestic disputes, succession scourges and family feuds than from the treachery of some Muslim Pathan soldiers, a few Hindu individuals, some tyrant administrators or ill-informed Mughal Rulers. They also got unflinching support from many Muslims and Hindus alike. Sayyid Muhammad Latif is evidently wrong in his sweeping untenable assertion that "Guru Gobind Singh was an irreconcilable and inveterate enemy of every Muhammadan", and Irvine is certainly misguided in asserting that "his own precept prohibited all friendship with Muhammadans". We can prepare a long list of the Muslim friends and followers of Guru Gobind Singh, who loved and helped him right from his childhood to his death, who included men from ordinary ranks to even the Emperor Bahadur Shah I himself; who can variously be classified as soldiers and saints, fighters and followers, admirers and adherents.

Even as late as in the 18th and 19th centuries the Sikhs and the Muslims enjoyed a good deal of mutual understanding as such, though political and administrative reasons involved them in bloody holocausts. Instances are not lacking in this respect. When one of the bloodiest battles was fought between the Sikh misaldars and Ahmed Shah Abdali's soldiers, only a few miles away from Malerkotla, the Muslim town of Malerkotla was

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deliberately not destroyed by the Sikhs, nor even in 1947, as a mark of Sikh gratitude to the Muslim Nawab. Ranjit Singh’s fair-mindedness to his Muslim subjects, officers and ministers is too well-known. He even entrusted the charge and defence of some important forts like Gobindgarh to Muslim officers. He was also fond of buying beautifully calligraphed copies of the Holy Qu’ran for large sums. The Muslim Nizam of Hyderabad, through his Hindu Prime Minister Chandu Lal of Khem Karan, had tried to strive an alliance with the Sikhs/Marahatas against the English/Mughals. He had also established a Department of Sikhs (Mahikma-e-Sikhan) and had sent two costly Chandnis, with pearls and gems, worth Rs. one lac each, for Nander, and Darbar Sahib, Amritsar. He also fixed a jagir worth thousands of Rupees for free langer at Nander. He also wanted to build a Gurdwara there with gold bricks and pearls as mud and cement, but for Guru Gobind Singh’s curse and injunction against any Gurdwara being made there.

No historian has perhaps been able to describe the exile of the child, Dalip Singh, in such a deeply touching account as in “Waqia-i-Chishti” by a Muslim. As a parallel, in the Sikh States of Panjab, particularly Patiala (as in case of some Hindu States like Jaipur etc. too), important posts and positions up to the rank of Prime-Minister, Diwan, Inspector General of Police etc., were often assigned to and faithfully held by Muhammadans even during the British paramountcy in India. These Chiefs never hesitated to patronize and reward Muslim calligraphists, artists, writers and artisans.

38. Even nowadays, the present Nawab of Malerkotla, H. H., Nawab Iftikhar Ali Khan is an Akali member of the Punjab Legislative Assembly.

39. The Jagir has an annual income of 20 thousand; cf: Rajendra Parsad, India Divided, p. 36 (1947 Ed.)

40. Maftoon, Diwan Singh, Sikh Tarikh ka ek ghair matbua warq, pp. 5-6.

41. Ibid.
A re-appraisal of the whole issue of Hindu-Muslim and Muslim-Sikh relations is now obligatory on the historian of Medieval India. Better service to humanity can be rendered if the coloured glasses are removed from the blinking eyes through the efforts of optician-historians who have a duty to see at the problems from social, economic and cultural angles in place of making unnatural divisions between man and man on the basis of religious prejudices. Done is done. The need is now to enable him the injuries and not to further contaminate them. Religion is meant to reform, not to deform. Some Muslim friends and historians spared no pains to shower laurels at the misconceived deeds of religious persecutions by some Muslim rulers and shut their eyes to their drinking-bouts, shameful debaucheries, wastefulness and their vainglorious boasts. The Muslim Shaara—the holy Qu’ran, the Hadis, the Fiqah would denounce these depraved acts forcefully and vociferously. No Prophet can advocate bloodshed and cannibalism. No religion can preach hatred, narrow-mindedness, intolerance or denial of the freedom of conscience. Sin is a sin—whether it is in the name of religion or otherwise. Gracious God can never permit bloody hounds into His celestial abode or paradise. Hell for hounds! All the prophets, preceptors and preachers stood for virtue, equality and liberality. In every age, when a preacher or prophet appeared, society was divided into haves and have-nots, into the high and the low, the virtuous and the wicked, the aggressors and the gracious, and between sin and piety. His attack was always against sin, oppression, depravity and moral degeneration and not against a particular sect or creation of God as such. Whenever ultra-conservatism paralysed the genius and intelligence of the people, preachers appeared to reform, to awaken the sleeping nation, to help the blurred—out from groping into the darkness and to lead the way-farers out of the wilderness. It is, therefore, an unforgivable sin to spurn the creatures of the
same God, or the theological systems of others just for their labels. The best religion is that which preaches love to all and denounces injury to any sentient one—of any stock or service. This is what the creed of Nanak stood for and the sensible Muslims believed in, even in the age of brutality and bribery. The stage too was more suitably set on account of Monotheistic consummation adhered to by the Muslims, advocated by Nanak and preached by the Hindu Bhakatas a little before the beginning of the 16th century. The various works in Sanskrit, since translated into Arabic and Persian from the time of Alberuni onwards, had undisputedly established the unfailing belief of the Hindus in One God—Omnipotent, Omniscient and Omnipresent. It was now clear that plurality of gods amongst the Hindus was a later interpolation and it was fear which made gods. It was not so alone with the Hindus. It was an inherent process of sociology and psychology with every sect from early times. Statius, the Latin poet, had expressed his opinion that it was fear which made gods in the world. Miseries, furies, buffets and in-clemencies made the trembling men, from primitive times onwards, to

42. Even the tenth Guru, Gobind Singh,—a man of sword, who had to struggle hard against the tyrannies of some State officials—labelled as Muslims, in the reign of Muslim ruler—Aurangzeb, did not mince matters in the name of Religion. He was emphatic to pronounce that:

"Karta (Creator) and Karim (Beneficent) are the same; Razak (Provider) and Rahim (Merciful) are the same; Let no man even by mistake suppose there is a difference; The temple and the mosque are the same; The Hindu-worship and the Muslim-prayer are the same; It is through error that they appear different. All men have the same eyes, the same ears, the same body, the same build; Allah and Abhekh are the same; They are all alike. It is one God who createth all." According to Bhai Chaupa Singh, even the last words of the Great Guru Gobind were aimed to clear the possible misunderstanding that the Hindus and Muslims were enemies as such or that his life-long struggle was against the Muslim rule as such. He is said to have said, "It is a part of the mission of the Khalsa to bridge the gulf that separated the Hindus and the Muslims."

43. "Primus in orbe deos fecit timor," Theb, iii, 661.
attribute them to the wrath of some invisible forces and to
sacrifice and worship these forces to avert their wrath and
displeasure. The worship of Sun, Shiva, Vishnu, Brahma, Agni,
Vayu, Prithivi, etc. etc. amongst the Hindus; of Jupiter, Venus,
Zeus in Greece; of Azza & Munat, Sang-e-Aswad and scores
of other, stone-idols in Mecca and other parts of Arabia; or
similar deities in other corners of the world in various ages;
were the result of the same fear or feeling. Theism thus got
submerged into pantheism. Periodical efforts by the religious
teachers tried to uplift men from the abyss of this pantheon
in various parts and periods. In the beginning of the 16th
century, a stir had already taken place in the whole world—not
only in India but also in Central Asia in the form of Sufism,
and in Europe in the form of Re-naissance and Reformation.
These currents were bound to affect. It was here in this age
and at that time that the Great Guru Nanak appeared in the
Punjab and the Great Mughals occupied the throne of India.
Both were the children of the age—the age of Reform and
Re-awakening. Both endeavoured at human concept of society
for general amelioration in their own ways—one spiritually
and morally, the other secularly and temporally. The natural out-
come was bridging the gulf which had been created by ignorance,
ego and antagonism. Sabotage here and there—mainly born
out of misconception, fallibility, ignorance and selfishness,
could not be ruled out in this constructive attempt as was a
normal feature in case of all peoples, parts and periods in the
history of Mankind—whether it was in case of Budha, Zoroster
or Christ; Asoka, Constantine, or Akbar. Historical and tradi-
tional evidence should suffice to support that strictly mono-
theistic Sikhism as started by Nahak never posed a problem
for an equally monotheistic Islam now entrenched in India.
On the other hand, it was a link between Islam on one side
and Hinduism on the other, and stood like a phalanx across
the two. It, therefore, posed a challenge to social evils amongst
both the Hindus and Muslims but no danger to the two
accepted religions of India. Such a creed was bound to attract
multitudes from both communities—Hindu as well as Muslim, and was sure to invite trouble from some of those diehards who were sitting safe in their high but crooked citadels and sensed in it a call to social revolution and a danger to their style, security and surmise.

It was aptly said by L. Suraj Bhan that "the historian who knows his task says nothing that is not warranted by his evidence and the historian who possesses intellectual integrity says all that his evidence obliges him to say—this burdens him with a sacred responsibility which he can shirk at the risk of his raison d'etre."

He cautioned further that, "there is often the temptation to make the past subservient to the present, but the real task of the historian should be to understand the past in its own terms and to make the present intelligible, if possible, with the help of that understanding. Our historians have the grave responsibility of being faithful to this discipline. In this sense, the historian has no country and no religion. Perhaps the best way in which the historian can serve his own country and its people is to depict its past faithfully to the best of his own light."

It is in keeping with this spirit that necessity arises for historical accounts which may present the truth as it is, by discarding all spurious masks of Hindu view-point, Sikh view-point or Muslim view-point. It is deemed desirable that the average educated person be taken into confidence and the History be presented as History—a Science which does not discriminate but discovers and delivers the truth most scrupulously and meticulously. Even from a utilitarian view-point of History, the exigencies of the time, the need for national integration and the practical execution of secularism, uniformity and unity in free India warrant a bold and true interpretation and presentation of History as well as a critical introspection of our

45. Suraj Bhan, ibid, p. xi-xii.
thoughts and actions. All religions preach humanism and none applauds homicide. True religion is a means of intellectual and comprehensive development and not stagnation or slaughter. All religions preach against painful and miserable existence. The basic idea of *Narvan, Moksh, Mukti, Nijat, Swarg, Paradise, Bihisht, Vaikunth, Olympus, Sachkhand* etc., etc., is the same in purport, underlying each religion. It is not understood as to how, why and for what the votaries of one religion should decry those of another just on religious basis.

No occasion can be better suited for this bold venture than the eve of the quincentenary of the great Guru Nanak and the centenary of the high-rated Mahatma Gandhi, both of whom were the apostles of peace, symbols of harmony, signia of fellow-feeling and universal brother-hood. The country is passing through a spiritual and moral crisis. There is all-round bankruptcy in social conduct and decorum. Worldly desires, ambitions, political intrigues, defections, and leg-pulling are rife. Mammon masters every mind. There is no faith in God-men though fuss foams unchecked and reigns in the name of religion. Double-facedness, lust and ego prevail. Usurpation of other's rights is gloated down like the mother's milk in clear negation of the Guru's warning, "*Hak Paraya Nanka, Us Suar Us Gai.*" (Usurpation of other's rights is as irreligious as pork for the Muslims and beef for the Hindus.)

Much havoc has already been wrought by political pointers, painful pin-pricking, parochial feelings and partisan patronages in the name of religion. The Partition of the motherland, displacement of lakhs of human beings of the same stock, booming of guns within the same sub-continent and a constant hanging of the sword of Damocles in the form of Indo-Pak conflict can hammer the urgent necessity of a proper peep by the people into the pages of past history. How painful to note that even in the ultra-modern age, we had to face holocausts in the name of religion. Why? Only because we have bypassed the way of Nanak's life and work.
In this part of the country, i.e. the Punjab-mutilated, truncated and bleeding in the name of religion, no chapter of history could be better projected for this purpose than the *Muslim-Sikh Relations During The Mughal Period* (1526-1707)\(^{46}\), or a part of it i.e., *The great Guru Nanak and the Muslims* to fit in with the quincentenary celebrations. It is really a tragedy that the intelligentsia should resign their lot in the hands of some unscrupulous opportunists who inspire of their immoral dark deeds, corrupt practices and naked degeneration should be able to exploit the community in the name of religion, and burn the 'bundle' for their own bonfire.

"Manzalon peh pohanchana to mushkal nahn,
   Rahzan, rah-bar ho, to main kya karaon.\(^{47}\)

It is time for the Historian to rise and write facts in their nakedness and the intelligentsia to feel and act according to their conscience and unmask the masqueraders. The great Guru Nanak and the great Mahatma Gandhi would not forgive a Historian who does not rise to the call of his inner voice and does not rise above religious prejudices for the sake of peace-seeking humanity.

*The Great Guru Nanak And The Muslims* is not merely a sentimental Work of pious intentions. Due regard has been paid to known facts of History gleaned from various

\(^{46}\) This Work, already completed by the present writer, is passing through the lengthy process of publication and is likely to take some time in view of serious limitations of an author confronted with the publication problems. The Work is hoped to be in the hands of the interested readers before this year goes out. Some sincere friends with fellow-feeling and even some high officers who feel the failings of those 'irreligious' leaders who shamelessly use the name of religion for their own ends, had a look at the manuscript of this Work. They emphasised that as a humble but true tribute to the Master, a part of the larger Work pertaining only to *Nanak and the Muslims* as conceived by me, earlier in 1969, be brought out forthwith at the befitting eve of Guru Nanak quincentenary celebrations.

\(^{47}\) Lib. Tr :-"It is not difficult to achieve the goal; but it is our tragedy that the very guides are standing in our way and are exploiting us!"
sources. The evidence has been culled from religious as well as secular literature, from History as well as Tradition, from Hindu, Sikh and Muslim as well as Foreign accounts and from contemporary, quasi-contemporary as well as later annals. The *Vars, Kabits* and *Sakhis* have been consulted more freely to keep in view the Sikh traditional viewpoint. Traditions though not History play a great part in the study of emotions of a race or community. Since the Work has a direct bearing on the emotional aspect of our society, hence more use of the Tradition has been made. Though Hughes has rather belittled the value of Sikh Tradition by taking it as unreliable, yet Tradition represents what the community has to say of itself. It is still more useful when contemporary and quasi-contemporary accounts are lacking and its value is further advanced when it can negative a wrong interpretation and a fallacious feeling that the Muslims and the Sikhs were antagonistic as such and the cause of struggle between the two was religion alone. What we obtain from the living and abiding voice of men can be more profitable in a Work like this. Bhai Vir Singh said, while examining *Janam Sakhis*, that “when a historian is dealing with a living faith it is the bounden duty not to tamper with a Tradition unless that Tradition can be conclusively proved both wrong and harmful.” However, due regard has been paid to move cautiously clear from the cobweb of exaggerations and mythological mysteries as far as possible to arrive at more rational, consistent and satisfactory conclusions as Sikh history is yet mainly a matter of conceptualisation owing to the paucity of objective and authenticated writings and due to the complexity of the processes through which it passed. Still there is no dearth of material as far as the *Muslim-Sikh Relations* or *Nanak and the Muslims* are needed to be reviewed. Of course much of this material comprises of confusing and conflicting

statements which make the task of the searcher of Truth a bit difficult. But good intentions, a dispassionate peep into the available accounts and a systematic and persistent pruning of the cobwebs, are bound to clear a yaundiced-eye view. Regarding conflicting and confusing details a policy of "Greater consensus" and "Juxt-apposition" can bring us much nearer to our broad view-point.

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“Diwar táasub ki gira 'de saqi
Jo naksh dooi ka hai mita de saqi.
Ik jam mai-hub-e-watan ka de kar
Shaitan ko insan bana de saqi.”

* * *

II

Nanak

and

The Times

"Roshni dhundli si yalghar qaharon ki."

[A dim light in dire darkness!]
THE TRUTH

NANAK AND THE TIMES

"Those of Baba (Nanak) and those of Babur, God Himself made’ them both:
Know the former thus as the King of Religion,
And guess the later as the worldly King."
(Bachitar Natak, xiii, 9-10)

Wherever Adharma reigns supreme and Dharma takes wings, an Avtar or a reformer appears to operate upon the ills, to heal the wound and to embalm the injuries (yada yada hi dharma-sya galani bhavti Bharte, Abhya uthanam dharma-sya tada atmanam Srija mayem). Nanak’s time was perhaps one of the most opportune for the appearance of such a reformer and guide. Socially the people were groping in the dark, mentally they were shaken, morally they were degenerate, economically the masses were fleeced, politically the country was dis-organised, dis-arranged, dis-united and tending towards decay. A sequence of events had taken place in India in the earlier four centuries and pregnant occurences had happened in a century or so before Nanak, not only in India but even in other parts of the world e. g. Central Asia and Europe. These events had created a stir; the stir created churning of various social and political issues; and this churning ultimately separated ‘butter’ of truth from the ‘whey’ of falsehood.

It was in 1453 that Constantinople was sacked by the Turks resulting in the exit of the scholars, the learned and the knowledgeable from Greece and elsewhere. The exodus produced Oxford Reformers in England. It also resulted in fermenting Protestantism in Germany in 1508, Lutherism, Calvinism, Reformation, Re-naissance, Re-awakening, Counter-
Reformation—all came in the wake of this stir.

In India too, the stir was quite strong. The pains and pangs had been frequent. "For twelve long centuries", comments Murray Titus, "Islam has been in contact with Hinduism in India. For twelve centuries each community has been confronted by the other...Their differences of belief, together with communal aspirations on the one hand contending with an instinct for communal preservation on the other, have been the source of much friction..."2. "Great jealousy and hatred existed," says Latif, "in those times between the Hindus and Mahomedans and the whole non-Musulman population was subjected to persecution by the Mahomedan rulers."3

After the advent of the Muslim power in India and the establishment of the Turkish rule, there was considerable religio-cultural tension interspersed with movements or individual attempts at mutual understanding, harmony and composite thinking. At its very outset in India and as a religio-cultural force, Islam—though materially deviated from the Arabic Islam, posed to be the very antithesis of the prevailing Hinduism or Indic Civilization.4 Islam was then the religion of the conquerors who felt proud of their 'Magian Culture', (as Spengler calls it5) and 'Syrian Civilization' (as Toynbee terms6 it) though it was neither purely Magian nor Syrian in its character after its journey through vast lands with diverse creeds and cultures. However, the Muslims could put forth their holy Qu’ran—the *Vox dei* and the *Hadis—Vox prophetae* against the holy hymns of the divine Vedas of the Hindus. The Muslim creed could rather claim one superiority over

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1. Srimad Bhagawad Gita.
4. Also see Thomas, f. w, *Mutual Influence of Muhammadans and Hindus in India* (Cambridge, 1892) p. 12.
the current Hinduism which had since become complex and beyond comprehension due to the paraphernalic philosophical speculations of the *Upanishads, Yoga-Shastras, Darshans*, metaphysical subtleties of Vedanta and the cobwebs introduced by the priestly classes. Psychologically, Hinduism had since tended to be melancholy, sentimental and philosophical. Against it Islam proved, in its early stages, to be ardent and austere. Islamic civilization had passed through Arabia, Turkistan, Persia and Afghanistan. Before its entry into India through the North-west, it had developed and re-adjusted itself according to the geographical environments and social needs of these regions. After its entry into India, Islam retained its foreign character so long it was not saturated and nurtured by the Indian converts who in course of time outnumbered their external factors. According to Sir J. N. Sarkar, the Indian Muslim remained on the whole an ‘intellectual exotic’ who felt that ‘he was in India, but not of it’.

The early Muslim masters of India on account of their external moorings, nostalgically preserved their psychological heritage. Sociologically they felt more akin to the Muslim *Umma* i.e. the Muslim brotherhood extending far beyond the Indian frontier. Thus the religion of Islam,—considered superior and supreme by the Muslims and hence unabsorbed by the Pantheon-ridden Hinduism, binded the Muslim inhabitants of India more with the diversified Muslim peoples outside than with the Hindus inside India. The non-proselytizing and non-egalitarian resilience of Hinduism failed to suck in Islam. Basham has observed: “Hinduism can absorb new ideas and can even, if need be, find room for new gods; moreover, every passage in the Hindu sacred texts is open to figurative interpretation, so that it is possible for different schools of Hinduism to hold, diametrically opposed doctrines without serious antagonism.—Islam on the other hand cannot adopt or compromise”.

course in fundamental religious concepts. According to Dr. Tara Chand, the Hindu has been a spiritual anarchist⁹, his faith being intensely personal and individualistic. Superstition and metaphysical speculation kept an oblique mental touch within Hinduism. This hierarchy of religion and society,—spiritually and materially, was diametrically opposed to the religio-social egalitarian approach in the missionary Islam. "While the Hindu mind was primarily concerned with what is true, the Muslim was exercised over what is right. The Hindu emphasized the private and personal aspect of religious experience, the Muslim its incorporation in the collective body of the faithful. The Hindu was inclined to gloss over the short-comings of his social customs, the Muslim was annoyed with them. On the other hand, the intolerance of the Muslim and the memory of the past distressed the Hindu. The Hindu felt no kinship with the Arab past which the Muslim hugged to his bosom. The Muslim did not feel at home in Vedic India"¹⁰. In their set patterns, the two currents i.e. of Hinduism and Islam continued to flow parallel to each other without intending to coincide and fuse into each other. "The Hindus combined catholicity in religious outlook with bigotry in social ethics, while the Muslims displayed an equal bigotry in religious ideas with catholicity in social behaviour"¹¹.

The Muslims had arrived India in three different currents, i.e. (i) as traders and missionaries to India’s southern and western coasts; (ii) as Arab conquerors of the Umayyads touching Rhone, Syr Darya and Sindh; and (iii) thirdly from Central Asia and Afghanistan through the North-western passes like earlier major currents of conquests by the Greeks, Parthians, Sythians, Sakas, Huns etc. It is this last current that affected the whole course

of our history and more so of Punjab which was always the first to face the 'fatwa' of the forceful conquerors. The Turanis, Khurasanis and the Afghans incorporated a great part of India, by force or favour, into the Dar-al-Islam. They for themselves were impelled to establish and expand their settlements in Hindu India on account of various potent factors, e.g. (i) ever-recurring pressure from the Central Asian nomads forcing them to seek new homelands for permanent stay and settlement; (ii) availability of fresh war material in the form of man-power from the inexhaustible repository of nomads in Central Asia; and (iii) upsurge of new cultural currents—Persianized in character but Turkish in core and kernel; (iv) religio-political requirements which encouraged adventure and mission. The pluralistic and divided Hindu population of India could neither stand before this unceasing torrential current nor could saturate itself with it. Thus a non-Muslim in India remained distinct from a Muslim and had to bear the consequences of different social contractualism.

The Muslim invaders, conquerors and looters could find no better slogan for their adventure and mission than the Jehad i.e. religious war. It is worth note that the word Jehad had assumed quite a different significance from its original Qu'ranic concept.¹² As pointed out by late Dr. Rajindra Prasad, 'it is doubtful if any one of these invasions extending over about eight or nine hundred years was a purely religious invasion undertaken by religious fanatics or enthusiasts for spreading Islam. Like all conquests, they were actuated by temporal and national motives rather than by religious zeal.¹³

Jehad was merely a casus belli and it afforded greater opportunities of career, riches and advancements. The aim was more the goods than the good. After settlement, may be after

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¹³ Parsad, Rajindra., India Divided, (Bombay, 1947 Ed.), p. 69.
a demonstrative destruction of some Hindu temples—which could incidentally serve as congregational centres, grousing grounds for grumbling, grieved, the disgruntled and dispossessed Hindus; and Lords of Hindu population who could pose a political threat to the security of the newly established state; pragmatic co-existence was tolerated as far as possible. The position is quite clear. Indian territories were being raided by invaders from time to time. At the time of these raids, the invaders accidentally happened to be professing Islam as their religion and the population in the invaded parts happened mainly to be Hindus. Naturally the invaded resisted the invaders and the conflict summarily looked like a fight or a clash between the Hindus and the Muslims. With the lapse of time, when Muslim Chiefs and governors established themselves at various provinces during the Sultanate period itself, the tempo of clash rose as high between the Muslim Kings and refractory Muslim Chiefs as between the Muslim expansionist rulers and resisting or re-asserting Hindu Chiefs here and there. In these clashes very often Hindus fought on both sides and so did the Muslim soldiers. Even the poll-tax or Jezya\textsuperscript{14} varied in its range and system of levy, from Sultan to Sultan, perhaps on the basis of economics or polity more than of religion e.g. in case of Ala-ud-din Khilji and Ghayas-ud-din Tughlaq. Even then the Brahmans generally remained untouched. But with the fanatic policies of Firoz Tughlaq—an exception rather than a rule, the levy of Jezya became more pinching since it assumed a biased religious character and was levied even on the Brahmans.

\textsuperscript{14} For the propriety and legality of the imposition of Jezya, its definition and scope, see Abu Yusuf, Kitab-al-Kharaj, pp. 24, 69, 81; Also Khurshid Ahmed Fariq, Hazrat Umar Ke Sarkari Khatut, (Delhi, 1959), pp. 36-37, 145-46, 174-75; Shibli Numani, al-Jizya, in Rasail (Amritsar, 1911), pp. 105-20; and Maqalat, i, pp. 232-33, 237; Also Agnides, N.P., Muhammadan Theories of Finance (N. Y., 1916), p. 399; Tritton, The Caliphs And Their Non-Muslim Subjects, p. 21; P.K. Hitti., History of the Arabs, p. 218; Muhammad, Mu‘alim-al-Qurba (Ed., R. Levy), pp. 38-45 (Arabic text) and pp. 13-16 (English abstract by editor); Sharma, Sri Ram, The Religious Policy of the Mughal Emperors, 1940 Ed., p. 13, f. n. i.
Another feature which disturbed social life to some extent was conversions to Islam. Islam is, like Christianity and unlike Hinduism, a proselytizing religion. The holy Qu’ran, however, forbids forcible conversions. ‘Let there be no compulsion in religion’ (Qu’ran, 11:257). Still conversion took place in large members from Hinduism to Islam, of course on account of various causes—not religious alone. On critical analysis, it may be found that political persuasions and better social status promised by Islam as an equalizer resulted in conversions more than force which was applied but rarely and sparingly in some cases like Firoz Tughlaq or later on by Sikander Lodi. The Muslim Sufis and divines were also able to attract a good number of followers towards Islam—many more than the exasperations of the fanatic Mutas could do. Iconoclasm, in these circumstances, remained only a pseudo-religious wartime sport of a few e.g. in case of Iltutmish who sacked the temples of Bhilsa and Ujjain; Jalal-ud-din Khilji who broke Hindu idols at Jhaban; and Ala-ud-din khilji who did the same thing in Deccan and Gujrat. In peace-time the masses generally did not bother about it. However, some rulers like Sikander Butshikan (idol-breaker) of Kashmir or Sikander Lodi of Delhi did indulge in this work of idol-breaking and desecration to please their Muslim subjects. The humiliation inflicted by Sikander Lodi on the Hindus in Muthra by giving away broken idols to butchers and forbidding bath at ghats; or ordering massacre of pilgrims, as at Kurukshetra (Haryana), can be termed as occasional outbursts of some Muslim zealots but not a regular feature. The process of idol-breaking and temple-destruction by the Muslim conquerors or mosques-demolition by the Hindu rebels did take place during the whole period of Delhi Sultauate. Exasperated Hindus too did not spare when

17. Abdullah, Tarikh-i-Daudi, fol. 28 b.
18. Ibid.
chance fell into their hands. In the fifteenth century, Hindu Zamidars of Malwa and of the suburbs of Delhi are reported to have converted mosques into temples. Rana Kumbha is said to have captured a number of Muslim women (Yavanis) and to have demolished a mosque. Babur found mosques at Chanderi, Sarangpur and Ranthambore which were being used as stables and were plastered with cow-dung, (perhaps) by the orders of Rai Sen who was Rana Sanga’s camp-follower. The incidents of desecration of Mandirs and mosques by Muslims, Hindus or others, as the case may be, are casually reported even now-a-days here and there in India or Pakistan or even in the West e. g. at Jerusalem (Israel), just on 21st August, 1969, where a 1400 years old Al Aqsa Mosque—Islam’s third most holy shrine of the world, is alleged to have been burnt. But this type of unsacred activity should not be deemed as reflective of the mind of a particular community as a whole. It is neither so now nor it was as such then in the medievel period. Still such acts, when done or abetted for any reason, even by a few Muslim rulers—who were expected to be the custodians of law and order, defenders of faith and honour, property and life,—were sufficient to leave a poisonous sting and to create a cleavage between the ruling Muslim minority and the ruled Hindu majority. Of course, some Muslim and Hindu rulers did adopt a more liberal attitude also towards this aspect. Instances are not lacking to show that some early Muslim masters recruited Hindu too in their service. Even an iconoclast zealot like Mahmud of Ghazna kept three Hindu divisions in his army. At least three notable Hindu

19. Sarwani, Abbas Khan, Tarikh-i-Sher Shahi, Elliot, IV, pp. 403-4.
20. Majumdar, R. C., op: cit; p. 626, 639.
21. Al ‘Aqsa also known as Harem-al ‘Sharif or as Rock of Paradise is an eight-sided, awfully impressive, spell binding, historic & one of the most sacred Islamic shrines at Jerusalem. It is said to contain in its foreground a sacred rock—58’ long, 51’ broad and 4 to 64 feet high from where the Prophet is said to have gone to Heaven. For more details see also Article, “Al Aqsa—The Most Sacred Islamic Shrine”, The Tribune dated 31.8.1969.
22. See Sayyid Ahmed Marahravi, Uméra-i-Hunud; Also Nizam-al-Mulk, Siyast Nama, pp. 92-93.
generals,—Sundar, Nath and Tilak rose to positions of high eminence and status in the Ghaznavid army. Sundar was Commander of Hindu troops under Masud (1030-40). Tilak was deputed by Masud to lead a punitive expedition against a Muslim refractory Ahmed Yanaltigin—a reported illegitimate son of Mahmud of Ghazna and a Ghaznavid Governor. Some high Muslim officers resented their supersession but to no effect on Masud.

Tilak succeeded in defeating Ahmed Yanaltigin with the help of his Hindu soldiers and assistance of Hindu jats and was able to re-establish the Ghaznavid hold of Masud on Indian provinces. Under the Ghorids too the whole Hindu framework of administration was maintained. The Hindu-born nobles—mainly converts to Islam, served the Muslim masters with efficiency and unswerving loyalty. Muhammad-bin-Tughlaq kept Hindu officers, some even as Governors e.g. the Governor of Sind. One of his chief finance officers was also a Hindu named Rattan. Strictly theocratic Firoz Tughlaq too kept Hindu officials in the revenue department and finance organisation. Even Firoz Tughlaq’s personal body-guard consisted of Rajputs headed by Bhuru Bhatti, his maternal relative. Firoz is said to have shown leniency to the Hindu chiefs unless they showed hostility. This may not be true in case of Hindu masses on account of his obvious and inspired anti-Hindu measures but the statement reveals a political fact that hostility brought

26. A few examples of such converts who rose to eminently high offices are of Imat-ud-din Raihan, Malik Kafur, Khan-i-Jahan Maqbul and Nasir-ud-din Khusrau. The last one was even acknowledged as Sultan.
27. Ibn Battutah, iii, pp. 105-6.
28. See Rajindra Parsad, op: cit., p. 78. Rattan, is said to be titled as Azim-uds-Sindh and held Sihwan (see Cambridge History of India, Vol, III, p. 147). Another Hindu high officer was Bhairon who held Gulkarga (C.H.I., Vol, III, p. 156).
hostility in return. Sikander Lodi—an equal zealot like Firoz, could not do without Hindu officials in the revenue Deptt. There were a large number of Hindu officials some of whom were paid by the State, others by the cultivators. Babur testifies that at the eve of his conquest, the revenue administration and the trade of this country were in the hands of the Hindus. It is a historical fact that some Hindu communities like the Kayasthas, the Khatris, Kashmiri Pandits and the Hindu Amils of Sind fused Muslim culture with theirs. They cultivated Muslim language and literature like Persian and participated enthusiastically, efficiently and effectively in the Muslim administration. They even adjusted themselves with domestic life in Muslim style. Persianization of Hindu culture was a natural phenomenon just like "Westernization" in India in the modern age.

The Turks and the Afghans themselves were more or less "Persianized" in their culture and civilisation when they stepped into India. Alongwith the Saracenic penetration and development in Hindu culture, a trend was noticeable amongst the Muslims too to study Hinduism in its true perspective resulting in some translations from Sanskrit to Arabic and Persian etc. A few examples, at random, of such translations are: Ptolemy's Almegest; Brahmagupta's Siddanta; Khandkhadyaka of Aryabhata; Chanakya (Shanaq); Hitopadesa; Pancatantra (Kalila wa Damna); Mahabharta; etc. etc. Studies of Budhism, Bhagwad-Gita various Hindu scriptures and sects, rendered into Arabic, must have enlightened the Muslim mind about the Indian religion and culture e.g. Kitab-al-Budh; Kitab Balawharwa Budhasaf; Kitab Budhasaf mufrad; Kitab-al-ara-iwa'l adyan-i-Mazahib-al Hind of al-Nubakri; Ajaib-al-Hind of Bazurg Shahryar; Al-Idrisi's Nuzhat-al-mushtaq, or Alberuni's Works on Bhagwad-Gita and Puranas as well as his Kitab-al-Hind; etc. etc.

31. Sharma, Sri Ram., op: cit; (1940), 27 ff.
32. Cf: Babur, Tuzuk (Leyden and Erskine), ii, 241
Some Muslim rulers even made grants and endowments to Hindu temples and shrines. The Hindu chiefs also did the same in case of Muslim prayer-houses. Deva Rai II (1419-49) of Vijaynagar gave orders to enlist Musalmans in his service, allotting them estates and erecting a mosque in the city of Vijaynagar. He also commanded that no one should molest them in the exercise of their religion and, moreover, he ordered a Qur'an to be placed before his throne on a rich desk. In the times of Ram Raya (1542-56-70) the Mohammadans sacrificed a cow in a mosque in the 'Turukvadê', the excited nobles and officers, led by king's own brother Tirumale made a representation to Ram Raya. But he did not yield to them saying that it would not be correct to interfere in their religious practices and declaring that he was the master of the bodies of his soldiers, not their souls.

The social life in India during this period no doubt suffered from intolerance & fanaticism which sprouted occasionally or mainly during war-time. It also enjoyed tolerance and freedom of conscience particularly in peace-time. The Muslims sometimes hated the Hindus as But-parast, the latter re-acted by calling the former as Mlechchas (unclean) & Yavanas (low foreigners). Both lived in the same land but separately & segregated from each other by social rules and habits. The Hindus tightened their customs, lived in wafer-tight compartments, quite secluded & uncompromisingly aloof. As such, no cohesion between the two communities could be cemented. Whenever there was an occasion or the social life of the one was disturbed by the other, there were possibilities.

33. For more details see also Rajindra Parsad, *India Divided*, pp. 34-37 (1947 Ed). Very surprisingly a number of Aurangzeb's edicts also show that even he ordered for the grant of some land endowments to Hindu priests of temples at Maheshwar Nath, Benaras, Maheshpur, Multan and some other places. See also Jnan Chandra, *J. P. H. S.* VII (1959), 36-39; 99; 100; VI (1958), 55-65; 208-13; V (1957), 247-54; also, Hukam Chand in *Settlement Report for the Distt. of Multan* (re: Tutlamame temple), quoted, Dr. Rajindra Parsad, *India Divided*, p. 37.
ties of resistance. The rebellion and resistance was treated as such, resulting in further estrangements or patchments as the situations warranted. Thus, two social opposite under-currents began to shape themselves underneath the ocean of Indian State during Muslim period i.e. (i) of isolationism, insularity and fragmentation of society; (ii) co-operation, conciliation and amalgamation. The study of the times before Nanak is therefore like a minute analysis of a zig-zag curve and any sweeping generalizations may tend to be misleading and mischievous. However, they provide one constant factor that in such a pragmatic situation need for re-appraisal was felt by both Hindus and Muslims in general. The excess of Hindu religio-cultural hostility to the presence of Islam had since been toned and the harshness in the later had been sufficiently diluted as far as the commonality was concerned. Inspite of persisting distrust, spite & repulsion, Hindus got used to an insular co-existence with the Muslims and the latter too accepted the former though often as second grade subjects. The periodic re-appraisal was unavoidable for the very survival of the Indian Nation—re-shaped, re-framed and re-constituted as it was.

Timur had given a volcanic jolt to the society in North India. He had invaded India in 1398 A.D. when the country had already seen some set-back in the Central authority. Theocratic approach of Feroz Tughlaq had reduced the Hindus to non-chalant, non-co-operative and non-willing subordinates and subjects in place of willing or equal partners and citizens. Before that, Ala-ud-din Khilji had reduced them to abject poverty and to the position of grass-cutters, hewers of wood or drawers of water. The reasons again may have been more political than religious. Ala-ud-din's regulations were generally meant for all his subjects keeping in view the social, economic and political stability. Ala-ud-din did not hesitate to declare publicly, “Though I come of a muslim stock but I know not what Islam is.” However he passed ferocious regulations against the Hindus to crush them as a political Opposition: According to
Reuben Levy, "he did not succeed in converting more than a few Hindus". But, 'persecution stimulates a thing which it intends to suppress'. The 'picric acid' in the interpretations of Mullahs with vested interests was sufficient to create unhealable burns amongst the Hindus. There was no love-lost between the ruler and the ruled, the victor and the vanquished, the conquerer and the conquered, the sovereign and the subjects so far as the Hindus were concerned. Viewed critically, it is found that the so-called Muslim State in India during this period was not a theocratic State since no Religion worth the name and more particularly Islam,—the Path of Peace, would allow persecution of humanity in its name. The foundations were, nevertheless, non-religious in character. The unholy massacres, the invidious divisions and discriminations between man and man cannot be borne out by Islamic tenets. The atrocities during the war-period may be strategic, the cruelties during the peace-period may be political, but the labels may be religious for justification and support. The opium of Religion was used for slumber and slaughter of the sundry since True Religion was camouflaged. The ideals of the empires of Vijaynagar or Bahmani in the south and the Turkish in the north were more or less the same. In all these cases of Hindu or Muslim rule, the sovereign was the fountain-head of justice and was required to work on the dictates of religious law to please the supporters of the rule. In both cases, the king was an autocrat,—a despot with wide powers exercisable according to his personality or position of his counsellors and ministers. In both cases, war had become a means to earn glory and maintain the throne. In both cases, religious advisers (The Brahmins and the Ulema) created relentless aversion and wielded effective influence.

It is worthwhile to notice that almost all the great rulers or founders in the Sultanate period were originally soldiers & not

severigns. It was for the soldier to fight, conquer & execute. It was naturally left to the literate Mulla to interpret the Shaâra. The soldier-kings were expected to brandish their swords for what the jurists or the expounders of jurisprudence, the Muftis & the Ulemas interpreted to be right or wrong and for their own raison d’etre too. Sir Alfred C. Lyall says, “The military adventurers, who founded dynasties in Northern India and carved out kingdoms in the Dekhan, cared little for things spiritual; most of them had in deed no time for proselytism, being continually engaged in conquest or in civil war. They were usually rough Tatars or Moghuls; themselves ill grounded in the faith of Mahomed, and untouched by the true semitic enthusiasm which inspired the first Arab standard-bearers of Islam. The empire which they set up was purely military, and it was kept in that state by the half success of their conquests and the comparative failure of their spiritual invasion. They were strong enough to prevent anything like religious amalgamation among the Hindus, and to check the gathering of tribes into nations; but so far were they from converting India, that among the Mahomedans themselves their own faith never acquired an entire and exclusive monopoly of the high offices of administration.” 137 “These conquerors appear to have had very little of that love for souls which animates the true missionary.” 138 The Khiljîs (1290—1320), the Tughlaqs (1320—1412), were generally too busily engaged in fighting to pay much regard to the interests of religion, or else thought more of the exaction of tribute than of the work of conversion. 139

Similarly, after the decline of the power of the Kshatriyas against the Muslims, the influence of Brahmanism—already invigorated by its triumph over Buddhism, increased among the Hindu masses who were made to believe in

37. *Asiatic Studies*, p. 289.
39. *Ibid*. There were some noticeable exceptions too in this respect.
fatalism, ritualism & ceremonialism as the only means of deliverance. The vicious influence whetted further by the avarice of the priestly *Mulla* and the *Brahmin* sharpened the differences and worked havoc. In 1226 A.D. Bartu, a Hindu Chief of Avadh had massacred 1,20,000 Muslims⁴⁰. The killing of the *mlechchas* by a Hindu Chief was declared by him as restoration of *Aryavarta⁴¹*. The fourteenth and fifteenth centuries saw stern action against the Hindus & strong re-action by the latter. Some Hindu generals reverted to their original faith though they had earlier accepted Islam. e.g. Khusrau Khan. According to Afif⁴² Muslim women were violated under the rule of Bukka in Vijaynagar. Ballala III, the Hoysala ruler made every attempt to expel the Muslims & to extirpate Muslim principality of Madura.⁴³ The Hindu Chief helped the rebels against the Tughlaq empire in the *Deccan* and lent support to the forces of disorder.⁴⁴ In the reign of Lodi Sultan, Ibrahim (1517-26), the Hindu Chief of Nagor inflicted every kind of humiliation on the Muslims.⁴⁵ Rana Sanga with his Hindu friends and vassals like Medini Rai posed a serious threat to the very existence of the Muslim State in India specially after his inflicting defeats on the armies of Gujrat & Ibrahim Lodi. Thus, from the very beginning of the Muslim Rule in India upto the establishment of Mughal Empire the underlying Hindu hostility to the Muslim conquerors, who had deprived them of material & moral hegemony, was noticeable off & on alongwith an equally strong will of Muslim usurpers to curb it for ever. The result was constant fear of confrontation and mutual distrust. This anti-Muslim sentiment & anti-Hindu vandalism caused bloodshed, insecurity & fatalism which brought further in their train all

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⁴². Afif, 274.
⁴⁴. *Ibid*; p. 221.
⁴⁵. Abdullah, Fol., 97a.
types of ills—social, economic, administrative & political. The
dance of the devil continued for all these centuries before Nanak,
with only periodic rests, in which both the Hindus & the Muslims
throttled the very essence of humanity & God-head in the name
of religion but actually for their own political ends. Khusrav
Khan's reaction, Ghazi Malik's (Ghias-ud-din Tughlaq) Jehad,
Firoz Tughlaq's edicts & Sikander Lodi's orders are just a
few examples of communal revenge.

The only flicker during these dark days was the human
concept preached and practiced by the bhakatas, sufis, saints &
aulia. (Roshni dhundli si, yalghar qaharon ki!). By the
time of Nanak, the sufis had themselves developed pantheism
with strict basic monotheism. They had since measured
the depth of Hindu religion and Hindu way of life. They
adopted a liberal and reconciling attitude towards the Hindu
inhabitants, conversions from whom were secured not by sword
but by loveful sermons. The converts could still maintain their
old customs & were given honorific titles of Momin, Shaikh,
Malik etc. By the beginning of 16th century many Hindus &
Muslims had begun to worship some sufi saint or the other & to
vizit tomb 46 of one wali or the other. Majority of the
Muslims in Northern India were devoted to one order or the
other from amongst the fourteen various sufi silsilas flourishing

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46. The Muslims too prostrated themselves at the tombs of
Saints etc. See Ashfaqe Husain, Quintessence of Islam, p. 78.
To what extent this custom of the Hindus worshipping Muslims saints and
acknowledging their supremacy did reach subsequently can be judged
from a few instances taken at random. In Ghatampur, in the district of
Cawnpore, one branch of a large family is Muslim in obedience to the vow
of their ancestor, Ghatam Doe Bais, who while praying for a son at the
shrine of a Muhammadan saint Madar Shah, promised that if his prayer
were granted, half his descendants should be brought up as Muslims (cf: 
Gazetter of the N.W.P., vol. vi., p. 64, 238). In the census of 1891 in N.W.P.
and Oudh (i.e. modern U.P.) alone, 23,33,643 Hindus, i.e. 5.78 per cent.
of the total Hindu population of these provinces, returned themselves as
worshippers of Muhammadan saints (cf: Census of India, 1891, vol., xvi, part
i, p. 217, 244, Allahabad, 1894).
and some Hindus too were attached to some *sufi* shrines or the other out of reverence. It was in this context that amongst the Hindus themselves a movement to project the Unity of God, and to break the shackles of obscenity and conventionalism had since been launched & was since quickened under the impact of Islam. Fervent worship of All-loving, All-embracing God through devotional hymn-singing & meditation, regardless of the artificial barriers of caste or even creed, became the main vein of this movement, popularly called *Bhakti* Movement or *Vaishnavism*, which spread its influence all over India under the leadership of Chaitanya in the east; Ramanuja in the south; Tukaram and Namdev in the west; Ramanand & Trilochan in the central; Sadanā (*Qasai* i.e. butcher), Kabir (Muslim-weaver), Tulsidas (Brahmin), Pipa (a low-caste); Meera Bai (A Rajput princess) and Nanak (a *mehta Khatrī*) in the north; Nanak was specially influenced by *sant* Kabir & *sufi* Farid. Nanakism, a product of the *Sufi* & *Bhakta* schools of thought, was deemed by some as the only harmonious source to drag society out of the dregs of prevailing chaos and conflict. The *Bhaktas* preached ‘good action’ for self-salvation in place of self-mortification as means of self-sublimation. The mystic Kabir, in or about 1450 A.D., is said to have even assailed the authority of the *Qurān* and the *Shastras*. He hit hard at idol-worship & caste-system: The *Sufis* advocated Love and Tolerance as the best from of self-annihilation and God-realization. They deplored the existent jealousy, collective hatred and superficial doctrinal differences:

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In fact, as Froude remarks, a momentous change (*propelled earlier*) was sweeping in the 16th century upon the whole world. The paths trodden by the foot-steps of ages were being broken up and the standing convictions were dissolving like mist before the sunshine of a new message. Fresher breath had begun to fragrate the atmosphere like the cool breeze of the zephyr. Its inhaling was efficaciously removing the clot and congestion of conventionalism. The age was getting surcharged by characteristic intellectualism, emotionalism, rationalism, moral fervour, subservience to experience rather than blind faith, comprehension of vision born of an intimate intuitive apprehension of God in ecstatic contemplation. It is interesting and revealing to find that several free thinkers, creative artists, preachers, reformers, or harbingers of love and liberty appeared, in this age, on the global scene for the uplift of mankind. They imparted an emotive intonation, used myriad symbols and metaphors to denote the eternal quest, simplified the religions dogma, perceived and preached the real grandeur of human pursuits and absurdity of man’s craving, and exhibited their simplification artistically, scholastically or saintly, as the case may be, to enable the fundamental truth pierce through the recesses of the people. The dawning of the “new light” was spanned from the 11th to the 16th century and was not restricted to one region or religion alone. Some of the luminaries of the age, amongst the Christians, with their field of work mainly in Europe, were:—Becket (d, 1170); Jordanus (c, 1321); Langland (c, 1340?); John Wycliffe (c, 1324-84); Geoffrey Chaucer (1340-1400); John Ball (c, 1381); Oxforders—Groccyn, William Selling, Lily and Thomas Linacre (f, 1500); Cambridgeans—Richard Croke, Thomas Smith, Gaza, Cheke (f, 1500); Luther (1483—1546); Erasmus (1467—1536); Thomas More (1478—1535); John Fisher (d, 1535); Calvin (c, 1546); Cranmer (1489—1556); William Tyndale (1494—1536); Stephen Gardiner (1497—1555); Reginald Pole (1500—58); Matthew Parker (1504-75); John Knox (1505—72); Žwingli (c, 1546); Gustavus Vasa (c, 1546); roving missionaries Fr. Xavier (1506—72) and J. Xavier (c, 1596); John Foxe (1516—87); Corpus Christi (c, 1575); Thomas Cartwright
(1535-1603); etc., etc. Some of these free thinkers were not tolerated and were even excommunicated, executed, exiled, ejected, imprisoned, branded, butchered or harassed and harried out of their land for their conscience e.g. Becket (exiled & executed); Wycliffe (condemned as heretical in 1382); Badley (staked alive in 1410); Luther (excommunicated by Pope); R. Pole (went in exile); Thomas More (executed); John Fisher (beheaded); Cranmer (executed); William Tyndale (staked to death); Gardiner (imprisoned); Latimer (burnt to death); Dr. Ridley (burnt to death); etc., etc. To the list of these notables who brought about a social revolution in the way of religious thinking can be added the names of secular writers like Copernicus, Thomas Elyot, Wyatt, Surrey, Bacon, Shakespeare, Richard Hooker, Philip Sidney, Spencer, Marlowe, Tasso, Cemoes and Cervantes; and also the names of discoverers and navigators like Diaz, Columbus, Vasco-de-Gama, Cabral, John Cabot, Sebastian Cabot, Balboa, Magellan, Drake, Davis, Frobisher, Walter Raleigh etc., who contributed conspicuously, though in their own way, in the revolutionising process. In fact, in England alone, after Wolsey’s fall, in Cromwell, Seymours, Dudleys, Pagets, Cecils, Walsingham, Bacon, Shakespeare, the Russells, Sidneys, Raleighs, Careys etc., were of stocks that had hardly been heard of in Plantagenet times, outside their own localities.

Among some Muslim divines who had already prepared the ground in India (and more particularly in the Panjab) for the reception of their message of love and good action, before Nanak or contemporaneously with Nanak, and who had lovefully initiated or converted many people to their order or way of thinking, can be mentioned the names of: Syd. Nathar Shah (d, 1039) and his contemporary and disciple Baba Fakhr-al-din; Osman-al-Hujvairi Data Ganj Baksh (b, 1009); Lakh-Data Syd. Ahmed,—Sakhi Sarwar; Khwaja Muin-ud-din Chishti (d, 1234); Shaikh Baha-ud-din Zakaria (b, 1182); Khwaja Qutb-ud-din Bakhtiyar Kaki (f, 1211); Baba Farid Ganj-i-Shakr (b, 1173);

48. The dates within brackets are in A.D. and are generally agreed to.
Makhdum Ala-ud-din Ali Ahmad,—Sabir Kalyari (b. 1195); Khwaja Nizam-ud-din Aulia Allah Dehlvi (b, Badaun, 1238); Chirag-i-Delhi; Shaikh Rukan-ud-din Abul Fateh Multani; Makhdum Jahanian Jehangasht (d, 1384); Shaikh Jalal-ud-din Tabrizi (contemporary of Bhakhtiyar Kaki, and disciple of Shaikh Shahab-ud-din Suhrawardi & Baha-ud-din Zakaria Multani, during Iltutmish's time); Syd. Jalal-ud-din Bukhari (1307–74); Muhammad-al-Husain,—Khwaja Gesudaraz (b, 1321); Hazrat Nur-ul-Haq,—Nur Quṭb-i-Alam (d, 1411); Shaikh Badi-ud-din Shah Madar (d, 1436?); Kabir (1400—1518?); Pir Dawal Shah (1459—1511); Shaikh Taqqi (1514 c); Shaikh Ibrahim Farid II (1500 c); Bela Pir (d, 1539); Zinda-Pir (s, 1539—); Shaikh Salim-ud-din Chishti (d, 1572); Baba Piyara (c, 1580?); Shah-al-Hamid. (1532–1600); and several others like Pir Jalal, Budhan Shah, Mian Mitha, Kutban, Manjhan, Jayasi, Shah Sharaf, Pir-i-Raushan Mian Bayazid Ansari (1550 c); and succeeding free thinkers like Shaikh Mubarak & his sons—Abul Fazal, Faizi, the real spirit behind Tauhid-i-Ilaahi or Din-i-Ilaahi of Akbar; etc., etc. These divines and free thinkers, like their Christian fellow-travellers e. g., the ‘Oxforders’ and the ‘Cambridgeans’ as well as their Hindu counterparts—the Bhaktas, emphasised upon their followers that mere ‘howling’ was not religion and that action was more important than mere saying of a tasbih (i. e. counting the beads). They believed that:

"Aashiq an nest ki lab garm-e-fughan darad,
Aashiq aan ast ki bar kaf do jehan darad".

(The true lover of God is not he who cries aloud but is he who has no craving and indulgence with the unnecessary materialism of this world). These pious preachers generally discarded formalism and advocated ‘no injury to any soul’. It is in fact these Muslim luminaries who succeeded

49. A beautiful couplet of a much later poet, Mirza Bedil, can be quoted to capture the import of the broad message of these Muslim divines:—

Reesh-o-broot-i-xhesh trashida aem ma,
lekan itle kase na kharashida aem ma”.

(We have peeled i.e. shaved off our beard and moustache & have not cared for their ‘sanctity’ but we have no regrets since we have not peeled i.e. bruised any heart).
with their lore of love in converting many more non-Muslims to their creed than the force of sword or the love of luxury applied by some tyrant or fanatic Muslim rulers could do. Mohsin Fani speaks of fourteen sects of sufis converted

50. To quote a few cases, one Haji Muhammad is said to have converted, in Panjab alone, as many as 2,00,000 Hindus (cf: Garcin de Tassy, La Langue et la Littérature Hindoustanies de 1850 à 1869, Paris, 1874, p. 343; Arnold, T.W., The Preaching of Islam, London, 1935, IIIrd Ed., p. 283). Abu Ali Qalandar (b. 1224, died 1324 at Panipat—Haryana) made many converts; Syd. Makhdum-i-Jahanian, (grandson of Jalal-ud-din Bukhari, 1199-1291), also known as Syd. Ahmad Kabir, converted several tribes in Panjab (cf: Panjab States Gazetteers, Vol, XXXVIA, Bahawalpur State, Lahore, 1908, p. 160 sqq;—tribes converted are given at p. 162 ibid); Syd. Sadru-ud-din, also known as Hasan Kabir-ud-din, and a contemporary of Jalal-ud-din Bukhari (1199-1291), made many converts from Hindus specially in the Uch area of Panjab (Ibid., p. 171; and also see Arnold, op: cit; p. 282). Muin-ud-din Chishti converted people in Ajmer (Elliott, H. M, Ed; J. Dowson, 1872-77, 11, p. 548) and Delhi (Arnold, T. W., op: cit; p. 281). Many conversions in western plains of Panjab were made by the preachings of Baha-al-Haq Zakariyya Multani (cf: Arnold, op: cit; p. 281) and by Baba Farid-ud-din of Pakpattan, in 13th and 14th centuries (cf: Ibbetson, D.C.J., The Musalmans of the Panjab, Indian Evangelical Review, Vol, X, Calcutta, 1884, P. 163). Asghar Ali, a biographer of Baba Farid-ud-din, gives a list of 16 tribes who were won over to Islam through sufi Farid’s preachings (cf: Jawahir-i-Faridi, A.H. 1033, Lahore, 1884, p. 395; also see Arnold, op: cit; p. 281). It is this sufi Baba Farid whose sayings were copiously incorporated in the teachings of the Gurus and the tenets of the holy Granth. Iman Shah of Pirana (a small town, 10 miles s.w. of Ahmedabad, Gujrat) converted many people to his faith in the latter half of 15th century; Dawal Shah Pir also known as Malik Abd-al-Latif and son of a noble of Mohammad Bughra (1459-1511) also did the same in Gujrat (cf: Arnold, T.W; op: cit; 277; Bombay Gazetteer, Vol, V, p. 89; Also see Ibid, Vol, II, p. 378 & Vol; III, pp. 36-37, for more conversions of Hindus in Gujrat. The case in Bengal too was almost alike as far as conversions to Islam were concerned. (cf: Hunter, W.W., The Religions of India, The Times, 25/2/1888; James Wise, The Muhammadans of Eastern Bengal, J. A. S.B., Vol, IXIII, pt. iii, 1894, p. 71; Arnold, op: cit; p. 281). Kabir, the Muslim weaver (1400-1518?) even started his own mixed panth, the members of which were drawn more from amongst the Hindus.

51. How little conversion was made by sword is also evident from the fact that even in the permanent & earliest centres of the Muhammadan power e.g. Delhi and Agra, the Muhammadans in modern times hardly exceeded 1/10 in Delhi and 1/4 in Agra. (cf: Hunter, W.W., The Religions of India, The Times, 25/2/1888).
to Islam from Hinduism, like *Madaryas*.

Amongst the Hindu saints, with practically the same mission (during the period 1100—1400), the names can be particularly mentioned of Basavesvara, also known as Bhati Bhandara Basavanna and his contemporaries like Allama Prabhu and Chenna Basava; Siddarama; Akka Mahadevi; Madivala Machiah; Harihare; Maggeya Mayideva; Somesvara; Madhvaccharya; Narahari Thirtha; Vidyaranya; Akshobhya Thirtha; Jaya Thirtha, Ramanuja (b, 1017 or 1070 ?); Jaydeva (f, 1170); Madhva (1199—1278); Nimbarka; Vishnuswami; Jnanesvara; Nathamuni; Trilochan (b, 1267); Parmanand; Sadana (c, 1290); Chokhamela; Namdev (b, 1270); Beni; Lady Lal Ded of Kashmir (14th Century); Vedanta-desika (c, 1375); Manavala (c, 1400); Bilvamangla (c, 1420 ?); and Ramanand (b, 1398); etc., etc.,—all from 11th to 1st half of 15th century. The stir became still more strong and significant in the succeeding centuries i.e. from later half of the 15th century to the close of the 16th century, during which period Hindu saints, poets and writers spread their message from South to North and West to East. The chief amongst these can be listed as: Brahmanya Thirtha (d, 1475); Sripadaraja of Mulbagal (1450 c); Narsi or Narsing Mehta (1414—81); Chandi Dasa (1417—77); Vidyapati (1400—1507); Umapati Dhara (c, 1510 ?); Isvara Puri Madhva (c, 1500); Vyasaraja (1444-1539); Vadiraja (1480-1600); Purandara dasa (1484-1654); Kanakadasa (1509-1607); Kumara Valmiki (c, 1590); Appaya Dikshita (1552—1624); Venkaya Arya (c, 1600); Tuka Ram (1568—1649); Ram Das Narayana (1608—81); etc., down in the south; and Gorakhnath (1420—1485 ?); Kabir-Brahmin by birth, Muslim by bringing (1402—1518 ?); Meera Bai (c, 1469); Pipa (b; 1425); Dhanna (c, 1430); Nanak (1469-1538); Sena or Sain (c, 1500); Ravi Das (c, 1500); Vallabhacharya or Vallabha Swami (1479—1531); Visvambhara Chaitanya—also known as Krishna Chaitanya or Gaur Chandra (1484—1532); Kesva Bharti (c, 1509); Advaitayacharya (c, 1527); Nityananda (c, 1527); Virachandra (c, 1530); Vithalnath (c, 1530) and his *Ashta Chhap*

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NANAK AND THE TIMES

(c, 1530); Sarvabhauma(c, 1530); Sanatana (c, 1530); Rupa (c, 1530); Jiva (c, 1530); Raghunath Das (c, 1530); Gopal Bhatt (c, 1532); Raghunath Bhatt (c, 1532)—i.e. six Swamis; Vasudeva Ghosh (c, 1532); Vamsi Vadna (c, 1532); Narahari Sarkar (c, 1532); Sur Das (1528–60 ?); Dadu (1544–1603); Tulsi Das (1532?–1624?); Krishnadasa Kaviraja (c, 1582); Nabhaji (1585–1623); Hari Vamsa or Hit ji (c, 1585); Swami Hari Das (c, 1585); Eknath (d, 1608); Lal Das (d, 1648); Maluk Das (c, 1630); etc., in the rest of India.

Other sects too were adequately animated with the literary & spiritual revivalism during these centuries e.g. Sakalakirti (f, 1468), Nemidata (f, 1530) etc., of Digambara Jain School and Merutunga (b, 1347), Jnanasegara (b, 1349), Soma Sundra (b, 1384), Jinamandana (c, 1436), Jinakirti (c, 1437), Subhasila (c, 1464), Ratnasekhra (1401–61), etc., of Svetembara School can be quoted as profile writers of Jain literature who tried to re-interpret and recast their past.

These saint-poets and some other notable writers of Bhakti school, like Mahalingadeva, Prabhudeva, Nagideva, Guru Basava, Dandasa, Chamarasa, Bommarasa etc., of 15th century, and Nijaguna Siva Yogi, Shidakshari, Virupaksha Pandita etc., of 16th century, made emotional appeals to the minds of the people. The period before and after Nanak’s time, therefore, witnessed a great spiritual animation and activity in which “strenuousness as the real abode of Paramesvara” (Kayakive kailasa Vaiyasa) was preached and practised; Satya, Daya, Ahimsa and Visvabhandhutva were translated into categories of living faith and action. The slogan of these saints, in the words of Basavesvara, was Anubhava Mantepa i.e. human polity animated by a humane idealism. The essence of mystic realization was not mystical phenomenon but an unfauluting, unbending, unending love of God and His diverse creation. There is noticeable a general consensus, like the Saranesh, in the feeling of these Bhaktas and Sufis that there is no antithesis between Gnana and Bhakti i.e. knowledge and devotion, and that all modes of approach were reconciled in the ultimate
category of the Divine Love\(^{52a}\). Another factor that is worth notice in the train of these saints is that several of them came, like Paul the tent-maker, Boehme the cobbler, Bunyan the tinker, Tersteegen the ribbon-maker in Christiandom, from ordinary and low classes and not from the priestly and privileged ones, e.g. Namdeva (tailor), Chokamela (mahar), Sadana (butcher), Dhanna (Jat, peasant), Kabir (weaver), Sain (barber), Ravi Das (cobbler), Nanak (herdsman, shopkeeper, later farmer, and claiming to be a teili or oil-presser in the previous birth in the Dwapar age), and as such the sincerity of their feeling and staunch faith in the human concept is intense.

The Vedantiyas, Vaishnavites, Tengalais, Saivas, Smartas, Satanis, Manbhaus, Chaitanyas, Vallabhis, Radha Vallabhis, Suddhadvaites, Saktis, Haridasis, Avadhutas, Ramanandis, Sena Panthis, Kabir Panthis, Dadu Panthis, Nanak Panthis, Piyara Panthis, Satnamis, Malukdasis, Raidasis; Jalaliyans, Chishties, Suhrawardis, Raushaniyas, Qadiris, Ilahites, etc., etc. \(^{52b}\), all extolled Love in their own ways.

Since, normally, the traditional religious Law was operative in both cases of Hindus and Muslims, (there being no other social codification), both appeared outwardly to be theocratic. The actual interpretation and execution of this law however depended on the situations, strong royal will and stresses of the times. Since cowardice was negation of true belief in God,—vide the sacred Gita & the Holy Qu’ran and soldiers needed a doze of exhorting courage from time to time, hence shelter was often taken of religious injunctions and the wars of conquest were made to look like religious wars, befitting slogans and the follow-up being necessary as such. Otherwise, judged from the ethical standards of religion, such a Sovereign or State could not be labelled generally as religious. Dr. Muhammad Habib has

\(^{52 (a)}\) With lapse of time, however, some of these sects degenerated themselves into queer, immoral and aggressive habits and customs.

\(^{52 (b)}\) For details about various Muslim sects, see Dastan-i-Mazahib, Rose’s Glossary; Qanun-i-Islam, and various Census Reports specially Census Report, Panjab, 1871.
asserted emphatically that: "It (Muslim-State in India) was not a theocratic State in any sense of the word and its foundation was never-the-less non-religious and secular". The has hence criticised the religious fervour as propounded and desired by Barani who being an orthodox Muslim, brought up in peculiar circumstances, appears to be suffering from a spirit of revenge and retaliation which was but natural for any Muslim or a Hindu living in that age of mutual distrust, suspicion and suspense.

The century preceeding Nanak’s birth in 1469 A.D. was, therefore, generally a century of turmoil, mutual distrust, massacres & mal-administration. The kings were reduced as weather-cocks and gale of rebellions glutted the whole country. The weak Central Power with nominal authority prevailing actually round about Delhi alone (Hukam-e-Padshah-e-Alam az Delhi ta Palam), the decayed system, the disorganised institutions, the unscrupulous nobility, the factious factors, enabled intruders to tread off and again into India. Panjab being on the main road to India was trampled under the feet of invaders, every now and then, who rushed in various currents from time to time—each current leaving a sediment behind and each sediment getting intermixed and inter-absorbed. Centrifugal tendencies and lack of cohesion on one side the cupidity of the invaders on the other made India a cock-pit.

54. Tarikh-i-Khan Jehan-i-Lodi, p. 77; Ferishta (Lith), I, p. 172; Yadgar, p. 5; Tabaqat, I, p. 296; Daudi, p. 7; Maasir-i-Rahimi, 1, p. 436, confirm the pitiable position and partition of the country during the reign of Sayyid King—Ala-ud-din-Shah Alam. Daudi has quoted this humourist saying as:—
"padshahi-i-Shah Alam az Delhi ta Palam". At another place it is quoted as: "Duhai-i-Shah Alam az Dehli ta Palam."
55. The following belief of some of the nobility reflects their snivelling, servility, unscrupulousness & degeneracy (rather than their sense of loyalty):—

'Agar Shah roz ra goyad shab ast een,  
Be-bayed guft eenak mah-o-parvin'
(If the king calls a day as a night, it should be said, ‘yes, sir; there are the moon & stars like Plaeides shining, as I see’).
After the departure of Timur—the monster in human form, and Sahib-e-Qirani for the Muslims, the confusion was worst confounded—politically, administratively, socially and economically. He is stated to have looted all silver and gold out of the land in his whirlwind raid. The despoilation, devastation, economic fluctuation, devaluation and bankruptcy, harm to trade and cultivation, pestilence and privations;—experienced by the people after this tirade of Timur, can be imagined than described in words.

Anarchy and chaos prevailed everywhere giving birth to further consequent ills. Panjab was naturally the worst sufferer and lay prostrate like a sucked-up orange as it was here that the Turk hordes had halted and the hoofs of their horses had struck. When the Sayyad Sultan, Mubarak Shah had entered Lahore in 1421, he had found the city completely devastated and “only the owl of ill omen had its abode” there. The oft-repeated raids of Shaikh Ali of Kabul, exploits of Jasrath Khokar Tekhri the machiavellian machinations of Turkbachas of Sarhind and the unending intrigues amongst nobles and Amirs, encouraged the lawless element to plunder and loot. The emboldened marauders risked security and safety of the people. Insecurity affected trade and trampling of crops ruined cultivation. Trade suffered and economic condition deteriorated. As soon as the death of Khizr Khan was known, the territories between Ludhiana and Rupar were plundered by the Tekharies who devastated Jullundur as well. The innocent and peace-loving public suffered the most and felt friendless and frustrated. It was in these circumstances that Bahlol Lodi was raised to the throne by his clan-men. As was natural in such situations, raids and rebellions became regular features of the Panjabis. Sometimes there were raids from Shaikh Ali,—a chief of Shahrukh Mirza of Kabul; sometimes revolts of Pulad,—

56. Elliot and Dowson, History of India as told by its own historians, Vol, IV, p. 560.

57. Elliot, Tarikh-i-Mubarak Shahi, op: cit ; Vol, IV, p. 56.
Turkhacha of Sarhind, were heard. Even the Muslims were not safe e. g. at Tulamba, all the Muslim occupants of the fort including Imams, Sayyads, Qazis, Muftis, women and children were enslaved. In the districts of Lahore and Depalpur alone, about “40,000 Hindus were computed to have been massacred, besides a great number carried away prisoners”. After the assassination of Mubarak Shah and with the accession of Ala-ud-din, the Sayyid power had tumbled down like a shaky edifice and Bahlol Lodi,—Governor of Depalpur and Lahore since 1441, became the first Lodi ruler of India, in 1451 A. D, after capturing Delhi. Though Bahlol was able to improve the situation to some extent and establish some law and order, yet he was powerless before the mighty Loni, Fer-muli and Lohani tribes and Afghan Jagirdars who accepted him not as their high ruler but a Chief—first amongst equals and not one above equals. The constitution was so diffused and confused that the Sultan had often to put his turban before his clan-chiefs and request for being relieved from the burden of sovereignty in case of his incompetence and their dissatisfaction. He would often share his non-o-nufqa with them. He would sit on a carpet with them and not on an exalted throne. The sovereignty was thus, to all intents and purposes, divided and confederate. This ill-suited the conditions which demanded strong paramountcy and patrimony from a potent and powerful ruler. Still, in the interest of the State-work, Bahlol did not hesitate, or he found it more expedient, to use Hindu talent too where

58. Elliot, Tarikh-i-Mubarak Shahi, op: cit; IV, pp.73, 76.

59. Eliot, Tarikh-i-Daudl, op: ci; IV, pp. 436-37. According to some chronicles, even a diminutive Mulla could have courage to take offence of the remarks of Sultan Bahlol who had to make amends by offering apologies. On another occasion a Mulla is said to have gone into Bahlol's private chamer and was bold enough to catch hold of the Sultan by his loin cloth till the Sultan got himself relieved from his hold after listening to and granting his request. (See Mushtaqi, Rizqullah, Waktiat-i-Mushtaqi, pp. 9-10, B.M. Mss. No. 370—photograph copy, Ishwari Parsad).

60. For detailed analysis, see AHUJA, N.D., Babur and Polity, Research (Art) Bulletin, Punjab University, Chandigarh, No. LXIII (V), 1968.
possible, practicable and procurable. Rai Karna, Raja Pratap, Rai Bir Singh, Rai Tilok Chand and Rai Dhandhu were some of the notable Hindu recipients of his favours whereas some of his own men and Muslim ‘friends’ like Qutb Khan, Ahmed Khan Mewati, Ahman Khan Jalwani of Bayana etc., etc., often intrigued and changed sides to cash on the unsettled political situation for achieving their personal ambitions. Bahrol is said to have even crowned himself on 17th Rabi-ul-awwal, 855 A.H.—Monday, 19th April, 1451 (?)61 at the auspicious hour suggested by astrologers and Brahmins62.

Sikander Lodi who succeeded Bahrol, however, tried to hold, to some extent, the turbulent spirit of his nobles and Governors. The fluctuating situations naturally encouraged the Hindu Military leaders,—the Rajputs, too to try once again to fish in the troubled waters with a hope to retrieve their lost independence. The resultant desire of the Hindu subjects, undergoing disparities and insults, to strike back, if and when possible, and to restore to themselves their lost rights, admittedly amounted to insurrectionary tendencies and met with reaction from the Muslim rulers resulting in further humiliations, tortures, new ordeals and new stirrings. Thus, Sikander Lodi became satan and saint in one. He was called as most just, most Illustrious and most liberal63 by the Muslims and as most callous and narrow-minded by the Hindus64. Sikander’s orders for the wholesale massacre of the Hindu pilgrims gathered at Kurukshetra on a solar eclipse day65, his stated torture of

61. For discussion on the correct date of his accession and coronation, also see Ahmed Yadgar, Tarikh-i-Salatin-i-Afaghina, ed., M. Hidayat Husain, Cal., 1939, p. 10; Ferishta (Lith), 1864, pp. 172-173; Maasir-i-Rahimi, I, ed., Hidayat Husain, Cal., 1910, p. 440; Tarikh-i-Daudi (Allahabad Uty., Mss.), pp. 11-12; Tabaqat-i-Akbari, I, ed., B. De, Cal., 1927, pp. 300-301.


Kabir\(^66\) and execution of Budhan Shah\(^67\) who refused to accept Islam and was held guilty of calling Ishwar and Allah as equal\(^68\) and same, his destruction of Hindu temples\(^69\), nefarious injunctions and edicts against the civic rights of the Hindus,\(^70\) the imprisonment of Ahmed Khan, Governor of Lucknow who was favourably disposed towards the Hindus,\(^71\) etc., etc., had alienated the Hindu sentiment against the Lodi. The Hindus, however, being politically weak were on the look-out for a suitable opportunity to get out from this abjectness. Thus, political & religious or social issues got mixed up. The situation could not be improved by Ibrahim Lodi who succeeded Sikander Lodi in 1517. He, however, displayed no enthusiasm for masque-rading as anorthodox zealot. He was secular even to the extent of adding a band of pretty go-go girls to his contingent of court-musicians. He also developed very cordial relations with the Hindu Raja Vikramaditya of Gwalior who, later, even sacrificed his own life at Panipat for the sake of his Muslim over-lord.

Ibrahim’s own house being divided against itself, Babur was invited by the Hindus disgruntled at their invi-dious treatment, and by the Afghans worried about their political

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66. See f.n. 47 supra.

67. Elliot, op. cit; IV, pp. 464-65; Briggs, op: cit; I, pp. 575-76; Ishwari Parsad, Medieval India, p. 482; Particulars stated regarding name and residence of this Brahmin are variant. Wilson (Asiatic Researches, Vol, XVI, p. 55) refers him as a disciple of Kabir. Prof. S. H. Hodiwala (Studies in Indo-Muslim History, Bombay, 1939) suggests him as Bhawanand, one of the celebrated twelve disciples of Ramanand. Also see Daudi, p. 67; Ferishta (Lith), I, pp. 182-183; Maasir-i-Rahimi, I, p. 461.

68. The statement of this Brahmin, (Budhan, Lodhan, or as he may be), is recorded as below in Tabaqat-i-Akbari, Vol,, I, of Nizam-ud-din Ahmed, ed., B. De, pp. 322-23 :"Islam haq ast wa din-e-man neez darust ast." (i.e. Islam is a true religion but his own religion too was true).


70. Elliot, op: cit; IV, p. 447; Briggs, op: cit; I, p. 586,

future. Coming of Babur ushered in a new era. Babur had earlier suffered at the hands of his own kith & kin—all Sunnis; and had been kicked out of Farghana by the Uzbegs—again Sunnis. He had secured some help from the Shiias of Persia for which he was admonished by his Sunni followers & subjects at Kabul. He had to fight in India against the Sunni Afghans to be able to conquer India at Panipat & subsequently at Bayana, Chanderi etc. His vast experience in a full, though short, span of life, had injected “practical wisdom” in him, and his vicinity & close dealings with Persia had infused Persianity in him. Persia was also experiencing—new stirs in Shiaism & Sufism. The times, and the necessities advocated enlightenment, a change in out-look and a reform in general political & social approach. The Punjab and its borderland with Afghanistan, was in the possession of Daulat Khan Lodi & his son Ali Khan. Babur clearly aimed to possess Hindustan by peaceful means, if possible, otherwise by the right of conquest and consequent violence. His advice to his soldiers at the eve of his march in 1519-20 is worth note & quite revealing. He ordered, “Do not hurt or harm to the flocks and herds of these people, nor even to their cotton ends and broken needles.”\textsuperscript{72} The soldiers however could not restrain themselves from laying their hands, as usual, at the innocent Bhera people. Babur’s temper was frayed at the news. “Persons were sent who caused some of those senseless people to meet their death-doom, of others slit the noses and so led them round the camp”\textsuperscript{73}. Babur also sent an envoy to Daulat Khan but he was detained by the latter & then returned unsuccessful since Babur had demanded the territories which formed, of old, dependency of the Turk. The subsequent overtures by Daulat Khan, and his intivation to Babur, alongwith Rana Sanga’s, show that the period was surcharged with political intrigues, fluctuating alliances and

\textsuperscript{72} Babur, \textit{Memoirs}, Beveridge, II, p. 380.
\textsuperscript{73} \textit{Ibid}, p. 383.
uncertainties. In such a state of affairs, who was to own the people who did not know as to who their master was or would be? Who was to look after the social welfare when political interests were so deeply involved? Babur was looked upon as a redeemer. He too conducted his campaigns with the maximum restraint unlike his predecessor Timur. It is he who himself punished his own soldiers who committed some unauthorised excesses at the fort of Mulwat surrendered to him by Daulat Khan. He even killed a high officer with his own arrow at the moment. It is he whose presence saved the honour of Daulat Khan’s family. However the more he was resisted in his advance, e. g. at Sayidpur (Emenabad), the more violent he became as part of Mongol traditional strategy. No quarter was shown to the resisting people. “It was death disguised as a Mughal who made war on us,” was said by Nanak,—an eye-witness at Sayidpur. Nanak appears to be maturely alive to all the political developments taking place and their impact on the social life of the people. The failure of the Lodi Govt. at the Centre to save honour, life and property of the people was prophesied by him as doom for the same. He was visibly moved and cried, “The Lodi ‘dogs’ have spoiled an inheritance of immense value. When they pass off, no one will pay regard to them.” Angered Ibrahib had antagonised his own nobles and Governors too. Daulat Khan Lodi and Alam Khan, uncle of Ibrahib Lodi, invited Babur to India. He marched into it for the fourth time now. At about 10 miles near Lahore, Babur confronted Bihar Khan Lodi who had been sent to expel Daulat Khan Lodi from Punjab. Bihar Khan being no match for Babur was easily vanquished, enabling Babur to enter, plunder and loot Lahore. Next; Depalpur was conquered and plundered. Babur tolerated these plunders by his men whenever he met resistance and/or faithlessness, or experienced breach of trust. In the wholesale plunders, no discrimination appers to

74. Ferishta, (Briggs), op: cit; II, p. 42
75. For Guru’s two touching hymns in Asa, about the events at Sayidpur, see Macauliffe, op: cit; I, pp. 115, 119.
have been shown amongst the Muslim victims and the Hindus. However, Babur had to restrict himself,—inspite of his well planned, ultimate aim of possessing India as an empire for himself, since Daulat Khan did not cooperate further in his advance upon Sarhind. Daulat was not devoid of so called nationalism though it could not be expected to be as intense as today. He wanted Babur in India as a redeemer and not a possessor, as friend and not foe, as ‘Mehrban’ and not Master. The minds of the two became clear to each other. When Babur did not restore to him his old possession of Lahore and Depalpur, he perceived that Babur aimed at something deeper than mere help to him. When Daulat Khan defected, Babur understood that the Lodi Nowab was not keeping up his words. Here Daulat Khan and his son Dilawer differed on vital political issues. A few incidents like defection of Dilawer against his father Daulat Khan and the latter’s arrest and escape from Babur’s camp, ultimately convinced Babur to go back to Kabul and to avail himself of the next better opportunity with better preparations and precautions. He returned after making arrangements for the Govt. of Punjab as an appendage of Kabul. It is significant to note that Punjab was having changed masters very frequently; it was also facing the frets and frays of these masters. The population was bound to be demoralised, disappointed and dismayed, in such a situation. There could be no possibility of stead-fastness or faithful devotion. People and their leaders became corrupt and treacherous, and administrators careless about their duties due to political fluctuations. The unscrupulous and unprincipled persons stood to gain and ruled over the masses. Nanak says, “hukam Karhe murakh gawar” i.e. ‘It is the fools and idiots who are ruling’. Even Kamran, the intelligent but much mis-represented brother of Humayun said in the same vein:

“gardon-e-gardoone-gardan gardanan ra gard kard,
Bar sar-e-ahl-e-tamizan naqsan ra mard kard.”

[This crooked heaven has (pitiably and abjectly) reduced several deserving persons and has put the sub-standards to rule over the efficient].
The condition of the Panjab during the middle of the 18th century has been described as below by Joseph Davey Cunningham. The same can aptly be said about the Panjab in and about the middle of the 15th century. Cunningham writes:—"The condition of the Panjab during these years of bloodshed and disorder was miserable in the extreme. To find any parallel in European History one would have to go back to the days of King Stephen in England or to some of the worst episodes of the Thirty Year's War. Waris Shah the author of the story of Hir and Ranjha who flourished during this period ⁷⁶ gives in the epilogue of this poem, a vivid account of the state of the country⁷⁷:

"Fools and sinners give counsel to the world,
The words of the wise are set at naught.
No man tells the truth or cares for justice,
Telling what is untrue has become the practice in the world.
With violence men commit flagrant iniquity,
In the hands of tyrants there is a sharp sword.
There is no Governor, Ruler, or Emperor
The country and all the people in it have been made desolate.
Great confusion has fallen on the country,
There is a sword in every man's hand.
The purdah of shame and modesty has been lifted
And all the world goes naked in the open bazaar.
Thieves have become leaders of men,
Harlots have become mistresses of the household.
The company of devils has multiplied exceedingly,
The state of the noble is pitiable".

There could be no defining of loyalty in such a state of affairs. People siding with the native power, the central power or the intruding power, or accepting the same as the case may be were liable to be called to book and their loyalty to one could be dubbed as unacceptance or crime in the eyes of the other—punishments and rewards following accordingly. The masses were naturally bewildered and baffled. They were groping in the darkness. Boldness in expression meant death in return. There was no question of justice. What was justice, after all? Punishment to opposing people might look justice in one eye and tyranny in the other. Treachery, foul-play, corruption could be the only Position, Propaganda, win favour and avoid punishment. Power, way to secure safety, Policy and Politics became the panta pillar of Pollution. Truth was the greatest casualty for the sake of mere survival and subsistence. The echoes of the women and the cries of the children must have been a common phenomena. Burning of mansions and huts, looting of hoards, massacre of masses—of enemies and rivals,—Hindus and Muslims, was an excusable act.

The History of Northern India, and specially of Panjáb in the 15th century and early 16th century was thus mainly a record of anarchy, confusion, selfishness, cowardice, treachery, terror and tyranny interspersed with the agonies of the afflicted, wavering of the weak, and pessimistic pangs. Both the priestly and aristocratic classes, amongst Hindus or Muslims, were devoid of vision, were blindly fanatical, corrupt, hypocritical and hypothetical. An average Hindu or a Muslim was quite ignorant of the high values of religion and groaned under the weight of temporal tantalization as well as religious rigidities.

Only a sensitive heart, a tender creature and bold soul like Nanak could feel the pangs. In his various hymns, he has pictured pathetically the prevailing privations and mass misery. He says in his Majh Ki War :- “Justice has taken wings, Dharma has vanished, falsehood prevails like darkness and the moon of truth is not to be seen anywhere”.
About the Mughal scourge of Sayidpur, he utters with pain:

"The wealth and beauty which afforded them pleasure have now become their bane.

The order was given to the soldiers to take and dishonour them"\(^{77a}\).

Again, he says:—"There were the wives of Hindus, of Turks, of Bhattis and of Rajputs. The robes of some were torn from head to foot; the dwellings of others were their places of cremation"\(^{77b}\). It is once again crystal clear that in this vandalism, no distinction was made between the Muslims and the Hindus. It was purely a political game of revenge and an opportunity for evil elements of society to have the day to their baneful satisfaction. To look at the situation from Hindu-Muslim angle would be nothing less than the slaughter of History. Nanak compares the invaders with a lion and the innocent suffering multitudes,—basically peaceful but perplexed by politics, with a herd. His deep anguish bursts out and he laments:

"Aeti mar paie kurlane,
Tain ki dard na aayia?
Tere ji jian ka tohe,
Kit ko saih awey rohe.........",

He pleads:—

"When there was slaughter and lamentation, didn't not thou, Lord, feel pain?

Creator, Thou belongest to all. If a tyrant slay a tyrant, one is not angry;

But if a ravening lion falls on a herd, its master should show his manliness"\(^{78}\).

At another place in the same Rag\(^{79}\) he pictures the pitiable condition of the people and the jolted women-folk at the time of Babar's invasion. The Guru's version is a mirror of his mental

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affliction at the sight of the situation saturated with savagery and sin:

"They who wore beautiful tresses and the partings of whose hair were dyed with vermillion,
Have their locks now shorn with the scissors,
And dust is thrown upon their heads.
They dwelt in their private chambers;
Now they cannot find a seat in public—
Hail, Father! hail!
O Primal Being, thy limit is not known,
Thou makest and beholdest the different phases of existence—
When they were married,
they appeared beautiful near their spouses;
They came in their sedans adorned with ivory;
Water was waved round their heads and glittering fans over them.
They had hundreds of thousands waiting on them sitting,
and hundreds of thousands waiting on them standing.
Eating coco-nuts and dates they sported on their couches.
But now chains are on their necks and broken are their strings of pearls.
The wealth and beauty which afforded them pleasure have now become their bane.
The order was given to the soldiers to take and dishonour them.
If it please God, He giveth greatness; and if it please Him, He giveth punishment.
If they had thought of Him before, why should they have received punishment?
But they had lost all thought of God in joys, in spectacles, and in pleasures.
When Babar's rule was proclaimed, no Pathan prince ate his food.
Some lost their five times of prayer,
Others their hours of worship.
How shall Hindu women now bathe and apply frontmarks without their sacred squares?
They who never thought of Ram are not now allowed even to mention \textit{Khuda}.
One may return to her home;
Another may meet and inquire after the safety of a relation;
But others are destined to sit and weep in pain.
What pleaseth God, O Nanak, shall happen;
What is man?

Where are those sports, those stables and those horses?
Where those bugles and clarions?
Where are those who buckled on their swords and were mighty in battle? where those scarlet uniforms?
Where those mirrors and fair faces? we see them no longer here!

This world is Thine, O Lord of the earth.
In one 'ghari' thou establishest and dis-establishest.
Thou distributest wealth as Thou pleasest.
Where are those houses, those mansions;
And those palaces? Where those beautiful seraglios?
Where are those easy couches and those women a sight of whom banished sleep?
Where is that betel, those betel-sellers, and those fair ones? They have vanished.
For wealth many are ruined; this wealth hath disgraced many.

It is not amassed without sin, and it departeth not with the dead.
Him whom the Creator destroyeth, He first depriveth of virtue.
Millions of priests tried by their miraculous power to restrain the emperor when they heard of his approach.
He burned houses, mansions, and palaces;
He cut princes to pieces, and had them rolled in the dust.
No Mughal hath become blind; no priest hath wrought a miracle.

There was a contest between the Mughals and Pathans;
the sword was wielded in the battle.
One side aimed and discharged their guns, the other also handled their weapons;
They whose letter hath been torn in God’s court must die, my brethren.
There were the wives of Hindus, of Turks, of Bhatts and of Rajputs,
The robes of some were torn from head to foot;
The dwellings of others were their places of cremation.
How did they whose husbands came not home pass the night?
The Creator acteth and causeth others to act; to whom shall man complain?
Misery and happiness are according to Thy pleasure;
To whom shall we go to cry?
The Commander is pleased issuing His orders; Nanak! man obtaineth what is allotted him."\(^80\).

After Babar’s departure, Daulat Khan came down from his retreat in the hills, captured his son Dilawar, re-occupied Sultanpur, re-organised his people and defeated Alam Khan at Depalpur. He was able to win over the people and some parts of the Panjab and expelled the remaining armies of Ibrahim Lodi from there. The whole course of events viewed critically and analytically, makes it clear that Daulat Khan was assuming the role of a national hero who felt the pulse of the people, was shocked at the increasing deterioration, failure of the Centre to establish law and order, the weakness of the Indian Government to ensure safety, and the designed attacks of the invaders and free-booters. It was perhaps this role that enabled him to make manoeuvres and then to re-capture his lost territories. It was also perhaps this understanding and common feeling of the sufferings of the people that created in him a respect for a bold and sincere person like Nanak who was quite outspoken and fearless in his denunciation of both the Lodi rulers and the Mughal invaders. What Nanak did in wordy expositions, Daulat Khan was trying to do by showing of arms. One was using

\(^{80}\) Translation from Macauliffe, *op: cit*; I, pp. 112-113, 115-116.
his articulate tongue, the other was using his artful soldiery. One was trying to point out his disapproval in words, the other with his sword. No wonder then that in spite of Nanak’s open denunciations of Lodi rule on one side and the death-like barbaric Mughal soldiers on the other, he has nowhere condemned Daulat Khan. The latter too held him in high esteem. Both were fellow-travellers in their mission, but both adopted different paths—one suited to his exalted position as a brave soldier, general and governor; the other according to his own means matching his position as a peace-loving, non-violent citizen and a saint. Alam Khan, exasperated at Daulat Khan’s return and capture of Lahore and Depalpur, had no alternative left except to run to his foreign ally Babar. He could not go to Delhi since he had already revolted and defied against the authority of his master-nephew Ibrahim, and death would have welcomed him there. Daulat Khan could not forgive him since he had aided and sided with Babar against Daulat Khan who was prepared to get help from Babar but was not prepared to mortgage his country and national honour to the Mughal invader-broker. Alam Khan persuaded Babar at Kabul to decide the issue once for all regarding the sovereignty of Hindustan. Time was ripe. Babar taking it as “Now or Never” launched upon his fifth incursion and final invasion. It is possible that Daulat Khan might have mustered up the masses against Babar and given him a tough time. But as luck would have it, he suddenly died before the climax. With him the unity of the Panjabis appears to have evaporated. In the absence of a national hero of Daulat Khan’s stature, there was all pell-mell which facilitated Babar’s passage upto Panipat and his proclamation as Emperor of Hindustan after his defeating and killing the only next rival, —a Muslim Sunni ruler, at the historic fields of Panipat. Babar’s advent is generally termed as a ‘transition’ from dark-age to enlightened age, a transition from the medieval to the modern. The prevailing state of affairs, and also the masses in the country, needed consolidation of the newly acquired empire of Babar. Babar’s early death in 1530 A. D. left the burden of settle-
ment on the shoulders of his successor—Humayun. The period can be rightly called as of fermentation in which various issues came to the fore. While settling these issues Humayun, who had inherited posing problems, was rolled out of India after his defeat at Bilgram in 1540—about a year after Nanak’s death.

This was Nanak’s India and such was the political and social outline of Panjab in those days. Nanak was born in 1469 A.D. at Talwandi, district Lahore, when Bahlol Lodi was reigning. Bahlol was succeeded by Sikander, Ibrahim, Babar and Humayun. During this period Panjab had thus seen various masters like Bahlol, Sikander, Ibrahim, Daulat Khan, Alam Khan, Dilawar Khan, Babar, Humayun and Kamran etc. Thus, from his birth in 146981 to his death in 1538-3982, Nanak had lived, worked and preached in the time of about ten administrators who had changed hands quite frequently and one after the other. The interests and the complexes of the masters varied and with the same the fortunes of the masses who mainly bore the brunt of the barbarism of every new master who wanted to establish his authority through awe, force and compulsion, if need be. Nanak, hence, says, “The Kal Age is a knife, kings are butchers”83.

81. There is a controversy about the exact date of birth of Nanak. Ganesh Dev Va.thera, author of Char Bagh-e-Panjab writes:—

“Baba Nanak Sahib dar ahd-e-Khilaft-i-Sultan Bahlol Lodi dar 880 h hasht sad wa hashtad hijri samat 1526 yak hazar wa pansad wa bist wa shash bikramanji mutabiq 1469 iswi chafrum mah Balsakh dar khana-e-Kalu nam Khatri urf Bedi dar mauza Talwandi Rai Bhuvva bahati saadat-e-waladat yaf”. i.e. Nanak’s date of birth is given as 4th of Vaisakh—April (See Char-Bagh-e-Panjab, Persian Text, p. 105, S. H. R. D., Amritsar Ed.). However, the general consensus is that Nanak was born on Kartik Purammashi (November) and it is according to this consensus that his Quincentenary is also being celebrated in November, 1969 now

82. See Char Bagh-e-Panjab, op: cit; p. 106. Ganesh Das Vadhera writes:—


Vadhera appears to be confusing here since in 1538 or 1539 A. D. Panjab was still Humayun’s province under the rule of Kamran and not under Sher Shah Suri whose rule started from 1540 A. D., or Salim Shah whose rule started from 1545 A. D.

Who was responsible for all this? According to Nanak, "it was only the fools and idiots who ruled"; without having the good of their people at heart. "The Kings", he said, "should be dispensers of equity and justice".

The condition of women was still worse. They were treated like chattels, were confined within the four-walls and were considered just an instrument for cupidity, procreation and service. About two hundred years earlier than Nanak, Amir Khusrau had written a poem, on the birth of his daughter, wherein he remonstrated the infant-newly-born baby, to keep it in mind as a piece of parental advice that she was never to see the light of the day and was never to sit with her face towards the door or window lest she should get polluted with the glance or gaze of somebody. The poem is more than a pathetic commentary on the social condition of the "fair flock". During Nanak's times it was a common proverb in the Panjab: "Andre baythi lakh di bahr gai kakh di" i.e. so long the fair sex was within the confines, she was welcome but if she went out, she would be discarded and condemned as useless. Among the Muslims polygamy was quite common and any man with some means would like to buy a Khurasani woman for her capacity to work, a Persian woman for pleasure and enjoyment, a Hindustani one for nursing children and a Transoxian one for thrashing. Woman as a wife was considered as 'Woe-man' but as a toy-keep it served as 'Woo-man'. Socially, she was like a shoe,—derated and despised. Drudgery, spite, indifference and low status was the fare that the fair got. Child marriage, sati, purdah, and infanticide were prevalent practices. In the social order, witness of even two women was not valued equal to that of one man. A woman was even equated with the dumb-driven cattle and a popular piece of advice said exhortively: "dhor pashu aur nari, tarran ke hain adhikari" i.e. the cattle-flock and the women-folk deserve thrashing (to be kept under control). In fact, the real ethics of Hinduism regarding the status of the women-folk exhorted that "where women are honoured, there the gods are pleased;

but where they are not honoured, no sacred rite yields rewards.”

Again, “He who has unjustly forsaken his wife shall put on an ass’s skin with the hair turned outside, and lay in seven houses, saying: ‘Give alms to him who forsook his wife. That shall be his livelihood for six months.” There was an old Hindu poem (much before Nanak’s time) which read as below:

Woman is man’s little half,
Woman is man’s bosom friend,
Woman is redemption’s source,
From woman springs the liberator.”

This enviable and fascinating status of Indian women had since undergone deplorably in actual practice by Nanak’s time, after the laws of Manu had been dexterously twisted—of course after the foreigners had begun ‘to raid not only the sacred territories of India but the pious terraces of the Hindu women’s modesty too.” A recent writer George B. Vetter says, “...... In Mohammedian cultures, it is solemnly taught and believed that women have no souls.” This shows the utter subjection to which the fair stock continued to be kept even upto recent times in some Muslim countries or under Muslim regimes though Prophet Muhammad had enjoined upon better and just treatment for the women-folk and his own wife Aesha is said to have been his counsellor and a companion during his ventures and campaigns. Nanak’s pointed reference, in Asa di Var, to the real value of a woman exhibits as to how much he was touched and tormented at the poor and pitiable plight of the fair sex. He writes: “If man is conceived, from a woman he is born, with a woman he is betrothed and married. With a woman he contracts friendship; with a woman he goes through the world. When one woman dies, another is sought for; to a woman he is

87. Ibid, p 57.
88. Ibid, p. 65.
89. Ibid.
bound. *Why call her bad* from whom are born kings?" In fact, the
c Condition of women appears almost the same generally in the
whole world in that age and afterwards too. Even near about a
century after Nanak, Shakespeare wrote: 'Frailty, thy name is
woman'. During Charles II's time in England i.e. about two
hundred years after Nanak's birth, Rochester,—an emulator of
royal sexuality, wrote his opinion about women as below:—

"She is a snare, a shamble, and a stews:

.........................
Ungrateful, treacherous, enviously inclined,

.........................
Contentious, wicked, and not fit to trust,
And covetous to spend it on her lust."\(^{91}\)

Another writer of the West advised about the women:—

"The sexes aren't very nice,
They are but instruments of vice.
If the obscure amoeba can
Get on without them, so should Man."\(^{92}\)

What a contrast with our Nanak who extolled the real worth of
woman whom Rochester dubbed merely as a gutter-girl and a
whore for sport, faithless and treacherous, and whom Hoffenstein
called an instrument of vice!

Constant strife and counter-balancing, fear-complex, selfish
sense of security, obscurantism, sensual satisfactions, large scale
aggrandisement, unscrupulousness, treacheries, vain-glorious
atrocities, political instability, religious and social exploitations,
and common sufferings were the order of the day. In the follow-
ing few hymns Nanak's heart appears to be coming out at the
appallingly hopeless conditions. He writes:—

"Numberless are the fools appallingly blind;
Numberless are the thieves and devourers of others' property;


Numberless those who establish their sovereignty by force;
Numberless the cut-throats and murderers;
Numberless the sinners who pride themselves on committing sin;
Numberless the liars who roam about lying;
Numberless the filthy who enjoy filthy gain;
Numberless the slanderers who carry loads of calumny on their heads”

The degeneration was not limited to the Hindus or Muslims alone. Nanak addressed to both and pointed out their depravities and depredations in unqualified words. The following is a satire on the professedly religious men of the time:

“They who call themselves virtuous, commit sin and pretend that they are doing good.
Gurus go to private houses to impart instruction;
A woman loveth man for the money he earneth for her,
Otherwise he may come or go as he pleaseth;
Nobody obeyeth the Shastaras or the Vedas;
Everybody worshippeth himself.
The Qazi sitteth to administer justice,
He turneth over his beads and invoketh God,
But he taketh bribes and doeth injustice.
If any one call him to account, he will read and cite texts.
The Muhammadan creed filleteth the ears and hearts of the Hindus.

They carry tales to the judge and plunder the populace:
They make squares for cooking so as to appear pure.
See what the Hindus are like.
Jogis with long hair and ashes on their bodies keep wives;
Children scream before and behind them.
They miss the right road and obtain not union with God.
Why do they put ashes on their heads?
Nanak, this is the state of this degenerate age.

93. See Tr., Macauliffe, op: cit; I, p. 204.
That men only speak of themselves and think themselves the best”.

In the following hymn Nanak satires on the Brahmin and the Muhammadan priests and on the jogis. He did not spare those who were hypocrites in his eyes. The hymn throws a flood of light on the religious conditions in Nanak’s timeū.

“A Brahman goeth to the house of a Hindu,  
Readeth texts, and putteth the sacrificial thread on a boy’s neck.
If the boy commits sin after putting on the thread,  
He shall not be accepted for all his ablutions and washings.
The Musulman may praise himself.  
But without a guru or a priest he shall not be accepted.
Even when the road is pointed out, few travel by it.
Without good works heaven is not obtained.
Men seek the way in a Jogi’s monastery; and on that account,
Put rings in their ears and become his disciples.
With ear-rings on, they wander about the world,
While the Creator they pretend to search for is everywhere”.  

Both the Hindus and the Muslims suffered from obscurantism; indulged in strife and superstition; believed in incantations and amulets; worshipped tombs and samadhis; and wandered in the wilderness of vague and empty formalism. Nanak mercilessly lashed at this senseless situation. Nanak did not merely expose religious fallacies, or differences in sayings and doings, as noticed in the day-to-day social life. He was alive to political persecution and as a true citizen felt his right and duty to warn a proud and cruel Muhammadan Governor as in the following hymn:—

“At thy waist is a handsome sword,  
thou are mounted on a handsome steed;  
Be not proud lest thou fall on thy head”ū.

Could the perpetuators of such shamelessness be the reflection of God; could the creatures of the same creation hang each other;

could human beings be so heart-less to hold the necks of their
own brethren? Could true religion tolerate all this? Could the
Muslim Sunnis slaughter the Muslims, or the followers of the Path
of Peace order for whole-sale massacres and raising of minarets
with the skulls of Hindus? Where was Humanity? Where was God
Almighty, All-knowing and Omni-present? Such-like ques-
tions were bound to shake the very fibre of the mind of a sensitive
saint like Nanak and to arouse him to enlighten the blurred and
blundering people. His condemnation of the disruption, and his
castigation of the atrocities of his contemporaries,—political or in
the false name of religion, was thorough, unqualified, bold, indiscrimi-
nate and justifiable. He declared without fear of a fine or frown
of the crown: “Men now-a-days are men only in shape and name;
in action they are dogs”\(^7\).

Nanak strongly felt that this state of affairs had been created
out of political malady; political malady was due to people’s
apathy which had made them impotent, servile and timid.
People’s apathy was due to the failure of Religion which was
weak and could not infuse boldness and fearlessness. Religion
was weak since it had been reduced to mere formalism which
had further created a canker in the social edifice. He points
out that ‘form had wholly supplanted spirit’\(^8\). This
formalism was noticeable not only in Hinduism but in Islam
too. The Muslim adventurers had begun to consider Hindus as
non-believers against whom the Qu’ranic injunction “fight for
the cause of God” was to be used. Too much emphasis was laid
upon the word ‘War’ against infidels,\(^9\) forgetting the real
import of the sacred injunction. To-day we frequently use the
word “War” against poverty, “War” against illiteracy, “War”
against capitalism etc., etc. or “total War” against hunger.
Should “War” against monopolies, capitalism and so on mean
slaughter of all the business magnates, industrialists and capi-
talists of the country—even in a country like India which claims
to be believer in the principal message of non-violence of

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\(^7\) Macauliffe, op: cit; I, pp. 75—76.

\(^8\) Cf: Banerjee, I. B., op: cit; I, p. 41.

Mahatma Gandhi? “War against infidels” meant attempt to eradicate falsehood, idolatory, superstitious and irrational rituals etc. As such, Nanak’s message too was a war against idolators and formalists. The misguided use of Qu’ranic injunction to its literal extent had wrought havoc and there was now need for a call to halt. The holy Qu’ran unmistakably points out:— “And fight for the sake of God against those who fight against you: *but commit not* the injustice of attacking them first; God loveth not such injustice”100. The Qu’ran further asserts, “Let there be no complusion in religion”101. Religion and Politics having got mixed up, both became adulterated and corrupt. Since the reins of power were in the hands of the Muslim rulers and administrators, they took shelter of the Qu’ran and Islam for their excesses where it suited them. Greed had greased the Mulas to such an extent that they too failed to maintain the pristine glory of Islam. Perhaps it was keeping this situation in view that Nanak suggested Mian Mitha to “act according to the Qu’ran and thy sacred books”102. Observing the Mulas so low and worldliminded and the Brahmins selfish and mean,—both forgetful of their duties and functions, Nanak had to exclaim, “There is no Hindu, no Musalman”. Finding conservatism and conventionalism too hard to be broken, Nanak launched at an equally strong onslaught on the baseless social taboos. He was even emphatic to say, “*Hor khanna khushi khur, jit khae hi tan pirie, man mahin chalai vikar*”103 i.e. only that food defiles a man which causes disease in the body and creates complexes and passions in the mind. How far had Nanak gone to break all false barriers of orthodoxy and to bring Hinduism and Islam closer even in social life can be guessed from the story of one Pertabmal whose son wanted to become a Muslim so that he could not be debarred from some foods and drinks forbidden in the Hindu society.

100. The Qu’ran, II, 186.
103. Sri Rag.
and was advised by him to become Guru ka Sikh so that he could get free from all such taboos\textsuperscript{104}. Nanak himself held wine and pork unlawful and abstained from animal food\textsuperscript{105}, and enjoined against cruelty to animals\textsuperscript{106}. However, at Kurukshetra itself—one of the greatest centres of Hindu pilgrimage, he was bold enough to cook deer-meat by which he meant no disrespect to Hinduism or advocacy of animal food but simply wanted to strike at the very root of the mere dogmatic taboos. He wanted to stress as is very clear from his hymns that one should avoid bad actions and persecution of human beings in the name of religion or under the intoxication of power. His action was a pointer that ‘man was eating man’ and still everyone was feeling unconcerned whereas such a hue and cry was raised if a man ate an animal\textsuperscript{107}.

\textsuperscript{104} Fani, Dabistan, Tr., Ganda Singh, (Reprint), Punjab—Past and Present, April, 1967, pp. 50-51.

\textsuperscript{105—106. Ibid. Dr Ganda Singh has tried to assert that Nanak was not against meat-eating and that he himself took to meat. He has referred to Guru Granth Saheb, Var Malhar KI, M. I. P. 1289; Tr., Macauliffe, pp. 47—49, to support his contention. The great scholars Ganda Singh and Ward (The Hindoos, III, p. 468) and some others like the author of Gur Ratanvili appear to forget that the incident at Kurukshetra—meant to carry deeper sense, does not go to prove meat-taking, or approval as such, by Nanak who was so tender to all life—human and animal, and who was the lover of God’s creation. If these hymns were to be taken as literally as by Dr. Ganda Singh, there would be no bar to cannibalism or taking of human flesh as well. Moreover Moshin Fani, near contemporary of the Guru, should not be taken just correct here and incorrect there, as it may suit, by the historians of the 20th century. That would be rather against the logic of history.

There is a beautiful Indian saying, quoted below, which a compassionate and tender-hearted Nanak could not be expected to ignore:—

“How can a man adopt the way of compassion, gorging on the flesh of other beings in order to fatten his own flesh?

Meat-eating is inconsistent with tenderness to life or compassion.
Nature cannot work a contrary whatever the casuistry about it.
If we must eat meat, let us not talk of compassion or charity.
He who likes the taste of meat is a butcher whose occupation one detests.
It is no use distinguishing between meat-eating and the slaughtering of animals oneself.”

(The Tīru-Kural)

\textsuperscript{107. The Guru is said to have replied as below to the objecting, horrified and annoyed Brahmins:—}

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

(Cor\textsuperscript{t}.)
Since the rulers were now Muslims, the Hindus could not

When he quickeneth, he obtaineth a mouth of flesh; his bone, skin, and body are made of flesh.
When he is taken out of the womb, he seizeth teats of flesh.
His mouth is of flesh, his tongue is of flesh, his breath is in flesh.
When he groweth up, he marrieth, and bringeth flesh home with him.
Flesh is produced from flesh; all man's relations are made from flesh.
By meeting the true Guru and obeying God's order, everybody shall go right.

*If thou suppose that man shall be saved by himself, he shall not; Nanak, it is idle to say so*. (Tr., Macauliffe, *op: cit*; I, pp. 47-48).
The Guru is said to have further emphasised:—
"Fools wrangle about flesh, but know not divine knowledge or meditation on God.
They know not what is flesh, or what is vegetable, or in what sin consisteth,
It was the custom of the gods to kill rhinoceroses, roast them and feast.
They who forswear flesh and hold their noses when near it, devour men at night.
They make pretences to the world, but they know not divine knowledge or meditation on God.
Nanak, why talk to a fool? He cannot reply or understand what is said to him.
He who acteth blindly is blind; he hath no mental eyes.
Ye were produced from the blood of your parents, yet ye eat not fish or flesh.

When man and woman meet at night and cohabit, a foetus is conceived from flesh; we are vessels of flesh.
O Brahman, thou knowest not divine knowledge or meditation on God, yet thou callest thyself clever.
Thou considerest the flesh that cometh from abroad bad, O my lord, and the flesh of thine own home good.
All animals have sprung from flesh, and the soul taketh its abode in flesh.
They whose Guru is blind, eat things that ought not to be eaten, and abstain from what ought to be eaten.

In flesh, we are conceived, from flesh we are born; we are vessels of flesh.
O Brahman, thou knowest not divine knowledge or meditation on God, yet thou callest thyself clever.
Flesh is allowed in the Purans, flesh is allowed in the books of the Muslims, flesh hath been used in the four ages.
Flesh adorneth sacrifice and marriage functions; flesh hath always been associated with them.
Women, men, kings, and emperors spring from flesh.
If they appear to you to be going to hell, then accept not their offerings.

See how wrong it would be that givers should go to hell and receivers to heaven.
Thou understandest not thyself, yet thou instructest others; O Pandit, thou art very wise!
O Pandit, thou knowest not from what flesh hath sprung.
Corn, sugar-cane, and cotton are produced from water; from water the three worlds are deemed to have sprung.
Water saith, 'I am good in many ways'; many are the modifications of water.
If thou abandon the relish of such things, thou shalt be superhuman, saith Nanak deliberately. (Tr., Macauliffe, *op: cit*; I, pp. 48-49).
afford to remain entirely exclusive. Orthodoxy stood in their way. Necessity warranted co-operation and adjustment. The second appeared to be the only way to save Hinduism from further attacks from Islam. However, Nanak cautioned against mere copying of the Muslim masters just for flattery, servility and self-aggrandize ment as had since been adopted by some Hindus. He castigated the Khashtriyas who had forsaken their duties and had adopted a foreign language. He felt there was a confusion of duties among the people and the Dharma (Real Religion) had lost its hold:—

"Neel baster le kapre pahre; Turk Pathani amal kia"\(^{108}\). Again, "Khatrian tan Dharam chhodia malechh bhakia gahi; Shrisht sabh ik varn hoi dharm ki gati rahii"\(^{109}\). Nanak adopted a via media—a creed of convenience. He advised moral and material adjustment. He believed in rationalism. He had no quarter for the uncompromising and intolerant attitude of the die-hards amongst the Hindus, nor he could tolerate the fanaticism engineered by some Muslims. It was all hypocrisy that was being practised and he had no mercy for the hypocrites. He says:—

"Houses, mansions, palaces painted on all sides,
When hollow within, are as it were crumbled and useless.
Heron arrayed in white dwell at places of pilgrimage;
Yet they rend and devour living things, and therefore should not be called white"\(^{110}\).

Again, he said:—
"I am a blind man carrying a burden while the mountainous way is long.
I want eyes which I cannot get; how can I ascend and traverse the journey?
Of what avail are services, virtues, and cleverness?"\(^{111}\)

Nanak apparently is unhappy over the hollowness to which Religion had since been reduced by the priestly classes and he points out repeatedly the prevailing state of affairs in his various hymns which are an index to the times. He could not remain just a silent spectator and hence, while castigating, he simultaneously attempts to cure too. He strongly felt that True Religion believed in Truth and Love, Tolerance and Fearlessness. True Religion was not to be preached alone but to be practised

\(^{108}\) Asa, I.
\(^{109}\) Dhanasri.
\(^{110}\), \(^{111}\) Macauliffe, op: cit; p. 46.
and to be lived in. It was more a code of ethics—the only panacea for the prevailing ills. He is critical of the excesses and formalism which had come to possess both Hinduism and Islam to a shaking extent. He says:—\textsuperscript{112}

‘You tax the cow and the Brahmin;
You cannot be saved by the cow-dung.
You wear a loin-cloth, sacrificial mark and a rosary;
Yet you earn your living from those whom you call \textit{Malechhas}.
You perform the Hindu worship in private;
Yet, O my brothers, you read the books of Muhammadans and adopt their manners.
Those who devour men, yet read the \textit{Nimaz}.
Those who ply the dagger, have sacred strings on their necks.
Even Brahmans, in such people’s houses, sound their conches:
And enjoy their food as much as they themselves.
They trade in lies with the capital of falsehood, and earn their food by speaking lies.
With all their sacred marks on the forehead and their loin-cloths tucked in behind;
They are butchers of the world with daggers in their hands.
They wear blue clothes in order to be acceptable to the ruling class;
They earn their living from those whom they call \textit{malechhas};
Yet they worship the \textit{Purans}.
‘They eat meat of a goat killed in the Muhammadan fashion,
With the unutterable words pronounced on it.
Yet they allow no access to their cooking squares;
Having smeared a place for cooking purposes,
They draw a line around it:
And sitting within, false as they are,
They say, ‘touch it not! O, touch it not! or this food of ours will be polluted’.
But their bodies are already defiled by their foul deeds.

And their hearts are false even while they rinse their mouths”.

Nanak found, and felt sore that all round there was Mammon-worship and opportunism”113. He says, “There is a deart1 of truth; falsehood prevaileth; the blackness of this age make: the men demons”114. Again, “The holy places in the world have fallen; there is a tax on the shrines of the gods; the turn of the shaikhs hath come”115. Nanak also decries beliefs, miracles and incantations which were, to him, of no avail and quite ineffective. About Babar’s invasion of Sayidpur, he writes :—“He burned houses, mansions and palaces; he cut princes to pieces and had them rolled in the dust. No Mughal hath become blind; no priest hath wrought a miracle”116. The fallacy was common to both the Hindus and the Muslims. The latter in spite of their belief in the word of Prophet Muhammad acted quite contrary to the same. Though “Tilsim” (Magic) was a blasphemy according to the Qu’ranic injunctions, yet it was resorted to not only in the life of a common credulous man but also in high state-matters. Bahlol Lodi as a youth visited a darvesh, made offering of all the tankas that he possessed and secured his blessings to become future Sultan of Delhi117. Again, later on, while desperately engaged in the defence of Delhi against the fast marching Sultan Husain,—occupant of Sambhal, and losing all hope, he had to invoke the goodwill of Qutb-i-alam Khwaja Qutb-ud-din Nur-i-Allah by visiting the saint’s tomb and praying for his victory by standing there for the whole night118. For his coronation ceremony too, he first consulted Brahmins and astrologers for the auspicious day and hour119. Ibrahim

114. Macauliffe, op: cit; I, p. 232; Asa di Var, poiri X, slok XI.
115. Ibid, 1, pp. 84, 117.
116. Ibid, 1, p. 115.
118. Yadgar, op : cit; p. 16; Wakiyat, op : cit; p. 10.
119. See supra, f. n. 62.
Lodi is stated to have once deputed three eminent nobles to persuade his brother Jalal Khan to come to the Imperial court. The deputationists "resorted" to the use of magical charms, in the efficacy of which they had a faith common in the age". Sikh traditions record many incidents where Guru Nanak confronted such magical charms and tricks and belied them since the same proved ineffective against him.

In every sphere, political or social, the whole society during Nanak's age appears to have degenerated beyond repair. The bigger the hole is, the larger the darning it requires. The larger the wound is, the major the operation. The whole country and specially Panjab was vortexed in the web of woe. Society at the time was at its lowest ebb,—the administration was decayed and sense of duty had disappeared. Greed, Corruption, and Sin seemed supreme. Nanak, therefore, embarked upon his major operation upon such a Society and as such he did not spare the rulers, the administrators, the priestly class or the common man. His was a call of awakening and on account of deep slumber prevailing, it had to be quite loud and fearless. Nanak was not reticent in condemning such a situation with all the emphasis at his command, so that his voice may be heard. For the purpose, and to gain first-hand knowledge, he even travelled extensively. He can thus be called a 'Saint-on-road' and a 'Saint-in-action'—a relentless 'crusader' and untiring marcher.

The malady was, however, far-spread like an epidemic. People were lifeless, unconcerned and entirely demoralized. In spite of his loud voice and a message of hope and optimism, we sometimes find a note of despair even in the cry of Nanak when he says, "I weep in sorrow; how shall deliverance be obtained". or "In this completely dark night of falsehood, the moon of truth is never seen to rise; I have become perplexed in my search. In the darkness I find no way".


Nanak begins to feel disgusted that even his voice of reason was falling flat. He regrets to point out that:

"When I remain silent, they say I have no understanding in my heart;
When I speak, they say I chatter too much;
When I sit, they say I have spread my pallet to stay.
When I go away, they say I have thrown dust on my head;
When I bow down, they say I perform my devotion through fear.

I can do nothing by which I may spend my time in peace"\(^{123}\).

His unceasing voice, however, proved piercing and penetrating. Ultimately, he succeeded to convert his followers into fearless advocates of Truth and self-less Servants of Society. His voice was against aggression and tyranny—the tyranny of name, of place and of religion, and not against True Hinduism, or True Islam. Hence it was considered not against a particular Religion but against a defective system. It was therefore either ignored or heard with patience and tolerance, and was not gagged. It may be one of the reasons of its survival. He spoke against sin alone—sin in any den. Nanak said\(^{124}\):—

"Greed and sin are ruler and village accountant; falsehood is master of the mint.
Lust, his minister, summoneth and examineth men, and sitteth in judgement on them.
The subjects are blind and without divine knowledge, and satisfy the judge's greed with bribes.
Priests dance, play musical instuments, disguise, and decorate themselves;
They shout aloud, sing of battles, and heroes' praises;
Fools call themselves _pandits_ and with tricks and cavilling love to amass wealth.
Pretended religious men spoil their religious acts, and yet want the door of salvation;
They call themselves continent, and leave their houses and homes, yet they know not the way.

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123. Macauliffe, _op. cit._ I, p. 80.
Every one is perfect to himself: no one admitteth himself wanting.”

Thus, five centuries ago, Nanak appeared at a time when India stood at the cross-roads, when the rulers were corrupt, the ruled were ignorant; when masters were steeped into luxuries and the masses into superstitions; when religion was reduced to mere mockery of ritualistic symbolism; the social and political structure was shaken; when the priests were mercenary and the so-called Muhammadans were merciless. It was Kalyug which stood like a drawn sword; in which kings were butchers and the people had faces like dogs, ate carrion; when sin was supreme, and when multiphased exploitation squeezed the innocent and the weak. It was in this Kalyug that the great Guru was born in a small village Raibhondi Talwandi (now Nankana Sahib) in tehsil Sarakpur of Lahore Distt. of Panjab (Pakistan) in the house of a Khatri Vedi, Kalu,—patwari and dharwari. It was during this crisis of character and colossal chaos that Lord Merciful took pity on the bewailing and bewildered beings and sent an Indian ‘Calvin’ in the form of Nanak to fill the deep cavities. Bhai Gurdas writes: ‘Sunni pukar Datar Prabhu Guru Nanak jag mahin pathaya’. He appeared for the salvation of the sufferers, sensed the situation and rose effectively and uncompromisingly, in a non-violent revolt against tyranny, falsehood and evil. He could not remain and rest as a passive onlooker. He placed his fingers at the black dots in the political, social and religious set up and expressed his indignation, lamentation and sometimes even frustration at what he saw round-about. He concluded that liberty of thought and action were the pre-requisites of life, of growth, of well-being; where these did not exist, the man, the race, the nation contaminated.

The Guru was against all types of exploitation but exploitation

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126. Bhai Gurdas, “The Lord Gracious responded to the wall of the oppressed people and commissioned Nanak to relieve the world”.
127. Even Swami Vivekanand hammered this point very strongly about four hundred years after Nanak.
was the system of the day. He clearly understood that the root-
cause for all debacles and miseries was disunity of purpose and
diversity of beliefs. Peace and prosperity were difficult to be
attained without unity of thought, belief and spirit or without
creating a common bondage for all—a bondage of humanity. His
Sangats—mixed congregations, and Pangats i.e. community kitch-
en, were some of the practical steps taken by him to break all
irrational barriers between man and man. He also adopted a
simple common Panjabi dialect in place of stilted scholarly
phraseology. In the prevailing circumstances he had to be arti-
culate and his message being against all types of evil and
formalism was equally meant for both the Hindus and the Muslims.
For the purpose, the medium chosen by him had to be well
understandable to both the communities,—the common man. With
the establishment of the Sultanate in Delhi, in 1206 A.D., by
Qutb-ud-din Aibek, Panjab had been absorbing a good deal of
Muslim cultural influence under the Muslim masters. The Muslim
cultural influence was clearly visible in its impact on the
Panjabi language by the time of Nanak. The writings of Farid,
Ibrahim, Kamal, Gorakh Nath, Chand and Hamir abundantly
reveal the Arabic, Turkish and Persian influence. The words of
these foreign languages had since been mostly Panjabicised. The
Persian type of rhyming (i.e. Behr) had since penetrated into
the Panjabi language. Nanak was wise to sow his seeds of sermons
in this fertile receptive field and was bound to get a bumper crop
in the form of acceptance of his word by the common unsophisti-
cated man who was able to understand him and to try against
the social diseases. Nanak’s Hazir Nama and several bits of his
miscellaneous speeches betray the Persian oriented style and freely
Panjabicised vocabulary used by him as his instruments—best
suited to the times and conditions in the Panjab.

We find that Nanak came, lived and preached in the times—in
which both Hindus and Muslims suffered from various social
and political ailments. The Indian society had since grown into
a too crude and crooked jamboori and like a titan it was tottering
for a fall under its own weight. Both Hinduism and Islam were
covered under a heap of dirt of formalism and formalities, gagging
formulae, undue rigidities, moral laxities and untold tyrannies. Too much faith in dargahs and divinities, avatars and pirs, Mulas and Brahmins had blurred the vision of the people at large. Breath of human love gushed forth from him. With his characteristic sympathy, unbounded forbearance and transparent humility, he operated upon the ‘glaeceuma’ of ritualism, formalism, and ‘cannibalism’ to the best of his capacity to enable the suffering multitudes to see for themselves. Nanak not only struck at the root of social evils cankering the society but also strived to foster fusion between the warring communities—Hindus and Muslims. He, like his sufi counterparts, tried to remove an unbased hatred which separated them. “The mission of Nanak was the unification of the Hindu and the Musalman. He realised that in order to heal the wounds of society it was essential to end the conflict of religions” 128. “Nanak shows little mercy to himself and he is naturally not very tender when he deals with others. With a mind definite, clear-cut and keenly alive to the sharp distinctions between good and evil, he condemns with semitic vehemence the superstition and formalism in Hinduism and Islam” 129. Kabir—a Muslim and Nanak—a Hindu, both aimed at the desired fusion in spite of the continuance of all outward segregation and violation.

Nanak extolled ‘Love’ as the only binding factor needed and the only True Prayer acceptable in any True Religion. Some sensitive sufis with their hearts bleeding at the bloody carnals had gone to the extent of condemning everything as formal if without True Love for the humanity. For example, a notable sufi, Pir-i-Ustad Hari had said:

"Namaz guzardan kar-e-bevah zanan ast,
Roza dashtan sarfa-e-nan ast;
Haj kardan kar-e-bekaran ast,
Dile dar yab, ki kar aan ast" 130.

[It behoves the widows to say Namaz (Prayer). To keep fast is

merely a device to save a meal. It is the vacant and job-less who can afford to go for the *Haj* (pilgrimage). Win some heart! only this can be called a real achievement]. Much earlier Rabia Basri had stressed:—*Agar dar hawa pari, magse; Agar bar darya ravi, khase; Agar dil ba dast ari, kase*'. [(No greatness is bigger than the magnificence of Love). If you are able to fly, you are not better than a bee. If you are able to float on a river, you are just like a husk. You are a man only if you can win a heart]. Score of other Muslim *sufis* who flourished more or less about this very time had stressed on the same nuclear theme of mutual love in their sermons, speeches and sayings. They had addressed and written poems, *dohas* and hymns for mixed audiences in which, in spite of physical preponderance of the Muslim, Hindu terminology, philosophical metaphysics, expressive modes and methods were freely employed. Kutban’s *Mrigawati*; Manjhan’s *Madhu Malati*, Jayasi’s *Padmavat*, Kabir’s *Ramainis*, *Sakhis* and *Dohas* etc; etc., provided a good gamboge for the germane gatherings of Muslims and Hindus on the same social platforms. These preachers generally came from lower classes themselves and hence having experienced the callousness of a soul-less and sacerdotal priest-craft, felt full sympathy for their fellow folks and denounced caste and priest-craft quite vigorously. They combined vision and industry, meditation and action, sympathy and sincerity. They broke all irksome reactionary conventionalism. For them God was neither in *Ka’aba* nor in *Kailash* but in Hearts. They spoke in the common language of the commons regardless of the fictitiously fixed finality of Arabic (or Sanskrit, in case of Hindus). Their sensitiveness and sincerity appeared in outbursts of message of Love and Charity regardless of labels. Like the vernacular poetry of Jacopone da Todi and Richard Rolle, they wrote in colloquial tongues, used common imagery, employed simplest metaphors and addressed more to the masses rather than religious ‘masters’, to the mean than to the self-styled ‘masihas’. The unwieldly priestly apparatus was discarded undeterreingly and was substituted by a simple message of Love. The Hindu saints contributed equally and *bhaktas* like Ramananda, Gorakh Nath, Meera Bai, Vallabh
Swami, Chaitanya and Dadu etc., carried this doctrine of love to its apotheosis.

Nanak repeated this love message of the Muslim sufis and Hindu saints with still more emphasis, to produce the requisite gum of human love which was so badly needed for the afflicted Indian society. Nanak tried to re-interpret the Indian creed and to bring about peace and tolerance through faith and love between the Hindu majority and the Muslim minority—the masses and the masters respectively.

How far Nanak succeeded in his attempt to bring the two communities nearer can be judged somewhat from the following graceful Persian distich written by a quasi-contemporary Hindi poet, Manohar by name, who flourished during the reign of Akbar, the great:—

"Yaganam boodan wa yakta shudan, ze chashm amoz;  
Ki har do chashm juda, wa juda nami nigrand".

('Being one and becoming one', learn from the two eyes; for, though they are separate from each other, they do not see differently). This completely mirrors the spirit of the age and the social conditions of the time just following Nanak and Babar for which the major credit must go to bhaktas and Gurus like Nanak on one side and the liberal policy of the Great Mughals on the other.

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"Sat Guru Nanak Pargatya,  
mitti dhund,  
Jag Chanan Hoya"131.

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131. Bhai Gurdas: "When Guru Nanak appeared, the 'mist' was removed and 'light' spread in the world".
Shahid-e-muhabbat na kafir na ghazi
Takkabur ki batein, yeh Turki, woh Tazi.

"There was but One shop, One Merchant above all; the dealers were different".

(Nanak)

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III

MESSAGE

OF

THE MASTER

Chirag lakh jale āair mein ħaram mein, magar Hamare khana - i - dil mein to roshni na hui.

["Religion consisteth not in mere words;
He who looketh on all men as equal is religious"—(Nanak):}
MESSAGE OF THE MASTER

Who loveth, worshippeth!

(Nanak)

As explained in the last Chapter, India at the advent of the 16th century presented a complex and dismal picture. It was caste and community ridden. There was no love-lost between man and man. There was no liaison between the victor and the vanquished and no unison between the Hindu majority and the Muslim ruling minority. At the same time there were periodical attempts at rapprochement, and a feeling of fellowship was being engendered under the stress of circumstances and universal currents of Re-naissance and Re-formation. “The age of Guru Nanak was an age of ignorance and an age of strife”¹. Blind conventionalism, traditional conservatism, meaningless formalism and expensive ritualism held the masses tight. Mahants and Maulvis had made a mockery of religion. They ran “shops” in its name and ‘sold’ salvation to the sulky subjects. To use the words of Alfred Lyall,² Hinduism was then like “a troubled sea without shore or visible horizon, driven to and fro by the winds of boundless credulity and grotesque invention”. Or, as Sir Radhakrishnan puts it, Hinduism had “come to mean a heterogeneous mass of philosophies, religions, mythologies and magics”³. The Muslims were no better. Their heterodoxy was equalled by superstitious beliefs. They now depended on astrological forecasts and witchcraft and had become latitudinarian in the observance of Islamic rituals. Sensual pleasures, wealth, comforts were more looked after than sublime bliss. A sensitive poet like Amir Khusrau had earlier pictured the Ulema “as pouring liquor in the same bosom in which the Qu’ran was

2. Lyall, Alfred, Asiatic Studies.
3. Radhakrishnan, Indian Philosophy, I, p. 92.
treasured"\textsuperscript{4}. In spite of \textit{Qu’ranic}\textsuperscript{5} injunctions against \textit{Khumr} and all types of intoxicants, the Muslims in general were so intensely addicted to such things that even a \textit{Mujahid} King Sikander Lodi had to give up a campaign against Sultan Husain Shah Sharqi because in that year poppy became scarce for his soldiers\textsuperscript{6}.

All round tyranny stalked the land. Religion was prostituted by the leaders who were expected to preach piety. They created artificial wedges and division in the society and cared more for their gains than for the gullible masses who were denuded in every way and fleeced in every manner. India lay prostrate like a sucked up orange. Superstitions, fear complex and materialism held sway. The intellectual, spiritual and socio-economic order had become stagnant and stinking. Human values were eroded by crippling fatalism, intense formalism and narrowness.

Simultaneously the Age of Enlightenment was dawning on the horizon of the world. The two forces—one negative and the other positive grabbed with each other. It was a fight between the forces of rationalism and modernism on one side and the forces of ignorance and obscurantism on the other. The terrified, simple and unsophisticated common man did not know with which force he was to side, which was right and which was wrong. Ignorance was breeding lethargy and inaction in him. He wanted a true guide who should be able to show him the light,—the right path, and lead him out of the darkness in which he and his fellow-men were fumbling. The strife-stricken society sought for such a saint who should be able to show them a simple and straight path to salvation from this salvage. It was then that Nanak—the savant-saint appeared as the much needed master.

Born just 14 years earlier than Luther and passing away just seven years earlier than him, Nanak was the father of Panjabi

\textsuperscript{4} Khusrau, Amir, \textit{Matla-ul-Anwar}, p. 58.
\textsuperscript{5} \textit{Qu’ran}, II, 216 ; V, 92 ; Hughes, \textit{Dictionary of Islam}, p. 670.
\textsuperscript{6} Cf: Yasin, Mohammad, \textit{Social History of Islamic India}, p. 97.
Protestantism and Indian Reformation just as Luther was the founder of German Protestantism and European Re-formation. Both were evangelical in their methods. Both protested against the priestly exploitation and expensive, empty ritualism. Coincidentally, both were not only tolerated but encouraged by the secular Chiefs e.g. German princes in case of Luther and Rai Bular—a Muslim Zamidar, Lodi Chief Daulat Khan, and even the Mughal ruler, Babar in the case of Nanak; and strangely, in both cases, the stir became a mass movement of the masses. In both cases, the preaching of the two, in course of time, established distinct sects which played roles in history in their own spheres. Nanak, like Francis of Assisi, taught through hymns and songs. Nanak was a poet of uncommon sensitivity. He could turn his pen from poignant satire to rapturous praise. Both Nanak and Francis undertook extensive journeys. Both were mystics and both spoke the language of love and used humour and metaphors where necessary. Nanak had the vigour of Zwingli and John Knox and just like them worked for the salvation of man—"common man" by awakening him from slumber. He tried to show the path of virtue to the way-ward and to dispel the darkness of cant and vice with the candle of his wisdom and truth. He saw a tragic net of suffering and woe all around and found the common man in agony and pain, diffident and frustrated. He tried to reconstruct the decayed society and attempted to remove the debris of social evils. He decided to remove the anguish of the afflicted society, oppression of the dark forces, and conflicts of creeds and deeds. “The spring of religion had been choked by weeds of unmeaning ceremonial, debasing superstitions, the selfishness of the priests and the indifference of the people. Form had supplanted the reality and the highly spiritual character of Hindus had been buried under the ostentatious paraphernalia of sects. He belonged to an ordinary family, had no entourage, no

7. Nanak sang about 20,000 verses.
8. Nanak spent about 20 years of his life in his Travels within and outside India.—North, South, East and West.
armies, no armaments and no arsenal, but he faced numerous obstacles in the social set-up which he had to demolish. However, he was equipped with a strong will-power and a divine mission and used the winning weapons of non-violence, love and common-sense. He himself said, "Fight with no weapon save the word of God; a holy teacher hath no means save the purity of his doctrine". Thus, he was meek and humble but mighty, brave and courageous with a faculty to see and guts to say. He was a hater of religious exclusiveness. For him the only remedy to the existing malady was to initiate men into the liberty of the children of same One God and to fraternize them.

"Guru Nanak saw that the real difficulty in making the people truly religious was not so much their want of religious-spirit as the very peculiar turn of their mind with which they would take those things as ends in themselves which were originally intended only as means". He pondered and pondered again:

""Ko sachliara hoi ae, Ko kure tute tal".
(i.e. How can man attain the Truth and how can the pall of falsehood be broken through?). He found the solution to the problem as below:

"Hukam Razai chalna, Nanak likhya nal".
(i.e. By acting according to the Divine Will or His commands).

As a reservoir-rationale he understood that Divine Will could not be realized without divine acts which in turn were not possible without moral uplift. Nanak therefore aimed to rejuvenate the moral values of life. He was keen to inject ethics in place of formalism in actual living. He felt strongly that Religion ought to be an aid to richer and fuller life. His was a creed of action and a mission of mutual understanding. He first understood the malady, analysed the root-cause and then suggested the treat. His was an

open mind which appreciated the new impulses generated by the intermingling of two of the most potent religions i.e. Hinduism and Islam. After a correct diagnosis of the social disease he arrived at the conclusion and deplored that both Hindus and Muslims fought in the name of religion and even died for it but it was pity that they did not live for it. Nanak “lived for a religion of humanity”\textsuperscript{14}. He secularised religion and looked at each man as a human being. He had no hesitation to declare that ‘there is no Hindu and no Musalman’, “since both Hindus and Muhammadans had forgotten the precepts of their religions”\textsuperscript{15}. For him everybody was first a man, human being, a creature of the same Creator and the labels of Hindu and Muslim were just perfunctory without their translating into action the messages of Love and Uniformity as given by their Preceptors. He, therefore, stood for, lived for and preached for a religion of humanity. He made no discriminatory distinction between a religion and a religion, between a country and a country or a region and a region. His was a creed of synthesis. He borrowed freely from the ‘Ekantika’, ‘Advaita’ and ‘Karmayoga’ concept of Hinduism. He was also immensely impressed by the egalitarian and humanistic precepts of Islam which advocated corporate life, common brotherhood, equality and dignity of labour. He was a saint-on-the road whose abode was the hearts of the people. He was also a saint-in-action\textsuperscript{16} who preached and lived in ethics. He emphasised to both Hindus and the Muslims, the truth of human nearness and tried to knit them into one brotherhood and one nation of God. For him it was not material to be a Hindu or a Muslim or an Indian or a foreigner, so long man was a man. Some Muslim divines once asked him what his religion was. He replied humourously that he was a \textit{melange} of the five elements of nature whose name was Nanak which meant as possessed of unitarianism and divine fire. He did not like to call

\textsuperscript{14} Chakravarty, B.N., Presidential Address, (P. U. Chandigarh), 28-8-1969 (\textit{The Tribune}, dated 30-8-69).

\textsuperscript{15} Cf: Macauliffe, M. A., \textit{op. cit.}, I, p. 37.

\textsuperscript{16} Chakravarti, Amiya (Professor of World Religions, State University College, New York), ‘Relevance of Guru Nanak in Modern Age’ (Quincen- centenary Lecture, P. U. Chandigarh, Dated 28-8-1969), \textit{The Tribune}, Dated 30-8-1969.
himself either a Hindu or a Muslim. He believed in one mankind. When he found the Lodi rulers as incapable, inefficient, impotent and unmindful of their duties, he felt no compunction even to bless the foreigner Mughal for a rule over India but advised him simultaneously to take a lesson from the fall of the Lodis. He advised his followers to "regard all men as equal since God's light is contained in the heart of each".

For Nanak, each individual was God's special charge and protege. He told, "Castes are folly, names are folly; all creatures have one shelter, that of God." For him Ram and Rahim, Krishan and Karim, Allah and Allekh were the names of the same Supreme Creator—the common Master of all, who guided the destinies of all, whether Hindus or Muslims. By saying 'there is no Hindu and no Musalman', the great Guru might have taken "his stand on the eternal unity of humanity" and as Pincott points out, "he was in reality saying that everybody was primarily a 'man', and a Hindu or a Musalman, afterwards". The whole strain in Nanak's ryhme is on Man. He tried, with his drug of Love, to reclaim the lost souls since he believed in the reform of man and not in his destruction as essentially man was God's creation and His own image. Whether it was Kauda-the cannibal, or Sajjan-the thug, or Nur Shahi-the sorceress or Wali Qandhari-the proud Pir, Nanak tackled alike. Even a threat to his life did not provoke him or deter him from the path of patchment. He said: "Man, you are made of divine essence; recognize yourself". Attachments, merriments and allurements had corroded the image of Man who needed to be made conscious of his higher potentialities. To smash this artificial but strong wall of ego (Humai) which separated

17. Janam Sakhi (Old), Bhai Bala.
Man from his Master (God), Nanak suggested:—

“Make Truth the Knife and Truth its steel.
Let it be sharpened on the whetstone of the Word,
And kept protected in the sheath of Virtue”.

Again, he advised:—

“As the lotus liveth detached in water,
Or as the duck floateth care-free on the stream;
So doth on cross the sea of life,
By attaining to the Word and enshrining the Lord in the heart”.

Nanak’s was a revolt of a thinking mind against the perpetuation of social ignorance and injustice. His was a voice against institutionalised religion which had imprisoned, bounded and circumscribed God whithin narrow sectarian grooves (Rab apne noon kar lita kothe band). It was a protest against exploitation of all kinds. He strove to evolve a new society where Hindus and Muslims should function as the two eyes, where men should be equal, where there should be no exploitation, where amity and amicability, mutual understanding and good-will should replace artificial barriers, painful prejudices, hatred and malice. Nanak felt that lex theologicum may not serve the purpose as a simple positive, penetrating and direct truth may do to cure the lacerated ‘psyche’ of man. To put forth his views effectively, he avoided philosophical flights and preferred a simple message of Unitarian God, Universal Truth, Unadulterated Love and Utilitarian Co-existence.

Nanak emphasised repeatedly that True Lord,—the only Creator, is One, Primal, Pure, Eternal, Indestructible and Ever-Lasting. To reach Him, there was no need for formal labels but Truth. Truth could be attained through Love and Brotherhood and not through falsehood or hatred. Sat-nam (True Lord) was the destination since He was the Only Creator and Re-caller. Spiritual condition was the only ‘Passport’ towards this goal. Spiritual condition, according to Nanak, could be obtained by a repetition of the Name (Sat-nam) and without that there was no
Salvation. Sat-nam had uncountable names. For Nanak it was of no matter by which name He was remembered and worshipped. His message was quite simple to understand and to act. Religion was only a path to the main goal of Sat-nam. He straightly explained as to what True Religion was and what it was not. Without Spirit there could be no True Religion. All formalism was humbug. He had told the Qazi at Sultanpur Lodi that:

"To be a Musalman is difficult; if one be really so, then one may be called Musalman.

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

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

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

When he is kind to all men, then Nanak, shall he indeed be a Musalman."22

Without piety, sincerity and self-surrender all emblems of religion were unavailing. He lashed upon the Muslim Qazis and Hindu Jogis alike-if, where and when he found mere words divorced of good works. We have scores of sayings from Nanak and extracts of his debates with leaders of various sects which show that his open declarations against practiced formalities led him to opposition from various corners and declamations with the priestly classes and religious leaders from both classes of Hindus & Muslims.

The Guru told the Jogi:

"He who effaceth wrath, avarice and greed;

Who quencheth the fire of the five evil passions within his heart;
Who day and night flieth the kite
By which divine knowledge is produced and evil inclinations depart;

Who cherisheth holiness, restraineth his evil passions
And repeateth no spell but the Guru's—

22. Ibid, p. 38
The habits of that good man are the best—
Nanak saith, these are the marks of a Jogi" 23.

To the Muslims he advised that the Qu’ran, the Ka’aba, the tasbih (rosary), roza (fast), jada (mat) and Namaz (prayer) were all meaningless if you keep on indulging in worldliness; hypocrisy, vices, and sensual pleasures. For Nanak “names were folly” and it was “the reality alone that was tested”. For him, he was a Qazi “who turneth away men from the world” 24; he was a Jogi “who knoweth the way to God” 25; and only he was a Bairagi Who “abandoneth desires” 26. Again, he said that only he is a Brahmin who knoweth God 27, and only he was a Khatri ‘who is brave in good deeds and employeth his body in charity’ 28. He was neither against the Hindus nor against the Muslims but he was emphatic against empty formalism, blind conventionalism and crude conservatism prevailing among the both. Nanak treated religion as an ‘eye’ but wanted to remove the filament which was blurring the vision of this eye of religion. Too much stress on form than on action; belief in the too many avatars, prophets, gurus and pirs; hostilities amongst the followers of various creeds in the name of religion had taken the people far off from their real goal i.e. God-realization. He felt to his core that these religious divisions amongst men and men were the root cause of all hatred which was the cause of human tragedy. The religious divisions were caused by ignorance of the basic fact that there was only one God—Creator of all, and that all humanity was thus one. This made Nanak emphasise on the Unity of God-head which is the cardinal point of his teachings. He told Sheikh Brahm of Pakpattan, “There is but one Lord and one Way. Adopt one and reject the other, Why should we worship a second who is born and dieth? Remember the one God, Nanak, who is contained in

27, 28. Ibid, p. 381.
sea and land." 29. Nanak took everything subordinate to the One and only One God. To those who had begun to fight in the name of Muhammad and his creed, he told, "There are hundreds of thousands of Muhammads and that many Muhammads stand in HIS COURT. 30. To the Hindus he advised, "it is ridiculous to try to conceal the greatness of God by glorifying the deeds of Krishna and Rama." 31. Nanak meant no disrespect to Lord Krishna or Rama—the God incarnates of the Hindus as is very clear from various hymns included in the Holy Granth. Here, he appears to be feeling sore about the disputations and dissentions which had since crept into the Vaishnavites,—the Ramaites and the Krishnaites etc. Nor did he mean to belittle the importance of Muhammad whom he did consider a great prophet but like so many other great prophets who too had come with the same mission from the same One God Almighty, All-Knowing. In fact he aimed to emphasise that it was futile and fruitless to waste energies in unnecessary religious disputations. It pained him that various votaries of essentially the same One God,—the Creator and Destination of all, should howl and fight to a finish in the sacred name of Religion,—an irreligious act as it was in his eyes. Tender-hearted and humane Nanak considered it an unpardonable sin to divide humanity on the flimsy grounds of variance in religious beliefs 32 and deemed it as a harmful act tentamounting to homicide 33.

32. One can imagine how Nanak might have felt if he knew about the Statue De Heretico Combu-endó (i. e. Church's right to have heretics burnt, which was passed in 1401 A. D, in the name of 'true' Christianity, and was prevalent in Europe during Nanak's time).
33. What a pity! Little did Nanak know that his own followers might one day have a distinct division for themselves and shall have to stand the wars of religion in the times to come. One wonders at the present day cry of Hindu or Sikh or Muslim even in the Panjab of Nanak—the Panjabs, in which Nanak tried to bridge the division between the Hindus and Muslims but which was truncated twice, in the name of formalism of religions, in the so-called ultra-modern twentieth century. How shameful that the people of Panjab,—the Hindus, Sikhs and Muslims, should have fought in the name of Hinduism, Sikhism or Islam in spite of Nanak's repeated proclamations against any such fights or divisions and the claimants to Nanak's
Nanak's teachings were very simple. We find repetition of same idea again and again in his hymns which shows that, in the circumstances prevailing then, Nanak felt it necessary to emphasize his viewpoint by hammering it again and again. The repetitions hastened Trumpp into a wrong conclusion that 'the Sikh Granth is incoherent and shallow in the extreme'\textsuperscript{34}. Macauliffe agrees that the repetitions served to impress on the listeners the instruction accorded\textsuperscript{35}. Nanak corpse should have split the blood of their brethren and should have torn the society into pieces! They had torn Nanak's coffin as a token of their being equal followers of his message. But they tore the common brotherhood conceived by same Nanak in the name of Path or \textit{Panth}. Nanak preached for good actions as the only criteria of attaining the ultimate goal. Let us see how many more quincentenaries are celebrated and how many simultaneous slogans for further divisions are raised and how many people—the followers of the gospel of Nanak continue to be befooled. If Nanak were alive today or his creed of co-existence and correct living were actually operative, it would have been amusing to note as to how many office-bearers,—the Presidents, Secretaries, Patrons and others, of various quincentenary celebrations; how many 'scholars' and politicians playing with his name would have been charge-sheeted by the Master (Nanak) himself or his true followers. Keeping Nanak's hymns and compositions before one eye and looking with the other eye at the corrupt deeds of some of those who may be ultra-active in the quincentenary celebrations, one can simply shudder at the difference between actions and words—a difference which Nanak could never reconcile with. Nanak tried to foster brotherhood and one-ness between men and men, between Hindus and Muslims. For him there was no Hindu, no Musalman, but only Man. In our age, we saw division not only between Hindus and Sikhs and Muslims, but we often hear of divisions between Hindus and Sikhs and Sikhs and Sikhs. Nanak strongly preached against sensual pleasures, hypocrisy, worldliness, vices of passion and temperance etc., etc. It is for the masses and for the true followers of Nanak to gauge in this year of quincentenary as to which bands they have entrusted the celebrations and their own destinies. Are these hands-pious enough to handle the pious sayings of the grand Master? How many of them are depraved, how many of them are hypocrites, drink like fish and eat like a vulture. It is the height of mental bankruptcy that lachks of rupees should be entrusted in the name of Nanak's quincentenary, into the hands of those some of whom are the very antithesis of what Nanakism was. It is the climax of demoralization that the followers of Nanak should not have courage to rise against this farce when the Master had the guts to say the truth at the face of the \textit{Qazis}, the \textit{Pirs}, the \textit{Nawabs}, the rulers, the \textit{jogis}, Brahmins and the \textit{Sidhas}. When no sword could cut the honest and truthful expositions of Nanak, why should his followers fear the frets of those who may be duping them in the name of Nanak? And, why should every office-bearer not search the office of his heart and the racks of his recesses to see honestly, at least on this one pious occasion, whether he deserves to accept the high trust of being instrumental in the advancement of the teachings of Nanak without shedding off the cloak of dark deeds, if any?

\textsuperscript{34} Trumpp, \textit{Adi Granth}, Preface, p. vii., and pp. cxxi, c xxii; Also see Hugel, Baron, \textit{Travels}, p. 283.

\textsuperscript{35} Macauliffe, \textit{op. cit}; I, Preface, xvii.
was frank and straight. He did not enter into unintelligible flights. Space may be wanting if the teachings of Nanak were to be reproduced in toto. His simple creed stressed that "ritualistic practices were of no avail." He addressed the masses, the Pandits, the Mullas, the high, the low, those in the Panjab and those outside, as well as those in India and those abroad. His utterances which may sometimes even sound to some people as confusing and conflicting shall appear as uniform and steadfast if viewed with reference to the contexts and situations. The nucleus of his sermons was the Unity and greatness of God and One God alone, Love between man and man, and futility of conventionalism. Everything was insignificant before God's exalted presence. When Mardana became sore afraid on finding Satan (Kaljug), in the wilderness of Kamrup, tempting them to evil, the Guru exhorted, "By His Order man cometh, by His order man goeth; Before and behind us His order prevaleth." The Guru advised him to fear none except God. But who was this True God? Nanak has defined his True God and sung His glory and greatness in his various hymns and compositions. He called Him as One, All-pervading, True, The Creator, Supreme, Fearless, Without-malice, Immortal, Birthless, Self-created, True-in-the-beginning, True-through-the-ages, True-at-the-present, and True-to-be-in-future, Who could not be installed, nor could be created, and was Self-existent. Nanak said that Truth was highest, True living was higher still, and Truth never grew old. No body knew the limits of God. Only he Himself knew how great He was. His mercy, His knowledge, His gifts, 'What He saw and what He heard' could not be ascertained. In Asa di var, he says, "Real are Thy Universes, regions, countries, and created objects. Real are Thy works and Thy purposes, Thy rule and Thy administration, Thy orders and Thy edicts." As God was self-

40. Cf: Banerjee, op: cit; p. 100.
41. Asa di Var, (Teja Singh), Slok, III
born, so was His name. As His rule and administration, His orders and edicts were the only realities; man was insignificant. Then, why man should take airs and fight with man for unreal things? The gate of salvation could be opened only to those who understood this and who surrendered themselves to the Will of God alone. Such a man, who obeyed God and God alone and who understood the great Truth, could help others to seek the same path and secure salvation. Again, in pouri xv of Jupji, the Guru says:—

"Mane pawah mookh do aar; mane parvare sadhar"42.

i.e. He who obeys the True Lord, achieves salvation for himself and also for his family. He says further:—

"By obeying Him man’s path is not obstructed; By obeying Him man departeth with honour and distinction. Whoever obeyeth God knoweth the pleasure of it in his own heart"43.

Mane marg thak na pae; mane pat seon pargat jae.
Mane marg na chale panth; mane dharam seti sanbandh.
Aisa nam Niranjan hoi; jai ko man jane man koe"44.

Except God & His True name, all else was Maya—unreal and deceitful.

Nanak’s True God was, according to above definitions, the same One God for all, the same as defined by other religions viz. Islam and Hinduism. His preachings, therefore, were the practical patches necessary for the adhesion of various elements of humanity. His message was, as such, universal. It was not meant for one sect or one region. It was based on fundamental truths and hence all pervading. God was formless and hence incomprehensible. But still it could be seen and obtained by faith and love and through the guidance of a true Guru. Since people were confused owing to the conflicting interests and cobwebs in religious performances, they needed some preceptor or a Guru to guide them properly and to show them the right path of Sat-nam. Nanak explained as

42. Jupji, pouri, XV.
43-44. Macauliffe, op. cit. p. 202; Jupji, Pouri; XIV.
to what type of a person could be the true Guru. Hence he said, "None has realised God without the true Guru; without the true Guru none; God has placed Himself in the true Guru, and has manifested and declared Himself through him."45 Again, he said, "Under the Guru’s instruction God’s Word is heard; under the Guru’s Instruction It’s knowledge is acquired; under the Guru’s instruction man learns that God is everywhere-contained. (Gurumkh nading Gurumkh vading Gurumkh reha samai)46. The Guru is Shiv; the Guru is Vishnu and Brahma; the Guru is Parbati, Lakhshmi and Saraswati"47. (Gur Isar Gur Gurumkh Barma Gur Parbati Mai)48. Thus, he made Guru as the direct intercessor between a man and His God and stressed that a true Guru leads to the true God and there is no need of other gods or goddesses49. Everybody needing salvation and God-realization required a vehicle of communion between God and man. Guru was the only such vehicle of communion. Nanak did not advocate ceremonies. He said that the Guru was like a ladder, a boat and a raft50. He alone was an agent and the sole agent between God and man. "Man shall not be emancipated without the Guru’s instruction; even though man performed hundreds of thousands of ceremonies, all would still be darkness without the Guru"51.

True Guru could be found only by God’s grace. God’s grace shall be bestowed only on the virtuous. Thus a circle is drawn in the Guru’s message with its starting point as good actions. Good actions shall get God’s grace which shall beget a true Guru who shall guide in the path of True Name which shall lead to God-realization. Nanak’s creed can be called a moral order. In Nanak’s message we find stress on both freedom of action—good or bad for which reward and punishment is there, as well as divine Grace and

45. Teja Singh, Asa di Var, vi, pp. 74—75.
46—48. Macauliffe, op: cit; p. 198; Jupji, pouri, V.
49. Bhai Kahn Singh has taken his view as such in the Gurumai Prabhakar, p. 326. f.n. There are some other different interpretations too of this verse.
50. Macauliffe, op: cit; p. 262.
52. Asa di Var, (Teja Singh), ix, p. 82.
Will which alone can lead to God-realization through the guidance of a God-sent Guru. The message broadly agrees with the Islamic cult of *Raza* and *Qaza* (i.e. Freedom and Binding) and *Jaza* and *Saza* (i.e. Reward and Punishment).

Nanak came forward as the needed Guru. He presented a simple formula of *nam*, *dan* and *isnan* or *simran*, *seva* and *safai* to his followers. The sacred word *Sat-nam* was the boat of salvation (*Nam Ka Jahaj*). By *Nam* i.e. remembrance of One God, one could achieve the salvation sought for; by *dan*, a sense of common brotherhood could be created, and by *isnan*, the significance of personal purity was pointed out. The formula can be called as the briefest summary of the entire message of Nanak enunciated by him for the amelioration of whole mankind. This formula, according to Bhai Kahn Singh, gives in a nutshell the essentials of Sikhism. The features *Nam*, *Dan* and *Isnān* as covered in the message of the Guru are evidently too simple and intelligible to need any elucidation or explanation.

Nanak laid stress on three focal points in his message—*Sat-nam* (One True Lord); *Sat-guru* (One True Guru); and *Nit-nam* (Repetition of God’s-name). Repetition of God’s name brought virtue in actions. *Sat-nam* was the goal, *Sat-guru* was the link, *Nit-nam* was the means. He repeatedly pointed out the efficacy of *Name* which helped obtain truth, contentment, divine knowledge, happiness and concentration. He advised, “remember the *Name*, so mayest thou be released from thy shackles”. Again he said, “Hearing the Name is equal to bathing at the sixty-eight places of pilgrimage; By hearing the Name and reading it man obtaineth honour; By hearing the Name, the mind is composed and fixed on God. Nanak, the saints are very happy. By hearing the Name sorrow and sins are no

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53. Cf Bhai Gurdas, *Var*, 1, 14; v, 13; xi, 3; xii, 16.
55. These have been however amply discussed and elaborated by Bhai Kahn Singh in his *Gurumat Sudhaker*.
more” ("Suniay sat santokh gyan; suniay athsath ka isnan; suniay parh parh paven man; suniay lage sahj dhian; Nanak, bhagta sada vigas. suniay dookh pap ka nas").

Keeping Nanak’s preachings in view, it is very clear that he strongly felt all vain and formal pilgrimages, ceremonials, austerities, mere recitations, meaningless rituals and man-created contrivances as unavailing and useless. To the people fumbling in the complex and dismal environment, he gave the simplest formula or device of Name.

Nanak’s age suffered from various obsessions. His message was therefore aimed to tackle these obsessions too. Obsessions being varied and numerous, the elements of Nanak’s formula had to be repeated again and again. Blind ritualism and unintelligent adherence to the sacred text without any effort to understand their import, utility or timely necessity was the greatest obstacle in the way of people to understand each other. Unintelligent adherence often led to mutual strife which in reality meant forgetfulness about one God—The Only One Creator of all. Thus religious ceremonial and narrowmindedness was becoming responsible for the irresponsible and irreligious strife-striken life. Nanak understood the disease and he struck straight at its root-cause. He declared, “Ritualistic practices are of no avail.” Again, “The profit which is obtained from pilgrimages, repeating the Smritis and bestowing alms all day long is obtained in one ghari by remembering the Name that conferreth greatness”. To Nanak, reading of the Vedas and the Qu’ran was a personal affair. “The Pandit may say that ‘by reading the Vedas sinful inclinations are destroyed, but the reading of the Vedas is a secular occupation. Without understanding this everyone shall be disgraced’.” Nanak did not mince matters. He told both warring Hindus and the Muslims that “God’s secret is not found in the

56—57. Macauliffe, op: cit; pp. 200—201; Jupji, pouri, X.
58. Macauliffe, op : cit; Preface, p. xvii.
59. Macauliffe, op: cit; I, p. 117.
60. Ibid, p. 345.
**Vedas** or books of the **Musalmans**"^{61} and though "the thousands of **Purans** and Muhammadan books tell that in reality there is one principle, none has discovered Him". Nanak appears to feel shocked that people valued a **pir's khirqa** (patched rags) or **jogi's sota** (staff) more than the significance of **Sat-nam** (True Lord). He denounced all formal semblances and said:—

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

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

Religion consisteth not in mere words; **He** who looketh on all men as equal is religious.

Religion consisteth not in wandering to tombs or places of cremation, or sitting in altitudes of contemplation;

Religion consisteth not in wandering in foreign countries, or in bathing at places of pilgrimages.

Abide pure amid the impurities of the world; thus shalt thou find the way of Religion"^{62}.

The Guru was vehemently against all kinds of hypocrisy. At Haridwar, he told the **Brahmins** that "the Hindus are going to hell. Death will seize and mercilessly punish them". He remonstrated them that their rosaries were just for show and their minds wandered when they were telling beads^{63}. He rebuffed another **Brahmin** who felt that his cooking-square had been defiled by Nanak's entry into it. He told him that "**Evil-mindedness is a low woman, cruelty butcher's wife, a slandeous heart a sweepewoman, wrath a pariah woman**". He further advised him to make truth, self-restraint and good acts the lines, and utterance of the **Name** ablutions". For Nanak, best was he who walked not the way of sin^{64}.

Nanak preached practical purity. Everywhere and to everyone he made it steadfastly clear that purity was the true test of a truly religious life. He stressed that: "Amidst the impurities of the

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62. *Ibid*, p. 60. Only the pages of history may tell how many were 'martyred' in the name of religious semblances before and after Nanak! See f.n. supra too.
64. *Ibid*, pp. 51-52; Also see Sri Rag.
world, he who abideth in the Pure One attaineth the true way of Yoga." Again, he said, "He who spends his life pure and well is indeed a true servant of God". He advised his followers to "live in the world as the lotus lived, detached, in water or as the duck lived in a stream'. It was false pride and egoism which made a man irreligious and his actions impure. In his words:

"Friendship with the unwise, and love of the egotists, Were like a line drawn across water of which there is neither sign nor mark left".

Like his predecessor Chaucer (1340—1400 A. D), he emphasised that "greed was the root of all evil" (radix malorum cupiditas). Under the heap of avaricious acts, impure deeds and lustful materialism, one gets blurred and loses his inward eye which was instrumental to remind him of the vision and presence of God. Thus he forgets God and fails to recognize his supremacy. The remedy to this ailment was the removal of the rootcause: i.e. the abandonment of lure, lust, pride, and selfishness or in other words in self-surrender. Self-surrender was the surest way to self-realization and God-realization. The Guru therefore advised, "Efface your-self; what other art is there?" Again he said, "the pious who meditate on God receive nectar, it is they who are pure". Purity came from inward devotion which came in turn from belief in One God and one Creation. Unless this belief was born through self-surrender, avarice; mammon-worship; pride and prejudice were bound to fill the recesses of man. To clear off these recesses from all type of dirt, the repetition of Sat-nam was the only panacea, and good actions, love and truth were conducive to this requisite repetition. No further formality was needed. He thought all formalism as dust which only concealed the underlying basic Truth. His message was a bold challenge. Examples and instances can be multiplied in volumes to show that Nanak showed no restraint in his attack upon the formalism which had engulfed the whole society.

65. Asa Di Var, Slok viii; Teja Singh, Asa di Var, pp. 75—76.
67. Ibid, p. 81.
Nanak not only decried the formalities of dress, diet, and modes but he himself practised what he said. He had no taboos. His postures, dress, diet, enunciations, and "queer" movements and actions during his various tours and itineraries speak about his sincerity of feeling. He was variously dressed in his various journeys, his dress generally comprising features of various religious costumes—Hindus, Muslims, Jains, Buddhists, Qalanders etc. He did not mind to take deer's meat at the sacred Kurukshetra nor did he care about lying with his legs towards the holy Ka'aba in Mecca itself. At Haridwar he posed to be watering his fields at Kartarpur in place of throwing water to the sun. He advised the Muslims what real tasbih (beads), jada and mussalla (the prayer-mat) etc., should be. To the Hindus, he told what true Janeu (sacred thread) should be. When still a child, born in a traditional Hindu family, he had told the Pandit at his own janeu ceremony:—

"Make mercy thy cotton, contentment thy thread, continence its knot, truth its twist.
That would make a janeu for the soul; if thou have it, O brahman, then put it on me.
It will not break, or become soiled, or be burned, or lost.
Blest the man, O Nanak, who goeth with such a thread on his neck.
Thou purchasest a janeu for four damris, and seated in a square puttest it on;
Thou whisperest instruction that the Brahman is the guru of the Hindus—
Man dieth, the Janeu falleth, and the soul departeth without it."68

The priest told Nanak that unless he would wear that sacred and sacrificial thread, he shall be deemed as a person without religion. The Guru forthwith retorted:—

"Though men commit countless (lakh) thefts, countless adulteries, utter countless falsehoods and countless words of abuse;
Though they commit countless robberies and villainies night day and against their fellow creatures;
Yet the cotton thread is spun, and the Brahmin cometh to twist it.

68. *Asa di Var*; Macauliffe, *op: cit*; I, pp. 16–17,
For the ceremony they kill a goat and cook and eat it, and everybody then saith, 'put on the Janau'.

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

Nanak, the string breaketh not if it be strong'"69.

The Guru further told the angry Brahmin priest:—

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

In this way a sacred thread shall be put on, which will not break, and which will be fit for entrance into God's Court'"70.

Nanak then counted several elements which needed strings i.e. restraints but which were let loose like sexual organs, impure acts, hands, feet, tongue, eyes etc., etc., He said:—

"Without such strings the Brahman wandereth astray,
Twisteth strings for the neck, and putteth them on others.
He taketh hire for marrying;
He pulleth out a paper, and sheweth the fate of the wedded pair.

Hear and see, ye people, it is strange

That, while mentally blind, man is named wise'"71.

To his Persian teacher Rukn-ud-Din, he told his view-point unreservedly in his famous acrostic on the letters of the Persian alphabet. He pleaded for restraint of the five evil passions (i.e. lust, anger, covetousness, worldly love and pride); humility; good works and good conduct etc., as the tenets of true education and training of mind than mere alphabets. He gave proof of his own utter unworldliness even from his childhood when he gave away his father's twenty (or 40 ?) rupees to feed the hungry and called his act as sachha soda (True bargain).

Nanak's enunciation brought him in some confrontation with Pirs, Jogis, Sidhs, Brahmins and the Qazis. His message was considered by some as a total denunciation of the existing religions and social order. Nanak himself had shown disrespect to prevailing irrationalism and had pooh-poohed the blind faith in avtaras and divinities, traditions and practices, pilgrimages and ceremonies, rituals and usages. He advised the Brahmins:

"Make the remembrance of the Name thy lion-cloth and frontal

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69. Macauliffe, op: cit; p. 17.
70. Macauliffe, op: cit; p. 17.
71. Asa di Var; Macauliffe, op: cit; p. 18.
mark. He struck at the walls which divided mankind, mixed and dined freely with people of all religions, all castes, and all regions. He sat and chatted with Muslims and Brahmins alike. He visited Hindu centres of pilgrimage as well as of the Muslims. The greatest wall that divided human beings was of caste. He was particular to spurn at caste system. According to Carpenter, he "broke down caste restrictions in every direction." He "denounced the very idea of impurity attached to God's creation" and "refused to admit of any distinction between the so called high and low." Nanak said, "call them not pure who wash their bodies and sit; those alone are pure in whose heart He dwells." He said he was himself among the lowest and did not want to copy the high-born as God helped those who sided with the low one.

"Neechan under neech jaat neechi hun at neech
Nanak tin ke sung saath, wadyan sang kya rees".

i.e. There are lowest men among the low classes, Nanak. I am with them. What have I got to do with the great?" God's eye of mercy falls on those who take care of the lowly. To Nanak, "a low-born but God-fearing and truthful chandala, living upon his honest earnings, was a thousand times better than a high born Brahmin 'who feeds on carrion and drinks of human blood'". Humility raises a man to a place of honour and not servility or vanity. Nanak said, "He who recognizes himself lowly shall be exalted. He whose mind is humble is saturated with the Lord's Name. Having subdued the self,

72. a Though historically it is not certain as to how far it is correct, yet according to a tradition, Nanak is said to have married and lived with a Manjhi Muslim lady—later known as mata Manjot, too (cf: Sardha Nand, Pt; Sikhan de Rai Di Vikhia, Tr., H. court, p.8; Also see Hanadli Janam-Sakhi of Bidhi Chand and Maculiffe, op: cit; Vols., 1-2, Int., p. xxxi. and Chap., 'Nanak and the Muslims,' infra.
73. Carpenter, Estlin, Thelms in Mediaval India, p. 488.
75. Asa di Var, 1.
76—77. Sri Rag, 1, 4—3 (Tr., Ganda Singh, op: cit; p. 25.)
78. Ganda Singh, op: cit; p. 25,
the humble live in all happiness; the self-conceited are consumed by the fire of egoism". The Guru believed in the fatherhood of God and brotherhood of man. He said that all were God's creatures:—"Ek pita ekas ke ham barak", i.e. 'there is One father and we are all His children'. The Guru did not believe at all in any distinction of colour, caste or community. He told, "What difference is there between a swan and a crane if God look kindly on the latter? Nanak, if it pleases Him, He can change a raven into a swan." He warned that "actions shall be counted and weighed, caste shall not be seen". Again, he said, "Castes are folly, names are folly. All creatures have one shelter, that of God. If a man calls himself good, the truth shall be known, O Nanak, when his account is accepted." He advises, "Call no one bad: this is the essence of knowledge. And, argue not with a fool". Again, he stresses, "Caste hath no power in the next world: there is new order of beings. They whose accounts are honoured are the good" ("Amlan de hon ge nabere jat kise puchni naeo"). Nanak did not hesitate to lash at all those who prided in caste. According to Teja Singh, the Guru had no mercy for caste and its usages. He started free kitchens (pangats) for all and free congregations (sangats) of all. This was a novel way to break the barriers of casteism and untouchability. He was against all type of social tyranny, and caste-system was then one of the strongest engines of social oppression. Like Kabir, Nanak felt that God was the breath of all breath ("jat pat nahin pooche koi, Hari ko bhaje so Hari ka hoi"). In Nanak's own utterances and actions, one can find forceful and vehement.

79. Gauri, V, 3—6, 12—1; Ganda Singh, op: cit ; p. 27.
79. Sorath, V, p. 611.
81, 82. Macauliffe, op: cit ; p. 278.
83. Ibid, p. 223.
84. Even four hundred years after Nanak. Dr. Iqbal,—a sensitive poet of Nanak's land, Panjab,—had still to comment and lament—perhaps tearfully:—
"Aah shudar ke liye Hindustan gham-khana hai
Dard-l-insani se is basti ka dil begana hai".
(Alas! India is still a House of Sorrow for the Untouchables!
This land—India, is still a stranger to the sense of human sensitivity !!).
[Iqbal, Bang-i-Dara, poem 'Guru Nanak'.]
denunciations of this system. In Nanakism, there was absolutely no place or provision for a priestly class as a caste. According to Bhai Gurdas, Nanak had reduced the four castes into one\(^{85}\) ("Char varan ik varan karya"). It is worthwhile to observe that the members of the low castes later on rendered valuable services\(^{85a}\) to Sikhism and even swarmed its ranks. It is they who were the first to bring the head of the great Guru Tegh Bahadur to Anandpur or to cremate his body at Rakabganj (Delhi) even at the risk of their personal lives and/or property. Again, four out of the five first disciples (Pyaras) of Guru Gobind Singh were from low classes. Mardana, a Muslim mirasi or rababi was Bhai (brother) to Nanak. Ranghretta sweepers were betas (sons) to Guru Gobind. The Jats (ploughmen), the Kalals (distillers), the peg-menders and carpenters could become commanders, chiefs, rulers and preachers in the all-embracing fold of Sikhism\(^{86}\). Nanak and the succeeding Gurus were, thus, all social levellers\(^{87}\).

Nanak could not like the inhuman and degrading low status accorded by the society to the women, too, who were the very prop of existence in his views. He argued:—

"From the woman is our birth, in the woman’s womb are we conceived. To the woman are we engaged, to the woman are we wedded. The woman is our friend, from the woman is the family, yea, through the woman are our bonds with the world. Why call woman evil who giveth birth to kings and all? From the woman is the woman, without the woman there is none, save the one God alone".

\(^{85}\) Var, Bhai Gurdas, I, 23.
\(^{85a}\) The present writer is drafting a monograph on the contribution of the Harijans to Sikhism.
\(^{86}\) Also see Ganda Singh, The Sikh and Sikhism, pp. 25-26 (1959 Ed.).
\(^{87}\) It would be fruitful, if the enthusiastic Sikhs and other followers of Guru Nank were to search their hearts and find out if the evil of caste still exists amongst them or not; and if it exists, and if there are social barriers still prevailing amongst them, how far it is compatible with Nanakism, and how far it is more advisable to abolish these barriers first than the urgency of creating new barriers by further territorial and social divisions.

Caste, truly speaking, is sometimes kept in view in actual practice in some regions and quarters—social, administrative or academic;—Hindu, Sikh or Muslim. Even some universities, the temples of learning, from where the national leaders, policy makers, rulers, administrators and future centenary celebrators are to be moulded out, caste considerations e.g. Brahmin, non-Brahmin; Jat, non-Jat; Sikh, non-Sikh; Kesh-dhari, Sahj-dhari; etc., etc., are said to have tilted the scales in matters of admissions and selections to posts. How un-Nanakwise and shameful!!
What a bold, logical and rational exposition!

Nanak also favoured an honest living earned by an honest labour. He was one of the greatest supporters of the dignity of labour. He preferred Lalo’s meals to those of Bhago Malik since the former was procured by honest labour and was pure, whereas the latter was obtained after bribery and oppression and was therefore impure. It is noteworthy that Nanak had the courage to demonstrate it before the corrupt Malik Bhago himself. Nanak proclaimed, “Without sinful means it is not possible to accumulate wealth. Yet, it does not keep company after death.”

Nanak also aimed at common proprietorship where none was the master and none slave, none the feeder and none the dependent except One God as One Master, One Universe as His Property alone, and the whole creation,—even birds and animals, as the benefited. He said:—

“Khao chireo bhar bhar paet;
Hari ki chirian Hari ka khet”.

(i.e. “O sparrows! don’t hesitate, come and eat to your fill. It is your own property. God created the fields and God created you too”).

Nanak’s stress was, throughout, on character building rather than on formalism. For him, truth was the highest and to conquer the mind was equal to conquering the world (“Mano jite jag jit”). He was the greatest socialist who believed neither in capitalism, nor

88. Cf: Macauliffe, op: cit; pp. 43-44.
89. Let Guru Nanak give strength to his followers to demonstrate the same courage before the modern Bhagos in our present age which perhaps needs Nanak’s message much more than ever and let the Bhagos of the 20th century have eyes to see the truth by inward introspection!

90. How good, if the mammons of India were to hear the soundings of the great Guru! If the words of Nanak were to have any effect during this quincentenary, the social disparities between haves and have-nots should end. Then and then alone, our eyes would not meet the shocking spectacle of propertied persons rolling in riches and resting in air-conditioned bungalows sufficient enough to accommodate hundreds of roofless people on one side and a horde of men, women and children dying on the foot-paths, in the chilly months of December and January, on the other. The surest way to bring about a peaceful social revolution is the acceptance of Nanak’s message. Then, there would be no fear of Naxalites, no violent insurrection, no bloodshed, no poverty, no disease and no unrest. If
in selfish worldliness. He believed in equality and social justice, a classless society and ownership of the proletariat. He taught to rise above self which was the root of all troubles. He exhorted to be honest and virtuously purposeful. He advised people to cast away greed, anger, infatuation and lust. Only then, peace and happiness could be attained. Without fostering fellow-feeling, and eradicating social evils, superstitious beliefs and prejudicial practices, no justice was possible and no virtuous deed could be done, and hence no peace, no pleasure and no God-realization.

Nanak was not critical merely of the caste-system. He had asked his followers to also eschew some other customs which were just perfunctory and wasteful, e.g. expensive but soul-less pilgrimages and ritualistic observances etc. The Guru was not concerned with the mere performing of this ceremony or that. His only ceremony was a devotional song in the name and praise of his True Lord. He himself says:—

“Let jogis practise jog, let gluttons practise gluttony,
Let penitents practise penance, and rub and bathe themselves at places of pilgrimages;
But let me listen to Thy songs, O Beloved, if any will sit and sing them to me.”

Sometimes the Guru’s rejection of these customs and ceremonies is taken too far by his overzealous followers to show that he was a radicalist. A discussion on the issue whether Nanak outright condemned the performances of pilgrimages etc. or he simply rejected perfunctory and ritualistic performances alone is outside the purview of this work. It can however be pointed out that Nanak’s every version has to be taken in the context in which it was uttered, every hymn has to be analysed with reference to the mood and background in which it was composed or sung. Otherwise, there is a good scope of confusion and conflict. For example, Nanak says, in the jupji:—

“Pilgrimage, austerites, mercy, and alms-giving on general and special occasions

MESSAGE OF THE MASTER

Whosoever performeth, may obtain some little honour;
But he who heareth and obeyeth and loveth God in his heart,
Shall wash off his impurity in the place of pilgrimage within him"93.

("tirath tap dia dat dan; jai ko pave til kapan").

Nanak advocated a spirit of devotion as without this spirit all sacrificial ceremonies and pilgrimages were mere trifles. Even charity and mercy may look extravagance and weakness if the two are practised without purity and sincerity of purpose. The Guru says:

"Burnt offerings, sacred feasts the reading of the Purana,
If pleasing to God, are acceptable"94.

In Nanakism, sincerity of feelings, purity of purpose, service of mankind and universal love get prominence over everything else, as it through these pure acts and deeds that man gets love of the True Lord and becomes sacred. The Guru says:

“When the hands, feet, and other members of the body are covered with filth.
It is removed by washing with water.
When thy clothes are polluted,
Apply soap, and the impurity shall be washed away.
So when the mind is defiled by sin,
It is cleaned by the love of the Name,
Men do not become saints or sinners by merely calling themselves so"95.

Again, the Guru says about actions:

“The recording angels take with them a record of man’s acts.
It is he himself soweth, and he himself eateth.
Nanak, man suffereth transmigration by God’s order”96.

("Ape bij ape hi kha; Nanak hukmi ahu jahu").

From various compositions of the Guru, it is evident that he did not intend to criticise any religion as such but could not bear with the tyranny of religiosity prevailing in his age (as even now).

93. Macauliffe, op: cit; 206 (Jupji, XXI).
94. Macauliffe, op: cit; p. 28.
95. Macauliffe, op: cit; p. 205, (Jupji, XX).
96. Ibid, p. 206 (Jupji, XX).
He lashed at the social imbalance in deed and creed which he could not brook with. In *pouri* XVIII of *Jupji*, he says (with a pang !) :

\[\begin{align*}
Asankh \ moorakh \ andh \ ghor; \\
Asankh \ chor \ haram-khor; \\
Asankh \ amar \ kar \ jah-e-jor. \\
Asankh \ gal \ vadh \ hatya \ kamah; \\
Asankh \ papi \ pap \ kar \ jah; \\
Asankh \ koor \ yar \ koore \ phirah; \\
Asankh \ malech \ mal \ bhikh \ kha. \\
Asankh \ nindok \ pir \ kah \ bhar; \\
Nanak \ nich \ kahe \ vichar; \\
Varya \ na \ javan \ aek \ var; \\
Jo \ tudh \ bhave \ sai \ bhali \ kar; \\
Too \ sada \ salamat \ Nirankar.\
\end{align*}\]

(“There are numberless fools. There are number of thieves who devour other’s properties. Many establish their rule by force. Cut-throats and murderers are in large numbers. Many sinners feel proud of at the sins committed by them. Hordes of liars roam about. Many enjoy their ill-gotten gains and live filthy lives. There are many slanderers who carry loads of calumny on their heads. These lowliest people are in such a multitude that they can’t be counted in one score. C formless (Invisible) Lord ! whatever pleases Thee is good”).

Nanak was extremely conscious of what was happening all around him politically and socially. Whatever appeared to him as a hoax, he denounced; whatever looked like a farce, he frowned at. As a rationalist of first rate, he saw no distinction between a Hindu or a Musalman, a Budhist or a Jain and could never think of things like *Statue De Heretico Comburendo*. His weighing scale weighed people by their acts and not by labels. To him, everything and every custom was good and pleasing if it was performed with purity of purpose and all earnestness.

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97. The same imbalance and height of hypocrisy is prevailing in a still more shockingly hopeless form even in this present age of Nanak’s quincentenary celebrations.

98. *Jupji*, XVIII.

99. Macauliffe, *op : cit* ; I, p. 204,
MESSAGE OF THE MASTER

Otherwise, every such profession, whether amongst Muslims or Hindus, was condemnable as a mockery. He says:—

"The Gangas, the Jamuna, the meeting of the three rivers at Tribeni Priyag, the seven oceans,
Alms, charity, and worship are all contained in God's name.
I recognize Him as the one God in every age.
Nanak, in the month of Magh, if I repeat God's name with great delight, I bathe at the sixty-eight places of pilgrimage" 100.

Nanak was thus a man of Action and Faith. He even baffled his worldly-minded father by his straight-forward and frank suggestion. He said:—

"Make the knowledge that life is frail thy shop, the True Name thy stock-in-trade" 101.

Again,

"Make thy hearing of thy sacred books thy merchandise,
truth the horses thou takest to sell;
Tie up virtues as travelling expenses, and think not in the heart of tomorrow" 102.

He further said:—

"Make the restaint of evil thine effort, so shall men congratulate thee" 103.

Nanak told his father:—

"Deal with the dealers of the true Name and thou shalt gladly take home thy profits" 104.

Earlier when his father wanted him to take to agriculture, Nanak, in his typical mood, replied significantly and metaphorically:—

"Make thy body the field, good works thy seed, irrigate with God's name;
Make thy heart the cultivator; God will germinate in thy heart, and thou shalt thus obtain the dignity of nirvan.
Make thy mind the ploughman, good acts the cultivation, modesty the irrigating water, and the body the field to till.

100. Macauliffe, op : cit ; I, p. 144.
101-104. Macauliffe, op : cit ; pp. 21—22. Also see supra.
The Name the seed, contentment the harrow, and the garb of humanity thy fence:

By the work of love the seed will germinate; thou mayest behold happy the homes of persons who thus act.\textsuperscript{105}

This was a simple village boy,—the child Nanak, son of a petty person—Mehta Kalu Ram, who had no schooling in any particular school of philosophy except the gift of vision. Coming events cast their shadows before and no wonder if the same trend be noticed in his later declarations and proclamations throughout. At a later stage he told the Muslim Qazi of Sultanpur that to be a (real) Musalman was difficult and one should set aside pride and be kind to all men to deserve to be indeed a Musalman.\textsuperscript{105a}

He advised him:

“Make kindness thy mosque; sincerity thy prayer-carpet; what is just and lawful thy Qur’an;

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

Make right conduct thy Ka’aba, truth thy spiritual guide, good works thy creed and thy prayer,

The will of God thy rosary, and God will preserve thine honour, O Nanak”\textsuperscript{106}.

The Guru concluded:

“He is a Musalman who effaceth himself,
Such a Musalman shall go to Paradise”.\textsuperscript{107}

To the Brahmin priest, he advised:

‘Make the remembrance of the name thy loincloth and fronal mark,

And it shall abide with thee in this world and the next. Search for nothing but the True Name;

Make God’s love thy worship, the burning of the love of wealth thine incense”.

Nanak had no intention of attacking the ways of individual living but he was irreconcilably against all kinds of perversions.

\textsuperscript{105} Macauliffe, \textit{op: cit}; pp. 21-22. Also see supra.

\textsuperscript{106} Macauliffe, \textit{op: cit}; I, p. 38.

\textsuperscript{107} Meacatcliffe, \textit{op: cit}; I, 40.
As Mohsin Fani says, "Nanak praised the religion of the Musalmans, as well as the Avtaras and the divinities of the Hindus; but he knew that these objects of veneration were created and not creators, and he denied their real descent from heaven". Nanak was conscious of the appearance of various prophets, many of whom came into this world and started many religions but all of them, according to Nanak, were the servants of One Lord who was the Master of all. These prophets came and disappeared after playing their respective parts. Some zealots have tried to prove from some of the Guru's hymns that he outrightly rejected the tenets of both Hinduism and Islam and that he rejected the sacred books, the scriptural texts, the customs and ways, the divinities, avtaras and prophets etc. This would amount to denanakising Nanakism and would result in further cleavage of the humanity. Teja Singh asserts that Nanak deliberately set himself to the task of creating a nation. That would be going too far and its discussions may go off the track of this work. Volumes can be quoted to show that Nanak's message was message of oneness and his creed was the cult of pure ethics. He discarded all artificial labels and advised only on two fundamentals i.e. (i) Belief in One True God; (ii) Good Actions. All his sayings revolve, again and again, round these two cardinal points. Without these two guide-lines, the mere readings of Vedas and the Puranas were all meaningless as is forcefully enunciated from the following verse in the holy Granth Saheb. "What availeth thee to read the Vedas and Puranas? It is like loading a donkey with sandal whose perfume he valueth not". The essence of all the sacred works was the same and it was to live in them that was more important than to casually read them alone. Nanak's message was quite simple and clear. "He who spends his life well is indeed a true servant of

110. Kahn Singh, Ham Hindu Nahin, p. 70.
God”. He preferred sincere devotion to God, self-surrender, virtue and love, to mere blind scripturalism. He says emphatically:

“A man may load carts with books; he may load men with books to take with him;
Books may be put on boats; pits may be filled with them.
A man may read books for months; he may read them for years;
He may read them for life; he may read them while he hath breath:
Nanak, only one word, God’s name, would be of account;
all else would be the senseless discussion of pride”.

Nanak’s protest against conventionalism carried a positive message of good action and sincere devotion without which, according to Nanak, no purpose could be achieved. The only real purpose was to get God and, to get Him, it was necessary that one should get imbued with His name and should discard all selfish worldiness. “Cursed is the life spent only to swell one’s belly”, he said. Equally waste were the wanderings in the wilderness. The Guru explained in the following hymn:

“The demi-gods in order to behold Thee, O God, made pilgrimages in suffering and hunger.
Jogis and Jatis go their own ways, and don ochre coloured garbs.
For Thy sake, O my Lord, the darweshas are imbued with love.
Thy names are various, Thy forms are various, the number of Thy merits cannot be told.
Men leaving houses and homes, palaces, elephants and horses go abroad.
Priests, prophets, holy and sincere men leave the world to obtain salvation.
They abandon good living, rest, happiness and dainties; they doff clothes, and wear skins.
Imbued with Thy name they in anguish and pain become darweshes at Thy gate.

They don skins, carry begging bowls, staves, and wear hair-tufts, sacrificial threads and loin-cloths.”

It is thus abundantly clear that Nanak’s message was a simple embodiment of all that was great and noble in life. He did not care about the forms or paths to be adopted. For him, the goal was the same whether it be the way of the Hindu Jogis or of Muslim darveshas. The names, the paths, the prophets and the priests may be different but that was quite immaterial in Nanakism. He made it very clear that the jogis and jatis may have their own ways, priests and prophets may have their own professions but all could become the darveshas of God’s Gate only if they were surcharged with devotion to Him. The hymn is one of the best manifestation of Nanak’s healing message to the Hindus and the Muslims. Nanak tolerated ‘diversity in unity’ since he firmly believed in ‘unity in diversity’. He tried to make people understand clearly that spirit was more important than formalism and that the spirit was the same in all cults and creeds.

Nanak’s message, culled from his various hymns, compositions and events of life, boils down to the simple caption LEFT (i.e. Liberty, Equality Fraternity and Toleration) in social life, leading to U.S.S.R. (i.e. Unison with God through self-surrender and self-realization) in religious and spiritual pursuit. Nanak’s teachings, precept and personal life constituted a beacon of spiritual light. Unity of all religions, equality of mankind, truth, brotherhood, love and devotion were the essence of his gospel. His aim was to free the people from the shackles of oppression, the tyranny of casteism and the bondage of ritualism. His hymns form an inspiring epic for the down-trodden millions of the whole world. His calm and compassionate message proved to be a unique healer for the broken and bleeding mankind. He was the true Prophet of Peace who advised equally to all members of God’s Creation: “Return to the One Compassionate Lord and acknowledge Him as your Captain and your King”. His message was an embodiment of the synthesis and significance of various cultures. He set at naught conventions, creeds and castes. He was sympathetic

of the out-castes, helper of the down-trodden, and friend of the friendless. He looked equally, with the vision of God's Love, at the high and low, Hindu and Muslim, Brahmin and Qazi, Jogi and Pir. Fatherhood of God and brotherhood of man; service of humanity; fraternity and equality, were the essence of Nanakism. He was the true communist, —the leveller of all barriers and disparities, believing in 'community-living', a fearless advocate of equality and ability, and an upholder of the dignity of labour. "Everyone should labour to earn according to his capacity and need" was the essence of his own practical life when he retired to his fields at Kartarpur after his long journeys. He was sternly against greed, hoarding and capitalism. "Silver and gold are a pure illusion and must mix with the dust one day", he emphasised. He staunchly believed in Chaucer's *radix malorum cupiditas* i.e. "greed is the root of all evils". His attitude towards capitalism is also available in his treatment with Seth Duni Chand, the rich multimillionaire of Lahore, who flew flags over his house, each flag representing ten millions in his treasury. The Guru gave a needle to him to be returned in the next world. The Seth wondered as to how he would be able to carry the needle to the next world. The Guru smiled and said, "Just as you would carry hoard of your vast riches". The Seth understood the futility of hoarding. In the context of the times, the Guru declared, with all emphasis, that 'papan bahjun hove nahin, moyan sath na jave' i.e. the earnings and hoardings by ill means and corrupt practices were useless and undependable, and shall have to be left behind on one's journey to the other world. However, his communism was not atheistic. Theism was the core of his communism and self-purification the policy. He was also a peaceful revolutionary who did not use arms or force to destroy the blood-sucking system for bringing about classless society. He was a democratic socialist, scientific spiritualist and a prophet of reason who adopted Peace, Love, Toleration, Devotion and Fearlessness to bring about a change in the moral, mental and material concepts. 'Nam japna, kirat karni, te wand chakna'

(i.e. remembering God, earning honestly and sharing liberally) was the manifesto of his philosophy. He synthesised deep devotion, honest labour, cordial co-operation, rational reasonableness and knowledge. His message consisted of strength, sweetness and scent as explained by him to Mardana when some faqirs of Multan had sent him a cup brimful of milk which was returned by him after putting some sugar in it and placing a flower at its top. His was not a creed of destruction but that of re-construction and accommodation. Some power-crazy people might not have cherished his creed at that time and he appears to be conscious of it when he says:—

"Some say that I am wild; others, that I am out of step; some say that I am but a mere man, boor and lowly". But he was optimist. In a song in the Babar-vani, he has desired and forecast that people would follow his ideal, i.e. the ideal of Love,—Love of God, Love of Masses, Love of Piety and Purity. He was pre-eminently an apostle of love and unity whose slogan can be summed up as S. S. S. i.e. Socialism, Secularism and Serenity. Nanak's message can be boiled down to one concentrate 'Ahinsa' i.e. non-violence in thought, speech and action. If only his message had continued to be implemented, national integration would have been achieved permanently\(^{116}\); strife and conflict could have been banished and the people of Indian sub-continent—nay, of the whole world, would have become one joint family. He raised high the standard of Secularism, Democracy and Socialism and the 'trio' could be easily achieved if his precepts were honestly put into practice\(^{117}\). The Temple of Light, the Light of Love, the True Guide, the merciful Master, the Great Nanak gave a call:

Awake, awake, thy slumber break!
Dost thou not see that the Beloved is awake?
To awake is to break the fetter of the ego!
To awake is to be born anew in love,

\(^{116}\) *Barish-i-Rshmat hui lekan zamin kabil na thi / (Iqbal)*

["In spite of availability of such a useful message, we did not prove worthy of the same!""]

\(^{117}\) Let the devotees of Nanak pledge sincerely, at least during this quincentenary, to translate his message into a reality and not merely make a 'tamasha' of it for their personal and political capital!
In loving devotion cling to His Lotus-Feet.
And speak to Him in the silent language of love,
'Beloved, all I have is thine!' 118

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Aashkar us ne kiya jo zindgi ka raz tha!

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118. Let us all respond to the call of the divine caller, the Master! By doing so:

"Takhir ka saman badal jaega; Tarikh ka unwan badal jaega".

('The forces of disintegration and decay shall be vanquished and the Heading of History shall be replaced').
IV

ISLAM

&

THE CREED OF NANAK

"Phir uthi aakhir sada Tauhid ki Panjab se,
Hind ko ik mard-e-kamil ne jagaya khab se."

(Iqbal)

[“Once again, the slogan of the unity of God-head was raised, now from the Panjab, and India was awakened from its slumber by a complete man (i.e. NANAK)”.]
Islam And The Creed of NANAK

"Awwal Allah Nur upaya quadrat de sab bande."

(Nanak)

Even a cursory glance at the teachings of Nanak and his preachings would unmistakably denote that the Great Guru was highly conscious of the tenets of Islam and the philosophy of prophet Muhammad. He saw in Islamic teachings what other Hindus could not see for themselves\(^1\).

Like his Muslim counterpart Kabir, Nanak was a Hindu revivalist, writing for inter-communal amity, who combined, consciously or unconsciously, the essentials of both the systems,—Hindu and Muslim, into a new order. He drew his ideas fundamentally from the Hindu scriptures and was Bhedabhedist but was anti-ritualist, anti-idolist and a staunch monotheist. He strongly believed in the Nirvana of the Hindus and Fana of the Sufis. But, more like the Sufis, he favoured sublimating the passions rather than suppressing them. Like a clear stream of reason, he retrieved a new way out of the dreary sands, problematic pebbles and stinking sedgements of dead habits and hallucinations. The feeder of this stream was the same water, with channels partly old, partly new, joining ultimately the same Ocean of Eternity.

A careful comparison between the Holy Qur'an and the sacred Granth can reveal adequately that the basic truths, presented in both, are the same. At some places, the subject matter, the allusions and the forms resemble each other to such an extent that the Qadiani leader Mirza Ghulam Ahmed went to the extent of asserting that the Granth was simply a sort of commentary on the Qur'an. Though this may not be entirely so, and we may find some difference in details, but the stamp of Islam on the new creed cannot also be ruthlessly denied. The reason may be the

\(^1\) Vasvani, T. L., Amrit, 18-1-1931.
times and the environments of Panjab which had been the oldest stronghold of the Muslim power in India, had since come into close contact with Islam for centuries now, and had been the seat of religious reformers, walīs and saints who had been advocating Wahdat (the unity of God-head), Akhūwat (brotherhood) and Murāwwat (benediction and human consideration). The presence of Muslim rulers over Hindu subjects and adoption of Arabic/Persian as official languages in the northern part of Aryavarta (India) had resulted in the rubbing of shoulders between the Hindus and the Muslims. The land had been a cradle of cosmopolitan culture. Nanak, or as a matter of fact any reformer, could not be secluded from such a society in which he himself lived, whose reform was his mission and which comprised kalaedoscopically a complex of races, religions, customs and manners. The stamp is, at places, so deep and definite that some historians,—Hindus, Muslims, Sikhs, and Christians, have ventured to declare that the influence of Islam on Nanak was conspicuously high and he derived much of his beliefs from Islam. Drs. Tara Chand, Yusuf Husain and Ishwari Prasad have made definite assertions about the influence of Islam on Sikhism. Pincott and E. Carpenter see a significant impact of Islam on the creed of Nanak.

According to A. C. Bouquet, “Sikhism was the fruit of hybridization between Hinduism and Islam.” Nirad Choudhry calls Sikhism “the result of the application of Islam to Hinduism.” An objective Sikh historian of repute and standing, Khushwant Singh, admits that “Sikhism was born out of wedlock between Hinduism and Islam.” He also points out that the “Sikhs were the most outstanding example of Hindu renaissance produced by Islam—an edifice built as it were with Hindu bricks and Muslim mortar.” Again, in his latest Review of

5. Hughes, *Dictionary of Islam*.
6. E. Carpenter, *Theism in Medieval India*.
11. *Times of India*, dated 7-9-69; Also see p. 188 and f. n. 154 infra.
Mcleod’s *Guru Nanak and the Sikh Religion*, he refuted the author’s thesis that Nanak owed little or nothing to Islam, and asserts that Nanak’s hymns bear ample testimony to the influence of Islam, some of Nanak’s lines being a literal paraphrase of lines from the *Qu’ran*.

Without dilating on the causes for the said influence or disputing with the claim of various historians, it would be appropriate to examine some similarities between Sikhism started by Nanak and Islam propagated earlier by Muhammad and the repeated references by the former (Nanak) to the latter (Muhammad) and to the Islamic *salmihat*, allegories, ideologies, religious precepts and even phrases.

Both Islam and Sikhism arose almost under similar circumstances which were surcharged by aggression coupled with perversion and painful sufferings. The basic philosophy of both the creeds could conveniently be summed up in two words: “Unity” (*Wahdat*) and “Fraternity” (*Akhuwat*). Both aimed at purifying the prevailing religious beliefs and were thus concurrently negative as well as positive. Both derived their material from their original moorings i.e. Judaism and Christianity in the case of Islam, and Hinduism in case of Nanak. Both struck hard, root and branch, at the prevailing idea of plurality of gods and current unintelligent social customs. According to *Guru* Nanak’s biographies, he had a heavenly vision in Sultanpur, on the bank of the river Bain (now called as *Kali Baen*), near Kapurthala, before he received the call to preach his message of Truth and Love (just like prophet Muhammad who received a similar divine message of the noble assignment at the mound of *Hira*). Macauliffe writes, “Hereupon a voice was heard, ‘O Nanak, thou hast seen My sovereignty......’. Upon this, the *Guru* uttered the preamble of the *Jupji*..............

When Nanak had finished, a voice was heard again : ‘O Nanak, to him upon whom My look of kindness resteth, be thou

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13. Also see Encyclopaedia of Islam, p. 422 (1934 Ed).
14. See Macauliffe, *op : cit*; I, pp. 34-36; Also, *Sri Rag*.
merciful, as I too shall be merciful. My name is God, the primal *Brahm*, and thou art the divine *Guru*". In *Rag Asa*, Nanak says, "On hearing the celestial music, my mind becomes absorbed in God". In *Rag Tilang*, he says, "As I receive the *Word* from God, so I utter, O Lalo". *Guru* Ram Das particularly pointed out:—"*Guru’s* Sikhs, know that the true *Guru’s* hymn is most true; the Creator Himself hath caused him to utter it".

*Guru* Arjun endorsed the same by saying, "God gave *Baba* Nanak the *Word* as an inexhaustible wealth to use and spend".

The Sikhs believe that God sent the *Guru* to comfort the world and that it was by His grace that the *Guru’s* instruction had been promulgated. Like the *Decalogues* of Moses and the *Wahi* (celestial Message through the vision of angel *Gabriel*) to Muhammad, Nanak was given a few laws to propagate the same throughout the world. His laws were:—

(i) *The Law of Love and Devotion* to One Graceful, True God (*i. e. Nam*). For Nanak, *Nam* was the fountain-head of all inspiration and *simran* was the banisher of all woe and misery. He says:—

"Thy Name is my luminous lamp, in it is the oil of pain,
As the lamp burns bright, it sucketh up the oil".

(ii) *The Law of Charity and Goodness* to humanity (*i. e. Dan*). There is an interesting anecdote about the *Guru* himself giving away his whole commodity to the poor, counting *tera-tera* (*i. e. thirteen meaning also Yours Own*). The anecdote plays well with the parable given in the *Qu’ran* about the reward for charity. "The parable of those who spend their property is that of Corn: it groweth seven ears and each ear has a hundred grains...........". (2 : 261—265).

(iii) *The Law of Purity* of personal character (*i. e. Isnan*).

15. Macauliffe, *op. cit*; I, p. 35.
17. Tr., Macauliffe, *op. cit*; III, p. 444.
Nanak’s formula of ‘Nam, Dan and Isnan’ or ‘simran, seva, and safai’ strikingly resembles Iman-o-Salat and Saum-o-Zakat,—the pillars of Islam. The regular Namaz (worship), Wazu (ablutions), Zakat (poor fund) and Saum (roza or fast) speak for Prayer, Purity and Charity as tenets of Islam, and the same, in essence, are so strongly advocated by Nanakism also\(^\text{19}\). Nanak’s Nam and Dan perfectly coincide with Muhammad’s Zikr and Zakat\(^\text{20}\). These were mainly intended to instil into the mind of Man a constant feeling and fear of God so that he may not misbehave with fellow-beings and rears pure thoughts. The formula was quite simple to strengthen faith in God and to teach lessons of collective life. The Qu’ran specially emphasises, “Verily, prayer restrains from all shameful deeds and those things which are prohibited” (29 : 45). Again, it says, “Say, the things that my Lord hath indeed forbidden are: shameful deeds, whether open or secret; sins or trespasses against truth or reason; assigning of partners to God for which He hath given no authority and saying things about God of which ye have no knowledge” (7 : 33). Nanak reiterated these injunctions with equal force.

It is interesting to find the common and basic underlying fundamentals of worship, prayer and pilgrimage in both Islam and Sikhism. Both strictly believe in the cardinal point of Unity i.e. Unity of Being, Unity of Worship, Unity of Traits, Unity with the Creator and His Creation (i.e. complete self-surrender) etc. Nanak advocated worship to only Ek Onkar i.e. the One—Primal and Eternal. Muhammad said, “Iyyaka Naa‘budu wa Iyyaka Nasta‘een” i.e. “Thee alone we worship and Thee alone shall we ask for help”. Both Islam and Nanakism gave prominence to the efficacy

\(^{19}\) For the stress on Prayer in Sikhism, see Var Srt Rag, IV, Var Maru, II and Sri Rag, V. Ardas is nowadays the set form of Prayer for the Sikhs just as Namaz is for the Muslims.

\(^{20}\) The spirit behind Zakat (i.e. contributing 1/40 of income in charity) as enunciated in the holy Qur’an (3 : 92) appears to be the same as behind the cess which developed into the form of Daswanth (i.e. contribution of 1/10 of income) in the Sikh cult. Both were intended to be spent for the welfare of the commons.
of Prayer almost in the same tone and tune. Nanak says:—

"Soiled when hands, feet and other parts of the body are, Their dirt is removed by rinsing them with water, When clothes do become polluted, Their stains are washed clean; If soap be applied to them. But when the mind is defiled, By the commission of many a sin, It can be cleansed,

By the remembrance of His name."^{21}

According to a *Hadis*, Abu Huraira is said to have heard Muhammad say that five prayers a day are like effectively washing the dirt by bathing five times a day in a river. Again, the Prophet enjoins in the *Qur'an*, "(Always) Glorify God, morning and evening, in heaven and on earth, in the afternoon or at tide-time". So does Nanak say: "Remember *Sat-nam* in the early morning hours; Remember Him before day-break; Remember Him day and night". A Sikh writer says, "In both the religions there is a striking similarity in the mode of saying congregational prayer. The ablutions preceding prayer, the reverential attitude in standing, the bowing down, the kneeling with the forehead placed on the ground and the reverent sitting posture, all are similar"^{22}. Nanak fixed no rigid qualification of face-direction while in prayers. Though the Muslims say their *Namaz* facing towards the west (*Ka'aba*), still it is worth-while to note that according to the *Qur'anic* injunctions there was no difference between the West or the East etc., so long concentration on God was there. The *Qur'an* clearly says: "The East and the West are God's. He guideth whom He wills into the right path". (*Qur'an* 2:136). Again, "The East and the West are God's. Whichever way ye turn, ye shall find the face of *Allah*. God is Omnipresent and Omni-scient" (*Qur'an* 2:109). Muhammad says, "There is no piety in turning your faces towards the East or West. Who believes in *Allah* is pious" (*Qur'an* 2:172). He condemned those who simply made

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a mere show of devotion (*Qur'an* 107 : 1-7). The *Guru* also stung severely the sinning sceptics. “How can”, he said, “the hearts of those who suck human blood be pure when your clothes get stained with blood and you call them impure”\(^{23}\) (*Var Majh*—I). Of course, conspicuous differences too are noticeable in the actual practice and accepted modes of prayer in both the creeds. The obligation of making certain postures during the *Namaz*; saying of the *Ruk*\(^{4}\)\*ut*; regulations regarding the participation of the women-folk in public prayers; blessings for Muhammad, *Aal-e-Muhammad* (i.e descendants of Muhammad) at the end of the *Namaz* and the requirement of facing towards the *Ka'aba* etc., are some of the important characteristics specially stressed in Islamic life. Still, an appreciable amount of similarity in the prayer-mode of the two creeds is also clearly discernible. Dr. Bhagvan Das\(^{24}\) has quoted a beautiful anecdote, of a conversation of a famous Muslim *Sufi*, Junaid, with a *Haji* returning from his pilgrimage to *Mecca*. The anecdote significantly denotes that Islam did not favour a mere formality of a *Haj* unless the dirt of sin was removed and the traits of purity and human consideration were inculcated. Nanak too emphasized the same thing repeatedly in his various hymns and declamation; which he held with the Muslim *Qazis*, Brahmin priests, *Jogis* and *Sidhs*. For him, prayer or pilgrimage was not worth a mustard seed without the trait of mercy\(^{25}\). The *Guru* was quite loud to declare that the washing of the mind, to remove the dirt of desire, was the true solutions for achieving salvation\(^{26}\). Many sayings of Muhammad and Nanak can be quoted to support that both these apostles laid emphasis on the same essentials and decried incorporation of any formalism in worship,—true and simple, of One Lord—the All-pervading and All-knowing.

Regarding fasting too, Sikhism advise, *Alap Ahar*\(^{27}\) to check indulgence and curb passions just as Islam enjoins upon the *Ramzan* fasts for the same purpose. The basic concept is the same here

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24. Bhrgvan Dass, Dr., *Essential Unity of All Religions* (Kashi Vidyapith, Benares).
27. See *Ram Kali*, M : 1.
too (as amongst the Hindus also) though the forms and modes differ. Both take it as means to right thinking, right action and achievement of Truth. Both were emphatic that punishment or deliverance depended upon one's actions. Muhammad said, "Jazaun be ma kanu ya' mal'un" i.e. "requital or reward are in just return for whatsoever thou dost". Similarly, Nanak said, "Manda: changa apna aape hi kita panna"\(^{28}\) i.e. "One reaps the fruit according to the good or bad as he does". Both Nanak and Muhammad advised complete self-surrender to God, without any hope or fear for personal reward or punishment, happiness or sorrow. It may be called 'Propati' in Sikhism and 'Fi-Sabil Allah' in Islam, or 'Sehaj' (equipose) in the former and 'Iglas' in the latter.

The Sikhs bow to the Adi Granth deeming it as repository of 'Dhur di Bani' i.e. the divine or heavenly-descended Word just as the Muslims rever the Qu'ran as holy and "descended" divine message (Verbum Dei). The Sikhs reckon the Adi Granth as 'Nam ka Jahaj' i.e. 'Ship of the Nam (God)'. Similarly, the Muslims value the Qu'ran as a 'Light leading to God'. The Qu'ran says, "Say, 'The Signs are indeed with God and I am a clear warner.' And, is it not enough for them that We have sent down to them the Book which is rehearsed to them...?" (29 'Ankabut, 51 : 48). Again, "And thus have We, by Our Command, sent inspiration to thee. Thou knowest not before what was Revelation and what was Faith but We have made the Qu'ran a Light, wherewith we guide such of Our servants as We will........" (42, Sura 52-53). Muhammad said emphatically, "It is God who has sent down clear revelations to His servant, that he may bring you forth from darkness to the Light" (Qu'ran 57 : 9). Further, he says, "...Then He inspired His servant with what he does inspire". (Qu'ran 53 : 1-12). Nanak is also believed to have been directly inspired by God Himself. According to the oldest Janam Sakhi and Macauliffe, Nanak once disappeared in a forest and had a vision of God's presence with Whom he directly conversed, Who gave him the nectar of Sat nam and Who invested him with the Divine Guruship\(^{29}\). Nanak himself, perhaps,

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\(^{28}\) Asa di Var, M : 1.

\(^{29}\) Cf: Macauliffe, op : cit ; pp. 33-16.
alludes to it when he says, in the *Granth Saheb*, "I have found the Primal, Omnipresnt, One Lord, to be my Enlightener." Again, to Lalo, he said, "Whatever word I receive from the Lord, I pass it on in the same strain." About this Godly inspiration to *Guru* Nanak and his successors, *Bhai* Vir Singh wrote, "......they had for themselves experienced spiritually the Presence of God,.........". This fact of divine revelation is repeatedly emphasized in the Sikh tradition and in the writings of the various *Gurus* e.g. by Arjun Dev, Gobind Singh etc. Divine Intuition is, hence the backbone of both the creeds, and attributes originality to them in spite of both containing much common to what was existent before their birth.

The Muslims declared that Islam was the best of all religious systems aiming at *lex divina*. According to them, Islam is God’s true, the only true religion on earth. The *Qu’ran* says, "The true religion with God is Islam" (*Sura* III, V : 79). Again, "No other religion but Islam will be acceptable to God" (*Sura* III, V : 79). The Sikhs believe likewise about Nanakism. *Guru* Amar Das says that "The Guru’s was the best of all religious systems, as true disregard of the world could only be obtained by his system". Prophet Muhammad was forceful in his denunciation of gods, idol-worship etc., and repeatedly exhorted that those who do not follow him in this regard, be thrust into the dismal abyss of hell. According to the tenets of Sikhism, "curses on the lives, curses on the inhibitions of those who worship strange gods!" And, "they who turn their faces from the *Guru* shall find no house or home; they shall wander from door to door like divorced women of bad character and evil reputation". Prophet Muhadmmad declared the *Believer* like the eyed man and the *Non-believer* like a blind one. He asked, "Can the blind be equal to the seeing? Will ye, then, consider not?" (3 :50). He

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30. Ram Kali, M : I.
31. Tilang, M : I.
32. Vir Singh, *Veekay Weekly*.
34. Cf: *Vachiter Natak*.
also likened a Believer with a man who had only one master to serve and Non-believer to a man who had many masters to serve,—masters with conflicting demands upon him. It was asserted in Islam that, "Verily, God will admit those, who believe and do righteous deeds, to Gardens beneath which rivers flow; while those who reject God will enjoy this world and eat as cattle eat, and the Fire will be their abode". (47 : 12). Both religions can therefore be called as Religions of Faith and Action. Being a synthesis between Islam and Hinduism, Nanakism tried to patch the two into one, at least in their basic essentials. Even the etymology of ‘Muslim’ and ‘Sikh’ appears to be based on the same notion. ‘Muslim’ is derived from Islam or Taslim i.e. Surrender and Peace. A ‘Muslim’, thus, means a follower (of the Path of Peace). ‘Sikh’ is from Seekh of Persian which means follower or one who submits; or, from Shishya of Sanskrit which means a disciple,—a learner; or, a speaker of truth as in the Pali language. Sikhism means the path of discipline and discipleship.

Both, Nanakism and Islam, are very simple and free from the intricacies of mantra, havana, jog, yagya and varuna etc. Nanak starts with Aek Onkar i.e. in the name of one God. Muhammad started with B-ism Allah i.e. in the name of Allah or One God. Emphasis laid, on Aek Onkar by Nanak and on Allah by Muhammad, is in the same vein. Nanak’s definition of God, as given at the very beinning of Jup-ji (Aek Onkar, Sat Nam, Karta-Purakh, Nir-Bhai, Nir-Bejr, Akal-Murat, Ajunt, Sai-Bhang, Gur Parsa’d), means that “There is but One God whose name is True, the Creator, Devoid of fear and enmity, Immortal, Unborn, Self-existent, Bountiful and Great”. The opening chapter of the Qur’an-al-Hakim (Sura al Fatihih) illustrates God as Al-Rehman, Al-Rahim, Rabb-ul-‘Almin, Malik Yaum-al-Din etc. (i.e. Gracious and Merciful Lord of all the Worlds, Master of the Day of Judgement etc.). Nanak’s True One was Adi (Original) and Akal

38. Cf : Jupji
(Deathless). He was also Primal, Formless, limit-less, Creator, All-seeing, Omni-present. He was Irrefutable (Hukam Razai chalna, Nanak ikhya nal), Indescribable (Warya na jayan ik mar), Altogether-True (Aad Sachh, Jugad-Sachh, hai bhi Sachh, Nanak, hoswi Sachh), Non-begotten (Ajunii), Non-created (Thapia na jai, kita na hove: Aape Aap Niranjan sove), Treasury of Excellences (Gun-Nidhan), Giver of Boons (Datar), Blesser of all (Sabhr iana da ik data). Of uncountable Names (Asankh nao), and Unfathomable (Asankh thao) 40. "The True One was in the beginning; the True One was in the primal age; the True One is now also: the True One, says Nanak, also shall be". Again, it is stressed that the Unseen, Infinite, Inaccessible, Incomprehensible God is not subject to death or destiny. He is Caste-less, Unborn, Self-existent and Without-fear or doubt. He hath no form or colour or outline. He becometh manifest by the True Word. He hath no mother, father or kinsman. He feeleth no lust and hath no wife or family 42. Nanak says:—

He is Pure, Endless, and Infinite; He is All-Light.
God is in every heart; His Light is in every heart 43. Again, he says:—

God is neither set-up nor installed, nor is made by anyone.
The Pure One is Self-existent 44.

Thus, according to Nanak, God was Supreme and Sublime, Eternal and Formless; Unconfinable and All-pervading 45. The Qur'an depicts Allah as Lam Yalid wa Lam Yalad......, Kullu shayin halikun illa wajh' i.e. 'He tho is neither begetter nor begotten, who is immortal and the primal cause of all (Qur'an 18 : 110). Again, it says, "Allaho be kulle shayin muhit, Allaho nur us-samawati wal ard" i.e. "He is the First, He is the Last" (Qur'an 57 : 3). Again, "Wasea Rabbona kulle shayin ilma......Hua ala kulle shayin muhit, Hua makum yanama kunnum' i.e. "He is All-pervading and All-encompasser" (Qur'an 41 : 45). The whole of

40-42. Cf: Jup-ji.
43. Cf: Rag Sorath.
44. Cf: Jupji (V. I, 2).
45. Also cf: Ganda Singh, The Sikhs and Sikhism, p. 21.
the *Jup-ji* and other hymns of Nanak project, elaborately, these very traits of God\(^{46}\).

The definition of God as attempted by Nanak perfectly fits with that of prophet Muhammad whose *Allah* was *La Allah* (One), *All-Ahad* (Unique), *Al-Wahid* (Alone), *La-Sharik* (Without an equal), *Al-Rahman* (Kind) and *Al-Rahim* (Bountiful) etc. (*Qur’an*, *Sura* 112). Both Nanak and Muhammad described God as Love, Light and Truth. Nanak emphasised that *Allah, Khuda, Rab* and *Rahim* was in fact one and the same as *Ishwar, Hari, Ram*, and *Krishan* of Hindus. Even the word *Allah*\(^{47}\), from *Wallah* ("Wonderful") used in Islam, for the wonderful Entity i. e. God, appears to have some terminological affinity with *Wah-Guru* used in Nanakism. The Sikh *Gurus* often described God as *Karim, Rahim, Razak, Parvardigar* etc., etc., and chose the Muslim terminology or colloquialism for the purpose. A mere peep into the traits of God as defined by Prophet Muhammad and Guru Nanak may disclose that both definitions bear the same stamp. Muhammad describes his *Allah*, expressly or inferentially, as *True (Al-Haqq)*, Holy (Al-Quddus). Living (Al-Hayy), First (Al-Awwal), Lasting (Al-Akhir), Creator (Al-Khaliq), Manifestator (Al-Bari), Cherisher (Al-Rabbi), Sustainer (Al-Razzaq), Most Gracious (Al-Karim), Most Bountiful (Al-Rahim). Most Merciful (Al-Rehman), Oft-Forgiving (Al-Ghaffar, Al-Afww) [110 Nasr 1-3; 3 Aal-i-Imran 31]; Compassionate (Al-Rauf), Master of the Day of Judgement (Al-Malik Yaum-ud-din) [1-1-7; Anbya-47]: Almighty (Al-Aziz, Al-Jabbar), Exalted (Al-Mutak‘abbir), Supreme (Al-Qahhar), Sole Guardian, Commander of the heavens and earths [2:107-108]; Keeper of the keys of the Unseen, Treasurer of the Unknown treasures, Knower of the vast Universe (Al-Alim), Omniscient (Al-Sami, Al-Basir, Al-Shahid), Omnipotent (Al-Muqtadir).

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47. *Maulana* Abu’l Kalam Azad, however, points out in his scholarly work *Tarjuman-al-Qur’an* that the word *Allah* was used as a proper noun for God even before its use in the *Qur’an* which adopted it as the most suitable and current word.

Nanak’s *Onkar* (only Lord) was *Karta-Purakh* (The Creator of all) and Muhammad’s *Allah* was *Khaliq kulli shaiin* (Creator of all things). God created the universe: “*Keetaa Pasaaao Eko Kawaaao, Tiste Hoe Lakh Dariaao*”. This belief enunciated in Sikhism tallies in essence with the Islamic concept that the universe came into being when God,—the Creator, uttered the word “*Kun*”. A true believer in the *Karta-Purakh* or *Al-Khaliq* looks at the Sikhs, the Muslims, the Hindus, the Christians, or any Being as His creation, property or manifestation, without discrimination or desire for despoilation.

By the time of Nanak the Indian Muslims, in general, and the mystics, in particular, had begun to believe in the various concep-


49. How ironical! Even the religious congregational slogans ‘*Allah-u-Akbar*’ (i.e. God is Most Great) of the Muslims and ‘*Sat Sri-Akal*’ (i.e. God is True and Deathless) of the Sikhs, practically meaning one and the same thing, were pitched, from time to time, though by dexterous political ingenuity, against each other, as religious war-cries. To spill the blood of the creatures of the same Most Great, True and Deathless God,—in His very Name and Slogan!!
tions of God i.e. Deism, Pantheism and Theism. The trend is strongly noticeable in Nanak’s definition of God and his preachings to the people. Unlike the Hindus who believed in the personal physical manifestation of God in the form of various Avatars (God-incarnates) and the Christians who thought Christ to be the Son of God, the Muslims of Muhammad and the Sikhs of Nanak believed that all Apostles were but men, divinely inspired, subject to the worldly needs of food and drink and unexempted from death. (21 Anhya 7-8, 25, 34-35, 36-41, 107-111; 25 Furgan 7-9, 20). The Guru rejected the theory of incarnation, so did Muhammad. The Muslims and the Sikhs believe that God had no wife or family and hence no particular son as such. According to Mohsin Fani, “just as Nanak praised the Muhammadans, he also praised the incarnations and the gods and goddesses of the Hindus. But he knew them all to be the creation and not the creator. He denied Halool (direct descent from, or incarnation of, God) and Ittihad (direct union of the All-pervading God with any particular body). They say that he had the rosary of the Muhammadans in his hand and the sacred Brahanical Thread round his neck”.

From Fani’s account it appears that he did not, outright, condemn or discard these useful ‘signia’ and purposeful ‘pointers’ but only discounted their formal and fruitless use without good actions.

Both the religions, i.e. of Muhammad and Nanak, advocated need of an intercessor in the form of Prophet in the first case and of Guru in the second. The concept of ‘the Guru as the mediator and an indispensable link’ is as old as the days of the Upanishads and, so, ‘Hinduistic’ in its base. But ‘Guruship’ in Nanakism assumed a unique character as in Islam. Where simultaneous plurality of Gurus was possible in Hinduism, the

50. For further explanation of these concepts, see Nabi, Dr. Mohammad Noor, Art, The ‘Conception of God as understood by the early Muslim Mystics of India, Islamic Culture, Oct., 1965, pp. 285-291; Also see Development of Muslim Religious Thought in India by the same author.

51. Fani, op: cit; Tr., Ganda Singh, op: cit; p. 51 (Panjab, Past and Present, 4[1967]; Asa Di Var, 471, 491, reveal Nanak’s views about the Tasbih and Janeau (Sacred-Thread).
Sikh Guru came to occupy the position of a sole, single and supreme religious head like the Muslim Calif (or Christian Pope or Tibetan Dalai Lama). In the Sikh creed, the intercession of the Guru is as essential as of the Prophet, Muhammad, in Islam. It was said that the "Guru is a sea full of pearls: the saints (like swans) pick the pearls and remain attached to him". Again, "by meeting with the true Guru, one's darkness is dispelled, ego is stilled and into the Guru one merges". Nanak says in Gauri Ashtapadi: "Without a religious guide, man would run riot in evil and haste to perdition". He says further:—

"Without the Guru's instruction business could not be adjusted. Egotism and selfishness are forgotten under the Guru's instruction. Through the Guru's instruction it is known that God is in the heart."

Guru Ram Das had to emphasize this point repeatedly and very strongly. In an intense strain he wrote:—

"They who leave the Guru, 
Who is present with them.
Shall find no entrance into God's Court.
Let any one go and meet these slanderers, 
and he will see their faces pale and spat upon.
They who are accursed of the Guru 
are accursed of the whole world, 
and shall ever be vagrants,

Whoever goeth to meet those 
cursed by the true Guru, 
Shall lose the remnant of his honour. 
They who are cursed by the Guru, become leprous; 
Whoever meeteth them, shall catch the leprosy."
It is also stressed, "he who denieth the Guru is base"\textsuperscript{55} and, "him who slandereth the perfect true Guru, the Creator will punish\textsuperscript{56}". About the nearness of the Guru to God, it is emphasized that:

"God Himself is the protector of the true Guru, and will save all who follow him. Him who meaneth evil to the true Guru, the Creator Himself will destory. This is the word of the true God's Court: the slave Nanak Uttereth this prophecy\textsuperscript{57}.

Both in Islam and Sikhism, the Prophet and the Guru respectively were indispensable and sole means, though not an end in themselves, for the attainment of forgiveness or attainment of salvation. In the Anand, Guru Amar Dass wrote:

"Whoever turneth away from the Guru, shall not obtain salvation without him; Nor shall he obtain salvation elsewhere,—go inquire of persons of discrimination. He shall wander in many births, and not obtain deliverance without the true Guru; But he shall at last obtain deliverance by attaching himself to the feet of the true Guru who will communicate to him the Word.

Saith Nanak, thoroughly reflect on this—There can be no deliverance without the true Guru\textsuperscript{58}.

The Guruship in Sikhism was invested with a halo just as in the case of Muhammad, the Prophet. Guru Arjan said:

"The Guru hath the key of the lock, the heart is the store-room, the body is its roof; Nanak, without the Guru the doors cannot be opened, since nobody else hath the key\textsuperscript{59}."

\textsuperscript{55} Macauliffe, \textit{op: cit}; II, p. 302.
\textsuperscript{56} Macauliffe, \textit{op: cit}; II, p. 321.
\textsuperscript{57} Macauliffe, \textit{op: cit}; II, p. 308.
\textsuperscript{58} Macauliffe, \textit{op: cit}; II, p. 124.
\textsuperscript{59} Macauliffe, \textit{op: cit}; II, p. 63.
It was said that "Man shall not be emancipated without the Guru's instruction; even though man performed hundreds of thousands of ceremonies, all would still be darkness without the Guru". Thus, the Guru in Sikhism was like a "boat of salvation, a ladder to reach one's home, a key to open the lock, a unifier of man with God and so on". He was an agent and messenger of God like the Rasul-e-Allah in Islam. The oft-repeated epithet 'Wah-Guru' in Sikhism and 'Muhammad Rasul-e-Allah' in the Kalima afford a striking parallel in the two cults. A strong hold of orthodoxy, superstition and dogma had driven the sensitive into agnosticism and the weak into fatalism,—both in the case of Arabia in Muhammad's time and India in Nanak's days.

Guru Nanak condemned quite strongly all types of idol-worship, and superstitions. Prophet Muhammad was equally or even more critical of the same. It occurs in the Qur'an:

"O, Ye, who believe.
intoxicants and gambling,
dedication of stones and
divination by arrows (meaning all
indolatrous and superstitious practices)
are abomination that ye may prosper". (5 : 93),

Repetition of Nam i.e. Sat-Nam or True-One-God was advocated by Nanak as a panacea. So was the repetition of the Kalima (La Allah Il-Allah Muhammad Rasul-Allah i.e. there is no other God but God, and Muhammad is His messenger) was stressed upon the Musalmin i.e. the Treaders of the Path of Islam. For every ill, Nanak suggested the dose of Sat-Nam ("True God") and Muhammad prescribed Ji Ala-al 'falak ('come to Allah, come to falah i.e. good'). Iqbal's couplet, given below, can beautifully convey the efficacy of the repetition of both Nanak's Sat-Nam and Muhammad's Kalima:

"Zindgi az garmie zikr ast-o-bas.
Huriat az afat-fikr ast-o-bas."

(i.e. the very essence of life is in repeating God's name and the freedom from bondage can come only from the purity of thought).

Nanak defined a Musalman in beautiful and meaningful words. In a verse, he gives the very word 'Gurmukh' as applicable to a Muslim. He said, "A real Muslim is he alone who follows the will of God whole-heartedly; gives up his ego 'homai' and worships his God alone; and who affords blessing to all his creatures". Rising above a vain descrimination between a Hindu and a Musalman, he declared: "There is no Hindu and no Musalman", whereupon he was called upon to explain what he meant. Here, he defined a Musalman as below:—

"To be a Musalman is difficult; if one be really so, then one may be called a Musalman.

Let one first love the religion of saints, and put a side pride and pelf as the file removeth rust.

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

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

When he is kind to all men, then Nanak, shall he indeed be a Musalman". 62

It appears as if Nanak's definition was coming from the apostle of Islam himself. Again, Nanak emphasized, "if thou make good works the creed thou repeatest, thou shalt be a Musalman". 63 Nanak spoke vehemently against Jog and called God's name only as the best things whereas he told Mian Mitha: "Act according to the Qu'ran and thy sacred books". 65 Any student of Sikhism can cull several specimens of Monotheistic Hinduism and Islam, which were enunciated by Nanak and incorporated by him into his own creed. One may agree with Estlin Carpenter who said: "The movement of Nanak, which culminated in the formation of a churchnation, was fed from two sources, and attempted to establish a.

63. Ibid, p. 97.
64. Macauliffe, op: cit; I, p. 84; Banerjee, op: cit; p. 97.
65. Macauliffe, op: cit; I, pp. 23, 123.
religion combining the higher elements of Hinduism and Islam alike."

It is interesting to note that to explain his creed and philosophy, Nanak freely borrowed words from Hindu and Muslim phraseology alike—may be that these words had got common currency by that time or may be that they suited his synthesis better. He expressed himself in common imagery, homely metaphors and religious symbols drawn indifferently or thoughtfully from Hindu and Muslim beliefs. In this aspect, he can be called a Hindu Sufi who included mixed metaphysical and credal definitions and terms to describe the Infinite and Simple. Totality in an acceptable form, as his audience, like those of Jacopone da 'odi and Richard Rolle, were generally the mixed gatherings of unsophisticated people rather than the professionally religious classes. For example, words Jap, Tap, Sanjam, Sat, Santokh, Gian, Nam, Isan, Dan, Onkar, Jogi, Nam-Sunan, Nam-Manan, and Nam-Cain etc., etc., appear in his various writings and sayings alongwith Hukam, Raza (or Razai), Karam, Nader, Kazi, Maseet (Mosque), Salah, Sift, Bande, Khial, Kabulu, Fikr etc., etc. He has made frequent use of Persian and Persianized words, or of Indianized Persian words e.g. Dargah, Darbar, Nishan, Dar, Maqam, Qiamat, Patshah (i.e. Badshah), Koran, Parian (i.e. Houries), Bandgi, Darvesh, Paikhak etc. His belief in Muhammad and his Qu'ran, his close association with Muslim friends, saints and divines, his tours through Muslim countries like Afghanistan, Persia, Arabia, Iraq, Turkestan, Syria, Egypt, Sudan etc., must have imprinted his liberal mind with Muslim ideology and phraseology which is a natural result of such an intercourse. Some forms of poetry e.g. Siharfi and Baramah as used by the Sikh Gurus and even incorporated in the holiest Book of the Sikhs are explicit examples of the tremendous Persian influence on the sacred writings of the Sikhs. In the Rag Asa, Rag Tilang and other Ragas, we find a queer and dexterous combination of Muslim and indigenous musical construction and execution. His catholic compositions and rapturous chantings can be broadly compared to the light seen by Suso, the music heard by Rolle, the

66. Carpenter, E., Theism in Medieval India, p. 489.
islestial perfume of St. Catherine of Siena's cell, the wounds of St. Francis and St. Teresa; or, nearer at home and thereabout, with the Ragas of Amir Khusrau, the reed-song of Jalal-ud-din Rumi, the eclectic 'Dohavli' of Kabir, the mystical Padmavat of Jayasi, Mrigawati of Kutban, Madhu Malati of Manjhan, divine Dasya-rati of Ramanand, spell-binding Madhur-rati of the Sahajivas like Nimbarka and Vidyapati, and the enchanting Rasa of Chaitanya.

Nanak's staunch belief in, and his teaching of, unity of Godhead; universal brotherhood of mankind; high value of the Divine Name; need of a Guru; and a code of morality is a clear manifestation of his support to and from Islam. To illustrate his beliefs, Muhammad too had to borrow or coin words to express ideas unfamiliar to his hearers. He adopted Arabic verbs and borrowed nouns from other tongues. For 'reveal', he used 'send-down' and the root 'W-H-Y' which may mean 'point-out, write, speak softly'. 'Salat' (Public worship) and 'Zakat' (alms-tax) were Aramaic while 'Jehannum' comes from Hebrew, possibly by way of Ethiopia. Nanak like Muhammad was quite realistic in this respect. Muhammad's religion was eclectic but real. "His debt to the Bible is obvious to anyone who has eyes to see; it may be that his religious life was started by suggestions received from outside the Arab circle of ideas. He took stories from both Testaments to illustrate and enforce his ideas about God, Providence and the Last Judgement. Man being what he is, no one can invent a new religion entirely unlike those which have gone before. Nanakism too was eclectic-cum-real. To explain his view-point to his hearers belonging to various creeds,—both Hindus and Muslims, with whom he had to debate or come in contact for religious preachings and discourses, Nanak had to borrow words, phrases, ideas and terminology very frequently from Islam and Hinduism both, just as was done by Muhammad from the Christians, Zoroastrians and the pagans. In a song about the word magam,

68. Ibid, p. 20.
Nanak says that *Qiamat* really meant permanent establishment or union of man with God which shall relieve him from the bondage of the grave of materialism and re-awaken him into reality and paradise of blissful God-realization after transforming him into the exalted court of spiritualism. In his *Rag Parian* (*Jup-ji, 27*), he calls the *bihishi hourin* as beauties of the Divine Deity whom the paradise-dwellers i.e. the virtuous, shall automatically attain. The delights of Heaven are recounted, at length, in the several passages of the *Qur'an*. Some critics of Muhammad charge that the image drawn, by him, of Paradise is most materialistic and sensuous. Fruit-laden trees, silken garments, saddled and bridled finest horses, springs and fountains over-flowing with sweet water, milk, honey and wine, black-eyed amorous damsels in large numbers, couches and cots adorned with gold and precious stones, charming youths holding goblets and flasks of unaching choicest wines and what-not! Of course, the picture was drawn by the wise Prophet to appeal to the Arabian temperament and to wean them away from this world of decay to the ever-lasting Kingdom of the *Dei*. The *Rag Parian* of Guru Nanak appears to endorse this view. Nanak gave very vast meanings to the term 'Hukam' of the Muslim ideology. He even synonmises it with God ("Eko nam Hukam hai, Gur Satgur dia bujhae jio"). The term Hukam has been explicitly described by Nanak in his *Jup-ji* (viz. *pouri* I, 2, 3) and *Sidhgost* for the guidance of the baffled humanity. Keeping in view the prevailing circumstances, both Muhammad and Nanak have discussed the problem of freedom versus determination or of *Qadar* and *Qaza*. Both felt that man is a complex multi-dimensional being, including within him different elements of matter, life, consciousness, intelligence and divine spark. Both laid stress again and again on action (*Karma* or *Amal*). Sikhism, however, believed in metempsychosis unlike Islam which did not believe in the transmigration of Soul as such but believed in the return of every Soul to its Creator on the Day of Judgement.

It is again an interesting phenomena to note that both Muhammad and Nanak were essentially preachers than theologians. Both were neither highly lettered nor scholarly
academicians. Prophet Muhammad is said to be an illiterate person yet the Qu'ran revealed to him can be called as one of the finest pieces of literature. It is the backbone of the Islamic cult since Kalam (rational theology) and 'Tasawwuf (mystical knowledge) were added to this cult in later times. Nanak too could not get higher schooling, yet his works are nothing less than a miracle. Both emphasized, effectively, the need and value of ethics, good actions, virtuous deeds, belief in one God and His Bounty, belief in the intercession of the Preceptor, prayer with devotion, charity, self-purification, faithfulness, and triumph of the righteousness,—without condemning the realities, physical necessities and requirements of life in this world. According to the Sikh Gurus, the Master can be served best by the service of humanity, and humanity can be served best by the cultivation of virtue and renunciation of evil. They advised, "In the world we should live to serve: then, do we find a seat in His Court". Again, "The heart is the paper, conduct the ink, good and bad are both recorded therewith. Man's life is as his acts constrain him. As a man soweth, so shall he eat". "Forsake vice and pursue virtue. Abandon covetousness and slander. Forswear falsehood and thou shalt obtain the true fruit through the Guru's instruction". "Truth is higher than everything, but higher still is truthful living". "Make thy mind the farmer, this body the earth, good deeds the seed, and irrigate it with the rain of God's name. Love of God will germinate in thy heart, and thus shall thou gain imperishable merit". To Pandit Chatur Das of Benaras, Nanak emphatically said:

"The moon and sun are both in my heart; thou hast not obtained such knowledge?"

He who subdued mammon knoweth that God is everywhere diffused.

69. Cf: Sri Rag, I.
70. Cf: Rag Suhi.
71. Cf: Rag Sorath.
72. Cf: Sri Rag.
73. Cf: Sorath, I.
He may be known by this mark that he storeth contentment as his wealth”. 74

To Mian Mitha of Mithankot (in modern Dera Ghazi Khan), Nanak advised:—

“Make honesty thy steed, truth thy saddle, continence thine equestrian armour;

The five virtues (i.e. contentment, compassion, piety, patience, morality) thine arrows, and truth thy sword and shield” 75

In other words, Iman (Faith) and A’amal-i-Salih (Good Deeds), the two pointers in Islam, appear to be the cardinal points in Sikhism too. Hence both became the religions of the masses—easy to understand, easy to accept and easy to practice. But that does not mean that intelligence and knowledge or logic and philosophy were discarded by the two religions. Prophet Muhammad said, “Talab al-‘ilm faridatun’ ala kulli muslimin wa muslimat” (i.e. pursuit of knowledge is obligatory on all Muslims—men and women). ‘Ilm includes knowledge of all kind and of all places, since the Prophet stressed, “Ullibu-al-‘ilm wa lau-bi-al-Sin” (seek knowledge even though it may be found in China). Even the greatest Jihad (Al-Jihad u’l-Akbar) is applied by the Holy Prophet to the effort of the student to become learned and the effort of the learned to spread knowledge. He said, “The ink of the scholar is holier than the blood of the martyr”.

Hinduism mainly stresses upon Spiritualism. But Islam and Sikhism both strike the happiest mean between Materialism and Spiritualism enjoining the followers to keep due sense of proportion, of course. On one hand, Islam sounds strongly La-Rabbaniyah fi’l-Islam (i.e. there is no renunciation of the world in Islam) and on the other, it enjoins its adherents to keep Akhirah (end) constantly in view. The Qur’an says, “And seek the abode of the Hereafter in that which God hath given thee and neglect not thy portion of the world” (28 : 77). Again, the Prophet Muhammad exhorted, “The best of you is he who does not forego this world for the next or forego the next world for this. The best of you is

75. Ibid, p. 127.
he who takes from this and that". Islam did not enjoin upon celibacy or seclusion as a recluse. Muhammad said, "Marriage is of my ways, he who goes against my ways is not from me". It is exactly that Nanak preached. He never advocated renunciation of the world but denounced only the evils of too much worldliness. After his travels, he himself settled at Kartarpur, with his family, leading a domestic life and tilling his fields during the last years of his life. He himself tilled the fields since dignity of labour was highly maintained in the creed of Nanak whose followers have, ever since, shirked no labour. The Guru said, "Touch not at all the feet of those who call themselves gurus and pirs and go about begging". "They alone who eat the fruit of their own labour and share it with others", says Nanak, "recognize the right path". 76 Islam too enjoins upon mankind the dignity of labour "Laisali-insan illa ma sa ‘aa'" i.e. 'for man there is nothing but what he strives for'. Islam is as unique as Sikhism, amongst religions in general, in its appreciation of man's nature,—physical needs being recognised as good as the spiritual needs. This fact counted a lot for the continuous and silent ascendancy of the followers of both these creeds. According to both Sikhism and Islam, the nature of life in this world disagreed with asceticism and torment of body. Nanak says, "The body is the palace, the temple and the house of God. Into it He putteth His eternal light". 77 Again, he says : So, nourish the body that you may serve the Lord. 78 Prophet Muhammad goes to the extent of saying that he was required by God Himself not to go to the extent of self-torment in his active zeal and devotion to the mission. The Divine injunction was : "We have not revealed unto thee the Qu’ran that thou shouldst be distressed, but as a reminder unto him who feareth (God)" (Qu’ran 22 : 2, 3). Islam rather advises moderate and legitimate enjoyment of good things here as well as hereafter in Heaven. Again, the Divine message says, "O children of Adam! Look to your adornment at every place of worship. Eat and drink but be

76. Sarang ki Var, 1 : 22.
77. Rag Malhar.
78. Rag Suhi.
not prodigal. Lo! He loveth not the prodigal" (7:31). Again, "Say, 'Who hath forbidden the adornment of God which He hath brought forth for His bondmen, and the good things of His providing'? (7:32, in part). The Holy Qur'an directs: "Fa kula mimma yazaqa-kumullaho halahun, tayyaba" i.e. 'Eat and drink that which is good and clean. (V, 4). Nanak too enjoined: "Hor khana khusi khuar jit khade tan pirie man mahin chale vikar" i.e. 'only that food defiles a man which impairs the body and creates complex passions in the mind'. In Nanakism, the world was not a vale of tears but a valuable treasury. Prosperity, if not by harm to anyone (Charhdi kala sarbad da bhala), was a recommendable theme in it. The Sikh Gurus themselves are finest examples of materialism plus spiritualism. They encour aged trade and prosperity, adopted worldly insignia of "miri" along with "piri", and used plume (for crown), takht (throne), cloak, heron, ornaments, games etc., etc., but cautioned strictly against degeneration. "Hasandian, khelan dian, pain dian, khandian vichhe howe mukti" i.e. "Even while men laugh and play and dress and eat, salvation can be obtained". Both Islam and Nanakism thus agree considerably in their positive and affirmative approach.

The essentials of democracy and socialism, manifest in Nanak's creed, are evidently more akin to Islam than to the caste-ridden Hinduism as prevailing in Nanak's times. Even in the matter of succession, we find that Muhammad ignored the claims of his next-of-kin inheritor, Ali, and nominated Abu Bakr al-Sadiq as his successor on the principle of merit. So did Nanak by nominating Bhai Lehna (Angad) as his successor in preference to the claims of his own sons on the same consideration of merit. In both the cases, this act of the respective preceptor resulted in some feuds and internal troubles but, in both cases, this 'principle of the fittest' gave vigour and vitality to the creed itself. In both the cases, later on, the headship became hereditary with the passage of time.

The above enunciation does not mean that Sikhism

was merely a slough of Islam or Hinduism. Nanak boldly differed with some basic principles of the two religions too. For example, his definition of God was neither perfectly like that pronounced by Hinduism nor like the one put forward by Islam. Muslims call Muhammad as Rasul-ul-Akhrin (i.e. the Last Prophet to appear) and believe that no prophet shall appear on this earth after him. Nanak however declared that “there are hundreds of thousands of Muhammads and that many Muhammads stand in His Court”\(^80\). Nanak did not believe in ‘the only one possible’ mediation of God’s holy Prophet Muhammad alone, as is clear from his reply to Emperor Babur who had asked him to embrace Islam and seek intercession of Muhammad\(^81\). However, here too, there is one striking similarly in the elementary concept of Muhammad as Prophet and Nanak as Guru. None was to succeed Muhammad as Prophet and his Kitab, the holy Qur’an, was to serve as a future guide. In Sikhism, we come across the peculiar and queer Sikh conception that the later Gurus were none new but the continued manifestation of same Nanak—the first Sikh Guru. Speaking of the nomination of Bhai Lehna, as Angad, to the Guruship, the Tikke di Var (i.e. the Coronation Ode), II, says, “He had the same light, the same ways, the King merely changed his own body\(^82\). According to the Sikhs, it is Nanak himself who transcended on the subsequent Gurus\(^83\). In the words of Cunningham, “it is certain that the Sikhs fully believe the spirit of Nanak to have been incarnate in each succeeding Guru”\(^84\). All the successive Gurus styled themselves “Nanak” e.g. in the case of Guru Hargobind who even wrote his personal letters signed as Nanak\(^85\) or Guru Gobind Singh who is called as ‘Guru Govind Nanak’ in the Bahadur-Shah-Nama\(^86\).

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82. Ibid, p. 25.
84. Cunningham, op: cit; p. 45, and f. n. below it.
This factor of one Guru ‘Nanak’ continuing in spirit was emphasized by Guru Gobind Singh himself, in his Vachitra Natak (Wonderful Drama), when he declared that the Gurus were one and that, without understanding, the claim of perfection could not be attained. He wrote:—

“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.
The holy Nanak was revered as Angad,
Angad was recognised as Amar Das,
And Amar Dass became Ram Das.
The pious saw this, but not the fools,
Who thought them all distinct;

But some rare person recognised that they were all one.
They who understood this obtained perfection,
Without understanding this perfection cannot be obtained”87.

Thus, as in Islam the prophethood could not be shared with Muhammad, in Sikhism too Guruship was indivisible. In Islam, the Guide-to-be, after Muhammad, was to be the holy Qur’an. In Sikhism, the Guide-to-be, after the 10th ‘Nanak’ (i.e. Guru Gobind Singh), was to be the holy Granth. There is, however, one difference between Nanak and Muhammad in their cosmic concepts. The Qur’anic belief of the Muslims was in seven firmaments and fourteen regions, but Nanak declared that there were innumerable earths and each with intelligent beings. The point is stated to have been elaborately discussed in the dialogue between Pir-i-Dastgir of Baghdad and Guru Nanak when the latter visited Baghdad during his itinerary to Mecca and Medina88. Nanak believed that there was a universe after universe and in each universe or galaxy there were innumerable planets or earths

87. Vachitra Natak, V. 7-10; Tr., Macauliffe, op. cit; Vol. VI.
like ours with living beings in many of them and that the moral, political and spiritual evolution, of the living beings there, was progressing through a succession of prophets, saviours, saints and sages and that the goal of all of them was the same. According to Nanak, there were hundreds of thousands of nether and upper regions, and that at last men grow weary of searching for them. He is said to have proved it to the priest of Baghdad by laying his hand on the high priest’s son and showing him the upper and lower regions described in the Jupji89. Nanak said, “Salahi salah aeti surat na paea; Nadia ate paveh samund na Janhe” i.e. ‘none is capable to assess and gauge God and his regions just as one cannot count and measure the many rivers, streams and oceans created by Him’90. Unless the scope, of seven firmaments and fourteen regions pleaded by Muhammad or of the innumerable earths propounded by Nanak or the 640 million earth-like planets revolving around other suns as calculated by some Russian and Western scientists like Dr. Shklovsky in the ultra-modern age of Space and Super-civilization, is fully known, understood or determined, the real import of the two theories of Islam and Nanakism cannot be properly caught and the seeming difference, in detail, about the two enunciations need not be emphasized. However, both the preceptors agree in the basic fundamentals here too that there are other worlds also beyond this universe of ours and the modern scientist is proving this fundamental truth pointed out by Muhammad and Nanak as well as by the Hindu seers much earlier.

The whole life of Guru Nanak is a proof that he never preferred Sword over Sermon; he never advocated compulsion in place of persuasion, and never allowed violence in place of love. He mixed with all, dined with all, talked with all, and became of all. Those who charge violence, persecution and compulsion by force as the traits of Islam appear to shut their eyes to the very clear injunction of the holy Qur’an which says, "Invite all to the way of thy Lord with

90. Jupji, Pouri XXIII.
wisdom and beautiful preaching and argue with them in ways that are best and most gracious, for thy Lord knoweth best who have strayed from His path and who receive guidance" (16:125). Again, "Let there be no compulsion in religion. Truth stands out clear from error; whoever rejects evil and believes in God has grasped the most trustworthy handhold that never breaks. And, God heareth and knoweth all things" (2:256). Prophet Muhammad also said, "Every child is born with sound nature but his parents make of him a Jew, a Christian, or a Magian". Again, "Say, 'O ye, that reject Faith! I worship not that which ye worship, nor will ye worship that which I worship. And I will not worship that which ye are wont so worship, nor will ye worship that which I worship. To you be your way and to me mine" (109 Kafirun 1-6). Prophet Muhammad was against all aggression. He had to use sword only during the last decade of his long life, under the stress of strife, in the name of righteousness and under the force of prevailing circumstances as well as to make his men (new converts) as fearless believers in the name of True Lord and when Religion and Polity were submerged into each other. Nanak’s followers, too, later on, were compelled to take up sword in the name of righteousness and to foster fearlessness under the force of circumstances. Muhammad is once said to have said, "What is good is with the sword and in the sword". He justified Qittal fi sabil-Allah i.e. ‘fighting in the way of God’, which meant protection of righteousness and justice. Circumstances made a saint like Guru Gobind Singh too to declare the same: "Sur son pehchaniye, jo lare Deen ke haet" i.e. ‘He is to be acknowledged a brave person who fights for the sake of religion’ (which means for the protection of justice, virtue and righteousness). The sacred Gita too justifies fighting for the same end. It would be too much to derate Islam as a Religion of Sword and violence just on account of vandalism shown by some misguided followers of Islam (the Religion of Peace), in the name of Religion, to, in fact, meet their mercenary, lusty or political ends. The holy Qur’an goes even to the extent of advising that
“A kind word and protection are better than alms followed by injury” (2: 264-68). What an irony of History! Many of the so-called *Mujahids* who perpetuated engines of tyranny on the non-conformists were dead-drunkards, sensualists, and lascivious persons who rolled in debauchery, indulged in moral-degradation and forbidden luxuries in spite of strict *Qur’anic* injunctions, just as some of the *Misaldars* led impure lives,—just the anti-thesis of Nanak’s creed, and still posed to be the guardians of Sikhism. No religion worth the name, much less the *Ahinsic* (non-violent) Hinduism; the peace-loving Christianity: the Islamic cult of brotherhood or the Sikh creed of Universal Good, Love and Toleration, would advocate cannibalism, blood-shed, torture, tyranny or calumny in place of co-existence, cooperation, conciliation, co-adjustment and commonwealth. Both the creeds, i.e. Islam and Nanakism, advocated “self-surrender” (“Die before you die’). Both advocated against lust,—lust for power, for riches, for sex etc. Nanak’s hymns are too numerous to be repeated here. The Holy Prophet Muhammad had made it clear *Al-jihad al-okbar, jihad al-hawai* i.e. ‘the greatest Jihad is that which is against a man’s own lust’. Both were against hoarding of riches. Nanak said, “Without sinful means it is not possible to accumulate wealth; yet it does not keep company after death”. Again, he said, “*Ghal khai kujh hathon de, Nanak rah pachhane se*” (‘Distribute something of your’s own. This is the only way of deliverance’). For Muhammad, it was anti-human to hoard up riches. The Muslims are abjured to spend, of the wealth which God has given them, all that is superfluous (*Al-afa’u*) i.e. all that be in excess of their own requirement. The Holy Qur’an enjoins against consuming unjustly what is part of another man’s wealth (2: 184). The Prophet said, “Develop a certain amount of austerity, for plenty is not permanent”. Again, he said, “we never eat unless we are hungry, and when eating we avoid excess”. He was relentlessly harsh upon the usurers and usurpers and emphatically declared: “They shall swallow fire into their bellies and shall burn in the flames (of *Dauzakh*) who swallow
the substance of an orphan wrongfully”.

The whole career of Guru Nanak shows that he had no compunction for any religion. The core of his religion was Truth and Toleration. In the holy Qur’an too, it occurs, as aforesaid, “Let there be no compulsion in religion (La Iqrah fi-al-Din). Truth stands out clear from error; whoever rejects evil and believes in God has grasped the most trustworthy handhold that never breaks. And God heareth and knoweth all things” (2 : 256).

Islam, like Sikhism, is not the name of any particular religion founded by any particular prophet. In the Encyclopaedia of Social Sciences, it is asserted that “even the main religious tenets of Islam were derived from Judaism and heretical gnostic Christianity”, and that Muhammad “felt himself called upon, however, to proclaim to the Arabs, the divine revolution which the Jewish and Christian people had already received through Moses and Jesus; and the Qur’an is the Arabic edition of the earlier scriptures, with which it agrees in content”. Even Prophet Muhammad himself said, “Say, We believe in Allah and that revealed to us and to Abraham, Ismail, Isaac, Jacob and the Thibes, and that given to Moses and to Jesus and to the prophets.....We do not distinguish between any of them and to Him we submit” (Qur’an III—83). ‘Islam was the religion of all the prophets of God, from Adam to Muhammad of Arabia’. The contents of the Adi Granth can also adequately endorse this trait in Sikhism which can justifiably be called the religion of all Saints, Seers and Sufis.

There is another striking similarity between Islam and Nanakism. There are no sacraments which demand a consecrated priest. Any Muslim or Sikh could perform and preside at any of their respective religious acts. The followers of Muhammad and Nanak are equally sceptical about another fact too, i.e. no one should enter into a mosque (House of Allah or God) or a Gurudwara (The Gate of the Guru’s House) bare-headed. Everyone has to customarily cover the head properly and to wash
one’s feet before entering the portals of the two. Nanak had identified himself so much with the spirit of Islam that he was not only tolerated by the Muslims for calling Allah and Ishwar as the same\textsuperscript{91} but was even acclaimed by them as a Wali or ‘Shah’ (i.e. an exalted darvesh) and was claimed for burial as a Muslim Pir when dead, almost in the same age when a Brahman,\textsuperscript{92} called Budhan of Kayathan (or Kataen) near Lucknow, was put to death by Sultan Sikander Khan Lodi for stating the same thing i.e. ‘Allah and Ishwara are one and the same’; a Muslim Governor, Ahmad Khan\textsuperscript{93} of Lucknow was imprisoned for his liberal religious leanings; and even a Saint like Kabir\textsuperscript{94} is stated to have been tortured by the same Sultan who is generally described by the Muslim historians\textsuperscript{95} as just. God-fearing, religious-minded and model of a true Muslim prince. Nanak’s reference to the state of prevailing injustice and butchery of the Muslim kings, viz in Majh Ki Var or Babarvani, had nothing to say against the rule of Islam as such but was a protest only against the misrule and mal-administration, anarchy and chaos pervading the whole atmosphere. It was just incidentally that the rulers and administrators responsible for maintenance of law and order happened to be Muslims and sometimes yoked their religion intentionally or misguidedly, politically or otherwise, to cover their mis-deeds and acts of injustice. Nanak felt that religion may be a subjective experience yet it always carried an objective reference, otherwise it may be polity not religion. To him, religion centred around Guna, Karma and Subhava i.e. Right thinking, Right action and Right behaviour. He was evidently awakened to the reality that mankind was only one big family,

\textsuperscript{91} Also see Benerjee, I.B., \textit{op : cit}; i. n. 2, p. 33.


\textsuperscript{93} Ferishta, \textit{op : cit}; Briggs, I, 582.

\textsuperscript{94} \textit{Ibid}. Also see supra., Banerjee, I.B., \textit{op : cit}; i. n. 2, p. 33.

\textsuperscript{95} \textit{Tarikh-i-Daudi}, Elliot, \textit{op : cit}; IV, pp. 437-40; Ferishta, Briggs, I, \textit{op : cit}; pp. 535-87; etc.
a trait found so strong in the Institutes of Islam. But wherever he felt the Muslims erring, even in their deep-rooted conventions (as in case of some other sects or religious beliefs too e.g. Jogis, Naths or Hindus in general), he was bold enough, even to a risk to his life, to defy, as in the case of the sacred Mecca where he proved to the irrate Mullas that God was boundless, was omnipresent and resided in all directions and not only in the west. Nanak’s defiance was not out of any irreverence but was in fact aimed to draw the attention of the ignorant Muslims to the meaningful Qur’anic injunction: “Wherever ye turn, there is the face of Allah” (Qur’an II: 209). At Baghdad, the ancient seat of Caliphate before its sack, Nanak declared, “I have renounced all sects”. Thus ethically Nanakism came very close to Islam though in matters of details and conventions Nanak’s expositions might have differed from the accepted path of the Muslims. The whole philosophy of Guru Nanak, as per Jupji, revolves round the fundamental truth of the monotheistic concept of God just as in Islam. The creed of Nanak covers the essentials of Unity, Headship, Brotherhood, Equality and Universalism as comprehensively as in Islam or, as a matter of fact, in any democratic religion of the world. Both, Muhammad and Nanak, had pronounced a simple code of social ethics which started from Unity of God-head (La Ilah in Islam and Ek-Onkar in Sikhism) and which, in further details, can be captioned as L. E. F. T. i. e. Love, Equality, Fraternity, Faith and Tolerance. Without any stress on proselytization or conversion, Nanak aimed to build a broad brotherhood for the worship of God and service of Mankind shorn off all undue rigours and rigidities. The Guru said, “Ek pita ekas ke ham barak”96 i. e. ‘there is one Father and we are all His children’. Brotherhood of man was the necessary outcome of the Unity of Godhead97. He put into practice the principle of Akhuwat (brotherhood), advocated by Islam, by

96. Sorath, V. p. 611
starting community kitchens (pangat) and mixed assemblies (sangat), as well as by customarily addressing his followers, friends and other fellows with the honorific of Bhai (i.e. brother). "The Guru or the disciple, the king or the servant, the priest or the layman were all Bhais, equal in sangat and must serve one-another"98. The sangat was the very image of the Lord. It was Such-Khand itself, the very abode of piety99. Again, in Nanakism, it is stressed, "He who remains self-less in service attains God"100. One gets in the next world only what he earns here and shares with others". According to the Qur'an, "God truly loves those who do good to others" (6:152). The Guru emphasized, "Vich duniya sev kamaiye tan dargeh baisrn paiye"101 (i.e. service done in this world shall win favour in heaven or Virtue is its own reward). Prophet Muhammad too asserted "Wa min-jahid fan ma, ya-jahid la-nafsa" (i.e. whosoever strives, strives for his own good). Both felt that the Ego,—in its self confinement, in its automatism, physical and social, is a distortion of the true subject. Man's spirit can burst the circle of Nature and realize its true kinship with the Divine Creator.

Guru Nanak declared "universalism" as his creed vide the last words of the Ardas (Prayer): "Tere bhane sarbat da bhala" i.e. 'Thy goodwill to all!' Guru Nanak had asked his Sikhs "to regard all men as equal since everybody had the same shelter viz. that of God and since God's light was contained in the hearts of all"102. He said, "Awwal Allah Nur upaya Kudrat de sab bande; Ek Nur se sab jag upaya kaun bhale kaun mande" (God first created Light. All beings proceeded from His Omnip-

98. Ganda Singh, Sikhs & Sikhism, p. 4
99. See Bhai Gurdas, Kabit 63; Banerjee, I. B., op : cit ; p. 257.
100. Gauri, V ; Also, Suhkhmani, XVIII—2
101. Sri Rag. I, p. 26. "Dana pani Guru da, tehi bhauna Sikhan di" (i.e. 'The true Sikhs should have only a sincere desire to serve since all bread and water is of God Himself') became subsequently a common saying among Nanak's followers.
presence. From one Light the whole Creation has proceeded. Hence there is none high and none low). Prophet Muhammad too had declared, "To God belong the East and the West. Whithersoever ye turn, there is the presence of God, for God is All-pervading, All knowing..." (2 : 115). Again, he said, "He is the Light of heavens and the earth" (24 : 25) i.e. a Light which envelops the entire Universe. The holy Prophet also said, "Wa ma kan annaso illa ummatin wahidatan" i.e. 'All human beings, whatsoever, are indeed not other than one community'.

In the case of both Islam and Nanakism, faith in God implied faith in self. Both preached against folly and frivolity. Both were meant to be not stagnant. According to Islam, "He whose days are alike is deceived". In Nanakism, 'Charrhdi Kala' is the true tenet of progress through endeavour and faith and that too with a feeling for general welfare (sarbad da bhala). Both Islam and Nanakism can be likened to Alchemy which transforms base metals into Gold and both succeeded astonishingly in changing a man, from a man of clay to a man of Iron with a heart of Gold.

Quite interestingly, the principles enunciated by these two Principals of catholicity became more and more communal, in their import, with the passage of time, though in both the cases they injected a sense of solidarity as well. Hinduism had a miraculous capacity to assimilate almost all the earlier religious currents confronting it and had succeeded to sub-merge them into its wide ocean. But here, Islam stood strong as a separate rock, and circumstances helped the Sikhs to drift away from the motherly arm of Hinduism and to weld themselves into a separate community. In fact, an offshoot of Hinduism, Nanakism had so many similarities with Islam and Christianity, in its emphasis of the principles of Monotheism and true actions, that it may perhaps be a dis-service to the Great Guru and quite un-Nanak-like to say that he belonged to this particular sect or that. The creed of Nanak may be, called a continuation of Indian spiritual idealism with belief in the basic principles of
Islam and the Creed of Nanak

Karma, Punarjanam (Transmigration)\(^{103}\), Mukti, Nirvan, Prapti, Gyan and Bhakti etc., etc., and thus Sikhism may be located within the pale of Hinduism even though Kahan Singh has tried hard to assert "Ham Hindu Nahin"\(^{104}\) ('We are not Hindus'). However the Muslim influence, born of environmental impact and spirit of universalism, is crystal clear from the concept of Nanakism and the terminology adopted to elucidate that concept.

Though, speaking too technically and in some detailed analysis of theological ideologies like Khatima-e-Nabuwat or the last prophethood of Muhammad, Qiamat i.e. the Day of Judgement, the existence of the Ae'traf, availability of the Hourin, the Sarat-e-Mustaqim, the M'araj-e-Nabi i.e. Muhammad’s Ascension, the Halul, the Wahi i.e. the Vizitation of Gabra’el, Khatna or the Circumcision, Halal or the Animal sacrifice etc., Sikhism may differ from Islamic precept or is silent about, yet it can be safely asserted that it was Nanak’s creed which stood between the two focal points. The whole analysis in the creed of Nanak, regarding various paths, boils down to the simple fact that religions may differ in details but all of them agree on fundamentals and that Religion is just an intellectual comprehension. Islam, as a matter of fact, was treated by the Guru as an inevitable element in the national life, an edified creed to be put up with and to be tolerated with reverence, but not necessarily to be emulated in its entirety. Nanak rather castigated blind following of the Islamic ways and manners, if followed just for self-seeking. Similarly, Nahakism was tolerated by the Muslims as an ethical code coming more near to the Islamic concept of Wahdat i.e. the Unity of Godhead and Akhuwat i.e. the Universal brother-hood of man and it was put up with as a reformed form of the prevailing Hinduism and

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104. Kahan Singh, *op: cit*; The learned author has laboured hard in his work *Hum Hindu Nahin* to prove that Sikhism is quite distinct, divergent and different from Hiuduism and the Sikhs cannot be claimed as Hindus or off-shoots of the Hindus.
not as a separate religion. Nanak was considered, by the people of his age with whom he came into contact, as a missionary who was trying at a moral revivalism and was endeavouring to transform sinners into saints, robbers into seers, criminals into good creatures and hypocrites into harmonious humans. Nothing more nothing less than that. With the lapse of time, Nanak became a Nabi, like Muhammad, for the posterity, with a holy book (Kitab), a big following (Jamiat or Ummat i.e. the Sikhs), miracles (Mo'ajza or Karamat) and 'comrades' (Suhaba or Bhaïs), i.e. a distinct Granth and Panth of his own.

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"Sarr-i-man az nala-e-man dur neist
Lek chasm-o-gosh ra een nur neist.
Tan ze jan we jan ze tan mastur neist
Lek kas ra deed-i-jan dastur neist"¹⁰⁵.
(Rumi)

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¹⁰⁵ Rumi., Tr. (N.D.A): 'The mystery of the secret of my heart does not lie far from my wail, but these eyes and ears of mine can not see or hear.'
NANAK AND THE MUSLIMS

"Khuda ke bande to hain hazaron
bhatakte phirte hain mare mare,
Main us ka banda banoonga
jis ko khuda ke bandon se pyar hoga".

(Iqbal)

"There are thousands and thousands of people who profess slavery and devotion to God but are in reality fumbling about. I shall like to be a slave and servant of a man who loves God's creation".
NANAK AND THE MUSLIMS

'Rosary in his hand, Zunnar around his neck'

(Mohsin Fani)

Guru Nanak, throughout his long career of 70 years (1469-1539 A.D.), as aforesaid, nowhere maligned Islam though he was often a strong critic of social evils prevailing amongst the Muslims as well as the Hindus. He could not withstand the oppression of the ruler over the ruled or the high-handedness of the high over the low. He was bold enough to decry, in general, that Kal Age was a knife, and kings were butchers; justice had taken wings and fled⁴. He began his career, as a teacher of men, with the significant utterance that "there was no Hindu and no Musalman"². He took his stand on the eternal unity of humanity.³ He exhorted, "Regard all men as equal, since God's light is contained in the heart of each"⁴. He stressed, "where the deeds are good, there is a perfect mind too"⁵. Coming into India of a new and staunchly monotheistic cult of Islam, and establishment of a new political power,—extraneous in origin, had created spiritual, social, cultural and political stir in this country. Panjab being the pedestal had felt the impact and impress first of all and the most of all. The mental conflict, new challenges, sense of insecurity and the resultant chaos brought in new values and social problems. In this state of confusion, Nanak advised, "call no one bad; this is the essence of knowledge"⁶. For him, "that

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alone was good which pleaseth God". He defined his God as "One, Being, Becoming, Truth; All-pervading Creator; Without-fear; Without-hate; Enlightened; Gracious". If Nanak was a "Guru" for the Hindus, he was a "Pir" for the Musalmans. If Triptan was his mother, Daultan, a Muslim lady, was his midwife. The family astrologer, Hardial, had declared, at his birth, that he would be worshipped by Hindus and Muslims alike and not merely by Hindus. He was pre-destined to be a monotheist, and not a worshipper of minor deities and idols. It was a Muslim devotee and rebek-player, Mardana, who was Nanak's constant companion, more than even the Hindu Bala. If Bala was his "left arm", Mardana was his right. Mardana was a Muslim doom (bard). When Nanak was absorbed in unison with God, he would play sweetly, softly and hypnotisingly on his rebek. He would remain thirsty and hungry, miss his wife and children, suffer untold privations and risks, walk miles and miles with sore and swollen feet but would not leave Nanak. Mardana accompanied the Guru during his travels. He was his part and parcel. After Nanak's settlement as a house-holder at Kartarpur, his life-long

8. Mul Mantar, M: I.
9. There was a popular saying:—

"Nanak Shah Faqir, Hindu da Guru Musalman da Pir". Dr. W.H. Mcleod (Guru Nanak and Sikh Religion) has, however, disputed 'Hindu ka Guru—Muslim ka Pir' role ascribed by some theologians to Nanak. Also see Review by Khushwant Singh of Mcleod's Book, Times of India, dated 7.9.69.


15. Mehma Parkash, p. 52 (Typed copy at D. H. S. Punjabi University, Patiala), Also see Meharban's Janam Sakhi and Puratan Janam Sakhi.
musician-companion, Mardana, died here\(^{16}\). His son Shahzada was graciously adopted by the Guru into his household as the successor rebeck-player. It is a glowing example of Hindu-Muslim brotherhood as envisaged and practised by Nanak himself. Ever since, the Muslim rebeck—players (rababies) continued to attend and play rebeck at the Hari-Sankirtan Sammelins in the Gurdwaras. These Muslim minstrels became a ‘Must’ in the Sikh temples including Hari Mandir at Amritsar. They worshipped, lived and died as Muslims but led the Sikhs in performing minstrelsy in the Sikh religious congregations. As street singers they sang sweetly the hymns of the Guru. These robabies were a common sight, throughout the Panjab, upto the time of India’s Partition, more so in Jind, Nabha, Patiala and Kapurthala—the seats of the Sikh states. They even enjoyed the Sikh honorific title of Bhai (Brother). They enjoyed special reverence by all Sikhs and Hindus\(^{17}\). Not only the opening of the religious temples of the Sikhs to the Muslim minstrels but the very presence and contribution of the latter at the religious functions, recitations and gatherings of the Sikhs, is the finest manifestation of Nanak’s love for Muslim Mardana and the latter’s devotion to his Hindu Master.

\(^{16}\) Sayyid Mohammad Latif however states that “while on his travels in Afghanistan he (Nanak) lost his faithful servant Mardana, the Harper, who was originally a Mohammadan but how had become a convert to Nanak’s new doctrines and was burnt, according to his own wish, in Khulm were he died” (S.M. Latif, History of Panjab, p. 245, 1964 Ed.) Pt. Sardha Ram also, more or less, endorses this statement and tells that Mardana, the Mirasi, died in a strange land in a city called Khurma near Kabul. He was burnt by Nanak according to his (Mardana’s) own wishes. (Pt. Sardha Ram, op: cit; Tr., H. Court, op: cit; p. 7.)

\(^{17}\) It was only in about middle of the 20th century that the robabies became persons non-grata in several Gurdwaras on account of their undesirable activities and unpleasant moral gestures. Uptil then, the Muslim robabies remained a significant institution of the Gurdwaras and Sikh Sangats. At the eve of Nanak’s quincentenary, S. G. P. C. have since extended an invitation to the robabies in Pakistan to come and stay in India for ministerial service at Gurdwaras.
The Muslim Rai, Bular, restrains Kalu from beating Nanak.
Nanak’s birth too was believed to be the result of the prayers of a certain *faqir*\(^{18}\). According to a Sikh scholar Prof. Jogindar Singh, “a Muslim *faqir* had given the good omen of the birth of *Guru ji* to his father”\(^{19}\).

Nanak’s father, Kalu Chand (b, Lohara\(^{20}\) village), was then in the employment\(^{21}\) of a Muslim *Zamindar* and noble *Rai Bular*,—a *Bhatti* (Muslim Rajput) by caste, at *Bhoe-di Talwandi* (now known as *Nankana Sahib* in district Sheikhupura of W. Pakistan) where the great *Guru* was born. *Rai* Bular was so kind towards the God-fearing boy, Nanak, that he always disapproved of Kalu’s severe treatment of his son (Nanak). He used to offer compensation from his own coffers if ever Nanak were found lapsing in his domestic affairs or in money and material matters. If was *Rai* Bular who soothed Kalu’s frayed frets and torrential temper by agreeing to pay off the whole compensation for the loss of the crops upon which Nanak’s cattle were reported to have grazed. When Nanak was once beaten black and blue by his father for having squandered away money, meant for trade and benefit, over a group of hungry *‘faqirs’*, *Rai* Bular was so much pained that he advised Kalu to restrain himself from any severity on the child (Nanak) and offered him to recompense his loss from his (Bular’s) own treasury\(^{22}\). Latif writes, “Nanak, on returning home, concealed himself in the branches of a tree, from fear of his father, who was

20. *Dehra Sahib Lohara*, birthplace of Kalu Chand (or Ram?) is now in Amritsar district where the S. G. P. C. has decided to establish a 25 bed hospital in celebration of Nanak’s Quincentenary.
21. In the *Siar-ul-Mutakhairin* (Briggs, Tr., i, 110), it is stated that Nanak’s father was a grain merchant. Cunningham describes him as a petty trader (cf: J. D. Cunningham, *op: cit*; p. 35) and Latif says that he was a weighman or *dharwari* who acted as *patwari* (Latif, *op: cit*; p. 241). Also see Pt. Sardha Bam, *Sikhan de Raj de Vikhia*, Tr., H. Court, *History of the Sikhs*, (1959 Ed), p. 1.
informed of what his son had done. The father was in a great fury and began to beat little Nanak, but Rai Bular, who understood the lad, appeased his anger by the payment of Rs. 40/- (or Rs. 20/-?) from his own purse.”28. Bular told Kalu that Nanak was a Wali, Faqir and God-incarnate, and that he (Bular) ‘can recompense from his own treasury’ for any loss by Nanak24. According to Maulana Muhammad Hussain Azad, it was a Muslim Zamindar who saved Nanak from his father’s beating25. This Muslim Zamindar was none else but Rai Bular. All Sikh traditions support Rai Bular’s love and sympathy for tender Nanak. Max Arthur Macauliffe too has narrated Bular’s concern over the maltreatment of the saintly boy at the hands of his worldly father26. ‘He was no apathetic advocate of Nanak’27. On the eve of Nanak’s marriage, when aged 16 (with Sulakhni, daughter of Mula Batalvi—a chonak hatri), Kalu approached Rai Bular for his formal leave28. He was offered by the latter, all sorts of aid in money and material29. He weae advised to celebrate the marriage with all pomp and show30. Rai Bular, by his own sweet will and force, handed over a lot of money to Kalu for sundry expenses31.

26. Macauliffe, op : cit; Vol I, pp 11, 15, 19,
27. Ibid, p. 31.
28. Santokh Singh, Nanak Parhash, No. 17, Ch. 21, p. 91.
29. Ibid, p. 91. Rai Bular replied to Kalu:—
30. “Somite khoye udharta dhar karo aap biah so hirat Kari more ket ne chake so le woh sokinath aeo dhan Bhari laene tarangam bhakhan sajat sunder seen jane Chap ehai sunder aeo sahle shubb saj he tambu hanat Lia saanai Kalu na lave dhan bhat main Bhopat dhan bhakes her aai”.
31. Review of Religions, November, 1941.
He, himself though an orthodox Muslim, later bestowed rich jagirs and lands to the various commemorative Gurdwaras associated with the name and life of Nanak e.g. to Gurdwara Bal Lila\textsuperscript{32}, Gurdwara Malji Saheb\textsuperscript{33}, Gurdwara Kayara Saheb\textsuperscript{34} and Gurdwara Hat Saheb\textsuperscript{35} etc. On the spot where he (Nanak) used to play with children of his own age and subsequently spend nights in devotion, there was a small tank constructed by Rai Bular in affectionate remembrance of the childhood of the Guru, at a time when his fame had extended far and wide\textsuperscript{36}. Bular, the Muslim Zamindar, helped the family in more than one way. It is he who arranged a marriage, through his kind offices, between Nanaki, sister of Nanak, and Jai Ram,

\textsuperscript{32} See Gurdam Didar, p. 127. On the spot where Nanak used to play with children of his age and later spend nights in devotion, there was a tank built by Rai Bular who subsequently built a Gurdwara also there. An allotment of about 120 murabba land and Rs. 31/- per annum was made by the Rai for it. Both the tank and the Gurdwara were later on repaired and enlarged by Kaura Mal, Diwan of Zafar Jahan Khan, Governor of Lahore, in the 18th century. The spot is also called as Barkhra or the child's (Nanak's) playground.

\textsuperscript{33} The tree in which Nanak is reported to have concealed himself, exists to this day, with its branches bowed down to the ground on all sides, and is called Malji Saheb by the people (Latif, op: cit.; p. 242; Also see Gurdam Didar, p. 131). 190 muraba land and Rs. 50/- per annum were allotted to it by Rai Bular.

\textsuperscript{34} See Gurdam Didar. It is a small Gurdwara at the place where Nanak used to graze his cattle and where fields were eaten by his cattle but every blade had re-appeared by his miracle. (See Gurdam Didar, p. 128). 45 murabba land was allotted to it by Rai Bular.

\textsuperscript{35} Cf: Gurdam Didar. The spot where Nanak opened his first shop for some time at the behest of his father is called Hat Saheb. His weights and measures are still kept in the commemorative Gurdwara as objects of veneration. Latif however says that the shop was opened at Sultanpur (Latif, op: cit; p. 242). One Gurdwara called Hat Saheb stands at Sultanpur Lodi also. It contains some weights and measures stated to have been used, at his shop or depot there, by Nanak. This Gurdwara and the contents are held in high esteem and are a source of spiritual satisfaction to the pilgrims visiting the place.

\textsuperscript{36} Macauliffe, op : cit ; Vol.I, p. 2. Also see f. n. 21 above.
appraiser (amil) for the revenues of Talwandi37. Again, it was 
Rai Bular who promised to Kalu that if Nanak learned Persian, 
he would appoint him village accountant in succession to his 
father38. Rai Bular, in fact, acknowledged the miraculous powers 
of the boy and congratulated Kalu on being the father of 
such a son39. He had witnessed that the protecting shadow 
of the tree (under which Nanak lay asleep during his assign-
ment as a herdsman) had remained stationary over him and 
not veered round with the sun’s progress40. On another occa-
sion it was observed that a large cobra watched over him 
(Nanak) and protected the youthful saint with its hood. Rai 
Bular, having seen this his state, said to himself, ‘This child 
is some wresher of the Deity,’ and having come to his 
father, began to say to him: ‘This thy son is very holy’41. It 
was agreed between him and Jai Ram that Nanak was a saint 
ill-treated by his father42.

When, later, on Nanak asked Rai Bular’s permission to depart, 
the Rai gave him a banquet. The Rai then requested him for any 
kind of service and asked him to ‘give him any order he pleased, 
that is to state what favour he might grant him’. Nanak re-
p lied: “I give thee one order if thou will comply with it. When 
thy own might availeth not, clasp thy hands and worship God”43. 
Again, when Mardana returned home temporarily from Sayy-
idpur (Eminabad) where Nanak had stayed back, it was 
this Muslim Rai who called Mardana to himself, asked for 
Nanak’s news, and ‘with much entreaty’, said, “if thou wilt also 
obtain me a sight of him, I shall ever remain under a debt of 
gratitude to thee”44. When Nanak came to know from Mardana

38. Ibid, p. 11.
41. Sardha Ram, Pt., op: cit ; Tr., H. Cour,t, op: cit; pp. 1—2.
42. Macauliffe, op : cit; I, p. 32.
43. Macauliffe, op : cit ; I, pp. 32-33.
44. Ibid, p. 5.
about *Rai* Bular’s desire to see him, he came to Talwandi to do the needful\(^{45}\). The *Rai* offered Nanak a free land if he ‘could just obligeth him by remaining at Talwandi’\(^{46}\). At Nanak’s departure the *Rai* again asked him for any service for him\(^{47}\).

Nanak was appointed a ‘*Modi*’ (store-keeper) in the service of Daulat Khan, the Muslim Governor of Panjab, through the good offices of his own brother-in-law Jai Ram. Daulat Khan gave him a dress of honour as a perliminary of service. According to *Nanak Parkash*, on the eve of Nanak’s marriage, Jai Ram went to Daulat Khan and mentioned about the happy ceremony i. e. Nanak’s marriage. The Muslim *Nawab* was pleased to help liberally on this auspicious occasion\(^{48}\). He gave a huge sum from his own treasury and also, for a ride by the *baraties*, his own horses and elephants decorated and equipped with all kinds of accessories bridles, stirrups, seats, gold-ornaments embedded with jewels, and diamonds\(^{49}\).

While in the service of Daulat Khan later on, charges of embezzlement were levied against Nanak. In the medieval age when justice depended on the whim of the ruler, anybody would have met with disaster if only the master willed it so. However Daulat Khan was highly appreciative of Nanak Daulat Khan was an orthodox Afghan, Nanak a poor Hindu, and the age was medieval one. But he did not punish him\(^{50}\). He ordered an enquiry which

\(^{45}\) Macauliffe, *op: cit*; I, p. 5.

\(^{46}\) Ibid, p. 6.

\(^{47}\) Ibid.

\(^{48}\) Santokh Singh, *Nanak Parkash*, No. 39, Ch. 21, p. 94.

\(^{49}\) *Review of Religions*, November, 1941.

exonerated Nanak with honour and Daulat Khan (a strong-willed Afghan Noble and Governor) begged apology of him. When Nanak re-appeared after his dis-appearance for 3 days during which he was rumoured to have been drowned in the river Baen, Daulat Khan himself came, like others, to inquire about him. A Muslim Governor feeling concerned about the welfare of a petty Hindu official under him, and coming out to see him, is a testimony of high character of Daulat Khan on one side and the magnetism of Nanak on the other, in spite of their professing different religions and enjoying different official status. It goes again to the credit of Nawab Daulat Khan Lodi (vis-a-vis Sikander Lodi) that he not only ignored Nanak's first refusal to obey his summons on the complaint of his Qazi but also allowed him to have free and unrestricted discourses and disputations (munazrat) with that Qazi in his court. Nanak's assertion that there was "no Mussalman" could be normally equated with blasphemy and the punishment for blasphemy in a Muslim State and under the Muslim Law could be death. Nanak forcefully explained as to who could claim to be a true Muslim. He further advised the disputant Qazi to make kindness his mosque, sincerity his prayer-carpet, 'just and lawful' his Qur'an, modesty his circumcision, civility his fasting, right conduct Ka'aba, truth as spiritual guide, good works as creed and prayer, the will of God as rosary and to treat others' goods as unholy as eating of swine to the Muslim and kine to the Hindus etc. He had guts even to admonish Daulat Khan and his Qazi that during their prayer (namaz) the former was thinking of trade in horse at Kabul, and the latter of his ailing son and untied colt. Both admitted the truth of the Guru's statements, said that he was favoured of God,

53. Ibid, pp. 34-43; Nanak Prakash, I, xxviii.
and fell at his feet\(^{56}\). A Muslim Governor and a Qazi falling at the sacred feet of a Hindu saint is the height of magnanimity exhibited by the Muslims. The Guru explained his thesis further to them regarding right to enter paradise. ‘The whole company of Musalmans at the capital—the descendants of the Prophet, the tribe of the shaikhs, the qazi, the mufis and the Nawab himself were all amazed at Nanak’s words\(^{57}\). Nanak answered to their further questions and queries regarding God, mental peace and salvation etc. ‘It is said that Daulat Khan, the Muselman ruler, on hearing the sublime hymns, fell at Guru Nanak’s feet’. The people admitted that God was speaking through Nanak’s mouth and that it was useless to catechize him further\(^{68}\). The Nawab, in an outburst of affectionate admiration, offered him a sacrifice of his authority and estate\(^{69}\), which the great Guru declined\(^{60}\). ‘Upon this the faqirs kissed the Guru’s feet, the Governor also came, and all the people, both Hindu and Muselman, attended to salute and take final leave of him’\(^{61}\). Bhai Gurdas has claimed this very Muslim Nawab Daulat Khan as a Sikh of Guru Nanak\(^{62}\).

Nanak had many followers from amongst both Hindus and Muslims. Ganesh Das Vadhera, author of the Char Bagh-e-Panjab, writes about Nanak: “Bisiyare mardum az Hindu wa Muselman ra murid wa m’otagid-i khud sakht. Wa ta-asub-i-mazhabi na dasht. Ba har do firqa sohbat-i-neko me dasht. Aksar mamalik ra sair pharmud Ghulghala-e-Khuda shanasi wa qadir kalaqmi-i-ou dar har ja shuhrat paziraf’t”\(^{63}\) (He made many people from amongst the Hindus and Muslims as his devotees and followers. He had no religious bias. He kept company with good persons of both the sects. He

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57-60. Macauliffe, op : cit ; I, pp. 40-42.
62. Bhai Gurdas, Var, X1, 13. A list of the Guru’s Sikhs including Mardana. Daulat Khan and others is given in this Var.
63. Vadhera, Ganesh Dass. Char Bagh-e-Panjab, p. 105, Text, S.H.R.D., Amritsar Ed. [The Persian Text is being translated and annotated for the first time by the present writer, N.D.A].
travelled through several countries. His reputation in God-realization and declaration reached far and wide. Nanak maintained friendly relations with Muslim scholars of Religion, sufis, saints and Nobles. In Tarikh-e-Panjab by ‘Bute Shah’ we can find several names of Muslim Waalis and religious people whom Guru Nanak visited. Some of his notable associates were Pir Budhan Shah; Abd’ul Rahman,—leather merchant; Khan Kalat: Farid II; Pir Jalal, Mian Mitha and Ubare Khan, apart from other qazis, pirs and religious luminaries e.g. Shah Sharaf, Tattihar, Wali Qandhari, Murad etc., whom he met at various places in India and abroad. Nanak got his earlier schooling and elementary education in Persian from a Muslim. Ghulam Hussain identifies his early tutor as Sayyid Hasan Darvesh who lived in their neighbourhood, was wealthy and childless and conceived a regard for him. He was thoroughly versed in the Muhammadan Law Books. This statement of Ghulam Hussain has, however, been rejected by some modern Hindu and Sikh critics some of whom say that “it seems to be an effort on the part of Muslim writer to give the credit of Nanak’s subsequent greatness to the teachings of Islam”. Yet, it would be unfair to deny out-right Nanak’s association with a Muslim scholar like Sayyid Hussain only on this logic. A proper analysis may perhaps prove that Nanak may not have been a highly educated person specially as

64. The author Ghulam Muhiy-ud-Din-alias ‘Bute Shah’ was in the service of the British at Ludhiana. He wrote Tarikh-e-Panjab at the suggestion of Col. Ochterlony.


66. Cf: Janam Sakhi 3; Also see Trump, op: cit.


69. Cf: Encyclopaedia of Islam, IV (S–Z), Sikhs, p. 418.


71. Pt. Sardha Ram, author of Sikhan-de-Raj di Vickha states, “this Baba Nanak was not a very learned or literate man, but, from merely associating with some holy men, the love of the service of God was aroused in him”. (Sardha Ram. Pt., op : cit; Tr., H. Court, op : cit; p. 10).
far as Persian and Arabic or Muslim Theology were concerned. But being a Panjabi particularly, he could have been associated with Muslims even for an early schooling and there should be no unnecessary doubt about it and more specially when a system of mixed classes for the Hindus and the Muslims for learning Persian etc., had since been given a definite beginning in the time of Sikander Lodi. Nanak is said to have, later on, gained converts in Persia and Afghanistan and to have even established dioceses (Mendjis) notably at Bushahr and Kabul. His contact, and necessity to preach to the people of these Islamic countries, must have given him by acquisition or associations with holy men, maturity and experience, some basic knowledge and appreciation, at least, about Islam, even if he was not highly educated in the Muslim theology and languages. Macauliffe, however, says that he was a fair Persian scholar. Nanak is said, by some scholars, to have studied the most approved writings of the Muhammadans.

According to Malcolm, Nanak is reported by the Muhammadans to have learnt all earthly sciences from Khizar i.e. the prophet Elias. He had some declamation also with Qazi Rukn-ud-Din who was his Persian teacher. It was in reply to Rukn-

72. See f. n. 75 infra.
73. See Srivastava, A.L., Medieval Culture in India (Chapter Education); Jafar, S.M., Education in Muslim India.
74. Sewa Ram Singa. Life of Guru Nanak, p. 73; Also see Encyclopaedia of Islam, p. 418.
76. Macauliffe, op : cit; 15.
79. Khwaja Khizar, the green aged angel, is said to be the most knowledgeable being who, having tasted nectar, never dies and roams about.
ud-Din’s injunctions that he composed his famous acrostic on the letters of the Persian alphabet—Alif, Be, Te etc., etc., whereby he perplexed his instructor and explained to him the mystical significance of the alphabetical characters just as Jesus Christ had done with his instructor. Therein, he advised Rukn-ud-Din to remember ‘God’, to embrace humility, to renounce pride, to practise restraint and to be honest etc. According to Cunningham, there is reason to believe that in his youth, he (Nanak) made himself familiar what the popular creeds both of the Muhammadans and Hindus and that he gained general knowledge of the Qur’an and of the Brahmanical Shastras. He made visits to several Muslim khanqahs, shrines, and centres of learning and is said to have performed Haj to the sacred Mecca, all on foot. Even when he had not renounced the world and was still in service of Daulat Khan at Sultanpur, he is stated to have developed good social contacts with a Muslim saint Shah Allah Ditta who lived at the place where Gurdwara Ber Saheb now stands in Sultanpur Lodi. According to a legend, on his way to the stream Baen, Nanak used to see the Faqir daily. When the holy tree sprang up from the datan planted by Nanak, Shah Saheb said to him, ‘Takt-e-mehman na dasht, khana ba mehman guzashit’ (‘feeling unable to entertain the (exalted) guest, I surrendered my very house to the guest’). Nanak replied, ‘Neither you nor I own the house. All houses belong to the homeless’. Just near to this abode of the Shah (now Gurdwara Ber Saheb) where meeting between the Guru and the Shah used to take place is ‘Tharra Saheb’ where Nanak is said to have sat in meditation after having his bath in the stream. Closeby is Sant Ghat where Nanak re-appeared after 3 days of disappearance and where Daulat Khan Lodi and others called at him.

82. Strauss, Life of Jesus, i. p. 272.
83. Cunningham, op. cit; p. 35.
84. Cf: Malcolm, Sketch, op: cit; p. 16 ; Forster, Travels, i, 295–6.
Nanak is also stated to have a religious Guru. He is said, by some, to be a Muslim named Murad Guru who died in 927 A. H. at Baghdad vide a Turkish inscription on a wall in a grave-yard of Baghdad. It is worthwhile to quote InduBhushan Banerjee to show Nanak’s spiritual link with a Muslim luminary of Baghdad which was the historic seat of Muslim learning and theology. “But the recent discovery at Baghdad seems to lend some support to the statement of the Dabistan. One of the Sikh Commanders, who went to Messopotamia during the first Great War, writing to the ‘Loyal Gazette’ of Lahore in January, 1918, says that he saw the place commemorating the visit of Guru Nanak to Baghdad. Outside the city to the south-west beside a grave-yard, there is an open room situated within an enclosure wall. In one corner of the room is a platform on which Guru Nanak is said to have sat, while he was conversing with Shah Bhalol who sat on another platform in the opposite corner. The present priest named Sayyad Usaf, who is in charge of the place, described himself as the tenth in succession to the first incumbent of the place. But the most important thing for our present purpose is the inscription in Turkish that was found on the wall behind the platform. The inscription may be translated thus: ‘Guru Murad died. Baba Nanak Fakir helped in constructing this building which is an act

85. Cf: Nanak’s own various compositions.
87. Sewa Ram Singh, Divine Master, pp. 156-57. The inscription runs as below:—

Guru Murad Aidi Hazrat Rab-ul-Majid Baba Nanak Fakir Aulia, ki imarat jadid badid Umurad aiddub kaldi hi-tan danjani yabilidad sawab ajrehidah afix Murid-e-saeed 927 son Hijra”. (Murad saw the demolished building of Hazrat Rab-Majid”. Baba Nanak, faqir aulia, re-built it with his own hands, so that historic memorial may continue from generation to generation, and his Murid-i-saeed (the blessed disciple) may obtain heavenly bliss-927-H”.
of grace from a virtuous follower, 927 A.H. Guru Nanak thus appears to have been a follower of Guru Murad and it may not be improbable that the latter is the person referred to by Molisin Fani. 88 At Baghdad Nanak is said to have held a discussion with Pir Dastgir. (Bahlol Shah ?). Baghdad was the seat of Muslim Theology. It was not a small affair to enter into a bold and free discussion on the basic principles of Theologicum and to disagree with Qu’ranic belief regarding space. But the tolerant Muslim scholars in the band of Pir Dastgir listened intently and attentively to Nanak’s theory which is stated to have been proved and properly exhibited by the Sikh Guru. Nanak appears to have impressed Pir Bahlol Shah (Pir Dastgir) of Baghdad and his followers by his spirituality, sincerity of purpose and prophetic vision. The stone inscription still standing there is often alluded to as a testimony 89 of the same. On studying this inscription, Swami Anandacharya, a famous monk-poet wrote in his Snow-Birds (Macmillan) as below:

"Upon this slab of granite did’st thou sit, discoursing of fraternal love and holy light. O Guru Nanak, Prince among India’s holy sons;

What song from the source of Seven Waters, thou did’st sing to charge the soul of Iran,

What peace from Himalaya’s lonely caves and forests thou did’st carry to the vine groves and rose-gardens of Baghdad!

What light from Badrinath’s snowy peaks thou did’st bear to illumine the heart of Bahlol, thy saintly Persian disciple.

Eight fortights Bahlol hearkened to thy words on life and the path and Spring Eternal, while the moon waxed and waned in the pomegranate grove besides the grassy desert of the dead.

89. Dr. W.H. Mcleod has, however, cautioned against the Inscription being taken as any testimony about Nanak’s visit to Baghdad and meeting with Bahlol Shah; See Mcleod, Guru Nanak and the Sikh Religion (Oxford University Press, 1969).
And after thou had'st left him to return to thy Beloved Bharat's land, the faqir, it is said, would speak to none nor listen to the voice of man or angel.

His fame spread far and wide and the Shah came to pay him homage but the holy man would take no earthly treasures nor hear the praise of kings and countries.

Thus lived he, lonely devoted, thoughtful for sixty winters sitting before the stone whereon thy sacred feet had rested".  

According to Cunningham, Nanak reflected on the Vedas and on the mission of Muhammad and he questioned with equal anxiety the learned priest and the simple devotee about the will of God and the path to happiness91. Nanak is generally said to have travelled over the whole of India, to have gone through Persia, and to have visited Mecca92. At Multan, he visited an assembly of Musalman devotees, saying he was but as the stream of the Ganges entering the ocean of holiness92.

Nanak is also stated to have reclaimed a notorious Muslim robber—Sheikh Sajjan, during his travels94. Sajjan feigned hospitality to his Hindu and Muslim, traveller-guests, like the Greek robber Procrustes, but threw them into a well at night. On hearing heart-searching hymns of Nanak sung with the accompaniment of Mardana's rebeck, Sajjan's soul was stirred and he was

90. The original composer of this dedicatory poem is said to be a tourist from Sweden who wrote it after having seen and heard about the granite-slab referred to. Anyway, the Baghdad Inscription, if true, upholds the meaningful assertion of Hafiz:—

"Hargiz name meerad aan hi dlash sinda shud ba is hq.
Sabi ast bar jariza-e-a'alam dwam-e-ma".

(He never dies and his name is neither effaced nor his fame fades away, who gets enlivened with Love; since his name is permanently engraved on the pages of history).

91. Cunningham, op: cit p. 36.
92. Cf: Malcolm, op: cit; p. 16; Forster, Travels, i, 295-96., Cunningham op: cit; p. 36 (and f.n. 3 al'io).
93. Malcolm, op: cit; p. 21; Ghulam Hussain, Siar-ul-Mutakhirin, i, 311; Cunningham, op: cit; p. 37 (f.n. 3 of p. 36 contd).
transmitted into a pious devotee of God. This Muslim thug made him obeisance, kissed his feet and prayed him to pardon his sins. He got the Guru’s mandate, received Charanpahul and became his true follower. He gave off his whole property to the poor. Nanak made him the first high priest of his mission. It is interesting to note that the first Sikh temple ever constructed was on the spot where this conversion of a Muslim to Sikhism took place.

Nanak is said to have converted many other low-castes and Muslims to his creed e.g. jats like Jita and Pira, and Muslims like Malo carpenter, Kamal of Kashmir and Ubra Khan Pathan etc., etc. He is said to have re-claimed a tyrant like Sultan Hamid Karun of Rome also. Latif has mentioned about Nanak’s visit to Stamboul and his interview with the Sultan of Turkey who was noted for his cupidity and his extreme oppression of his subjects. Nanak’s admonition had a great effect on the Sultan who is said to have bestowed his hoarded treasures on the faqirs and the needy and to have discontinued his tyranny over his people. At Sayyidpur, Nanak had stayed with Lalu—a low-caste carpenter. He dined with him in preference to Malik Bhago’s hospitality. Malik Bhgo was the steward of the Pathan who owned Sayyidpur. Apart from denoting the blood-sucking practices by the ‘biggies’, the incident has another

95. Macauliffe, op; cit; I, p. 47.
96. Kamal was drawn to the Guru’s teachings during the latter’s missionary tour to Kashmir. Nanak commissioned Kamal to settle in Kurram Valley to pronounce his message. It is he who spread the song of Sat-Nam into Kabul, Kandhar, Kurram and Tirah.
97. Sharda Ram, Pt, op; cit; Tr; H. Court, op; cit; p. 9.
98. Ibid, Chapter XXXVII, The Discourse with Sultan Hamid Karun, pp. 221-228.
99. This admonition or Nasihat-nama of Nanak to Karun, the fabulous monarch, is however not admitted into the Granth (cf: Cunningham, op; cit; i.n. 3; p. 39).
100. Latif, S.M., op; bit.; p. 245.
101. Ibid, I, p. 43.
implication too which has been lost sight of. Who was Malik Bhago? Apparently a high Hindu as otherwise other highclass Hindus might not have accepted his hospitality extended to them too. For a Hindu to be a steward of a Pathan and his invitation as such (or even if as a Muslim steward?) to a Hindu saint of revolting ideas without fear of the Muslim (Pathan) master’s wrath proves beyond doubt that the narrowness displayed by men like Sikander Lodi was not a common practice but an exception of an individualistic nature.

On his return from Baghdad, Nanak had stayed for a while at Kalat where a Gurdwara was later built. The Khan of Kalat himself used to visit this Gurdwara for homage and bestowed a good jagir for this Gurdwara called Gurdwara Baba Saheb.

According to Bhai Gian Singh, there is a Nanak’s house at Mecca which is in the shape of a Mosque and is known as “Wali-e-Hind.” The Ionian (Syrian) State bears all the expenses of a round-the-clock free kitchen (sada-barat-langer) there. When Nanak visited Kirtanpur (Kiratpur, 18 miles from Rupar), he was well-received and entertained with milk by a Muslim-Pir Budhan Shah.

Guru Nanak passed long time in the company of Sheikh Farid II (Sheikh Ibrahim) at Ajodhan (modern Pakpattan). Both respected and loved each other and parted like dear ones. Several accounts mention that after his return to Panjab from his itinerary of U.P., Bihar and Assam, Nanak also visited the Rauza (Mausoleum), at Pakpattan, of Sheikh Farid I, Ganj-i-Shakar, a great Muslim sufi of the 13th century. According to the Dictionary of Islam, Nanak saluted Sheikh Ibrahim (Farid II) as a Muslim and freely conversed on the

102-103: Thakar Singh, Gurdwara Darshan, p. 57.
104. Gian Singh. Tarikh-i-Guru Khalsa, p. 422.
105. Ibid, p. 54.
106. Janam Sakhi, Bhai Bala, p. 365
107. Macauliffe, op : cit ; I, p. 84. For his life sketch see Tadhkirat-ul-Auja.
Unity of God. He had a cordial discussion with the said Sheikh (Ibrahim Farid II, the custodian and Sajjada-nashin of the Rauza) on the attributes of God and his devotees. An interesting declamation started between the two great sufis i.e. Sheikh Ibrahim Farid II and Nanak. The Sheikh seeing Nanak now robed as a house-holder, said, "Either one should cling to the world or God, but one must not place one's feet in two boats, lest one be drowned". Nanak answered, "Why not make use of both, have one's goods in one, and one's soul in the other? For such a one, then there is no wreck, no loss: neither one see-eth the boat, nor the water. He cherisheth only the goods of God which is True and pervadeth all, all too-spontaneously". Both were engaged in a free spiritual dialogue. The Sheikh used metaphorical and symbolic terms to explain his cult of mysticism and belief about God, men and the world. Nanak replied to his various queries. He also advised him against starvation, voluntary fasts, self-denial etc. In their stead, he advocated self-surrender, mercy, contentment and humility. Nanak's words impressed the Sheikh so much that he accepted him as his guide. While parting, both embraced each other and Nanak said this shabd then: "Aao behnal gal mil ank sahesbrian, milke karan khanian simirath kant keya, sache sab gun augan auh asah". Before his departure Nanak made several converts. Afterwards, Nanak had, once again, a meeting with Sheikh Ibrahim (Farid II) when the latter went to receive the former for


110. Ibid, pp. 92-93,

111. Review of Religions, 11/1941; Also see Granth Sahib, Sri Rag I, p. 16. Macauliffe op : cit; I, pp. 84-92.


113. Janam Sakhi, Bhai Bala, p. 365.

114. Macauliffe, op : cit; p. 93.

four miles outside the skirts of Pakpattan. Macauliffe’s description of this second meeting between the Sheikh and the Guru is significant. The Guru and Mardana, after a long circuitous route through a desert country, made their way to Pak-pattan to pay another visit to Sheikh Brahm. They sat down to rest at about four miles from the city. Sheikh Kamal, a pious and God-fearing disciple of Sheikh Brahm, who had gone into forest for firewood, observed the Guru and his attendant. The latter was playing his rebeck and singing the following: “Thou art the tablet, O Lord, Thou art the pen, and Thou art also the writing” (Tu hi roshni, Tu hi kalam Tuhi tahrir). Speak of the one God; O Nanak, why should there be a second” (La Sharik Tuhi). Sheikh Kamal got the couplet repeated again on his request, and on his return, told his master about the event and said the couplet there. Sheikh Brahm was highly pleased that the Guru had again visited his country and he promptly proceeded to welcome him. After mutual salutations, the Guru thanked God for having again granted him a sight of Sheikh Brahm. After some friendly conversation, the Sheikh asked the Guru to explain the couplet. “Nanak thou sayest, ‘There is only one God’, why should there be a second? I say:—‘There is only one God and two ways which shall I adopt and which reject’? The Guru replied: “There is but one Lord and One way; adopt One and reject the other. Why should we worship second who is born and dieth? and, remember the One God, Nanak, who is contained in sea and land”. The Muhammadan priest then said in turn:—“Tear thy coat into tatters and wear a blanket instead. Adopt a dress which thou might obtainst the Lord”. The Guru traversed the instruction:—“It is not necessary for me to tear my coat or adopt a religious garb...........” The philosophic discourse continued between the two wherein Nanak told the Sheikh that in his creed, Humility is the Word, Forbearance the virtue, Civility the spell which charms

118. Sri Rag, Mohalla, 1, P. 16.
the heart of the Master. The *Sheikh*, after a long conversation, to his mental relief, asked for his blessings.

According to the *Dictionary of Islam*, after reclamation of Sajjan, Nanak went to Panipat. He was met by a certain *Sheikh*, Tattiher, who, taking him for a Persian *darvesh*, accosted him with the Muhammadan greeting "Peace be on thee, *Darvesh*" (‘Salam-A-lekum, Darvesh’). Nanak replied (in the same Muslim fashion) "wa Ale-kum us salam, Pir ke dasta-pes" (and on thee too be Peace! O Servant of the Pir). The Muslim *Sheikh* was amused and called his master *Shah Sharaf*. The *Shah* was a renowned Muslim *sufi*. Both met cordially. They had a long discourse after which the *Shah* kissed the *Guru's feet*. Their conversation and ultimate conversion of *Shah Sharaf* to Nanak's viewpoint testify the human relations which Nanak was having with the Muslims who were creditably not all inimical to the new sect even in the so-called Islamic State and were open-hearted to welcome any sensible sermon, even if it came from a Hindu. *Shah Sharaf*’s declamation with Nanak is quite significant and interesting. It ran as below:—

*Shah Sharaf*: "*O faqir Nanak*, why should you wear the dress of a house-dweller and not shave off your head when you have already forsaken and renounced the worldly temptations?"

*Nanak*: "It is no use shaving off the head: one must shave off one’s mind. To be humble like the dust is the true way to shave one’s mind. As regards dress, one must abandon pleasures and egoism and surrender one’s head to one’s God. Then dress makes

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121. Hughes, T. P; *Dictionary of Islam*, p. 586. [1935 Ed.]
no difference. Whatever you wear becomes sacred. One must bow before the wise; to cherish God in the heart should be the gown and the cap of the holy. He who holdeth his mind and relisheth the fare of both pleasure and pain alike, and liveth composed in utter poise and balance, for him it makes little what dress he wears”.

Shah Sharaf: “What is your sect, caste and style of living”?

Nanak: “I belong to the sect of Right Path. My caste is that of fire and wind. I live in the manner of the tree and the earth; as like them I am cut and dug into. Like a river, I bother little if anybody showers flowers unto me or throws dust at me. Like the the sandal wood, I deem the fragrant alone as living”.

Shah Sharaf: “What, in your opinion, should a darvesh be like”?

Nanak: “He who is dead while alive; asleep when awake and gets knowingly robbed of himself. He alone is a darvesh who welcomes joy and pain alike, feels no sorrows, no anger; no avarice and no pride; such a darvesh sits composed in God, he was nothing but what God speaks and beholds Him and Him alone in everything that is and is not”.

At the end of this cordial conversation, the Shah recognised in Nanak a superior being, kissed his hands and feet and went to his house\textsuperscript{127}. This evidently shows the magnanimity and open-heartedness of the great Muslim saint towards the great Guru.

In the Kuru country (Kamrup ?), Nur Shahi (a Muslim ?\textsuperscript{128}), head of the conjurers, a seductive queen of charm and an enticing beauty, fell down at Nanak’s feet and was reclaimed\textsuperscript{129}. At Kiria (Kari Pathan di, in Amritsar district),\textsuperscript{130} Nanak is said

\textsuperscript{127.} Banerjee, \textit{op : cit ; Evolution of the Khalsa, I, p. 80.}

\textsuperscript{128.} An anthropological study of these conjurers is likely to reveal that Nurshahi and her group were Muslims or quasi-Muslims in faith.

\textsuperscript{129.} \textit{Ibid, p. 81.}

\textsuperscript{130.} Macanliffe, \textit{op : cit ; I, p. 108.}
to have made many Pathan converts\textsuperscript{131}, just before his visit to Sayyidpur. If the account be correct, it is no small a credit for the Lodi Emperor to have permitted (or ignored?) conversions of the Muslims in a Muslim state. After Sayyidpur, Nanak went to Sialkot via Pasrur. At Sialkot, he reclaimed \textit{Pir} Hamza Ghaus, a well-known Muslim ascetic, and nullified his \textit{chilla} or a \textit{smadhi} of penance. The ascetic felt gratified, after grasping Nanak's message of universal love. \textit{Baba's Ber}, i.e. a gleaming tree (\textit{Ber}) under which the \textit{Guru} is said to have sat with his gleaming eyes focussed to the \textit{Pir}'s dome in which the ascetic had confined himself for his \textit{chilla}, still stands there along-with a \textit{Gurdwara}, built on it later on, and the cracked domed-cell of the \textit{Pir} standing nearby. From here, Nanak proceeded to Mithankot where he met a great Muslim \textit{sufi Mian} Mitha\textsuperscript{132}. Nanak, in fact, had already won appreciation and cordiality of \textit{Mian} Mitha's preceptor,—\textit{Pir} Abdu'l Rahman who himself had been transfigurated at the recommendation of Ubre Khan\textsuperscript{133}—a \textit{Pathan} who, in turn had been reclaimed by the \textit{Guru} at the instance of \textit{Sheikh} Malo who had earlier become a devoted follower of Nanak. Abdu'l Rehman now advised his self-conceited pupil \textit{Mian} Mitha to meet the \textit{Guru} for a personal discourse and experience. The \textit{Mian} was highly proud of his religious stature. He, however, went out to see Nanak with a faith to convert him to his own view-point\textsuperscript{134}. A long conversation started between the two in which Nanak explained his theory of love, humility and God-head\textsuperscript{135}. \textit{Mian} Mitha was highly impressed by his words and civility and kissed the \textit{Guru's} feet\textsuperscript{136}. The meeting significantly bears out the catholicity of the two saints—one Hindu and the other Muslim. Nanak advised \textit{Mian} Mitha, "Act according to

\textsuperscript{131.} Banerjee, I. B., \textit{op : cit}; p. 87.
\textsuperscript{132.} Literally, it means sweet one.
\textsuperscript{133.} See supra, f.n. 97 (p. 180).
\textsuperscript{134.} Macauliffe, \textit{op : cit}; I, p. 123.
\textsuperscript{135.} See \textit{Ibid}, pp. 123–129.
\textsuperscript{136.} \textit{Ibid}, p. 128.
the *Qur'an* and thy sacred books" \(^{137}\) which shows that the *Guru* was not a mere zealot aiming at the *shudhi* or conversion of Muslims to his own sect.

It is said that even *Khwaja Khizar*, the water-god, confessed Nanak's superiority in his visitation to two of Nanak's followers i.e. Saido and Gheho \(^{138}\). Before moving into the south, after staying at Kartarpur for some time, Nanak is said to have passed through various places e.g. Bhatner, Bhatinda, Sirsa, Bikaner, Ajmer, Jaisalmer, Marwar, Mewar, Indore, Hoshingabad and Narsingpura etc., and met people of various creeds and callings—Hindus and Muslims. At Sirsa, he was confronted by *Khwaja* Abdu'l Shakur, Leader of a group of Muslim *faqirs* known for their miraculous powers. A long discussion ensued between the two, whereafter the *Khwaja* is said to have prostrated at his feet for the enlightenment bestowed upon him by the great *Guru*. A *Gurdwara* at Sirsa, at the said meeting-place, with cells of the *Khwaja*’s followers reminds us of the historic cordial meeting between the Muslim religious dignitaries and the Hindu saint and is another testimony of Nanak’s standing in the eyes of liberal and open-minded Muslims. Similarly, at Ajmer-Sharif, Nanak stressed upon his belief in one God and message of Love for all, in his meeting with the celebrated *sufis* of that place. At Narsingpura, he gave his consoling and soothing word of wisdom to the *Vanjaras*—many of whom were Muslims and whose Muslim head had recently died. During his travels in the south, Nanak met a Muslim *Pir,—Makhdum Baha-u’d-Din Qureshi*, who was very proud of his attainments and spiritual stature \(^{139}\). Here too, there was a free conversation \(^{140}\) between the two, as a result of which the *Pir* bowed before Nanak, fell at his feet, took advice from him, felt obliged, and accepted the *Guru* as an exalted spiritual leader \(^{141}\). After his return to the


Panjab, from Ceylon, Nanak started further for Kashmir. He was accompanied by a black-smith, Hassu, and a calico-printer, Sihan, (both Muslim?). It was at Srinagar, that he first transfigurated a Muslim named Kamal who was in search of a true Guru, and then transformed a learned but self-conceited Brahmin, Brahm Das, who had been advised by the Muslim Kamal, on the basis of personal experience, to see the really great Guru Nanak. After his tour of Kashmir, Nanak, along with Mardana, reached Hasan Abdal. They felt thirsty but were denied sweet water, of the spring-well, by Wali Qandhari who even threw a big stone at them from his abode at the hill-top. The whole incident, if viewed perspectively, may reveal that Wali Qandhari did not like to misbehave with Nanak as such but was more concerned to see his miraculous powers to test his real identity as the well-known Hindu Faqir.

Nanak is certified to be a free thinker and an employee of a Muslim in the Encyclopaedia Britannica. The movement of Nanak attempted to establish a religion combining the higher elements of Hinduism and Islam alike. According to the Encyclopaedia Americana, Nanak was influenced in his thoughts by a Muslim Sufi, Kabir, whom he had met during his journey. Whatever the case may be, Nanak appears to have been immensely influenced by the teachings of Islam. Dr. Tara Chand too has stressed on this point, in his work "The Influence of Islam on Indian Culture". According to him, Nanak appears to have

143. Ibid, p. 163.
144. See Macauliffe, op : cit; I, p. 168.
145. See supra, p. 130, f.n. 96.
146. Hasan Abdal is about 30 miles from Islamabad (Rawalpindi) — present Capital of Pakistan.
149. Carpenter, Estlin, Theism in Medieval India, p. 489.
151. Tara Chand, Dr., Influence of Islam on Indian Culture, pp. 149, 176.
Wali Qandhari and Guru Nanak: in friendly discussion.
followed Muhammad as his Preceptor in several respects. Dr. Ishwari Prashad has also supported that Nanak’s teachings clearly bear the influence and impact of Islam.

Though it is a matter of controversy whether Nanak owed something to Islam in his conception and teachings or not, yet the very fact that such a controversy is there implies that Nanak was more acceptable to the Muslims than any other Hindu preacher of his age. He had cordial relations with the Muslims and did not like to strongly criticise or condemn any basic principle of Islam. Dr. Mcleod asserts that Nanak owed little or nothing to Islam and simply reformed the teachings of the Bhakta saints. Sir Gokal Chand Narang, as aforesaid, has contended any debt by Nanak to Islam. Trumpp had earlier stressed that Sikhism “has only an accidental relationship with Muhammadanism”. He further says, “It is a mistake if Nanak is presented as having endeavoured to unite the Hindu and Muhammadan ideas about God.” Without entering into the delicate controversy regarding Islamic influence on Nanak, it can safely be asserted that Nanak’s preachings were meant as much for the Muslims as for the Hindus since he was a preacher of Humanity who aimed at purification of polluted society which comprised of the Muslims as well as the Hindus. To achieve this end and to make his message as generally acceptable, he had no hesitation to use Hindu or Muslim cults where necessary. His religion was “really intended as a compromise between Hinduism and Muhammadanism, if it may not even be spoken of as the religion of a Muhammadan sect or Hindu sect”.

152. Tara Chand, Dr., op. cit; pp. 149-176.
153. Ishwari Prashad, History of Medieval India, p. 587.
156. Trumpp, Int. to his Translation of the Adi Granth, op: cit; p. 1.
157. Ibid. Also see Dictionary of Islam (F. Pincott), p. 583.
158. Dictionary of Islam; also see Kahn Singh, Ham Hindu Nahin.
the influence of Islam. Some of his lines are a literal paraphrase of the lines from the Qur'an. Also in his celebrated Jupji,—the morning-prayer, Nanak not only begins with an affirmation of the monotheistic unity of God reminiscent of the opening lines of the Fatiha but even sums up his version of man's approach to God in different stages in the sufi's magamat—the sciib minti which ends in union (sufi's fana) when man's identity is merged with that of the supreme Divinity"\(^{169}\). It is no small a precedent of religious catholicity and Muslim-Sikh rapprochement that a number of compositions by some Muslims should be found in the Granth Saheb,—the holiest of the holy and a divine work for the Sikhs.

Nanak has repeatedly given references to Islamic thoughts or principles in his teachings and shalokas\(^{160}\). For example, Nanak said, "dozakh ponde kuon rhin, jan chit na awe Rasul." i.e. those, who do not act upon the Prophet’s teachings, shall go to Hell\(^{161}\). Nanak apparently meant that without acting upon the advice of a Preceptor, one was likely to be misled and to fumble. Again he says, "Kalima ik pukaria dooya nahin koi" i.e. "I speak out only one Kalima and none else" meaning thereby his entire, unshakeable and unwavering belief in his Sat-Nam (one). In Pauri 1 : 6 of Jup-ji, Nanak says, "Hukam Razai chalna Nanak likhya nal" i.e. everybody is bound by pre-ordained Destiny and none can defy God's ‘Raza’ (Will).

From various pieces from the Janam Sakhi-Bhai Bala, we can infer, without any doubt, the deep stamp of Islamic thought on Nanak and latter’s acknowledgement of the same. For example the following extracts may be quite significant.

(1) God sent Prophet Muhammad as his messenger for the deliverance of this world. God also instructed Baba Nanak that there are thirty "Suparas" of the Qur'an. "O Nanak, preach

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these throughout the world and worship only one God. I am One and One alone”. So, this instruction was given to Baba Nanak that he should propagate to the world that he who adheres to the path of Right shall be pure 162.

(2) God, Almighty, advised Nanak, that you are graded like a Sheikh. You should preach against the belief in various gods and goddesses as well as against diverse pilgrimage centres (Tirthas) 163.

(3) “Sayeth Nanak that only those shall get deliverance who shall get refuge and shelter under the Murshid 164 (i.e. some Preceptor)”.

(4) “I have read or heard the contents of the Torith, the Bible, the Zabur and the Vedas. The Qur’an is said to be another means of deliverance in the Kaliyug 165 (i.e. present period).

(5) “Only those Pirs, Prophets, Travellers of the Right Path, Martyrs, Sheikhs, Qazis, Mullahs and Darveshes shall get God’s benediction who say ‘Warud’ 166 i.e. go on paying repeated obeisance to God and His messengers (just as the Muslims believe in ‘Wurud’ 167).

(6) “There is the True Prophet Mohammad. He had four

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163. Khuda ne Nanak nu aakhia ki wadpai tusan nu sheikh di milii hai. Deval devi ate parachia tirath jo honde hein unhan nu mansukh karo (Janam Sahhi, Bhai Bala; cf: Review of Religions, 11/1941).

164. Chutsan soi, Nanak, Murshid jinhan panah (Janam Sahhi, Bhai Bala).

165. Torii, Anjil, Zabur parh san diithe Ved,
Rehia Qur'an Sharif Kal-jag mai parvar.

166. Pir, Paghambar, Salik Shade aur Shabd;
Sheikh, Masikh, Qazi, Mulla, Darvesh, Rashid,
Barkat tinki agle jo parthe rahewin Wurud.

167. ‘Wurud’ is a Muslim way of recognizing Prophet Muhammad’s divine mission.
companions i.e. Abu Bakr, Umar, Usman and Ali. He preached four ‘Mussalas’. There have been four Imams i.e. Hanafi, Shafi, Malaki and Hanbali. All of them tried to show the True Path’.

There are several words and phrases in the holy Granth which deeply bear a Qur'anic or Islamic impress\textsuperscript{168}. For instance: Parvardigar, Qazi, Darvesh, Rashid, Rasul, Paighambar, Sidaq, Pir, Mashaikh, Sheikh, Shuhda, Shahid, Fani, Tahqiq, Asr'aal (The Angel of Death), Ferishta, Hazir, Hazur, Salik, Sadiq, Malik (Angel), Qudrat, Mihr, Musalla, Haq, Halal, Qur'an, Sunnat, Roza, Ka'ba, Kalima, Karam, Namaz, Tasbih, Haqa, Kabir, Karim, Hukam, Baksh, Dargah etc., etc. Nanak is stated to have written some Persian verses\textsuperscript{169} and works\textsuperscript{170} also which are purely sufistic. He is said\textsuperscript{171} to have written a Munajat called Munajat-e-Baba Nanah Shah dar Bahr-e-Taveel, in addition to two other books on gnostics e.g. Dil-talab (in poetry) and Ilahi-nama (in prose)\textsuperscript{172}. This Islamic impact which is so conspicuously and concretely visible academically and theologically in the preachings and writings of Nanak could not be possible if Nanak had not mixed up freely with his Muslim fellow-travellers or had not befriended Muslim divines and followers. This inter-alia speaks not only of his free intercourse with the Muslims but also of the large-heartedness of the Muslims in general towards him but for which such amicability and affability could not last long.

Nanak had no taboos. Being a free thinker, he bothered little about the set dogmas,—prevalent amongst the Hindus or the Muslims. He was neither a slave of rites and rituals nor cynical about customs and ceremonies. He was a rational being who chafed

\textsuperscript{168} See Guru Granth Sahib.
\textsuperscript{169} See Rag Tilang, M. I.
at orthodoxy and conservatism, whether it was amongst the Hindus or the Muslims. If he could show courage to take deer-meat at Kurukshetra and throw water towards the west, to his fields, while at Hardwar\(^{173}\), he was equally daring to lie down with his feet towards the \textit{Ka'aba}\(^{174}\). For him, there was no difference between \textit{Ram} and \textit{Rahim, Krishan} and \textit{Karim, Kitab (Gita)} and \textit{Qur'an}, Hindu and \textit{Musalmans}. In diet or dress, marriage or manners, language or outlook, he bothered little for the formal embargoes. He could dine with a low-caste Lalo; drink milk offered by Budhan Shah,—a Muslim saint of \textit{Kirtanpur}; could roam about, as an inseparable companion, with Muslim Mardana and Hindu Bala; could wear various dresses and eat forbidden foods. Mohsin Fani quotes a case of one Partapmal who, seeing that his son wished to adopt the faith of the \textit{Musalmans}, advised him to become a Sikh if he wanted to eat everything and any-thing that he desired\(^{175}\). The story, correct or incorrect, shows that Nanakism, like Islam, generally did not impose very many restrictions on diet etc. Nanak borrowed from Sanskrit as well as from Persian and Arabic; adopted from Hindu philosophy and Muslim phraseology, did \textit{Jap} and even, sometimes, said \textit{Namaz} in the Muslim fashion. He recited \textit{Ardas} and also did not hesitate to say prayers with some Muslims. It could be well-said of him:

\begin{quote}
\textit{"Mashooq-e-ma ba sheva-i-harkas brabar ast,}
\textit{Ba ma sharab khurd, ba zahid namaz kard".}
\end{quote}

He had guts to defy religious conventionalism. He wanted a real cultural fusion. He is said to have even taken unto himself a Muhammdan woman\(^{176}\). According to \textit{Sikhan de Raj di Vikhia}, "when Nanak again came to the house of carpenter Lalo,\

\(^{176}\) Cf: Macauliffe, \textit{op: cit}; Int., p. Ixxxii: \textit{Janam Sakhi, Bhai Bidhi Chand},
the wife of Hayat Khan, *Manjh Musalman*, who formerly seeing the goodness of Nanak had believed in him, gave him her young daughter (*in marriage*), and, from that date, her name was called *Mata Manjot*. Then, Nanak having made her his own (*i.e.* married her), left her at Lalo’s house, and himself taking Bala with him, went to Kulchhet for the fair of the eclipse of the sun. Later on this *Mata Manjot* was called to live with Nanak along with *Mata Choni* (his first wife) and her children Sri Chand, and Laxmi Dass. *Mata Manjot* lived for 7 years with Nanak and died leaving 2 daughters.

When Nanak started on his journey towards the east — i.e. the land of the Hindu gods (*devastan*), his dress too was a strange motley,—a mango-coloured jacket (*like sanyasis*) over which he threw a white sheet (*like jainis*); the cap like that of a Muslim *Qalandar* (anchorite); a necklace of bones upon his neck (*like shivites*) and a frontal mark of saffron imprinted on his forehead in the style of the *Brahmin* Hindu devout.* True to his character, he did not sanctify dress of any particular creed. He donned partly as a *shivite*, partly as a *jain*; partly as a *sanyasi* and partly as a *yogi*,—though he was none of them but above all formalism. Formalism could never ride him though he could ride off all formalism; he was slave to no stereotyped dogma and his simple dogma was that of humanity and brotherhood for all. When he travelled towards Kashmir along with his Muslim companions Hassu and Sihan, he wore leather on his feet and on his head like the Muslims, twisted a rope round his body like the Buddhists and had a saffron-mark on his fore-head like devout Hindus. On his last trip, i.e. to *Mecca, Medina*, and Mesopotamia etc.,

177. Sardha Ram, *Pt.*, *op: cit*; Tr., H. Court, p. 8; The account appears to be fanciful here as well as elsewhere. Also see Handali *Janam-Sakhi* of Bidhi Chand, and Macauliffe, *op: cit*; Vols. 1—2, Int; p. lxxxii.

178. *Ibid*, p. 9,

179. See Macauliffe, *op: cit*; I, p. 58.
Nanak addressing the Muslim assembly at Ka'aba
(“East and the West are God’s. Where-ever ye turn, ye shall find the face of Allah’) [Qur’an 2:109]
Nanak was dressed like a Muslim *Haji*\(^{180}\). He wore blue robes, carried an ablutions-pot (*istava*), the holy *Qur'an* and a prayer-mat (*jada*). Throughout his journey in the Muslim lands, he regularly performed his prayers in the Muslim fashion. He lay with his feet towards the *Ka'aba* but was able to impress upon his objectors. When his feet were dragged and the miracle of the *Ka'aba* moving accordingly was noticed, several people gathered there. They asked Nanak which of the two was greater, Hindu or *Musalman*. Nanak replied, 'he who doeth good and liveth in God'. About keeping fast in the *Ramzan*, Nanak said that he kept fast everyday by turning away from the other, concentrating only on the One alone, and by abandoning craving and indulgence. About reading the *Qur'an*, Nanak exhorted that for him, 'who loveth, worshipeth'. After hearing his replies, many Muslim saints of repute, gathered there, paid respects to him. It is said that among those, who held spirited discussions with Nanak, at Mecca, were included some of India's most celebrated *Pirs* and *Sheikhs* viz. *Pir* Makhdum Rukn-ud-Din of Uch (Bahawalpur, now West-Pakistan), *Pir* Baha-ud-Din, *Jatti Shah*, *Sheikh-i-Pakpattan*, Kamal-ud-Din, Jalal-u'd-Din etc. His discussions, specially those with Rukn-u'd-Din convinced the *hajies*, —the *qazis*, *sheikhs*, *pirs*, *Mullas* and others. The liberal and unfettered Hindu saint was thus able to take the glowing torch of Unity of God (*Wahdat-i-Illahi* or *La-Illah-il-Illah*), Unity of Creation (*Wahdat-u'l-Khalaik*) and Unity of Faith (*Wahdat-ul-Iman*) to the very centre of *Ka'aba-Sharif* where he left his sandals as a souvenir of this historic meeting on the personal request of *Pir* Makhdum Rukn-u'd-Din, who later on brought the same to his own head-quarters at Uch on his return to India, where the same were preserved as items of veneration and sacred relics of the *Guru*\(^{181}\). From *Mecca*, Nanak went to *Medina* and

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181. *Cf*: *Bhai Gurdas, Vars*. 
from there to Egypt, Sudan, Turkey and Iraq,—all Muslim centres, where he is said to have held serious discussions with the Muslim pirs and the patriarchs, the gazis and the kings. At Baghdad, he declared that there were millions of nether and limitless upper regions known only to God and none else. The Muslim philosophers had earlier advocated only seven upper regions and seven nether worlds. Some Muslims felt enraged whereupon Nanak pacified them by his explanation. They all paid him their respect. The Guru is said to have been presented with a robe (abba, popularly called as Chola by the Sikhs) with Arabic quotes scribed on it. The said abba or Chola is stated to be the same which is now preserved in the Gurdwara at Dera Baba Nanak (Pb). To commemorate Nanak’s stay at Baghdad, ashrine still stands there with an epithet. The epithet runs as below on the wall of the said shrine: “In memory of the Guru, that is the Divine Master, Baba Nanak Fakir Aulia, this building has been raised anew with the help of the seven saints. Year 927” (1520—21 A.D.)\textsuperscript{183}. The shrine (Guru Nanak Asthan) is a small enclosure of thin bricks, near the mausoleum of Pir Bahlol, and is ever since looked after by a Muslim Mujawar (trustee). The Subris or Subis, a small Iraqi tribe, are stated still to be following the tenets of Nanak.

Though Nanak was a free thinker and had no reservation, yet he was against the slavish copying of the customs for mere flattering as was done by some opportunists to please their masters. He strongly castigated those Hindus who left their customs and culture to adopt Muslim parlance just for self-seeking. He said, “What a pity! the people have given up their own

\textsuperscript{182} According to Twarikh Guru Khalsa by Giani Bhai Gian Singh, a Sikh traditionalist and historian, some Sikh soldiers had gone to Sudan with the British expedition of 1885-86 against the Mahdi of Sudan. They are said to have visited the historic platform, outside the southern gate of Kali-Kai, where the Guru (Nanak) is believed to have held discussions with the Muslim ruler of the place. The place is referred to as ‘Nanak Wali’.

\textsuperscript{183} Also See f.n. 84 supra.
modes of dress and worn blue robes, have forsaken their culture and conduct to adopt the alien Turkish ways of life. The Khatris have left their duties and have begun to speak the language of the corrupt administrators; there is no discrimination of duties among men and the true religion has vanished\(^{184}\).

On his seeing Sheikh Wajid,—a Muslim notable, alight from a palanquin and his carriers and attendants serving him, he explained to Mardana his theory of \textit{Karma}. In his conversation\(^{185}\) with Pandit Chatur Das, he strongly reiterated his belief that there "was nothing that did not come from God: the gods, angels, mind, wisdom, the universe, men, good and evil. Why therefore get involved with the others? One must write out and reflect only upon \textit{Satnam}—the True Name—The Creator". When asked how was this \textit{Satnam} to be realized, Nanak said, "Through Love. He who loves God knows not another. He looks upon all alike; feels compassion for all sentient creatures; and falls prey to no illusion"\(^{186}\). In his discussion with the \textit{Sidhs}, Nanak reiterated, "Religion consisteth not in mere words; He who looketh on all men as equal is religious\(^{187}\). Throughout his travels and treats, we find not a single word against Islamic teachings though he was emphatic in his denouncing the formalism and ritualism whether in this or that. In his creed of universalism, there was no God but God; sky was the salver, sun and moon the lamps, stars the jewels; sandalwood on the \textit{Mali} mountains was the incense and the wafting winds across the whole atmosphere saturated with fragrance of wild flowers worked as the sprinkle. For him, God blessed everyone just as rain benefitted all coming within its showers. Nanak adopted Brahmanical philosophy and Muslim terminology in a popular illustrative sense. He addressed equally the \textit{Mullah} and the

\(^{184}\) See 'Nanak and the Times', \textit{supra}.

\(^{185}\) Cf: Macauliffe; \textit{op}: \textit{cit}; I, pp. 61-64.

\(^{186}\) See \textit{Rag Ramkali}.

\(^{187}\) Cf: Macauliffe, \textit{op}: \textit{cit}; I, p. 60; Also \textit{Suki}.
President, the *Darvesh* and the *Sanyasi* and tells them to remember that Lord of Lords who has seen come and go numberless Muhammads, *Vishnus* and *Shivas*\(^\text{188}\).

Nanak did not have good relations with the sundry, saints and *sufis* alone. Muslim *Hakims* and *Nazims*—governors and administrators, too held him in high esteem and love. *Rai Bular*, a Muslim chief, as aforesaid, had been affectionate to him. Nanak’s brother-in-law Jairam was a store-keeper at Sultanpur Lodhi under the Muslim *Nawab* Daulat Khan\(^\text{189}\). When Nanak reached Sultanpur, to change his environments and to seek service, he was presented by Jai Ram to the Muslim *Nawab*. The latter was much impressed by his bearing and serene looks. He felt an inborn confidence in the man and said that this man would keep his things in safe custody. He made him incharge of his provision-stores for the distribution of rations to his servants. In spite of hearing alarming news about Nanak’s squandering away the stores, Daulat Khan was never harsh upon him.

The Muslim *Nawab* was convinced that the reports against the young Hindu gentleman were merely trumped up. He conferred new honours on Nanak\(^\text{190}\). It was here at Sultanpur, while under the patronage and service of a Muslim powerful *Nawab*, that Nanak had the audacity to say that there was neither a Hindu nor a *Musalman*. Daulat Khan, though a staunch *Sunni Musalman*, was so highly impressed of Nanak’s saintliness that he said, “it appers to me that Nanak is man of God, so we should not disturb his way of life”. However the *Qazi*—a Muslim zealot, could not give him a good treat and wanted Nanak to be called to explain his unusual utterance. The latter was called to the *Nawab’s* court. The dialogue between the *Qazi* and Nanak in the presence of a Muslim *Nawab* and his court of Muslim Officers is worth note. It

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\(^{188}\) Cunningham, J.D., *op: cit*; P. 38; and also f. n. 2 below it.

\(^{189}\) For Daulat Khan Lodi, see, “Daulat Khan Lodi—His National Outlook and Role” by Ahuja, N. D.

is a bright testimony to the daring tolerance of Daulat Khan (as a Muslim *Nawab*) and his liberal views, keeping in view the times\(^1\), as well as of Nanak's winning catholicity. Daulat Khan's contemporary Ahmed Khan, the Governor of Lucknow, had since been relieved of his government and sent a prisoner to the imperial court on his reported tolerance of Hindu doctrines\(^2\). The dialogue ran as below between the Muslim *Qazi* and the Hindu saint Nanak\(^3\).

*Qazi*: O Nmnak, people charge that you have gone wild and astray; you utter what none before had uttered.

*Nanak*: Some say, I am wild, others that I am out of step. And some say that I am but a mere man, poor and lowly. O men, I am crazy after my King, my God, and not another than Him, nay, not another!

Yes, he alone is 'mad' who is struck with God's fear and knoweth not another than His only Master.

'And, he alone who yoketh himself to his Master's talk, and accepteth His will and playeth not clever with His love: Yes, and loveth no one other than Lord, the God, And thinketh himself bad, and everyone else holy and good.

*Qazi*: Why do you disparage our Muslim faith?

*Nanak*: It is far too easy to call oneself a Muslim but far too hard to become one.

*Qazi*: What do you understand by a Muslim?

*Nanak*: If compassion be the mosque, and faith the prayer-mat, and honest living one's *Qur'an*,

And humility one's circumcision, and continence one's fasting, then verily, one may be called a *Muselman*.

If virtuous deed make up one's pilgrimage to the *Ka'aba* And Truth be the guide of one's spirit,

And the Rosery be of His Will, then God will assuredly keep

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1. For *The Times*, see chapter 'Nanak and the Times', *supra*.
3. Also see *Macauliffe*, *op : cit* ; I, pp. 38-40.
one’s honour’’.

_Qazi_: O, Nanak, you say your ‘Namaz’ (prayers) with us in the Mosque and feel the difference between your own creed and ours.

_Nanak_: I offer my prayers five times a day as you do. My first prayer is of Truth, the second of honest living, the third of the Grace of God, the fourth of a clean mind, and the fifth of the remembrance of God. However, I shall do as pleaseth you and show my prayers by your side in the mosque.

At the time of prayer, Nanak stood aloof, and was smiling as the _Qazi_ was saying his _Namaz_. After the prayer, the _Qazi_ said, “O Nanak, you have done a foul act. What is your explanation for this insolence and impertinence”? Nanak smiled again and reprimanded the _Qazi_. He said, “You were apparently offering your prayers but really you were not. Your mind was actually in Kabul purchasing horses of fine breeding”. Daulat Khan was highly pleased at this true and bold answer. After further hearing sublime hymns from Nanak, he fell at his feet and offered Nanak the post of his _Vizier_ and counsellor and requested him to stay on with him. However, Nanak thanked him for the offer but refused to accede to his request, since he had decided to embark upon his wider project of mass preaching. The Muslim _Nawab_ then bowed before the saint Nanak and said, “I shall not stand between God and you nor in your project ordained by God. I see in you what I read in my Holy _Kitab_ (Qu’ran) and find in you a clear vision of God. I shall feel privileged to be at thy service and am always at thy beck and call, O Nanak”. Nanak again thanked him for his offers. Other _faqirs_ kissed the _Guru’s_ feet. He took his Muslim friend and companion _Mardana_ and stepped off on his travels.

_Nanak_ had friendly relations even with Babur after the latter’s conquest of India. It was not an easy affair

194. _Majh_, M. 1.
195—197. Also see Macauliffe, _I, op: cit_; pp. 40—42.
Face to face: Sachha Padshah (Nanak) with the Mughal Badshah (Babur).
for an ordinary man to have access to an Oriental monarch and to talk face to face in a discursive manner. Nanak belonged to an ordinary family but was high in his saintly stature. He is stated to have prophesied about the invasion of Babur and fall of the Pathan rule when some of his devotees like Lalo complained to him about the tyrant dealings of the Pathan Officers on his second visit to Sayidpur (now Eminabad). When Sayidpur was invaded and sacked by Babur, several people including Nanak and Mardana were made prisoners and given arduous duties to be done. Nanak however danced, joyed and sang devotional hymns whereas his loads were self-lifted and his stone-mill worked automatically. Mir Khan, the amazed and baffled military superintendent, and army officer of Babur conveyed the news to his Mughal master who replied that if he had known the city contained such holy men, he would not have destroyed it. He went to the prison which was two miles distant and saw the miracle for himself. He ordered Nanak to be released immediately. He also fell at Nanak’s feet and begged his (Nanak’s) forgiveness. According to Sikhan de Raj di Vikhia, it was Behiram Khan Lodi, son of Shikander Lodi who had imprisoned Nanak and put him on the mill on the report of his Munshi and Babur released him. According to Sayid Mohammad Latif, Nanak was imprisoned by Ibrahim Lodi, the successor of Bahlol, when his Kardar at Multan (where Nanak had gone to witness the famous Gurchaker fair) informed him that a Faqir whose tenets were different from the Qu’ran and the Vedas, was openly preaching to the people, and the importance which he was assuming might, in the end, prove serious to the State. By an imperial order Nanak was brought to the Emperor who admitted him to an interview and

204. Latif, S. M., op: cit; p. 245. Latif mentions Nanak’s visit to a fair at Multan, where as Pt. Sardha Ram mentions it as a fair at Kulchhâtr of the eclipse of the Sun (Tr., H. Court, op: cit; p. 8).
after hearing his ideas on religion, ordered him to be kept in close confinement. Nanak was kept in imprisonment for seven months and had to grind corn the whole time. His distress came to an end in consequence of the victory gained by the Emperor over Ibrahim and the latter’s death in the great battle at Panipat in which the Mughal troops gained a decisive victory. This account appears to be more plausible and is in keeping with Nanak’s condemnation of Lodi “dogs” i.e. the Lodi Administrators who had failed to give good Government and to protect people from exploitation and anarchy. His outburst against mal-administration was justified though it may have meant instigation and incitement in the eyes of the Government specially when such a man moves freely at religious congregations and fairs. This too incidently shows Nanak’s intense sensitiveness to political and social problems of the country. The Guru appears to have greatly edified the adventurous Sovereign (Babur) by his demeanour and conversation. He “perplexed” him by saying that both were kings and were about to found dynasties. According to Latif, Babur, who was himself a very good Arabic and Persian scholar and a poet, was much pleased with the conversation which he held with Nanak and with the information given to him on many interesting topics. According to Mohsin Fani, Nanak being dissatisfied with the Afghans, called the Mughals into India. Fani says, “Nanak having been displeased with the Afghans, deputed the Mughals over them. So, in the year 932 A. H. (1526 A. D.), His Majesty the late Emperor Zahir-ud-Din Muhammad Babur gained victory over the Afghan (Emperor) Ibrahim.

Nanak is also said to have blessed Babur for his rule over India and to have prayed for the mainstay of his dynastic empire.

205. Ibid, p. 245.
206. Fani, op: cit; II, 294; Also Cf: Cunningham, op: cit, p. 36.
207. Latif, op: cit; p. 249. The Sikh accounts mention this meeting but Tuzuk-e-Baburi or other contemporary accounts have no-where mentioned about this meeting between Babur and Nanak. See also f.n. 215, infra.
208. Fani, op: cit; ii; 249; and Ganda Singh, op: cit; (Re-prit), Panjab, Past and Present, 4/1967, p. 52.
in India for seven generations\textsuperscript{209}. However, he advised Babur to be just and liberal and cautioned him that otherwise he too would go the way of Pathans if he too oppressed his subjects. He explained to Babur the uselessness of riches and power, pelf and prowess. He also advised him to shun the lust for the same. Babur was extremely impressed by Nanak’s words and promised him not to commit oppression on the poor\textsuperscript{210}. Nanak blessed him again and left. According to S.M. Latiff, “the Emperor ordered rich presents to be bestowed on the faqir, but Nanak refused them, observing that his best reward was the inward pleasure derived from the worshipping of the Creator, and that as his aim in life was to please that Lord of Lords, he had no concern—with the Kings made by Him”\textsuperscript{211}.

According to an event quoted by Maulana Muhammad Husain Azad, Babur was once enjoying a drinking bouquet with his close associates when Nanak was brought in before him. After a little conversation, Babur was immensely pleased with Nanak’s words. He ordered some wine for Nanak too. Nanak however replied that wine could intoxicate only temporarily whereas he was already surcharged with inebriating intoxicant in the form of Satnam. This pleased Babur still further and he begged blessing from Nanak who was kind enough to bless him with empire in his dynasty for seven generations to come\textsuperscript{212}. After some time, Babur again invited Nanak to meet him and offered to grant anything which he might like to ask. On Babur’s repeated requests in all humility to accompany him or to stay with him, the Guru agreed to stay with the Emperor for three days. On being pressed by Babur for something being asked by the great Faqir Nanak, the latter asked the Emperor to release the prisoners

\textsuperscript{209}—210. Review of Religions., 11/1941.
\textsuperscript{211} Latif, S. M., \textit{op: cit}; p. 249,
captured by him, since the Guru was always distressed as he looked towards the prisoners. Dr. A. L. Srivastava’s view that Babur believed in the ‘Muslim’ theory of Kingship and tried to re-inforce “Shariat” is certainly not correct. Mention is made sometimes of the demolition of temples at Chanderi and of conversion of Rama’s temple at Ayodhya or that at Sambhal into mosques, and of the destruction of idols near Gwalior. However viewed in the context of his whole career, these measures appear to have been adopted because of the exigencies of war and occupation of the newly conquered territories. Babur’s wish to be respectable in the eyes of his contemporary Muslims need not be confused with a zeal for Islam. There is enough evidence to suggest that Babur continued to employ the Hindus in the services of the State, particularly in the Revenue Department, even though some Muslim religious luminaries and dignitaries like Sheikh Abdu’l Qaddu’s Gangohi “admonished” him for that and advised him to expel all the Hindus from the State services. Sheikh’s advice to Babur is clear from the following passage in Sheikh’s Maktub to him. “It behoves the king not to assign a post to any infidel in the diwan-i-Islam or in the dar-ul-Islam and no infidel should be allowed to wield pen in an office or be appointed as an Amil.” Babur’s outlook towards the Hindus was practical and

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213—214. Nanak Parkash, ch. 28, pp. 65—68; Review of Religions, 11/1941; Maculiffe op. cit. I, pp. 120—121; Bhai Santokh Singh writes in the Nanak Parkash as below;—

“Karna nīdh dehī bohar kaid bikhe nar-nari
Dukh pawat kur lat hain jiwan bin kamal tāhkar;
Babur soon bole teh kala, chodo kaid jogahi basala
Soj khasoti jawan khair, mano bacch hamara deu pheri
Kamal badan ki girasani jab, sapad chudai nar-nari sab,
Apxi soj bacchani johi, dīa diwai dar ki nakin.
Apo aap sai samjhari, njī nīket ghone nar-nari”.

(The kind-hearted Nanak saw men and women crying with pains in the imprisonment of Babur. He recommended to Babur for their release and to return their valuables snatched from them. Babur released all these prisoners and they went back to their homes.

political than religious\textsuperscript{216}.

Nanak's blessings and advice to Babur, if a fact, might be mis-construed and mis-interpreted by some misguided zealots. For Nanak, there was no Hindu and no Musalman, no Mughal and no Pathan, no Indian or non-Indian. For him, the whole creation was of God and all creatures were alike regardless of their labels. He was for a change in the social condition—a change for the better. If he was critical of the Pathans, he did not spare the Mughal invaders too. He was against tyranny as he was tender-hearted and humane. He was for good Government. For him, 'whatever was best administered was the best form'. He was not a political philosopher to fight for the forms of Government. He was in favour of a government for the people,—may not be by the people. He was bold and straightforward since he was above all temptations, fears or favours. If he condemned the mal-administration of the Pathans and Lodi 'dogs', he was vehement against the loot which came in the train of Babur's invasion. Nanak's remarks record his protests against the invading hordes. He said, "With the bridal procession of sin, Babur hastens from Kabul and by force demands the hand of the bride (India). Decency and law have vanished; falsehood stalks abroad. The vocation of the Qazi and the Brahman is gone and Satan performs the marriage services. The Muslim women recite the Qur'an, and in suffering, call upon their God. So do suffer the high and low-caste Hindu women"\textsuperscript{217}. Again he wrote, "God took Khorasan under His wing and exposed India to the terrorism of Babur. The Creator takes no blame unto Himself. It was death, disguised as Mughal, that made war on us. When there was such slaughter, such groaning, did'st Thou not feel the pain, O Lord? Creator, thou belongest to all"\textsuperscript{218}.

\textsuperscript{216} For detailed discussion, see Articles, Ahuja, N. D. 'Babur's concept of Kingship, published in The Medieval Indian State—Proceedings of Seminar, held on 21 to 24—3—66 (P. U. Chandigarh), pp. 91-92; and 'Babur and Polity—A Reappraisal (with special reference to the social and political background)', P. U. Research Bulletin, (Arts), No. LXIII (V) 1968, 217—218. Also see Macauliffe, op: cit; pp. 109—113.
Nanak’s words had a good deal of weightage with Babur as is clear from the release of prisoners ordered by Babur at the express recommendation of Nanak. The latter is said to have the privilege of tasting hashish (bhang) offered by the Emperor Babur, himself who was obliged by the Guru after his repeated requests. It is no mean a thing for a mighty Mughal Emperor like Babur to fall at the feet of the Hindu saint, to seek his company and to feel highly obliged on the latter’s agreeing to stay with him just for three days. This attitude of the Muslim monarch mirrors his magnanimity. At the final parting, Babur pressed the Guru to embrace Islam which tallied with his (Guru’s) own teachings and to avail of Prophet Muhammad’s mediation. The Guru snubbed him in his proposal and told him that “God alone was pure and all else was impure.” The Emperor, instead of being incensed at this outspoken language, invited him to ask him favour whereupon Nanak told Babur plainly, “He who beggeth of thee is a fool.” The courageous out-spokenness of Nanak is a tribute to the Guru’s saintliness but it portrays Babar, —a Muslim Emperor, too, as a liberal, tolerant and eclectic monarch. Of course, we do not find any mention of Nanak in Babur’s Memoirs. But this negative evidence should not suffice to challenge Nanak’s meetings or influence with the Mughal Emperor, Latif says, “This is probably due to the fact that Nanak was not at that time a man of sufficient note and importance to attract the attention of the Emperor when engaged in drawing an account of his own life and

219. See f. n. 201, 202 supra; Macauliffe, op: cit; pp. 120, 121.
225. Latif, op: cit; p. 249.
226. Ganesh Das Vadhera however says about Nanak:—

“Shora-e-Karamat Baba mamduh dar ahd-e-Zahir-u’d Din Muhammad Babur Badshah bismar girdid. Aksar amir wa faqir ba yuiman-i-sohbat wa tasir-i-kalamash faiz fazir shudan”. (Reputation of the saintliness of man, Baba (Nanak), spread far and wide during the reign of Emperor Zahir-u’d-Din Muhammad Babur. Many persons from the high and the low benefited themselves from his company and recitations), cf: Char Bagh-i-Panjab, p. 105 (Persian text, op: cit;).
exploits. Babur might have taken Nanak as a pious man, a saint and dervesh like so many other saints and dervishes who were there and came into his contact during his life-time but who were not necessary enough to find mention in his own account,—mainly personal and autobiographic. The pleasant relations between Nanak and Babur are implied even in the following quotation in the sacred Dasam Granth:

"Those of Baba (Nanak) and those of Babur, God Himself made them both: Know the former thus as the king of Religion 227, And guess the later as the worldly king".

Thus, Nanak appears to have been on fairly good terms with the Muhammadans 228. He believed, "The True Guru is one who uniteth one with all" 229. His life was mostly spent in bringing Hindus and Muslims together 230. It is a rare case of self-annihilation which we find in Nanak's life. Like Farid-u'd-Attar's Mantiq-ul-Tair (Logic of the Birds), Nanak's tarigat and mar'fit consisted in self-realization through self-annihilation, and sublimation through self-surrender. Nanak achieved and advised 'solution-sweet' (Prapati). He embraced the whole humanity, rose above Self and completely curbed his Ego. He successfully indentified himself with all beings and submerged himself completely in the vast ocean of God's creation.

Like so many other Muslims, even a staunch Muslim, Nawab Faiz Talab Khan of Junagarh was so highly impressed by Nanak's teachings that he became his follower and took with himself Guru's kharawan (wooden slippers) and built a Sikh temple (Dharamsala) in the Guru's memory near his fort 231. According to Bhai Keser Singh Chhapper, some Muslims had constructed a mosque and a well as their humble tribute to the great Guru who

228. Macauliffe, op: cit; I, li.
229. Sri Rag, M: I.
231. Gian Singh, Twarihk Guru Khalsa, 293.
is said to have personally bathed with and drank from the water of this well, and to have visited the mosque in all reverence.

When Nanak expired physically, the Hindus and the Muslims equally claimed him to be their leader. A dispute started between them as to whether he was to be buried as a Muslim Pir or cremated as a Hindu Faqir. Both kept flowers on his dead body and flowers of both the communities remained equally fresh and fragrant throughout the night. As the body of the great saint had since evaporated, the cotton-sheet (coffin) was divided into two parts,—Muslims burying their half and the Hindus cremating their share. Sayyid Muhammad Latif’s description of the reported dispute shows as to how Hindu Nanak had endeared himself to the hearts of the Muslims. After telling that the Hindus were glad that Nnak had not openly embraced the religion of the Prophet, he says, “Yet, an idea generally prevailed among the Muhammadans that Nanak was a true follower of the Prophet...... At the time when Nanak breathed his last, a dispute arose between the Hindus and the Muhammadans regarding the disposal of his body, each party claiming the right to perform the funeral obsequies according to the form of their own religion. The Hindus said that Nanak being a Hindu, his body should, after the fashion of that creed, be burnt, while the Muhammadans maintained that the deceased was a Musalman, and that his remains should therefore be buried according to the rites of the Muhammadans. A quarrel arose


233. See Macauliffe, op: cit; I, p. 191; Also See Banerjee, I, B., op: cit; I, p. 92., Hughes, Dictionary of Islam, p. 588. Almost a similar event is reported also in case of Nanak’s contemporary, Muslim saint Kabir, where, a similar difficulty arose regarding the disposal of his dead body. Muslims desired to bury it and the Hindus wanted to cremate it. The body disappeared in this case also and the substitute heap of flowers lying under the coffin was divided half half and disposed off according to their respective rites i.e. the Hindus burning their share at Benaras and the Muslims burying their part at Monghiar.
between the two parties, and swords were drawn, but through the mediation of more thinking men, it was resolved that the body should be neither burnt nor buried in the grave, but thrown into the river.

Maulana Muhammad Husain Azad picturesquely describes the strange but significant happening at Nanak’s death. He says, “Since Nanak’s philosophy in essence was nothing else but monotheism and universal love, he was loved and followed both by the Hindus and Muslims. At his death, the Muslims claimed that they would like to perform the funeral ceremonies and obsequies according to Islamic rites and customs. the Hindus wanted to do the same according to their own customs. When the coffin was removed, there was no corpse found there. Both the parties then divided the coffin-cloth into two. The Hindus burnt their half and raised a Samadhi there and the Muslims buried their half in a grave. Later on, the waters of the Ravi washed off both the Samadhi and the grave and no remain remains now.

A somewhat similar thing happened even in the twentieth century. It is said that in a sectional meeting of the Panjab Historical Society held at Simla, a little over a quarter of a century before the awful Partition of India, associate identity of Nanak was disputed by the Hindns; Muslims and Christians just as was done at his ‘Nirvan’ by the Hindus and the Muslims about his corpse. After the reading of a paper by a Sikh gentleman Joginder Singh of Aira claiming Nanak as a Sikh Guru, L. Ram Saran Das, a Hindu leader of Lahore, claimed Nanak as a Hindu reformer and protested against Nanak being not mentioned as such in the paper; a Muslim noble of Malerkotla, Sir Zulfiqar Ali Khan, asserted that Nanak was a Muslim and protested against the claim of the Hindu leader whereupon the President of the meeting, Sir Michael O’Dyer, a Christian, in

235. Latif, op: cit; p. 248 l (1964 Ed.).
236. Azad, Muhammad Husain, Qasas-i-Hind, II, p. 203.
his Presidential remarks, in view of his being pre-eminently merciful, and an apostle of non-violence, love and teleration. How much has Nanak been liked, by the Muslims, is evident from the fact that nowhere, ever since Nanak’s time, we find any derogatory reference to Nanak’s personality or cult, by any Muslim writer or speaker. Whereas some European scholars like Baron Hugel (and Trumpp), have called the Granth as a compound of mystical absurdities, some noted Muslim luminaries are loud in their praises of Nanak and his writings. They spoke and wrote about him in glowing words. At random-sampling, Mohsin Fani of 17th century, A.D., Ghulam Hussain of 18th century A.D., Muhammad Latiff of 19th century A.D., and Muhammad Iqbal of 20th Century A.D. can be mentioned as some of the Muslim historians and scholars who described him with a sense of reverence. Khwaja Dil Muhammad rendered Nanak’s Jupji into Urdu Poetry with a hypnotising effect. The composition par-excellence shows the intensity of Nanak’s impact on the Muslim scholar’s mind. He writes, in his Preface, about the sacred Jupji, “Yeh Munajat Panjab ke musallah-e-aazim Khuda-rasida Buzurg Baba Guru Nanak Saheb ki mubarak zaban se nikli hai” i.e. “This Prayer came out of the blessed tongue of Panjab’s greatest reformer and God-realized Great-Man, Baba Guru Nanak Saheb”. Sir Dr. Muhammad Iqbal wrote one of his finest compositions on Nanak in his famous

238. See Cunningham, op: cit; p. 40, f.n. 2.
239. Dabistan, ii, pp. 251-22.
240. Siar-ul Malakhrin, i, pp. 110-111.
243. Dil Muhammad, Khwaja, Jupji Aur Sukh-mani Saheb (Original and Tr.), p. 3 (1946 Ed.).
Bang-e-Dara\textsuperscript{244}, The poem mirrors image of Nanak as focussed on the mind of the great Muslim poet. Even Mirza Saheb Qadiani, the spiritual head of the Mirzai or Ahmadiyya Muslims, in spite of his not very liberal views about other religions, specially about the Hindus, spoke so high of Nanak whom he called a ‘treasure’ ‘house of divine knowledge and the knower of all mysteries’\textsuperscript{245}. As aforesaid, some Muslims even built shrines in the memory of Nanak which display their reverence for the great Guru. Gurdwara Chola Saheb, to this day, bears artistic and inscriptional Qur’anic verses on its walls—an ideal blending of the two cults of Muhammad and Nanak.

Though no remain of Nanak’s samadhi or grave remains now, yet Nanakism remains as a permanent gift of the Guru and as his unwashable remain which cannot be effaced even by torrential roaring oceans of tumult, strife, friction and politically-oriented slogans. Nanak’s life was an experiment with Truth and Universal Brotherhood. He repeatedly said, “wheresoever I see, I see no one but Thee”. He never fanatically criticised the Muslims or their sect as such, nor did the Muslims persecute him for his unorthodox and free thinking in a Muslim State. It is a matter of no small credit that a Muslim State in the medieval period should show that much allowance to a Hindu divine and tolerate his preachings and ‘proddings’ whereas in the contemporary England philosophers like Thomas More had been put to death for holding divergent views even within the same religious frame-work, and in Europe Bloody Assizes had spilt the blood.

\textsuperscript{244} “Kawm ne paigham-e-Gautam hi zara parwa na ki,
Kadr pehchani na apne gohar-e-yak-dana ki:
Aah bad-kismat rahe aawaz-e-Haq se behhabar
Gafil apne phal ki shirini se nota hai shajar,
Aashkar us ne hiya jo zinagi ha raz tha
Hind ko laakan-khayali phalsiah par naz tha
Phir nhti aakhir sada tahid hi Panjab se,
Hind ko ik mara-e-kamil ne jagaya khab se.

\textsuperscript{245} Cf.: Mirza Sahib Qadiani, Sat Bachan, p. 23.
of innocents at the blurred altar in the name of Religion. Every true follower of Nanak has a duty to project this bright image of Nanak and the enlightened treatment meted out to him by all communities—Hindu followers and Muslim rulers. “Nanakism” is perhaps the only solution in sight to bring the Hindus, Sikhs, Muslims, Christians and all other inhabitants of India, Pakistan, China, Russia or Japan or any part of the world to the fold of humanity and world-peace. Co-existence, mutual understanding, and good-will, so vital for the very existence of India and Pakistan especially, can be achieved through ‘Nanakism’ and by clearing off the monstrous cobweb of communalism created in the name of misconceived religion. It is hoped that the snow of servility shall melt away before the sunshine of Nanak’s message, the sanguinary events shall slip away before the great Seer’s sermons, the stains of communal riots shall be washed off by the soap of *Sat-nam* (One True Lord) and the slur of ‘Ahmedabad’ shall be rubbed off by the revival and renewal of ‘Nanakism’. An attempt at this achievement would be the best celebration of the quincentenary of the Great Guru—the Hindu *Faqir* and the Muslim *Pir*, about whom a recent Muslim poet²⁴⁶ (of Punjab, Pakistan) wrote:—

“*Hinduan andar Guru kahaya Mominan andar Baba ji*

*Dohan dehran vichh Rab ne kita Prem da khas nazara Nanak*”.

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“*The True Guru is he who uniteth one with all*”,

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²⁴⁶. Maula Bakshi *Kushtia, Pyara Nanak*, *Diwan-e-Kushtia* (Pbi.).
THE GREAT GURU NANAK AND THE MUSLIMS
(KIRTI PUBLISHING HOUSE, CHANDIGARH)

The Author, Prof. N. D. Ahuja is a University teacher at Chandigarh, teaching Medieval Indian History and History of Panjab to the post-graduate classes. “An exceptionally consistent brilliant academic record, a rich experience and a defying and undying flicker of sincerity, strenuosity, straight-forwardness and steadfastness”—that is all to sum up the author. Prof. Ahuja, who is not only an objective writer and renowned scholar of History and Persian but a freedom-fighter of 1942 Struggle for Independence also, has been shy of publicity and a silent sufferer at the hands of native hypocrisy.

‘Fughan-i-Haq-o-Sadaqat ka marhla hai ‘ajib
Dabe to band-i-salasil uthe to dar-o-saleeb’"

With his irrepressible soul and uncompromising uprightness, he looks sometimes brutally frank and hyper-critical of those who profess and act differently, befool in the name of nationalism, regionalism and religiosity, or read history blinkingly with the result that :

“Be-qadar kiya kulfat-i-ayyam ne isko:
Gohar to hai lekan hai nihan gard ki teh mein”.

The author professes Hinduism but Hinduism unfettered, untrammelled and unencumbered by sectarianism or narrow-mindedness. He prides not in a grooved culture but believes staunchly in one culture-cult of India and often relishes to announce :

*Chishti ne jis zamin peh paigam-i-Haq sunaya
Nanak ne jis chaman mein wahdat ko geet gaya
Mera watan wohi hai : Mera chaman wohi hai.*

“Aalam-e-Musulman peh bole tarap ke Hindu
Sud-o-zian hai inka sud-o-zian hamara”.

*
Sikhism
Nanak