

Philosophy *of* **SIKHISM**



Sher Singh

GYANI, M.A., M.O.L.(Pb.) Ph. D. (LONDON)

SHIROMANI GURDWARA PARBANDHAK COMMITTEE
SRI AMRITSAR

ੴ ਵਾਹਿਗੁਰੂ ਜੀ ਕੀ ਫਤਹ ॥

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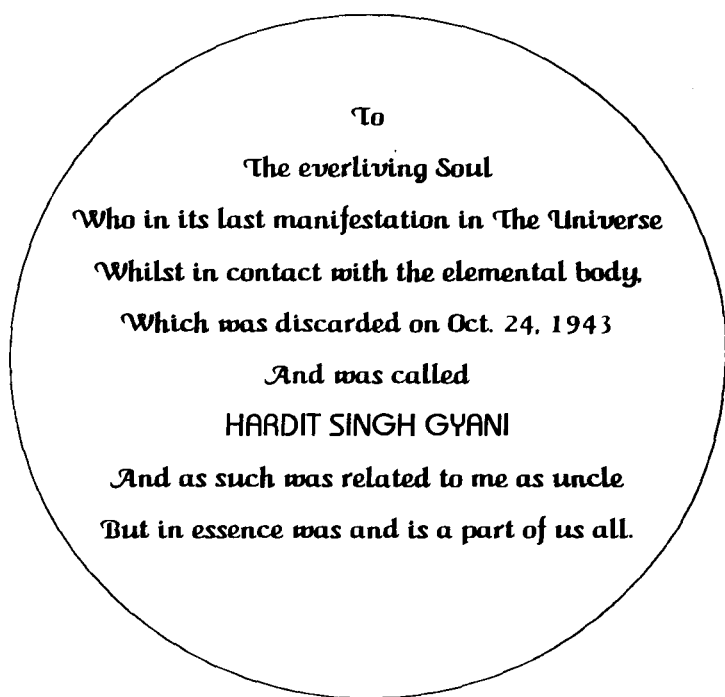
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PHILOSOPHY OF SIKHISM



To

The everliving Soul

Who in its last manifestation in The Universe

Whilst in contact with the elemental body,

Which was discarded on Oct. 24, 1943

And was called

HARDIT SINGH GYANI

And as such was related to me as uncle

But in essence was and is a part of us all.

ABBREVIATIONS

E=ENGLISH, P=PANJABI

- | | |
|--|----|
| A. G.—The Adi Granth—by E. Trumpp, London, 1877. | E. |
| A. O. G.—The Attributes of God by L. R. Farnell, Oxford, 1925. | E. |
| E. B.—Encyclopaedia Britannica, 14th Edition. | E. |
| E. R. E.—Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics, ed. Hastings. | E. |
| G. G.—Adi Sri Guru Granth Sahib Ji, Guru Khalsa Press,
Amritsar, Safri edition, pp. 1430. | P. |
| G. G. K.—Sri Guru Granth Kosh, Khalsa Tract Society, 1927. | P. |
| G. N.—Gurmat Nirnai, by Jodh Singh, Lahore, 1932. | P. |
| G. P.—Gurmat Prabhakar, by Kahn Singh, Amritsar, 1922. | P. |
| G. S.—Gurmat Sudhakar, by Kahn Singh, Lahore, 1912. | P. |
| G. S. R.—Gur Sabad Ratnakar, 4 Vols. by Kahn Singh, 1930. | P. |
| H. P. L.—A History of Panjabi Literature, by Mohan Singh,
1932. | E. |
| H. P. S.—History and Philosophy of the Sikhs, Khazan Singh,
Lahore, 1914. | E. |
| I. P.—Indian Philosophy, 2 Vols. by S. Radhakrishnan,
London, 1923, 1926. | E. |
| J. R. A. S.—Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society. | E. |
| L. R. I.—Living Religions of Indian People, Macnicol, 1934. | E. |
| R. I.—The Religions of India, A. Barth, translated by Wood,
1932. | E. |
| R. O. S.—The Religion of the Sikhs, by Dorothy Field,
London, 1914. | E. |
| S. R.—The Sikh Religion, 6 Vols. by M. A. Macauliffe,
Oxford, 1909. | E. |
| T. O. S.—The Transformation of Sikhism, by G. C. Narang,
Lahore, 1912. | E. |
| W. G.—Waran Bhai Gurdas, by Narain Singh, Gyani, Amritsar. | P. |
| S. B. E.—The Sacred Books of the East Edited by Max Muller. | E. |
| Bible-King—James Version of the Holy Bible ; Quran-
translation by Mohd. Ali, Lahore, 1934 ; Gita—
Tilak's Gita Rahasya, 1935. | |

THE ABSTRACT

It is the first attempt at the philosophisation of the Sikh religion on Western lines. The material from which this philosophy is constructed lay scattered in the Sikh scriptures written in Medieval Panjabi in the Gurmukhi script. The work containing about 85 thousand words is divided into four main parts.

The introductory part begins with a brief review of different literary movements dealing with Sikhism from the days of its origin in the 16th century down to our own times. Then follows a chapter on the founders of Sikhism with a description of the environments in which they conceived their ideals and a discussion of some traditions and biographical controversies. The third chapter of this part gives an account of the sources of the material for this work.

The second part is devoted to a discussion of the sources of Sikhism. The alleged notion of Sikhism being a branch of Hinduism has been disputed. By means of comparison and on the basis of internal and external evidence an attempt has been made to show that Sikhism whilst presenting a new synthesis of ideas has as its background not Hinduism which, is a vague notion, but Vedantism, Saivism, Vaisnavism, Buddhism, Siddhism (the System of Gorakh), Islam, and perhaps Christianity and other systems of thought both of Indian and non-Indian origin.

Then comes a critical survey of the philosophy of Sikhism both theoretical and practical. In part III after a careful analysis of the Granthic hymns the Guru's ideas have been systematised on the following subjects: God, His historical and attributive names and their implications; Cosmology; Man and his destiny. It has been shown that the distinctive contribution of the Guru towards the concept of God from the modern critic's point of view is two fold: the socialised nature of God and the aesthetic notion of the deity. These are new facts and have been overlooked by all writers.

In the field of practical philosophy there is again a striking departure from the traditional three margas of India: Karma, Bhakti and Gyan. Here it is the Wismad marga of the Guru which is expounded in the fourth part. It is communion with God, not with Nature but through nature—by means of aesthetic intuition. This is quite a new line of approach. Different stages and steps of the marga have been briefly described in the last few pages.

PREFACE

For some years past I have been a keen student of Sikhism and other kindred religions and philosophies. About seven years back I wrote down my findings and views in the form of this book. A part of it was included in my thesis for the Ph.D. degree in the University of London and many topics dealt with in this book were the subject matter of about eight lectures which were delivered when I was in Europe and England from 1936 to 1938. I am presenting to the public all that stuff under the title of "Philosophy of Sikhism". The reader will soon discover that it is just an introduction to this vast subject and it does not pretend to be an exhaustive account of the philosophy of this great and inspiring religion. How much it is philosophy and how much it is theology is difficult to say. Both of them deal with the same materials and the exposition of the meaning of a theological dogma passes easily into a philosophical interpretation, and as Dr. Thomas of Cambridge University, to whom I am also indebted for some valuable suggestions, says "All Indian philosophy is at the same time theology and religion". But what justifies the title of my work is the angle, the view point, from which I have approached Sikhism.

In my treatment of the subject I have done my best to conceal the fact of my being a Sikh by birth, training and now a deep-rooted rational conviction. I feel that only such an impassionate criticism of people's beliefs can lead to the advancement of knowledge and to the mental and spiritual uplift of the holders of those beliefs. But the prejudices and the inclinations of a writer are cleverer than his 'censor' and they enter into his writings so imperceptibly and unconsciously that it remains for the reader to judge how far the writer has succeeded in exercising a rational check on his biased opinions issuing forth from his deep-rooted sentiments.

While expounding and explicating the problems in hand I have in some places, indulged in comparisons between the concepts held by the Guru and those held by some Western thinkers. Sometimes the latter are quoted just to corroborate the idea under discussion. I realise that this was not very necessary and could be safely avoided. I have done so in the hope that such a comparison may render an Eastern concept more intelligible to the Western or a non-Sikh

reader. There will also be found a few terms which the reader will find either quite new or not used in their traditional connotation. Wherever I have felt I have tried to explain the new term. I conclude with the request to all the readers to send their suggestions and views even though they may be diametrically opposed to my own. They will certainly be welcomed and I am sure to benefit by them.

Two great souls who were anxious to see this book in the hands of the public are no longer in our midst. I have honoured myself and the book by dedicating it to one of them. The other was for some time a Christian missionary in the Panjab and later on worked as a Reader in the University of London. He was Dr. T. Grahame Bailey, the famous scholar of Urdu, Panjabi and Hindi in that University. I have mentioned these names to pay my homage and express my gratitude to them. I am thankful to many more friends who at various stages helped me and guided me in this task. The name of S. Jiwan Singh M.A., deserves a special mention here, for, but for his courage this book might not have seen the light of the day in these hard times of very high rates. I thank Prof. Pritam Singh who spared time to help me in reading the proofs of the book.

*Government College,
Ludhiana.
May 16, 1944.*

SHER SINGH,
M.A., Ph.D., GYANI

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PART I—INTRODUCTORY

CHAPTER I

A BRIEF REVIEW OF LITERATURE

Philosophy and Religion

RELIGION is older than philosophy. It is the idealisation of the finer aspects of the life that human beings at a particular time aspire to live. "Religion must exist and rise up in the soul of man prior to finding expression in his words and deeds, customs and institutions."¹ Soon after a religion is formulated the critical faculty begins to work and 'reason' wants to know the 'how' and 'why' of the ideals of religion. Sometimes the prophet and the philosopher combine in the same person and religion and philosophy become intermingled. This is particularly the case in India, where "philosophy and religion more than in any other country go hand in hand."² The result of this intermixture is not always wholesome. Speculative philosophy sometimes spoils practical religion. On such occasions the two take somewhat different roads. One makes an appeal to the intellect and brain and the other enters into the regions of the heart and emotions. They may not exclude each other but the emphasis is shifted from theory to practice. The religion with the philosophising of which we are concerned here deals more with the way in which life is to be lived than with the understanding and finding the ultimate meaning of that life. It is based more on faith than on pure reason. But faith in order to be firm and lasting must have its roots in rational conviction. The blind faith cannot work long. Sooner or later man must rationalise his beliefs. The *Adi Granth*—the holy book of the Sikhs—itself teaches that a Sikh is not to believe the words of a teacher unless he himself is convinced of the truth contained in those words.

The Guru's Initiative

The spirit of critically understanding the doctrines of Sikhism began in the very life of Nanak, the First Guru of the Sikhs. The Guru who in his extensive travels argued with professors

1. *The Living God* by Nathau Soderblom.

2. E. R. E. 'God' in *Hinduism*, A. S. Gordon.

of all religions could not expect people to follow him without conviction. The Guru Granth—also known as the Adi Granth—contains a composition entitled. ‘The Siddh Gost’ which is the versified form of a long philosophical discussion, which the Guru had with the Yogis of his time. At Kartarpur, where he settled down in the later years of his life, every evening he held a congregation in which after devotional songs and prayers, he used to answer to the queries of his disciples. “He ever conversed,” writes M. A. Macauliffe. “on religious subjects and divine measures were sung in his presence.”¹

The practice continued in the days of the other Gurus. We shall see below how the last Guru started a regular movement of philosopher-theologians. Every one of the first five Gurus composed some hymns some of which are clearly the answers of critical investigations which were at times made by their followers. Genuine doubts of faithful devotees have always been welcomed even in more orthodox circles.

Bhai Gurdas's Exposition of Sikhism

The holy book was now sealed against any fresh entry, except some hymns of the Ninth Guru, which were entered in the Granth by Guru Gobind Singh, the Tenth Guru of the Sikhs. Henceforth there was placed before the public a definite book to rely upon. Its teachings began to be expounded and studied. The attempt to analyse the Sikh teachings on the basis of the Granth was made by Gurdas in the days of Guru Arjan. Bawa Budh Singh in his ‘Hans Chog’ calls Gurdas, the St. Paul of the Sikhs. He died in 1629 A.D., that is fifteen years after he had finished the writing of the Granth as dictated by Arjan.

Bhai Gurdas wrote Wars and Kabits, the former in Punjabi and the latter more or less in Hindi. Some of his verses are simply adaptations of some hymns of the Granth. “His work,” as Mohan Singh writes, “is deemed to hold the key to the Sikh spiritual treasury and to make the best and purest Rahat-Nama (the code of conduct).”² He has been considered to be “the greatest medieval Punjabi poet outside the House of Nanak.” His work is credited with the “richness of Hindu, Muslim and Sikh cultural scholarship.” Rightly he deserves all the praise

1. S. R., i, P. 181.

2. H. P. L., P. 47.

showered on him, but this should not disuade us from saying that Bhai Gurdas's work is, in fact, an orthodox analysis of Sikh beliefs. It is written in the same spirit in which we find orthodox expounders of every religion proving the superiority of their own faith over every other. Such commentators describe the world before the advent of their religious founders as a place entirely overtaken by evil, falsehood, darkness, sin and irreligion.¹ As soon as the 'enlightened one' sheds his light the world is turned into heaven, full of truth and virtue. The sin is washed away either by the birth of such a prophet or by his suffering for the sake of mankind. Gurdas, virtuous as he became under the immediate and personal guidance of his spiritual master, projects his internal change to purity and holiness to the whole world outside, irrespective of time and space. On the whole his work is the best attempt at the orientation and glorification of the Sikh religion, at a time when the foundation of the religion was still going on and a genius like that of Guru Gobind Singh was yet to appear on the stage to give the religion a finishing touch.

Guru Gobind Singh

After the theological poet, Bhai Gurdas, we have to wait for fifty years till we find Gobind Singh, the boy Guru, in the company of learned scholars of Sanskrit, Persian and Arabic and a host of poets. In his Dasam Granth he shows a close knowledge of Hindu mythology and religion, and a comprehensive understanding of all contemporary systems of thought. He was thus fully equipped for the exposition of the Adi Granth.

Guru Gobind Singh is responsible for two great movements in the development of the Sikh religion: one was the practical institutionalisation of the Sikh view of life, and the other was to supply a theological and philosophical background to the institutional side of the religion. Our present work is not directly concerned with his activities in the former sphere. To achieve the latter end he gave birth to two classes of people among the Sikhs. Theologians and expositions of the Adi Granth came to be known as the Gyanis. Scholars of Hindu Philosophy and comparative religion were called the Nirmalas, sometimes also

1. See the *War* of Bhai Gurdas, especially stanzas 20-27.

known as the Pandits, because of the high learning that they possessed.

The Nirmalas

Guru Gobind Singh sent five of his Sikhs to Banaras (Benares) for the persecution of classical learning from the aristocratic Pandits of that place. The Hindu Pandits would not allow any householder to be initiated into their learning. The Guru did not want that the old treasury of Indian wisdom and knowledge should remain inaccessible to anybody because of his birth or position in life. So he selected five disciples of his¹ and asked them to go to Banaras and to observe all customs necessary for the studentship at the feet of the Brahman Scholars. They put on 'Hindu Sadhus' dress and took vows of remaining celibate. In due course they became perfect in the knowledge of the Vedas and the Shastras. On their return the Guru is said to have conferred on them the title of Nirmala²—without impurity. Even in character the Nirmalas "bear a far higher reputation than most of the other religious orders in the Punjab."³

The sect "mostly turned out scholars of Sanskrit, who, like Sankaracharya, rooted themselves in Vedanta, but, unlike him flowered in Sikh Bhakti instead of Sanatan image worship and caste observance. Immersed in classical learning they could not produce anything—unadulterately Sikhism in thought. Ever since their rise, they have formed the Sikh literary aristocratic caste devoting themselves to the popularisation of Vedanta and the philosophisation of Sikhism. As official theologians and philosophers of the new creed, they wrote extensively with thought, not confining themselves to religion but annexing prosody, medicine etc."⁴

The philosophical literature of this school does not begin till Gulab Singh,⁵ who was born in the village Sekhaw in the

1. The names of these five Sikhs were Ram Singh, Karam Singh, Ganda Singh, Vir Singh and Sobha Singh. For biographical details see G. S. R. iii, p. 2133.
2. It is wrong to say that the sect of Nirmalas started with the birth of the 4th Guru, Ramdas. Cf. "Light of Truth" p. 410—an English translation of "Satyarth Parkash" of Swami Dayanand by Dr. Chiranjiwa Bhardvaj, Madras, 1932.
3. E. R. E.
4. H. P. L., p. 60.
5. For short biographical note see G. S. R., ii.

district of Lahore, in the year 1732 A.D. He was initiated into the classical learning by St. Man Singh¹ who was a contemporary of Guru Gobind Singh (*Vide*, G. S. R. IV). He wrote the following books: Bhavarsmrit—1777 A.D., Moksh Panth—1778, Adhyatam Ramayan—1782, Prabodhchandra Natak—1792. The general trend of Gulab Singh in these books is Vedantic.

Next comes Pandit Sadhu Singh,² a disciple of Pandit Gulab Singh of Girwari in Hoshiarpur (G.S.R.I). Sadhu Singh was a great scholar and in his exposition he tried to come nearer Sikhism than his predecessor Gulab Singh of Sekhaw. He wrote many books two of which namely Gursikhia Prabhakar and Sri Mukhvak Sidhant Joti were published and distributed free of cost by the then Maharaja of Patiala, Narindra Singh by name.³ These two books are very much praised by the classical scholars. The former is philosophical in its outlook and the latter is the interpretation of some select hymns of the Adi Granth, which, if rightly understood, says the author, will serve as a key in translating and interpreting all the hymns of the holy book.⁴

1. For short biographical note see G. S. R., iv, p. 2886.
2. For short biographical note see G. S. R., i, p. 547.
3. Copies of these books are rarely to be found in the Libraries. Probably that explains the omission of the mention of these books in some of the best written histories of Panjabi literature. I consulted them with courtesy of my uncle Gyani Hardit Singh whose small but select library contains some very rare manuscripts on 'Sikh Vedantism'.
4. Most of the Nirmala writers did not like their books being sold in the market. They generally quote the following hymn from the Granth which they say forbids every body from selling a book dealing with the 'sacred word'—Gurbani: "Woe betide the life of those who write the Name to sell it." *Sarang ki War*, Mahala 1 p. 1244.

Many saints will not publish their books even for free distribution, perhaps because they think that the book given free does not go to real Adhikaris—really deserving hands. Such manuscripts still exist and are dearly guarded by their owners. Only if a disciple happens to please his master, the owner of the book, gets access to it and is allowed to copy it out, on the condition, that he would not make it very common and cheap.

As for the free distribution of the published books the procedure was once related to me by my uncle who had to observe it more than once: When the wandering scholar comes to know about the book, he goes to the saint the custodian of the stock, and makes him known of the purpose of his visit. The visitor will be asked to stay in the monastery for a day or two. His general behaviour is observed and if found upto the mark he is sent for by the incharge of the place who then tests his knowledge and scholarship by asking him questions of philosophical nature. After having thus qualified himself both in practice and theory the visitor is considered to be a deserving reader of the book. The chief saint then washes the visitor's feet, feeds him, cleans and washes with his own hands the utensils used by his guest and then bowing down before him presents the book with great solemnity.

Pandit Tara Singh, the Gurbhai of (the disciple of the same teacher as) Pandit Sadhu Singh, was also patronised by Maharaja Narindra Singh of Patiala.¹ He wrote many books most of which are mere commentaries. One of these books is of philosophical nature. It is entitled 'Gurmat Nirnai Sagar' and was published in 1887 A.D.

Mention may not be made of the two Mimansas of Avtar Singh Wahiria, for these books fundamentally differ from the basic teachings of Sikhism. The philosophical activities of the Nirmala School seem to have come to a close in the twentieth century. This appears to have been the effect of the modern revival of Sikhism under the influence of the British rule in the Panjab.

This revival began in the form of a regular movement under the name of Singh Sabha. It started in Amritsar in the year 1872 A.D. It was reorganised in Lahore in 1879. Ten years after it was renamed Khalsa Diwan, Lahore. Some years later on account of certain differences workers at Amritsar organised another Diwan which still exists and is known since then as Chief Khalsa Diwan, Amritsar. This organisation has done a great deal in educating the Sikh community on Western lines. The result has been a general awakening in all spheres and the Sikhs have become very self-conscious. Revival of the Panjabi language, reformation of their religious places and practices, and growth of national feeling by means of press and platform are some of the recent achievements of the twentieth century. All these forces culminated into a rigorous puritanic agitation giving birth to the last Akali Movement. The natural consequence of these modern upheavals was that the Nirmala literature, which on account

-
1. The credit of establishing the Nirmala Akhara (organisation of the Nirmalas with a central head institution having branches at various places) also goes to Maharaja Narindra Singh. He died in 1862, Maharaja Yadvindra Singh, the reigning prince of Patiala, is the fourth successor of Maharaja Narindra Singh. The late father of the present ruler (Maharaja Bhupindra Singh, d. 1938) was generous enough to meet all the expences in connection with the publication of the G. S. R.—the Encyclopaedia of Sikh Literature. Previous to this the Malwindar Bahadur of Nabha had brought out the other two important works of the late Bhai Kahan Singh, namely, the *Gurmat Prabhakar* and *Gurmat Sudhakar*.

of the classical training of the authors, always reclined on Brahmanical ideology became unpopular.¹

The Western Influence

The Western spirit was imbibed and a new kind of analysis of the Sikh doctrines began. The Singh Sabha movement spread and the Sikhs absolutely broke off from the Hindus. This separatist movement produced Gyani Dit Singh, a forceful writer and an impressive speaker. In the press he used his pen successfully in cleansing the Sikh practices and beliefs from the Hindu influence. On the platform he was a formidable adversary of Swami Dayanand, the founder of the Arya Samaj. To the same attitude of separation from the Hindus we owe books like 'Ham Hindu Nahin' (We Are Not Hindus) by Kahan Singh, 1907; and 'Guru Sahib Ate Ved' (The Guru and the Vedas) by Jodh Singh, 1911. The other section which was nearly Hinduised did not accept this change of the popular front quietly. Some books just of the reverse nature of the above were already written.

If the Sikhs were not Hindus, then the foremost need of the time was to prove positively what they were. For this purpose. S. Sadhu Singh and Dr. Charan Singh of Amritsar collaborated and the Khalsa Tract Society was formed. Bhai Vir Singh, the saint and poet-theologian of the Sikhs, has guided the destinies of the Society so successfully that it now boasts of many good historical and theological works. To the same spirit of crystallisation of the Sikh doctrines belong Bhai Kahan Singh's 'Gurmat Prabhakar' 1899 and 'Gurmat Sudhakar' 1900. 'Sikhi Marag' is another book of a similar nature. These books are more of the nature of indexes than a synthetic study of Sikh theology. They are very useful in their own way. They give a Gurmukhi knowing reader a collection of hymns under so many heads. Not very

1. Some Western scholars acknowledge their indebtedness to the Nirmala Pandits for the exposition of Sikh doctrines to them. Thus for instance Sir J. Molcolm (1805 A. D.) speaks of a Nirmala saint at Calcutta, who explained to him some sacred hymns and the general principles of Sikhism. One Nirmala sadhu named Atma Singh of Amritsar instructed Dr. Trumpp, the author of the *Adi Granth* (1877). The latter observed the Hinduistic tendencies of the Nirmalas in his own time. He writes: (p cxviii). In course of time they gradually relapsed into Hinduism by applying their mind to the *Shastras* and especially the *Vedanta*. They are now in a state of transition and deeply tinged with Hindu notions".

During the days of the Gurdwara cases (1925-35) the sympathies of the Nirmalas were very much alienated against the Sikhs. Now a better understanding prevails and no wonder that they may revive their old philosophical activities in a new, form to suit the changed circumstances.

different from these but decidedly in a much better form was written 'Gurmat Nirnai' by Professor Jodh Singh in 1932.¹

'What the Khalsa Tract Society has done in Gurmukhi, the Sikh Tract Society is attempting to do in English. But so far except a few booklets of Professor Teja Singh and Mr. Caveeshar which are historical and interpretational in character, no solid literature has been produced by the Society. The Society was conceived through a missionary spirit and it is being run by the Sikh Graduates, who cherish the high ambition of conveying the Guru's message to the English speaking nations. At present they are content with small tracts distributed at some annual occasion.

In 1914 came out two parts of 'History and Philosophy of the Sikh Religion' by Khazan Singh. The first part is devoted to the history of the Sikh religion and the second part to its philosophy. The general tone of the writer is very much like that of the Nirmalas. It is perhaps the first book of its kind in English from the pen of an orthodox Sikh writer. Professor Teja Singh's *Sikhism—Its ideals and institutions—1938*, *Sikh Studies* by Sardar Sardul Singh Caveeshar, are more welcome editions in the field.

The Gyanis

We had begun with Guru Gobind Singh who, it was pointed out, had started this academic movement in two ways; philosophical and theological. The above was a summary of the movement although a little bit mixed up, yet leaning more on the philosophical side. There now remains a brief account of the theological activities of the Sikhs. This infact is the traditional exposition of the Sikh scriptures. As we know Guru Gobind Singh himself began it. Bhai Mani Singh (d. 1737) was the first man who received this training from the Guru.² He also became the chief priest of the main temple of the Sikhs at Amritsar. He wrote a *janam Sakhi* (life story) of Nanak. There are other *Janam*

1. Bhai Vir Singh in his introduction to this book says (p. xiii) : The professor has not used Gurbani simply as columns to erect by his arguments and reasoning a superstructure in the light of his own understanding. His book is not like general philosophical works. He has arranged the hymns dealing with different principles of Sikhism under different heads, so that the ideal of the Guru may become explicit and there may be a natural logical link between different chapters giving the impression of one connected whole".
2. For further information about Bhai Mani Singh's life see S.R. vols. i, iv, v and G. S. R.

Sakhis too. The authorship of one is attributed to Bala, a disciple and constant companion of Nanak. Another is said to have been written by somebody in the days of the Sixth Guru.¹

All such biographies of Nanak are partly legendary and partly based on facts. Later Bhai Santokh Singh (b. 1788) wrote his great work in 1843 entitled *Gurpratap Surya*. *Nanak Prakash* is another important work of his. These deal with the lives of all the ten Gurus.² The Sikhs had no epics and the big volumes of the *Gurpratap Surya* very successfully serve as the *Mahabharata* and the *Ramayana* of the new community. In poetry, diction, imagination, and description of detail, this *Suraj Prakash*, as it is popularly known, sometimes even surpasses its Hindu predecessors. *Panth Prakash* of Ratan Singh and works of Gyani Gyan Singh complete the chain of the classical works on Sikh history.

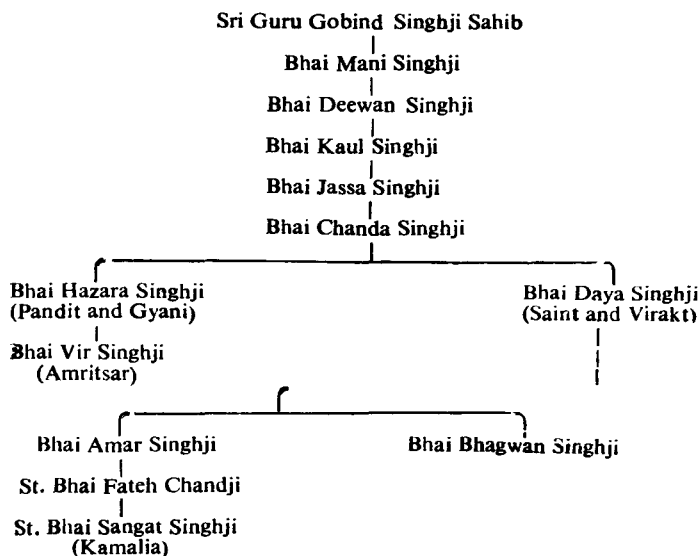
We have drifted away from the theological group. We were discussing the origin of the *Sampardai Gyanis*. This class we saw began with Mani Singh who was trained in the art of exposition of the Sikh scriptures by the last Guru himself. Many such *Gyanis* are now met with among the Sikhs. They all trace the origin of their theological knowledge through Mani Singh to Guru Gobind Singh. They now form many groups and the chief headquarters of all of them are only two: one at Damdama-Guru Ki Kanshi³

1. For detailed account of the chronology and authorship of these *Janam Sakhis* see *Puratan Janam Sakhi* (Introduction and foot note on page 144) published by Bhai Vir Singh, Amritsar, 1931.
2. Very often a Sikh temple the sacred music and congregational songs of the morning are followed by the exposition of some sacred hymn. Generally the spare time in the afternoon or after the evening service is used for the reading of the religious history of the Sikhs. This twofold exposition of Sikh religion and history, the former based first on the *Adi Granth* and later also shared by the *Dasam Granth*, the latter consisting in reading aloud of *Janam Sakhis* form more or less a regular feature of Sikh service in the *Gurdwaras* and *Dharmshalas*. The *Janam Sakhis* ever since the appearance of Santokh Singh's works, seem to be giving way to *Nanak Prakash* and *Gur Pratap Surya*. The expositional work is in the hands of the *Sampardai Gyanis*.
3. This was the place where Guru Gobind Singh taught Mani Singh. The title *Guru ki Kanshi* was also given to the place by the great Guru. He made it the centre of classical learning just as *Kanshi—Benaras*—was the seat of Hindu learning.

in the Patiala State and the other at Amritsar.¹ Some such Saint-Professors of Sikh theology continue moving from one place to another. In doing so they aim at rendering twofold service to the community. They give some insight into the Sikh principles to the general public and they also give opportunities at the very doors of such persons who want to specialise in the Sampardaik-traditional-knowledge, but cannot remain away from home for a long time.² There are still some scholars³ who carry on this traditional wandering university in spite of so many institutions running on Western lines.

The literature produced by this theological school is by no means small.⁴ Generally they have written translations and commentaries on some important compositions of the Adi Granth. Raja Bikram Singh of Faridkot (1842—98) secured the services

1. I have come across the geneology of one group of these traditional Gyan which is as follows : (G. G. K.—XV) :—



The life and activities of one such saint professor are recorded by the writer in the form of a book entitled 'Amrit Jiwan' published 1934. It is the biography of St. Gyani Sundar Singh Bhindranwala.

I know of one Gyani Gurbachan Singh whose wandering group sometimes swells to 150 students.

If the Nirmla scholars influenced Malcolm and Trumpp, the school of the traditional Gyanis have got much to do with the spirit and tone of the great work at Mr. Macauliffe, who has gratefully acknowledged their assistance.

of some traditional Gyanis who wrote by collaboration a voluminous commentary of the Granth which was published in different parts, each as big as the original Granth in Gurmukhi.

Works in Persian

Without touching upon those literary activities¹ of the Sikhs which fall out of our present survey, let us now turn to books in Persian, the writers of which belong to all ages since the time of the Guru and to all communities—Muhammadans, Hindus and Sikhs. Such writers also include some great Moghul kings whose memoirs make some passing remarks about the infant religion. But all these Persian works even including Dabistan-Mazahib by Muhsan Fani (1645), are of historical nature. The works of Bhai Nand Lal namely : Jot Bikas, Zindgi Nama, Tausif-o-Sana, Ganj Nama, Insha-i-Dastur, Aruz-ul-Alfaz, belong to a different category. The author was born at Ghazni—outside India in Afghanistan—in the year 1633 A.D. He was a scholar of Arabic and Persian. He felt interested in Sikhism from the pious life of his wife who came from a Sikh family in Multan. His love for Guru Gobind Singh induced him to go to Anandpur where he got Amrit (baptism) from the Guru. He became an ardent disciple and a sincere lover of the Guru. His charming and fascinating poetry in his Diwan and the Khatima excite a very passionate devotion to the person of the Tenth Guru. It is really interesting how sometimes some faithful Sikhs begin to feel a genuine ecstasy when they hear from the musicians his

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1. These activities can be grouped under two heads. In one group we have those books the impetus for which came from the study of general English literature and the Sikh writers, inspite of the lack of additional sentiment. This includes poetry, drama, fiction, biography and travels etc. and also some books on special sciences and technical subjects. The efforts and patronage of the Punjab Government Advisory Board for books deserve a special mention. The Panjab University has also decided to encourage the enterprising writers by means of handsome cash prizes. The second type of literature produced by the Sikhs is historical in character. The first attempts of this kind go as far back as the Guru themselves, whose lives inspired their Sikhs to write their Janam Sakhis (Life sketches). All such books were in the beginning tinged with mythology. A brief account of these semi-historical works of the 17th and the 18th centuries has been given by Macauliff and Trumpp in the Sikh Religion and Adi Granth respectively. Modern attempts are more scientific. Separate departments for researches in Sikh history have been opened both in the Khalsa College Amritsar and the Sikh National College, Lahore under the able guidance of experienced historians. The department at Khalsa College, Amritsar under S. Ganda Singh Kewal has already published some very original works.

Persian couplets like :'' Both the worlds are ensnared into the lasso of the beautiful curls of my fairy-faced beloved. All paradises and heavens are not worth a single lock of the Guru.'' The works of Goya—the *nom de plume* of Nand Lal—apart from the mystic love that they breathe and a philosophical colouring which he has given them, cannot be taken as an analysis of Sikhism. His Zindgi Nama and Tankhah Nama are mere Rahat Namas which should be classed with other similar works under the social code of the Sikhs.

Under the Sikh Rule

One might expect that just as Buddhism became a living force under Asoka in whose reign it spread far and wide, similarly Sikhism might have got a new impetus in the days of Sikh Supremacy and the rule of Maharaja Ranjit Singh (d. 1839). In the first place the Sikh rule never came to a stage when the Sikhs could free their minds from political struggle and could thus attend calmly and peacefully to the propagation and crystallisation of their religious doctrines and practices. The Sikh chiefs and especially Ranjit Singh continued to observe practices, which either in origin were Hindu but later were 'Sikhised' or in origin were Sikh but in course of time became Hinduised.

Hinduism as history has shown is so wonderfully tolerant that if a new faith becomes a little negligent, it at once first recognises it as its own, then adapts it and in the end devours it. It is due to this 'absorbant power'—to borrow a phrase from Dr. Betty Heimann's new book on Indian and Western Philosophy—that the faith of the native aborigines of India exists no more except in some form within Hinduism and same is nearly true of Buddhism in India. Religions totally foreign in origin as Islam, Zoroastrianism, Christianity do not yet realise how much of Hinduism has crept into them.¹ The process of hinduisation of Sikhism began soon after the Tenth Guru. Ever since the Sikhs were busy in their struggle for existence. Naturally they

1. Macnicol in his book (L. R. I.) points out how Hinduism has influenced Indian Islam and Indian Christianity. He quotes from Gazette of Sindh to show how Sindhi Muslims follow Hindu practices. Same is true in Bengal, says W. Crooke. Even in the days of Jahangir Sutti was practised in some Muslim circles. Sir Walter Lawrence in his book, "The India We Served" says that an Arab Muslim did not find a single true Muhammadan in Kashmir. Among Indian Christians caste is prevalent. Untouchable Christians are not received in a "whole-hearted way", sometimes Christians of higher castes refuse to eat or smoke with them.

became negligent of the doctrinal side of their religion. Sir A. C. Lyall in his 'Asiatic Studies' observes: "As the Sikhs rise in the political and the social world, they are less inclined to separate themselves from the general body of Hindus."¹

Ranjit rose in that hinduised Sikhism and led his life accordingly. On his birth and death both Hindu and Sikh ceremonies were performed. Even the heartless ceremony of Sati, so strictly forbidden by the Guru, was performed at his death. A pathetic description of the burning of his living queens has been given by a French eye-witness, John Martin Honigberger.² Ranjit was a king and he tried to make the Sikh religion kingly. The supply of marble, precious stones, gold, large estates and costly canopies for the Sikh Gurdwaras were considered by him to be the means of serving Sikhism.

A reaction came in the form of the Namdhari Movement. Baba Ram Singh, the leader of this new organisation—also known as the Kukas, laid great stress on simplicity, no pomp and show and no magnificent buildings for temples. The inner life of meditation and singing of sacred songs were considered the best form of worship; no lectures, no theological expositions and no philosophies. The background still remained half Hindu. Neither the essentially materialistic tone of Ranjit Singh, nor the deep religious consciousness of the Namdharis helped the Sikhs to visualise the true concepts of their religion. The former disappeared from the world stage a century ago and will neither be remembered as the Asoka nor as the Aurangzeb of Sikhism; the spirit of the latter still continues and his followers have formed a new sect but on the side of theological or philosophical literature we have yet to see what the coming generations of the Namdharis will do for Sikhism.³

Western Scholars

Before I conclude this chapter it will be worthwhile to survey rapidly some of the books written by European scholars. Except a few books in French and German languages, all these books are written in English. The earliest mention of the Sikhs in English

1. Asiatic Studies by A.C. Lyall, 1899, p. 144.

2. Thirty five years in the East by John Martin Honigberger, 1852.

3. For more details see "Gurdwara Reform Movement" by Professor Teja Singh, pp. 36—41.

literature has so far been traced to a letter written by the British Envoys from Delhi dated 10th of March 1716. They saw a procession of 780 Sikh prisoners marching through the streets of Delhi with two thousand bleeding heads borne aloft on poles. "The Sikhs vied with one another for precedence in death." The reference concludes with the following remark :—"There are one hundred each day beheaded. It is not little remarkable with what patience they undergo their fate, and to the last it has not been found that one has apostatised from the new formed religion."¹ These were the days of the Moghul Emperor Farrukh Siyur ; eight years after the death of the last Guru. This reference is not of much importance for our present purpose. Nor are the travels of George Forster (1798) and Memoirs of George Thomas by William Franklin (1803), of any significance. A student of the philosophy of Sikhism may also skip, except for a few remarks here and there, other works dealing with the political history of the Sikhs. Earliest of these books is Sir John Malcolms 'A Sketch of the Sikhs' (1812), but for the best history of the Sikhs we have to wait till 1849 when the first edition of J.D. Cunningham's work came out.

On the religious side the first attempt to understand the Sikh doctrines was made by H.H. Wilson whose article entitled "An Account of the Civil and Religious Institutions of the Sikhs" was published in 1848 in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, Vol. IX, Later he also included a mention of the Sikh religion in his book 'Sketch of the Religious Sects of the Hindus.' Dr. E. Trumpp does not attach much importance to these works, "The religious system of the Sikhs," he writes, "has been treated already by different writers, but in such general terms, that but little can be gathered from them. Even H.H. Wilson, in his "Sketch of the Religious Sects of the Hindus" has very cautiously handled this matter and contented himself with offering a few short, though pertinent remarks about it. All these authors had not read the Granth themselves but received the information they gave from second hand ; it is therefore partly defective, partly labouring under mistake."²

The Adi Granth of Dr. Ernest Trumpp, from which this quota-

1. Early records of British India by J. T. Wheeler, London, 1878.
2. A. G., p. xcvi.

tion has been taken was brought out in 1877. This was, in fact, a partial translation of the Granth. Out of a total of 15575 stanzas Trumpp translated 5719, roughly one-third of the whole book. "I have spent," writes the author, seven years on the elaboration of this volume, the task proving infinitely more arduous than I had ever imagined." About this work of Dr. Trumpp some years later Mr. Macauliffe wrote: A portion of the Granth Sahib was translated some years since by a German missionary at the expense and under the auspices of the India Office, but his work was highly inaccurate and unidiomatic, and further more gave mortal offence to the Sikhs by the *odium theologicum* introduced into it. Whenever he saw an opportunity of defaming the Gurus, the Sacred book, and the religion of the Sikhs, he eagerly availed himself of it."¹

The next serious attempt was that of Mr. Macauliffe, just now quoted. This was his self-imposed task and he undertook it at a great personal sacrifice. The Oxford University Press published his voluminous work entitled "The Sikh Religion" in six volumes in 1909. About these two works Professor Max Muller, the great Sanskrit scholar later wrote in his Auld Lang Syne: "It is a pity that we possess so little information about the original Sikh reformers. Their sacred book the Granth Sahib exists, nay it has even been translated by the late Dr. Trumpp. But it turns out now that Dr. Trumpp was by no means a trustworthy translator. The language of the Granth is generally called the old panjabi; and it was supposed that a scholar who knew modern panjabi might easily learn to understand the language as it was four hundred years ago. But this is not the case. Mr Macauliffe, who has spent many years among the Sikhs, and has with the help of their priests paid much attention to their Granth Sahib has given us some most interesting and beautiful specimen of their poetry, which form part of their sacred book."²

These two authors, Dr. Trumpp and Mr. Macauliffe, have much influenced later European writers. Dorothy Field's "The Religion of the Sikhs" is based almost entirely on Macauliffe. In spite of some inaccuracies and shortcomings Trumpp too has succeeded in attracting some followers. Public speakers, university

1. S. R., i, p. vii.

2. S. R., i, p. xv.

lecturers and writers of articles on Sikhism adopt one or the other as their favourite author. Barth, Carpenter, Bloomfield, Macnicol and Widgery may be cited as examples.

None of these works satisfies the philosophic instinct of a critic. "Sikh philology", writes Mr. M. Bloomfield in the 'Studies of the History of Religions', "of the remoter future will gratefully remember Mr. Macauliffe's work, but it will remember it as a great work of orientation rather than a critical analysis of Sikh teachings or an unprejudiced history of the development of the Sikh nation."¹

With such a past the present work begins.

1. *Studies in the History of Religions* edited by D. Lyon and G. F. Moore, 1912.

CHAPTER II

FOUNDERS OF SIKHISM

A--Characteristics of the Age of Nanak

ENVIRONMENTS have got much to do in moulding man's outlook on life. They affect us both positively and negatively. Man is an agent and not a mere slave of events happening around him. He is not a passive being in the continuum of nature—an event among other events. He actively engages himself with the events of nature ; and thus on account of some inherent limitations, is either moulded by his surroundings or where he finds himself competent he moulds the very surroundings which try to mould him. So that if nature has equipped a man to an extraordinary extent, as for instance the prophets are believed to be, we find something like a revolution in the ideas and doings of such specially equipped men. However revolutionary they may be, their ideas and ideals, practices and activities can only be explained by reference to conditions under which they conceived those ideals and under which they tried to put them into practice. This naturally brings us to the study of the characteristics of the age in which the founders of Sikhism preached and practised their beliefs. On this subject information is available both from the Gurus themselves and from their contemporaries, Sikhs and non-Sikhs. We shall now have some idea of the religious, political and social conditions of the time.

Religious

While describing the religious conditions of his time Nanak once addressing a disciple of his, Bhai Lalo by name, said : O Lalo, modesty and religion have disappeared and falsehood is reigning. The Muhammadan priest—Qazi, the Hindu priest—Brahmin, have both given up their duties and the devil is performing marriage ceremonies. Women of both the religions, Muhammadan and Hindu, high and low, in great affliction and suffering call upon God. O Nanak they sing the paean of murder and 'smear themselves with the saffron of blood. Nanak sings the praises of the Sahib (God) in the city of the dead and makes this utterance :

He who created all, assigned to them their positions and Himself remains unpolluted and watches all this. That Master is true and He meets out true justice to all.¹

A modern Hindu scholar has given a vivid description of the general condition of the Hindus of those days. The following is from his book : "The condition of the Hindus in the Punjab was, in fact, most deplorable. The popular religion about the time of Nanak's birth, was confined to peculiar forms of eating and drinking, peculiar ways of bathing and painting the forehead and other such mechanical observances. The worship of idols whenever they were permitted to exist, pilgrimage to the Ganges and other sacred places, whenever they were allowed, the observance of certain ceremonies like the marital and funeral rites, the obedience to the mandates of Brahmins and lavishing charitable gifts on them, constituted almost the whole of Hinduism, as it was then current among the masses. The priest alone could study the scriptures and to them were accessible the higher truths and consolation of Hindu philosophy. Even, they, however, had fallen to the dead level of Scribes and Pharisees. Some of them still had the scriptures by heart, but in their practical life they were just the opposite of what they were required to be by their scriptures. They were required to be good shepherds to their flocks, but the only function of shepherd they performed was to fleece their flocks. As for administering to their spiritual needs : 'The hungry sheep looked up and were not fed.' The springs of true religion had been choked up 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 Hinduism had been buried under the ostentatious paraphernalia of sects. The centuries of invasion, foreign misrule and persecution had produced the greatest depression and the spiritual subjection and stagnation had aggravated the demoralisation to an enormous degree. This was the condition in which Guru Nanak found the Hindus."²

Nanak says in Asa Di War³ that the Hindu mind has become

1. G. G., p. 723, Tilang Mahala I : Jaisi main āwai khasm ki bāni taisrā kari gian we Lalo :.....2—3—5.
2. Dr. G. C. Narang in T. O. S., p. 5.
3. G. G., p. 470. Rag Asa Mahala I : Nil bastar le kapre pahre Turk Pathāñi amal kiā : XIII.

so very slavish that in ways of life it has yielded to the Muhammadan way of thinking. In fact, on account of forcible subjection hypocrisy, weakness of mind, extreme humility, leading to cringing servility had entered the Hindu character.

On the other side the followers of Islam—the religion of the rulers of India at the time—had become extremely intolerant. The Guru in the Basant Rag says that even the shrines of God are taxed. Ala-ud-Din, a Muhammadan ruler in the fourteenth century once asked his Qazi about the Muhammadan Law prescribed by the Hindus. The Qazi replied, “Hindus are like the earth, if silver is demanded from them, they ought with greatest humility offer gold. And if a Muhammadan desires to spit into a Hindu’s mouth, the Hindu should open it wide for the purpose. God created Hindus to be the slaves of the Muhammadans. The Prophet hath ordained that, if the Hindus do not accept Islam, they should be imprisoned, tortured and finally put to death.’ At this the monarch smiled and said he had not been waiting for the interpretation of the sacred law. He had already issued an order that Hindus should only possess corn and coarse clothes sufficient to last them for six months.”¹ Conditions had not improved in the days of the Lodhis; The Granth itself contains passages describing in their own words the tortures to which Kabir and Namdev² were subjected. Ibrahim Lodhi could not tolerate the free thinking of the innocent saints.

Bhai Gurdas definitely says that Hindu temples were destroyed and mosques constructed in their places.³ Brahmins and Mullas have both forgotten their holy books and they are fascinated by the devil.⁴ The people had become selfish, narrow-minded, proud and cynical.⁵ The religion in both the cases consisted only in externality. The result was that religion no longer

1. The oppression of the rulers of these days, their atrocities and tortures have been described by some Muhammadan historians and other contemporary writers of the age. See S. R. i, XL1-L and Gyan Singh’s Tawarikh Khalsa.
2. G. G., p. 1166, Rag Bhairon, Nam Dev : Sultan P che sun be Nama—28-1-10.
3. W. G., 5—20—1 :
Thakur duāre dhāhi ke tin thaugi masit usāra.....
4. W. G., 6—21—1 :
Ved Kateb bhulai ke mohe lālach duni satāne.....
5. W. G., 3—21—1 :
Khudi bakhili takabbari kincho tāt karen dhi gāne.....

guided its believers to truth and righteousness. Nanak after having realised this state of the people's mind declared. "There is no Hindu and no Musalman."

To explain in terms of psychology the mental condition of the dominated and the dominant communities of India of those days, we can say that each had become a prey to the animal instincts of self-abasement and self-assertion respectively. In the case of the one the long standing foreign yoke of terror and cruelty had reduced them to extreme servility and they had lost all sense of self-respect and of confidence in themselves and their gods. The other community thought too much of themselves, so much so that either the very right of existence was being denied to those who did not believe in their faith, or if they were allowed to exist they were simply considered as means to their selfish ends. What Kant in his ethics¹ and Rousseau in his politics² would have considered most undesirable, was adopted by the dominant community as the only meritorious act in the eyes of God. Humanity was being used ever as a means and never as an end. The pity was that people were allowing themselves to be used as such. In the French philosopher's sense they were denying to themselves the right of being men. As today, so then, a religion of revolution was needed, which "would not be of the kind that justified things as they were, but rather of the kind that put down the tyrant from his seat and raised up the humble and meek and would really change civilisation and society in the only way they could be permanently changed—by changing the pictures in man's minds and by revolutionising their thoughts and wills."³

Social

The social aspect of Indian life in the sixteenth century was not much satisfactory. The Brahmin quite submissive to his Muslim neighbour was tyrannical against his own Sudra brother. Tulsidas,

1. Cf. Kant :

"So act as to treat humanity, whether in thine own person or in that of any other, in every case as an end withal, never as means only." Kant's Theory of Ethics by T. K. Abbott.

2. Cf. Rousseau :

"To renounce liberty is to renounce the quality of manhood, the rights of humanity, and even its duties." The Social Contract, translated by Rose M. Harrington.

3. Dr. W. R. Mathews, Dean of Paul's, in his Christmas Message on 27-12-36.

a Hindu poet of medieval India in His Ram-Charit-Manas a book of which Dr. Farquhar writes that "it has probably influenced a far larger number of Hindus in these last three centuries than any other work," and that the Brahmin is the very root of the tree of piety, the destroyer of sin." "A Brahmin", he says, "must be honoured though devoid of every virtue and merit; but a Sudra never, though distinguished for every virtue and learning." The tyranny of the Brahmin did not so much express itself in the use of sword—although such a use of sword was not absolutely extinct in history²—as his Mulla brother did against the 'infidels' but the wise and the 'non-violent' brain of the high caste adopted the more dangerous weapon of social exclusion, contempt and hatred so that the Chandal was treated as even 'less than a dog'.³

The condition of women was not much better than that of the unhappy Sudra. The very fact that God had created them as women deprived them of entering into heaven or attaining any salvation. They must be born as men to get release from the transmigration of souls. The Muslims had imprisoned their women within the four walls of the house. Open air and other outside gifts of nature were either denied to them or only a closely guarded participation was allowed under a thick covering of Burqa. The birth of a daughter in a family was a sign of misfortune. The idea had led to infanticide. Satti-widow-cremation was practised. Muslims too in the days of Jahangir are said to be following (it must be in very rare cases) this vicious custom.

Political

The political administration under the Lodhis and some later Moghuls was still worse. There were some measures of benefit but they were just the exception to prove the law of lawlessness. Sayyid Muhammad Latiff describes the political condition of the days of the later Moghuls when Sikhism got its final touch at the hands of Guru Gobind Singh, in the following words: "Corruption, degradation and treachery stalked openly through the land. Confusion and disorder of every kind ran riot over the length and breadth of the Empire. The country was desolate;

1. L. R. I., p. 67.

2. R. I., Footnote, p. 136: The true Brahmanical fanaticism is that which inspired the narrative of Ramayana, VII ch. 74—76, where Rama cuts off the head of a Cudra whom he surprises performing penances forbidden to his caste.

3. R. I., p. 119.

and vice, cruelty, extravagance and profligacy overspread its surface. Strife became chronic and anarchy reared its head everywhere. The money which enabled the Moghul and his Omerahs to embellish their palaces, was wrung from helpless people in the interior of the country. The land was farmed out to contractors who exercised their arbitrary power to satisfy their cupidity, and these had in their turn to disgorge to the Imperial Treasury a portion of their plunder, if they could not bribe the officers who had access to the throne. Murders of the most horrible type, robberies of a most outrageous and shocking character, were the order of the day. Honour, justice and position were bought and sold. The rulers of the land were sunk in voluptuousness and pollution of a most revolting description and immersed in an abyss of enfeebling debauchery."¹

This as I have said was about the time of the Tenth Guru who to fight these conditions had to take up a sword. In the Granth we have hymns of Nanak which give an idea of the conditions of his own time. Speaking in general he writes in one place, "The bad times are prevailing and men have faces like dogs who eat carrion. They bark in the form of uttering falsehood and have lost all consideration for virtue. Those whose lives are not honourable shall surely suffer a bad name after death."²

We could not find a condemnation in stronger words when he says : The kings have become man-eaters, their officials behave like dogs—they lick blood and eat flesh of people.³ In another place : The Kali-Yuga is like a large knife, the Rajas are the butchers, religion having made itself wings has flown away. There is (now) the darkest night of falsehood and it is impossible to see the moon of truth where it has risen.⁴ Searching about the moon (of truth) I became bewildered. In darkness there is no

1. H. P. S., p. 493.

2. G. G., p. 1241, Sarang ki War, Mahala I :
Kali hoi kute muhi khāj hoā murmdār, 14.

3. G. G., p. 1287, War Malar ki Mahala I :
Raje shiñh muqaddam kutte.....

4. The translation of this verse is not clear. Literally translated it will run : Falsehood is Amavas (the darkest night of the month) : truth is moon, (under the influence of the former) the latter is not visible. G. G., p. 145, War Majh Mahala I : Kur Amavas.....Sa'oka XVI.

way seen! Being given to egotism in (my) heart I weep in pain.¹ Nanak says in what manner shall salvation be affected?²

The Guru himself suffered a few days imprisonment during the invasion of Babar. He himself had seen what a devastation had been caused by the First Moghul's attack. "They who wore beautiful tresses and partings of whose hair were dyed with vermillion, have their locks now shorn with scissors and dust is thrown upon their heads. They dwelt in their private chambers; now they cannot find a seat in public.—When Babar's rule was proclaimed no Pathan prince ate his food.—How shall Hindu women now bathe and apply frontal marks without their sacred squares?³

It is interesting psychological study that when a man finds so much destruction in such a short time, so much unexpected annihilation of life and property, so much suffering of mankind without any apparent fault of the sufferers, how pessimistic he becomes, how helpless he feels, how fatalistic he is inclined to be and how the philosophy of resignation finds a consolation for him. 'They will be done' sums up his attitude towards life. Thus the Guru casts a glance on the ruine of war and imagines: where are those sports, those stables and those horses? Where are those bugles and clarions? Where are those who buckled on their swords and were mighty in battles? Where those scarlet uniforms, where those mirrors and fair faces? We see them no longer here. Where are those houses, mansions and those palaces? Where those beautiful seraglios? Where are those easy couches and those women sight of whome banished sleep?⁴

Who had done all this? The answer was: His Will; but the Guru, like a true hero, could not restrain his honest excitement. Just as a son would question his father about some inexplicable conduct of his, the Guru puts questions to God. He having realised the hollowness of the belief of ascribing every

1. Another rendering of the verse I came across was: The people having fallen into egotism, are crying in pain in consequence (H. P. S., p. 45).

2. A. G., p. 202.

3. G. G., p. 417, (translation from S. R.), Asa Mahala I:
Jin sir sohin pattiān māngi pai sandhīr.....

4. *Ibid.*

good or bad act to God, at every stage of life, and thus denying any agency or moral responsibility to human beings; in the garb of the same old belief expresses quite a new idea, the implication of which was quite opposed to the absolute deterministic philosophy of the age. If Babar was simply a tool in the hands of some Supreme Will, then the Guru addresses that Supreme Being: O God! Thou who art the Lord of us all, didst Thou not feel pain when there was so much slaughter and lamentation? I will not mind if two equally strong forces face each other; but when a ravaging lion falls upon a herd, the Master should have some manliness.¹ Who knows that given the means which Guru Gobind Singh had at his disposal with the work of ten generations which had prepared the ground for him, Nanak would have met the situation in the same way in which the former did in his own time afterwards.

B—Some Biographical Controversies

THE TEN GURUS

The foundation of Sikhism began with Nanak ended with the death of his ninth successor Gobind Singh, the tenth and the last Guru of the Sikhs. Below I give in the form of a table the names of all the Gurus, with places and years of their birth, guruship and death. These are based with one or two corrections on the Chief Khalsa Diwan Gurmurb chart for 1937. The years given in the chart were according to Wikram Sammat which is regularly 57 years ahead of the Christian era. The Guruship in the end was conferred on the Granth and the whole body of the baptised Sikhs, the significance of which is explained elsewhere.

<i>Name, place and year of birth.</i>	<i>Guruship, place and year.</i>	<i>Death, place and year.</i>
I—Nanak, Talwandi or Nankana Sahib, 1469 A.D.	Sultanpur ? 1490 ?	Kartarpur 1539 A.D
II—Angad, Nange Di Saran 1504.	Kartarpur, 1539...	Khadur, 1552.
III—Amar Das, Basar Ke, 1469.	Khadur, 1552 ...	Goindwal, 1574.

1. G. G. p. 360, Asa Mahala I :

Khurasan khasmānā kiā Hindustan drāiā.....3—5—38.

<i>Name, place and year of birth.</i>	<i>Guruship place and year.</i>	<i>Death, Place and year.</i>
IV—Ram Das, Lahore, 1534	Goindwal, 1574...	Goindwal, 1581.
V—Arjan Dev, Goindwal, 1563.	Goindwal, 1581...	Lahore, 1606.
VI—Har Gobind, Wadali, 1595.	Amritsar, 1606...	Kiratpur, 1645.
VII—Har Rai, Kiratpur, 1630.	Kiratpur, 1645...	Kiratpur, 1661.
VIII—Har Krishan, Kiratpur, 1656.	Kiratpur, 1661...	Delhi, 1664.
IX—Teg Bahadur, Amritsar, 1622.	Baba Bakala, 1664	Delhi, 1675.
X—Gobind Singh, Patna, 1666.	Anandpur, 1675.	Nander, 1707.
Granth, Amritsar, (com- posed) 1604.	Nander, 1707	... For ever.
Panth Khalsa, Anandpur, 1699.	Nander, 1707	... For ever.

Thus all the Gurus, except Gobind Singh who was born in Bengal, were born in the Punjab. I am not concerned here with biographical details of the Gurus. A brief discussion of some of the controversies which directly or indirectly bear some theological or philosophical significance may not be very much out of place.

Nanak's Birth and Education

Nanak was born 'in the early morning of the third day of the light half of the month of Baisakh (April) in the year A. D. 1469' at Talwandi, now known as Sri Nankana Sahib.¹ At that time a village, now it forms an important Tahsil—the headquarters of a revenue officer—of the District of Sheikhpura in the Punjab—an important province in Northern India. The town as it now stands is about forty miles from Lahore to the north of Ravi.

Being born in a Hindu family Nanak in the fifth year of his life was first sent to an elementary school run by a Pandit of his village. He learnt from him as long as the latter could satisfy his pupil. The boy discovered his teacher's helplessness

1. There has been some controversy about the date of birth of Nanak. The best treatment of the subject appears to be of late Karam Singh Historian. The work is entitled 'Katik ki Waisakh?' The author argues in favour of Baisakh.

in giving him the real knowledge into the nature of things. Henceforward he became indifferent to his lessons. His father, Mehta Kalu, now sent him to a Muhammadan teacher. A manuscript compilation in Persian mentions that Nanak's first teacher was a Muhammadan. The *Siar-ul-Mutakhrin* (i—110) states that Nanak was carefully educated by some Sayyid Hasan, a neighbour of his father's, who conceived a regard for him, and who was wealthy but childless. Nanak is further said, in the same book, to have studied the most approved writings of the Muhammadans. According to Malcolm (Sketch p. 14) Nanak is reported by Muhammadans, to have learnt all earthly sciences from Khizar—the Prophet Elias. The ordinary Muhammadan accounts also represent Nanak, when a child to have astonished his teacher by asking him the hidden import of the first letter of the alphabet, which is almost a straight stroke in Persian and Arabic and which is held even vulgarly to denote the unity of God.¹ The reader will remember that the the apocryphal gospels state how Christ, before he was twelve years old, perplexed his instructors and explained to them the mystical significance of the alphabetical characters. (Strauss, *Life of Jesus*, i—272). “There is reason to believe”, continues Cunningham,² “that in his youth he made himself familiar with the popular creeds both of the Muhammadans and Hirdus and that he gained a general knowledge of the Kuran and the Brahmanical Shastras”. A close study of the hymns of Nanak which are handed down to us in the Granth convinces us that they are the utterances of a man who is well versed in the religious literature of his time. Such intimate knowledge as Guru Nanak shows in his writings could not have been acquired by a mere intercourse with people professing those religions.

Nanak's education has been a great controversial point. There are two groups of people who try to represent Nanak as uneducated. First we have the faithful disciples of his own, I mean the Sikh biographers of the past, who contended that the Guru was sent to his village school but he did not read anything in them. They thought it below the spiritual dignity of their prophet to learn to read and write from ordinary men and like ordinary

1. The first letter of the Persian Alphabet—Alif—as a symbol of unity and the solity of God became very popular. Bulleshah, a mystic poet of the Punjab (1680—1753) used it in his mystical lyrics. The burden of one his kafis is based on this idea : Read only Alif and get salvation. (Kafi 45 of Bulleshah published by the University of the Panjab, Lahore, 1930, edited by Dr. Mohan Singh).
2. A History of the Sikhs by J. Cunningham, p. 39, foot-note.

men.¹ Some Hindu thinkers, especially the Arya Samajists, have taken advantage of such writings. They belong to the second group. They say that Nanak's condemnation of the Vedas and other Hindu Shastras was due to his ignorance, because as he was uneducated he could not have read them.²

In fact after the elementary education in his village schools Nanak took to private study, spent much time in meditation and in association with religious men. He wandered in the dense forests³ around his home, and there doubtless met the religious teachers and reformers of his day, ascetics and wandering Faqirs of every kind. From them he must have learnt the subtleties associated with religious controversy. I distinguish between the acquirement of knowledge and the realisation of Truth. The former *i.e.*, acquaintance of contemporary systems of thought, cannot be gained except from books and persons. The latter *i.e.*, the Truth, is an illumination of the soul, an intuitive realisation,

1. Professor Teja Singh of Amritsar wrote an interesting article, later on also broadcast from Lahore, entitled 'Was Guru Nanak Educated?' It was published in a Punjabi Journal 'Likhari', Vol. VII, No. 1, January 1937.
2. Such views were expressed first of all by Swami Dayanand Saraswati in the *Satyarth Parkash*—The Light of Truth. In reply Ditt Singh Gyani wrote a book called 'Dambh Nivaran'.

Dr. Gokal Chand Narang expressed similar ideas in his 'Transformation of Sikhism', p. 9.

Both internal and external evidences contradict Dr. Trumpp's contention that "Nanak had not received a regular school training and uttered therefore his thoughts in a loose way".

These scholars of Sanskrit judge Nanak's learning from his use of Sanskrit words in his hymns. For instance Dayanand says: Why did he change the construction of Sanskrit words. He and his followers do not realise that Nanak was expressing his ideas not in Sanskrit but in Punjabi, which was never before used as a vehicle of such subtle thinking. Infact he was Panjabising foreign words to enrich the vocabulary of the vernacular of the people. The construction of Sanskrit words was carefully changed under the laws of the new vernacular. This modified borrowing has been common in every language. Instead of blaming Nanak for misconstruing words of other languages, he should be credited for having created a new vocabulary of words and phrases, expressions and idioms suitable to the needs of the time and purpose.

The forest universities of India are the traditional centres of scholastic learning. Even the 20th century with its advanced brick and mortar universities have not yet been able to abolish these out-door homes of classical learning and scholarship. There students are trained to be really virtuous acting on the maxim of 'simple living and high thinking'. If dominant tone of 'other worldliness' of this forest education were to be, not substituted, but tastefully seasoned with the training of methods to grapple successfully with the hard realities of life, this ancient system of education at the hands of unselfish and desireless saint professors, can still lead Indians to salvation both in this life and the life hereafter. Nanak overcame this element of other worldliness of the system and deriving all other benefits of forest training, he still remained a man of the world.

or what the Guru called Nam. This truth the prophets do not learn from anybody. "Nanak probably gained from his own undisturbed communings with nature, his own soul and with his Creator."¹ What Tagore says of Zarathustra is true of every Guru or Prophet. "The truth which filled his mind was not a thing which he borrowed from books or received from teachers; he did not come to it by following a prescribed path of tradition, but it came to him as an illumination of his entire life, almost like a communication of his universal self to his personal self."²

War of Ideas

Thus equipped Nanak declared a war of ideas. He set out to awaken "a depressed, demoralised, superstitious and priest ridden race." He wanted to "recall both Muhammadans and Hindus to an exclusive attention to that sublimest of all principles which inculcates devotion to God and peace towards man. He had to combat the furious bigotry of the one and the deeprooted superstition of the other; but he attempted to overcome all obstacles by forces of reason and humanity."³ He began his missionary activities and 'went as far as Ceylon, Kashmir, Russia, Turkestan and Mecca.'⁴

According to Cunningham Nanak adopted the role of a teacher after his world-wide travels.⁵ The long period of forty years preceding Nanak's settling down at Kartarpur is considered to have been spent by him, as, he says, was the case with 'Plato and Bacon, Descartes and Alghazali', in 'mental struggle'. All other historians agree that he made many converts and disciples during his visits to various countries. His travels thus were not a search for truth, on the contrary, they were for the spread of it. It was Nanak—the Guru, who travelled and not Nanak—the student. Who installed him the Guru? When was he installed as such is another controversial point. All his biographers say that at Sultanpur one day in the forest, God entrusted to him the task of guiding people to truth. This may be self-illumination or enlightenment. He was most probably in his twenties at that time.⁶ Dr. Trumpp complains about the lack

1. Cf. *Living Religions and Modern Thought* by Widgey, p. 97.

2. R. O. M., p. 78.

3. Malcolm, *Sketch of the Sikhs*.

4. E. R. E. (H. A. Rose).

5. *A History of the Sikhs*, Cunningham, p. 41.

6. Cf. A. G., p. XI, CVIII; and S. R., i, p. 34.

of proof for this theological fact from the Granth itself. In the first place the Guru's hymns do not deal with anything but devotional and essentially spiritual. There are some indirect allusions to history and mythology. There is no reference to the biographical events of the Gurus. Except Satta and Balwanda, Sundar and Bhatts we have none to refer to any Guru by name. All these take Nanak as a born Guru, just as all religious prophets were born prophets. Outside the Granth we have Bhai Gurdas, Guru Gobind Singh and other writers of the Guru's times who hold that it was God who installed Nanak as Guru. Nanak himself says that whatever God tells him he says to the world.¹

Nanak has been represented by some writers as a mere Hindu reformer.² But the very fact that he visited countries outside India where Islam and Christianity besides Buddhism and other religions prevailed, showed that he jumped out of the fold of Hinduism (rather Brahmanism, else where I have discussed the distinction between the two). Surely he went to these places to preach his mission and to convert people to his own faith. And Hinduism has never been a missionary religion. The modern Shudhi movement is of recent growth. Muhammadans and Christians, who were all Malechhas in the eyes of the Brahmins, could not be 'raised up' to become Hindus. That is why conversion to Hinduism has never been officially recognised by the orthodox Brahmins. So a Hindu Nanak could not go out to preach his mission in the lands of Muslims where he had to eat their food and drink their water which practice is so strictly forbidden by the Shastras. He is said to have converted people from other religions to Sikhism. Mardana originally a Muhammadan became his faithful companion and disciple. Mr. Macauliffe writes : The

1. Cf. G. G. :

- (a) Gauri ki War, Mahala IV, p. 306 :
Ebu akhkhār tīnī akhiā jīnī jagat sabh upāiā.....Sloka XII.
- (b) *Ibid*, p. 308, Sloka XIV :
Satiguru kī bānī satī satī kar jāṇuh Gur Sikhuh, Hari Kartā āp muhun kadhāe.....
- (c) Tilang Mahala I, p. 723 :
Jaisī mai awai khasm kī bānī taisṛā kari gian we Lalo ! 2—3—5.
- (d) Suhi Mahala IV, p. 735 :
Jeha t n karāih teḥā hau kari wakhiān.....4—4—11.
- (e) Ramkali Mahala III, p. 920, Anand.
Bānī tār gawhu Guru kerī bāniān sir bāni.....XXIII.
- (f) Sarang Mahala V, p. 1203 :
Char bināsi khatī bināsi ik Sadh-bachan nichalādhū.....4—6.

2 Cf. T. O. S.

Guru after his pleasant visit to Shaikh Brahm and his district, where he made several converts, proceeded to a country called Bisiar-Bushahir.¹ Again—The Guru then travelled through Sultanpur—his old headquarter when he was a Government official—Vairowal and Jalalabad, until he arrived at a place Kiri Pathandi in the Amritsar District. In Kiri Pathandi he made many Pathan converts.²

The missionary spirit and the movement of conversion³ became stronger and organised in the days of the other Gurus. After them, during the days of persecution and political struggle of the Sikhs, it declined and even disappeared. This corresponds to the gradual lapse of pure Sikhism into Hinduistic Sikhism, until there again grew the modern separatist movement.

The Divinity of the Guru

Was Nanak a divine being or a human being? The answer to this question has divided the Sikh theologians into three groups. There are those who believe that he was an incarnation of God. The Hindu mind has been classifying the Avataras according to the number of Kalas—qualities—that they possessed. Thus there have been twelve-Kala-Avataras and sixteen (the highest number of qualities) Kala-Avataras. Now the Nirmala scholars who had mastered the Hindu concepts wanted to show that Nanak was in no way less than any of the Hindu Avataras. Krishna ranks the highest among the Hindu incarnations of God, who is thus sixteen-Kala-perfect. Nirmalas proved that in all the ten forms the Guru was also sixteen-Kala-perfect. This is one view. I need not go into the details of this discussion.

Others more sceptical in thought and more 'modern' and scientific in spirit regard the Guru as a man, who improved by his efforts, realised the highest spiritual truths, realised also how ignorance and darkness prevailed about those truths and therefore naturally he began to guide people to those truths and was accepted by his followers as Guru—the enlightener.

There is a third group of scholars who adopt the middle course. They hold that the Guru was a man but was born perfect. The purpose of his life was not his own perfection, which of course was innate in him, but on the other hand he

1. S. R., i, p. 93.

2. *Ibid*, p. 108.

3. For more instances of 'conversion' see 'Sikhism' p. 87—96 by Prof. Teja Singh.

took birth in order to make others perfect. The purpose of his life was thus to lead other human beings to the same level of perfection which he himself possessed and the capacity for which is inherent in every one of us.

The Guru denies the incarnation theory and declares that God can never take birth. Guru Gobind Singh who in his autobiography is more definite, seems to hold the third of the view expressed above. We have already referred to the belief how God entrusted Nanak with the work of Guruship. Nanak is reported by his biographers to have actually gone to the presence of God high in the heaven where God gave him the message of truth to be delivered to mankind in the world below. There in the august presence of God he is also said to have composed a hymn in praise of Him.¹

The immediate relationship of different religious prophets with God has been conceived in three different ways. The human tendency has been to put some halo of divinity around the founders of their faiths. One is the Hindu way of looking at it. At times of need God or Bhagwan Visnu becomes incarnate in the form of man and thus God comes down on earth to save mankind. The next step was a modification in the form of Jesus. He was neither the Jewish prophet nor the Hindu Avatara. He was the Son of God. It was not possible to think of God as taking birth, but He could create some one as His own, some one like Himself, His Son. In the case of Moses God came down and visited him. "I am come down to deliver them" saith the Lord.² Coming down was there but not taking a birth. Moses becomes the mouthpiece of God: I AM hath sent me unto you—Moses was to say to the people. Thus the Christian concept of sonship is different from the Jewish idea of prophethood. "And lo a voice from heaven, saying 'This is my beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased.'"³ Although there are passages which

1. G. G., p. 347 : Sodar Rag Asa Mahala I.

2. Exodus, 3—8.

3. Mathew : 3—17, Other passages are : Mathew 26 : 63, 64 ; John 1 : 14, 18 ; 3 : 16 ; 1 : 8, 14 : 7, 10, 4 : 9 ; Also Mark 14 : 61, Luke 1 : 32.

indicate Christ's equality with God¹ and also his oneness with the father God²; yet these expressions do not amount to saying that he was God or was so as man. They are rather expressions of mystic unity and equality; as 'And he that seeth me seeth Him that sent me'³ or 'the son can do nothing himself but what he seeth the father do'.⁴ The third stage comes when we have a protest as against the above two concepts. Muhammad rejected the idea of sonship: "How could He have a son when He has no consort"⁵ but the religion could not start unless the founder was haloed with divinity. So the Arabian genius adopted the garb of a messenger. His God was very high. He could not come down nor could He have a son. A third alternative was adopted. Let the religious prophet himself go to God. So Muhammad 'ascended', and reached the Empyrean.⁶ The theory of Meraj was this third solution. Taoism in China denied all incarnations⁷ but the prophet is reported to have gone to Heaven.⁸ In India the Guru seems to have been the first bold thinker to deny the divine incarnation. We do not find him very ambitious to represent himself either the prophet, Avatara or the son of God. He, in fact, at many places in his hymns, says that all incarnations of God and all prophets are men like you and me.

As in the case of Christ so in the case of the Guru there are many hymns which express the unity and equality even the identity of the Guru with God; but they are, as I have said, mystic expressions and not positive assertions made to put forward

1. John 5 : 17 :

But Jesus answered them, My Father worketh hitherto and I worketh 5 : 23.

That all men should honour the Son, even as they honour the Father. He that honoureth not the Son, honoureth not the Father which hath sent him.

Also see—*Ibid* 10 : 30, 38 ; 16 : 15 ;

Philippians 2 : 6 ;

1 Thessalonians, 3 : 11 ;

2. Thessalonians, 2 : 16.

2. I and My Father are one—John 10 : 30 ;

And all mine are thine, and thine are mine ; and I am glorified in them —John 17 : 10.

3. John, 12—45.

4. John, 5—19.

5. Quran, VII, 6—2—102.

6. Quran—Chapter 53, An-Najm.

7. S. B. E. Vol. XXXIX, p. 134.

8. *Ibid*, pp. 313-314.

a definite theory. But his followers like the followers of Buddha did not allow him to remain at the human level. He was made divine. Like prophet Muhammad he too has been made to ascend to the True Heaven. Bhai Gurdas expresses the same idea in his first *war*. This can be interpreted metaphorically but the accounts given in the *Janam Sakhis* are clear borrowings from the Muslim tradition. Mr. Macauliffe gives a more rational interpretation when he says that Nanak 'was taken in a vision to God's presence.'¹

Nanak was married, led a household life, founded a village, worked with his own hands in the fields and thus living the life of a true Raj-Yogi,² died in his new colony in the year 1539 A. D. He had two sons Sri Chand and Lakhmi Chand. The former became a recluse and renounced the world and founded the Udasi sect.³ The word Udasi means one who is detached from the world and leads a life of renunciation. The sacred book of this sect is the *Guru Granth*.⁴ Udas-renunciation—as such was opposed to the principles of Nanak, so he did not consider Sri Chand a fit person to carry on the mission which he had founded. Moreover neither of his two sons came out successful in the tests which he desired his future successor to pass through. So he nominated Lahina whose spiritual efficiency

1. W. G. : *Baba paidha Sachkhand naunidh Nam gharbi pai*.....1—24—4. S. R., i, p. 34.
2. Bhattas use this title of Raj Yogi for the Guru in their *Swayyas* : G. G., p. 1389 :
.....Gur Nanak Raj jog jin mānio, 2—3—4—5—6.
Ibid p. 1398 : Raj jog takht dian Gur Ramdas.
3. As a result of the last Gurdwara Reform Movement (1920—25) the Udasīs suffered a material loss by losing big temples, the offerings of which went to their private pockets, which in some cases fed prostitutes. The Udasīs began to separate themselves from the Sikhs. Under this impulse books like 'Gur Udasin Mat Darpan' were written. The author of this book Pandit Brahmanand deprives Sri Chand of being the founder of the sect. He traces back the origin of the sect to the Hindu mythological beginning of the world (see p. 2 *Gur Udasin Mat Darpan*, Part I, Sakhar, 1923). This Udasi genealogy according to him begins with God who created the famous Hindu trinity. Brahma—one of the trio—had four sons Sankadika and Narada etc. They were all Udasīs. At a remote step in this genealogical table comes Guru Nanak who, he says, was the disciple of Saint Rain. Nanak then transferred his Udas to his son Sri Chand who in turn gave it to Gurditta. The historical account of the sect begins with Sri Chand.
The statement of the author of this *Darpan* that Nanak was a disciple of Saint Rain led some scholars to contradict this assertion. "Guru Nanak ka Guru kaun tha"—Who was Guru Nanak's Guru—is the title of a book written by Professor Ganga Singh; Tarn Taran.
4. G. S. R., p. 27.

was observed and tried by Nanak. On the throne of Guruship he was named Angad by which Nanak meant that he was a part of his own self. The list of the succeeding Gurus has already been given. The use of sword by the Sixth and the Tenth Guru has been considered by some as a departure from the spiritual path laid by Nanak, and this is our next topic of discussion.

Sword and Spirituality

Both Guru Hargobind and Guru Gobind Singh used sword and adopted a military character. The former was a contemporary of the Moghul Emperor Jahangir¹ and the latter of his

1. There is much misunderstanding about the relation between Guru Hargobind and the Moghul Emperor Jahangir. It has been stated that the former was an employee of the latter and that in that position he misappropriated some money which led to his imprisonment in Gwalior. Both these statements are based on *Dabastan-i-Mazahib* and Captain Troyer's translation of this book. I take them as two sources because what the latter appears to translate is not found in the original. The first of these statements can be traced to the original *Dabastan* but not the second one. Dr. Narang and Sir Yadu Nath Sarkar have based their treatment of Hargobind on the English translation of Troyer and have not tried to verify it with the original. The translation of some sentences is hopelessly wrong. Without taking away from Shea and Troyer the credit of their pioneer attempt and the historical value which the translation has for English readers, I would like to explain some of the mistakes in translation resulting in some misstatements about the life of Guru Harboba.

I.—The Persian writer says that the Guru was always with Jahangir. (See p. 288. I have consulted the original Persian edition of *Dabastan-i-Mazahib* edited by Nazir Ashraf under the superintendence of W. B. Bayley, Calcutta, 1809). Literally translated it runs: He was always not separate from him. Now this does not mean that the Guru was in the Emperor's service. Other chroniclers do state that Jahangir and Hargobind were for some time on good terms and a friendly relation existed between them.

II.—Next is the misuse of the soldiers' salaries. This is based on the translation of the original sentence which runs: *Waza'-i-sipahian peshgrift*. Troyer translates it. He appropriated to himself the pay due to the soldiers in advance. The translation is absolutely wrong. The correct rendering will be: He adopted the appearance of soldiers. It is interesting to examine how Troyer was led to a wrong translation. He is confused between *Waza'* and *Wajah*; the latter means 'Salary' (A complete English-Persian Dictionary by Arthur N. Wollaston, 1889: p. 1119). Then *Peshgrift* is one word in Persian. Its root—is *peshgrifan* which means 'to adopt' and *peshgrift* is the past tense—*mazi-mutlaq* meaning 'adopted'—(A Dictionary, Persian Arabic and English by Francis Johnson 1852, p. 292). If the word is split into two parts *pesh* and *grift* then separately *pesh* can mean 'in advance' and *grift* 'took'. But to give this meaning the construction of the sentence will have to be changed. Then a *ra* will be more appropriate after *sipahian*. But what about *waza*? There is no way out of it.

Then Troyer having translated the above sentence like that, was naturally led to take this fact as one of the sufficient reasons for the imprisonment of Hargobind. He, therefore, goes on to translate (p. 274, Vol. II). On account of the money due to the army and of the mulet imposed upon Arjuna (as said before), sent Hargobind to the

grandson Aurangzeb.¹ Guru Gobind acquired so much attachment with the sword that sometimes this love for the weapon enters into a reverence which on occasions is indistinguishable from worship.

It is the importance and the utility of the thing which often leads the user to have respect for it. Gobind found the people of India of his days suffering from Adler's 'inferiority complex'² and on the other hand he felt the absence of power and manliness in the Hindu mind which qualities were essential to protect both life and virtue. He played the role of Nietzsche without the undesirable egotistic tinge of the latter. Live courageously, he preached, but not 'dangerously' as the German producer of dictators said. Like him Gobind believed in a 'will

1. We have already discussed the general characteristics of the age of Gurus. Here is another which specially refers to the time of Guru Gobind Singh. Khafi Khan, Muhammad Hashim in his Indian history in Persian language *Muntakhab-ul-Lubab* (English translation by Elliot and Dowson—History of India, as told by its own Historians—London, 1877) writes, (p. 413): Aurangzeb ordered the (Sikh) temples to be pulled down (p. 425). A proclamation was issued requiring Hindus in general to shave off their beards. A great many of them thus had to submit to what they considered the disgrace of being shaved and for a few days the barbers were very busy.
2. Cf. Alfred Adler's *Praxis und Theorie der Individual Psychologie*, Bergmann, Munich, 1920—English Translation by Paul Radin, *Individual Psychology*, Kegan Paul, London, 1924.

Continued from p. 34

fort of Gwalior, where he remained imprisoned twelve years.' The original sentence runs: "*Binabar talab i buqiat i mutaliba i ki bar ain i jarima bar Arjanmal muqarar farmudah budand Hargobind raba Gwalior fristad wa duozdah sal daran makan mand.*" Its English translation will be: On account of the demand for the balance of the fine which (the king) had imposed upon Arjanmal, he sent Hargobind to Gwalior in which place he remained for twelve years. So the reason for the detention of Hargobind according to Mohan Fani was the same which led to the death by torture of Guru Arjan. The additional reason given by Cunningham and later historians about the appropriation of the soldiers' salary—is based first on a wrong translation of an earlier sentence and secondly on Troyer's trespassing in the translation by adding his own words "on account of money due to the army."

One more interesting blunder in Troyer's translation about Hargobind. (Original p. 288) "*Chun ba watanash ki nawahi i Punjab ast bazgasht.*" He translates (p. 274), "When the Guru returned Batnesh, which is a district of the Punjab." Being interested in the philosophical aspect of Sikhism I expected to get something useful from the *Dabistan* which was written in the middle of the development of Sikhism and which I expected will deal more with doctrines and less with history of the new faith. Instead of consulting the original I referred to the translation. When I read Batnesh being a district of the Punjab I was much perplexed by my ignorance. I wanted to verify from the original. This led to the discovery of these facts. The correct translation of the sentence given above is: When he returned to his home (*ba—to, watan—home, sh—his, sh* is a pronoun attached to the noun *watan*) which is in the Punjab (*nawahi—skirts, area, also district*).

to war', a will to power' but never 'a will to overpower'. 'Blessed is he,' says Gobind, 'in this world who cherishes war in his heart but at the same time does not forget God.'¹ It was for this very reason that he introduced meat-eating among the Sikhs. There was no restriction before but Gobind encouraged it. But he insisted that the animal must be cut manly with one stroke and not lingeringly like a weaknerved man. He knew that, "Varing food have varying mental effects."²

But what about the violence which the use of sword and meat-eating imply? Gandhi, the prophet of present day non-violent creed in India, on his own criterion of non-violence once called Gobind a 'misguided patriot'. If Gandhi can kill a calf to release it from incurable pain, then I do not understand why the same principle cannot be applied to other spheres of our activities. Gobind's recourse to the sword was not the outcome of similar persuasions which Lord Krishna makes to Arjan to enter the battlefield. Gobind's predecessors had tried all possible means to eradicate evil but to no visible success. The evil was organised in the world and was spreading on the wings of sword. To face it virtue must be organised and must get the help of the same sword. The organisation of the Sikhs in the body of the Khalsa was the result. The Guru equipped them with sword which became for them "an emblem of power and self respect" for all times to come. In his letter to Aurangzeb, written in Persian, the Guru says, "When affairs have gone beyond all means, it is virtuous to take a sword in hand. I have been forced to come to arms and to enter a battlefield."³ The purpose for which Gobind became 'violent' was non-violence. In the philosophy of the Guru the action of a man would be violent if after realising, that he cannot by so-called non-violent means face evil he choses either to submit passively to it or to tolerate it in any form. The sword of a reformer is a surgeon's knife. If he can cure an abscess by an internal medicine so much the better. The next course will be to use an ointment for an external application. Failing both, the knife is the only remedy. The Gurus had tried the experi-

1. 'Dhan jio tih ko jag main mukh te Hari chit main judhdh bicharai'—D. G., p. 15.

2. *Story of Philosophy* by Will Darant, p. 460 ; New York, 1927.

3. D. G., p. 1390—20—21.

ment of persuasions and counsel, of passively sacrificing the lives of their own, of those of their families and children and of their followers. The sword remained to be put to test. Soul is indestructible and one life is only one phase of it. It is better to end an irremediable vicious life than to let it spread the infection of vice. The end will bring a new opportunity for improvement. We should reform ourselves by thought, word and deed. The use of sword is also a form of deed. It is the last alternative. Weak or strong, that is the defence of the Guru for the use of a sword.

Now Guru Gobind Singh had a great task before him. He could not wreck the empire which he discovered was based on tyranny, injustice and intolerance, single-handed. He wanted an army. He could not expect many Muhammadans to join it, although those Muslims who realised the truth of his mission did join him.¹ He thus mainly depended on the Hindus. Sikhs were not many in number. The Hindu mind which had lost its manly character in the Punjab, had become submissive and was largely dominated by the *Satyik Brahmin* with 'Ahinsa Parmo Dharma' his highest religion. The very sight of a sword terrified them. Something spectacular and miraculous was needed. He wanted to change the 'pictures in men's minds' and wanted to revolutionise their thoughts and wills. Just as the Brahmins had come to his father to save their faith by sacrificing his life, so it was now his turn to ask them and their followers to join his defensive army. The wise Brahmins wanted to put him off by saying that only if the goddess Durga could be made visible, as she was made by Bhim or Arjun etc., the success of Guru's mission could be ensured. The Guru wanted to demonstrate practically the futility of all such beliefs, otherwise the masses will not follow him from conviction. The holiest Brahmins from Banares were sent for and the people of the whole district were asked to contribute towards the great burnt offerings for Durga. The Brahmins continued for nine months to persuade Durga to appear. They were supplied with whatever they demanded. One day to the surprise of all, the chief Brahmin disappeared with his assistants. They took to flight because they knew that the goddess would not appear and the Guru might punish them.

1. Cf. S. R., v, p. 36-38.

When the Guru came to know of the Brahmins' sudden disappearance he ordered that all the material collected for the *Hawan*—incensed smoke—should be thrown into the fire-pit. No sooner was it done than there rose a great flame. Men from far and near ran towards the place thinking that the Guru had caused Durga to appear. When they came, the Guru unsheathed his sword and addressing the gathering said: "Here is the real goddess; she will perform all the deeds which the Brahmins attribute to Durga." He raised his sword and appealed to those present to test the efficacy of that symbol of (Shakti) power¹ and to join his armies.

This was to nullify the Brahminical superstition, to disillusion and purge the Hindu mind; but something positive was needed which would really make them feel that they were changed and that they were no longer the old weak and meek people. For sometime, after the above Durga-scene, the Guru was busy thinking about something more constructive and spectacular. He thought of Amrit (baptism). The idea might have come to him from some external source or it was possibly the more dignified form of Paul. There is no baptism in Islam. The Christian ceremony of baptism has got some thing in common with Amrit, but the rudiments of the ceremony were not entirely foreign to the Indian mind. The Hindus especially in the Southern India have got some baptismal element in their sacred-thread-ceremony. Anyhow Amrit became a ceremony of entering into the brotherhood of the Khalsa—the soldier-saints. The way² in which it was prepared and administered contained such a new and invigorating element that it really revolutionised the whole outlook of the initiated. "Its result on the parish were little short of miraculous. By its power men who had hitherto been regarded as unclean and polluted from birth, were changed into exceptionally

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1. Dr. Trumpp and some writers of Hindu inclination infer from this that Guru Gobind Singh was a follower of Durga. (A. G., XC, XCVII). For a detailed contradiction of this view see S. R., V, Ch. VIII; G. S., p. 44—47 and Gyani Dit Singh's *Durga Parbodh* in Gurmukhi.
 2. A full account of the ceremony is given in English by Malcolm, *Sketch*, p. 190 and S. R., V, Ch. IX.

ne warriors.¹ Before the time of the Sikh Gurus no general could have dreamed of raising an army from such outcastes; and this metamorphosis was accomplished despite the hide bound prejudices and innate conservatism of the Hindus.² Thus Gobind turned his disciples into 'heroes who could dare the lion in his own den and challenge the dreadful Aurangzeb in his own court'.³ The lowest were equal with the highest; all became one, and the four races began to eat as one out of one vessel.⁴

A few words about the nature of wars fought by the two warrior Gurus. Muhsan Fani, a contemporary of the Sixth Guru, says in his *Dabistan* that Hargobind did not use his sword in "anger".⁵ Both the Gurus often declared that their sword shall always be used for defence⁶ nor was it drawn against anybody out of revenge.⁷ The wars were not communal.⁸ Both Hindus and Muhammadans enlisted themselves in the Guru's armies and fought for him.⁹ The Guru fought against oppressors of both the communities Hindu and Muhammadan.¹⁰ None of the two Gurus acquired an inch of land as a result of their conquests

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1. The Sikhs have not yet lost their traditional heroic character. Thus Sir Burnes in his *Travels* writes, "The coolness and courage of the Sikhs surpass belief", p. 119.

They are "the bravest of Indians" p. 120. *Travels in Bakhara* by Sir Alexr. Burnes. Sir G. Cough and Arthur Annes in their work *The Sikhs and Sikh Wars* p. 42 write : Never did a native army having so relatively slight advantage in numbers fight a battle with the British in which the issue was doubtful as at Ferozeshah ; and if the victory was decisive, opinions remain divided as to what the result might have been if the Sikh troops had found commanders with sufficient capacity to give their qualities full opportunity." Again Sir J. H. Gordon in *'The Sikhs'* p. 3 : None have fought more stoutly and stubbornly against us and more gallantly and loyally for us." "Wherever there has been hard fighting to be done, there they have been found in the forefront, maintaining their high reputation for steadfast fidelity, dogged tenacity, dauntless courage—the undying heritage of the Sikhs."

The Great War, the Gurdawara Reform Movement and the present World War have more than justified the success of Guru Gobind Singh's Amrit. Baron Jean Pellenc, a French tourist in 1936 says in his book "*L'Indes entrouvre*": Honesty as well as courage is among his (Sikh) many virtues, p. 131—English translation, John Murray, London.

2. R. O. S., p. 23.
3. T. O. S., p. XXIII.
4. Cunningham's *History of the Sikhs*, p. 71.
5. *Dabistan-i-Mazahib*, p. 270,
6. S. R., iv, pages 108, 112, 116 ; v, p. 125.
7. S. R., v, p. 165, 202.
8. S. R., iv, p. 90.
9. S. R., v, p. 17.
10. S. R., v, p. 29, 53, 124, 127, 130, 167.

and other military tractics. Hence it is wrong to give any political or communal colouring to the armament policy of the Gurus. The Tenth Guru definitely says that I fight out of eagerness for protecting virtue "Dharm Yudh Ke Chai".¹ There was religion not any particular organised religion but the religion—at the back of his wars; and "it must not be imagined." writes Dorothy Field, "that because he was a fine warrior he was less spiritual or less religious than predecessors. He made the religious fervour the backbone of his warlike doctrines. He united practical skill with mystical meditation; and the results speak for themselves." As a result of his military operations no mosque or temple was demolished and no forcible conversion was effected. The Muhammadan or Hindu victims of the battle-field were buried or burnt according to their rites. His volunteers used to supply water to the wounded without any distinction of friends or foes. In fact what he believed in theory was not lost sight of even in war. In his writings we find :

"The temple or the mosque are the same, the Hindu worship or the Musalman prayer are the same; all men are the same; it is through error they appear different. Deities, demons, Yakshas, heavenly singers, Musalmans and Hindus adopt the customary dress of their different countries. All men have the same eyes, the same ears, the same body, the same build, a compound of earth, air, fire, and water. Allah and Abhekh are the same, the Purans and the Quran are the same; they are all alike; it is the one God who created all. The Hindu God and the Muhammadan God (Karta-Karim, Razaq-Rahim) are the same; let no man even by mistake suppose there is a difference."³

In the face of these teachings and practices, facts and principles I wonder how some writers could say that the beauty of Sikhism of tolerating and respecting all religions and their worship was lost in the days of Guru Gobind Singh. The statement would have been justified if it were made about some activities of Banda, that is after the demise of Guru Gobind.

1. S. R., v, p. 301.

2. The Story of a Sikh volunteer named Kanya is very well known and is also mentioned by Mr. Macauliff, S. R., v, p, 173,

3. D. G., *Akal Ustat*—Translation, S, R., v, p, 275,

C—All Gurus Treated as One Nanak : The Guru.

Although Sikhism was started by Nanak, yet as it stands to-day, it was not founded by him alone. In the course of about two centuries the different aspects of this religion developed under the guidance of the ten Gurus whose mention has been made above.¹ This change was simply on the practical side of the community. In theory whatever was conceived by Nanak continued to be held as a revealed truth. Dr. Trumpp is right when he says: "The doctrines once uttered by Baba Nanak were taken up by the following Sikh Gurus without any perceptible deviation; and after the volume of the Granth had been collected by Guru Arjan, they were never called into question, the Granth being held as an immediate divine revelation."² But if the concepts held by Nanak were to be treated as gospel truths, where lies the justification of his being succeeded by nine more Gurus? The Sikh theologians seem to answer this question like this:

Guru Nanak was born as a perfect human being. The idea which he set before him could not, therefore, be his own perfection. It was to make others perfect. He aimed at training people to find God from within. He wanted in other words, to teach his followers how to climb the steps in order to reach the height where he himself stood. He attached more importance to practice than theory. He wanted to give practical training to a nation which was content more with philosophising about life and its ultimate problems, than with the actual living of it. This practical training was a great factor in his mission. It is easier to attend a course of lectures in the institute of education but it is quite a different thing to use those methods successfully is one's actual career as a teacher. For that purpose one has to go to a public school to have some practical training under the guidance of a supervisor.

Now, if in secular sphere one individual requires one year's training for one aspect of one's life, how lengthy the course will be if the training was meant not in one aspect but in all aspects of life—love, truth, service, honesty, manliness, in fact all what we

1. There is a very interesting book by Professor Teja Singh on this subject and is entitled "*The Crowns of Responsibility in Sikhism*".

2. A. G., p. XCVII.

mean by a holy and righteous life. Then again, the Sikhs believe that the Guru did not want to train a few individuals, but he had set before himself the task of making the whole 'corrupt and demoralised' nation exalted and righteous. How far the Guru succeeded in his task and how far he failed we must leave to the historian to judge. But this great ambition was made clear in some of the utterances of the Guru.¹ To achieve this task Nanak did whatever he could in one span of life. Human flesh is heir to so many deformities. Nanak left his body and transmitted his light to another person who became Nanak II, Angad by name. There is a classical illustration about the transmission of this light from one Guru to another. It is by way of an answer to a query : Did not the fountain of light—God—lose a portion of it, when He gave some to Nanak ? The answer is an analogy from the lighting of candles. Just as we light one candle from another burning candle and in the process the burning candle without losing any light of its own, lights the other ; similarly this transmission of spiritual light went on in the case of the Gurus.² Now when Nanak II was thus lighted by Nanak I, he was asked to carry on the training of the nation under his own supervision, not so much by precept as by his own example. He in his turn transmitted that light to a third Nanak with similar instructions. This continued for ten generations.

When the Tenth Guru felt that the little nation had learnt to walk on its own legs and carry on the work independently shifted the whole responsibility to the Sikhs in general. He called he forth five representatives of the new nation, whose adoption was tried at the altar of death, and he gave them baptism—Amrit, the water of immortality. The baptised group was named Khalsa. To prove that the Khalsa were competent and qualified enough to guide and lead the nation as Nanak had been doing in ten generations, the Tenth Guru himself took Amrit from the five Sikhs whom he himself had baptised. These five are known as Piaras—the beloved ones of the Lord. Thus Guru Gobind Singh seems to have set a very original example in the history of the religious development of the world : the Lord baptising the followers and

1. Cf. D. G., Bachitra Natak.

2. This illustration from candles was also used by the Gurus : I Guru : G. P. 328 ; X Guru : G. S., p. 28.

Bhai Gurdas also made use of the same illustration ; W. G., p. 437 : 24—8—2.

the followers baptising the Lord. This is the spiritual 'socialism' in the realm of religion. It also books logical and consistent. If man can reach the highest perfection which he is supposed to do by many religions, then if at a time some men are considered to have reached that stage, there ought to be apparently no difference between the perfect teacher and the perfect disciple. In as much as in the case of the teacher the perfection was innate and in the case of the latter it was acquired, the Guru must enjoy and continue to enjoy the due reverence.

So when the Tenth Nanak left this world he diffused that light which he got from the original Nanak and through him from God, to the whole Khalsa whom he called his own self—Khalsa Mero Rup Hai Khas—Khalsa is myself in essence. Thus the Khalsa became the body of the Guru. What about the spirit? The spirit is the Guru's word—Gurbani. This Gurbani is preserved in the holy book which the Sikhs call the Guru Granth. If the nation acts on the spirit of the Gurbani, that is Gurbani lives in them, their life imbibes the true spirit of it, then it is Khalsa—the pure, the elect and therefore the Guru. The Khalsa or the Sangat the community away from the Guru's word is the same host of misguided people, who existed before the advent of the Guru. This entire process, the whole idea is summarised in the familiar phrase—Guru Granth Panth: That is, the Guru is the scripture permeating in the community. The community or the Panth has within it smaller units called Sangats. The Sangats and the Panth elect or select their five representatives from among themselves. These are called Five Piaras or the Five Beloved or Elect ones.¹

The idea of Nanak being the same in the persons of all the Gurus, was also witnessed in the very days of the earlier Gurus by Muhsan Fani already quoted in this book. "They (the Sikhs) believed that when Nanak expired, his spirit became incarnate in the person of Angad—Angad at his death transmitted his soul into the body of Amar Das—and so on—in short they believe that with a mere change of name Nanak the First became Nanak the Second.² Again once the Sixth Guru wrote a letter to Fani about which he says:³ The Guru Har Govind in a letter to the author of this

1. A detailed discussion of the subject will be taken up in a subsequent volume: Social Philosophy of the Sikhs.
2. *Dabistan*—ii, p. 253.
3. *Ibid*, p. 281.

work gave himself the title of Nanak, which was his right distinction. I saw him in the year 1033 of the Hijra (A. D. 1643) in Kiratpur".¹

The belief is also confirmed from the Granth. Satta and Balwanda, the two musicians of the house of Nanak, composed a war in praise of the earlier Gurus, in which they say, that not only the second Guru had the same light which the first Guru had, but also the mode of life and activities of Anged were the same. Further they say that Nanak simply changed bodies from one to the other.² Another contemporary of the Guru, Bhai Gurdas in his writings emphasises the same point. He traces this transmission of light from God to the First Guru and from him to the Second and so on to the Sixth Guru in whose days he breathed his last.³ The reader may like to know the views held by the Gurus themselves on this point. Nanak's hymn has already been referred to in a note of this section. Guru Gobind Singh made the whole thing very explicit in his autobiography entitled "Bachitra Natak"—the wonderful drama.⁴ In it he says :

The holy Nanak was revered as Angad,
 Angad was recognised as Amar Das,
 And Amar Das became Ram Das,
 The pious saw this but not the fools,
 Who thought them all distinct ;
 But some rare person recognised that they were all one.
 When Ram Das was blended with God,
 He gave the Guruship to Arjan.⁵

1. This evidence is of some interest for it shows that the Gurus in all activities, even in their private correspondence considered themselves to be one with Nanak. In the holy Granth all hymns are assigned to Nanak although they are written by different Gurus. The Hindu sage Vayasa did the same. But the Sikh Gurus believed, all in all, as one and the same individual continuing : the same soul with different bodies. One Guru promises to do a certain act some subsequent incarnation of his. Later on the promised act is done and reference is made to the previous event when the promise was made.
2. G. G., 967 : Ramkali ki War :
 Gur Angad di dohi phiri sachu Kartai bandh bahāli. Nanak kāiā palt kar mal takht baita saidali.....3.
 Joti samani jotī mahi ap apei seti mikion.....4.
3. W. G., p. 433-37. War—24 —I—X—Stanzas.
4. An English translation of some select passages of this composition can be seen in S. R., v, p. 286—306. The title given is *Vichitra Natak*.
5. S. R., v, p. 295.

Thus he continues to say that all the Gurus were one. The Western scholars also recognise this general belief of the Sikhs. Thus Joseph Davy Cunningham in his 'History of the Sikhs' described Guru Gobing Singh as "inheritor of the spirit of Nanak, transmitted to him as one lamp imparts its flame to another." Here the historian gives an interesting footnote to show that the idea was also held in some form or other by some poets in Europe. Surely the idea is in no way unique with the Sikhs. It was very common among the Buddhists. The theory of Bodhi-Sattvas is more or less the same. The Buddhist institution of Lamaship¹ in Tibet is still based nearly on the same idea. Nanak in his far and wide travels must have come to know of the practice so common among the Buddhists. He is said to have gone to Tibet and must have met so many Buddhists residing in that country. No wonder he might have heard of the system of Lamaship in Tibet.

The idea of spiritual succession was quite common among the Sufi Muhammadans with one of whom Nanak's conversation is recorded in the Granth and the idea was not alien to the Hindu mind. The important element of the concept is not the spiritual succession but spiritual transmission. It is I think only a nobler and elevated form of the idea of transmigration of souls. Although it is not exactly that, yet it can be conceived as having originated from this metaphysical theory. Most explicitly it was held by the later Buddhists from whom I think it came to the Sikhs. "The idea of reincarnation," writes L. A. Waddel, "which is fundamental element of belief in Buddhism, derived from its parent stock Brahminism, does not appear to have been definitely utilised for the regulation of the hierarchical succession in India."²

Guru Nanak's meetings and dialogues with the Yogis or Kanphatas are mentioned in the Granth and the Janam Sakhis. The idea of the Guru and the spiritual succession was very common among these Yogis or the Siddhas. They had a powerful sect in the days of Nanak and called themselves the 'chelas' of Gorakh Nath." As the traditions agree in representing him as the son of or more or less the immediate disciple of

1. There appeared an interesting article on Lama of Tibet in Phulwari of Lahore, vol. XIII, No. 2, Feb. 1937.

2. E. R. E., VII, p. 786.

Matayendranath, who belongs to the Nepalese Buddhism (and is even identified with the Bodhisattva Avolokitecvara), it is probable that—they were connected originally with the religion of Cakyamuni.”¹ It is interesting to note that whereas the word ‘Guru’ is common to both Siddhism—the religion of Gorakh Nath and Sikhism the religion of Nanak, the words used by them for their followers as Chela and Sikh respectively have the same meaning of a disciple. Anyhow the belief of this spiritual transmission got a new force and a new connotation in the system of the Sikh Gurus. Inspite of the fact that the idea can be traced back to Hinduism or Buddhism, Lamaism or Siddhism, the concept of the word ‘Guru’ remains quite new as used in the Sikh scriptures. It is used in the sense of an Avatara or a Prophet or One specially sent by God to help mankind from darkness to light.

I was concerned here on the one hand with the belief of unity in the plurality of the Gurus and on the other from the point of view of my use of the word ‘Guru’ in this book. Although every Guru was responsible for a definite phase in the process of practical development of the Sikh religion, yet for the purpose of theoretical philosophy all Gurus can be treated as one. To quote Dr. Trumpp once more, “We need therefore—not anxiously distinguish between the words of Baba Nanak and those of the following Gurus.² Therefore generally, unless otherwise made clear, the word ‘the Guru’ in these pages has been used for the exponent of Sikh philosophy and the author of the Sikh religion.

The belief of unity in the plurality of the Gurus served a useful purpose in the development of Sikhism. But for this belief, there would have been no Sikh nation as such. Already the signs of dissension were appearing in the very days of the Gurus themselves. The Udasis, the Dhirmalias, the Ramraias and the Minas had formed branches from the main trunk and more would have broken off. There may be some mystic truth in the belief of the spiritual transmission and the unity of the Gurus but apparently it is like the King of a great Empire who never dies. The King is the crown and remains the same, although the persons change.

1. E. R. E., VII, p. 786.

2. R.O. I., p. 213.

3. A. G., p. XCII.

From the religious point of view, the faith is very much enhanced and the internal development of the believer is more ensured on psychological grounds, if he feels that the person under whose guidance he is proceeding on the road of perfection is the same original one whom God Himself initiated. Moreover there is always some glamour about the past which overcomes some of the apparent shortcomings of the present. Thus the disciple is always on sure grounds. But when this person merges into the whole community, and the followers themselves in an organised form become the Guru, then quite a new situation arises. Moral responsibility, social unity, and the progress of the whole become the objective; and the self-confidence of members is increased extraordinarily. The disadvantages of the loss of a real personality which is always the source of reverence, awe and inspiration are considered to have been compensated by the substitution of the 'Guru-Granth-Panth' as the object of reverence equal to that of the Guru.

CHAPTER III

THE CHIEF SOURCES OF THE MATERIAL

This work has been based on three books :

A.—*The chief basis of this work has been the Guru Granth.*

B.—*The Dasam Granth.*

C —*The works of Bhai Gurdas.*

THE first named is the Bible of the Sikhs and is not easy to handle for philosophical analysis. Therefore the task of analysing the Sikh doctrines is by no means easy. The teaching of the Guru, both religious and moral, lies so very scattered all over the Granth that a careful research has to be made before the views of the Guru can be brought under different philosophical heads. This analytic search will not yield a system unless the real link is discovered and the material is regularly synthesised. Such a synthesis is not mere piling up of different concepts. Sometimes there appears to be a contradiction in ideas and on such occasions the task of a critic becomes much more difficult. Not only has he to re-study the context of the whole idea but also in the case of some passages has he to fall back on the biographical references of the Guru, which are not available from the holy book itself and which determine the tone, the purpose and the real index to the central idea contained in the passage. Besides, any attempt to comprehend the Sikh doctrines requires also some knowledge of the doctrines and practices of the systems and faiths existing in India and its surrounding countries at the time of Nanak and his successors. The difficulty of the language is by no means small. We have already noted in this connection Professor Max Muller's remark about Dr. Trumpp's work. Keeping these facts in view it will not be a matter of surprise if my present attempt results in just a bare outline of the philosophy of Sikhism.

A—The Guru Granth

Authorship—It has sometimes been said that Guru Angad wrote the Adi Granth and Guru Arjan enlarged it.¹ But the actual authorship belongs neither to the one nor to the other. The

1. Cf. E. B., XX, p. 647.

latter collected the hymns of the first four Gurus from some of their descendents and added to them his own which amount to more than one-third of the whole collection. The Guru dictated these hymns to Bhai Gurdas who acted as a scribe. The followers of the principal Indian saints, Hindu and Muhammadan, since the days of Jaidev, were invited by the Guru to attend and suggest suitable hymns for insertion in the sacred book. They repeated hymns of their respective sects; and such as conformed to the spirit of reform then in vogue, or were not wholly inconsistent with Guru's teaching, were adopted and incorporated in the Granth. According to the Hindu religion it was deemed a sin to listen to the teachings of Musalmans, to say nothing of that of Sudras. It was one of the Guru's objects to show to the world that there was no such superstition in the Sikh religion, and that every good man was worthy of honour and reverence. Four Bhagtas of Lahore—Kahna, Chhajju, Shah Hussain and Pilo—with a desire of being immortalised by getting their hymns entered in the Granth came to the Guru and requested him to find a place in the book for their compositions. The Guru rejected them as they were opposed to the main teachings of Sikhism. Kahna's identity with God, Chhajju's condemnation of women, Shah Hussain's despair and Pilo's pessimism were not approved of by the Guru.¹

In all the following constitute the authorship of the Granth :

I—Six Sikh Gurus the first five and the ninth.²

II.—Sixteen Bhagats³ or saints in chronological order are : Jai Dev (Bengal), Nam Dev (Bombay), Trilochan (Bombay), Permanand (Bombay), Sadna (Sindh), Beni ? Ramanand (U.P.)

1. Samples which these Bhagats offered were :
 - (1) Kahna.—I am He, I am He, whom the Vedas and the Puranas sing.
 - (2) Chhajju.—Look thou not on women—she will take thee and kill thee.
 - (3) Shah Hussain—Be silent—the world is not a place to speak about.
 - (4) Pilo.—They who have died at their birth are superior to us. They do not thrust their feel into the mire and are not befouled therewith (World is the mire).
2. One couplet is also assigned to the Tenth Guru. It is No. 54, p. 1428 of the G. G. It is difficult to agree with this view. In the absence of a definite proof why the couplet should not be assigned to the Ninth Guru in whose name it stands, seems to be beyond reason.
3. Dr. Narang, who perhaps bases his inference on Trumpp gives fourteen as the number of Bhagats. Both of them omit Mirabai and Parmanand. The former composed a hymn which is in Bhai Banno's edition. The hymn of the latter is in Rag Sarang.

Dhanna (Tank—Rajputana), Pipa (U.P.), Sain, (Rewa—U.P.), Kabir (Banaras), Rav Dass (U.P.), Farid (West Punjab), Bhikhan (U.P.), Sur Das (Oudh).

They represent nearly the four centuries of Indian thought from the middle of the twelfth to the middle of the sixteenth century A.D. The Sikh Gurus who never came in contact with any of these saints, except of course Nanak and Farid, belong roughly to two centuries immediately following the above period. Thus the Granth is a good record of the religious thought of India from the twelfth to the seventeenth century A.D.

III—The third set of the authors of the Granth falling within the same period consists of Bhattas whose compositions in the Granth are panegyrics on the first five Gurus. Their names and numbers have been given differently by different writers.¹ But a close reading of their Swayyas give us the seventeen following names: Mathra, Jalap, Bal, Harbans, Talya, Salya, Jalya, Bhal, Kalh Sahar, Kal, Jal, Nal, Kirat, Das, Gayand, Sadrang, and Bhikha.

IV—Some scholars² end the list of the authors of the Granth with the Bhattas as if there exists any edition of the holy book which does not contain Ram Kali Sadd of Sundar, hymns of Mardana and a long poem—War of Satta and Balwanda

The Guru Granth contains 3384 hymns which are ‘considerably more than three times of the bulk of the Rigveda.’ The total number of stanzas has been given by Pincott³ as 15,575 out of which 6204 were written by the Fifth Guru, 2949 by the First, 2522 by the Third, 1730 by the Fourth, 196 by the Ninth, and 57 by the Second Guru. Of the remainder the highest number of stanzas is in the name of Kabir and the lowest in the name of Mardana.⁴

The compilation work of the Granth came to a successful end at Amritsar in the year 1604. ‘At the conclusion of his task the Guru told his Sikhs that the Granth Sahib was the embodiment of the Gurus and should, therefore, be held in extreme

1. Dr. Trumpp gives fifteen Bhattas (A. G., p. CXX). Dr. Narang simply reproduces Trumpp's list (T. O. S., p. 11). Dr. Mohan Singh gives only twelve, (H. P. L., p. 36).

2. Cf., A. G. and T. O. S.

3. J. R. A. S., Vol. XVIII, Calcutta, article by Fredric Pincott.

4. Cf. Bawa Budh Singh's calculations in *Hans Chog*, p. 93: The Granth contains 28444 slokas if one sloka was to consist of 16 letters.

reverence.' Thus we have before us a most authenticated book to rely upon. I reproduce here an interesting passage from Macauliffe's work concerning the authenticity of the Guru's teachings: "The Sikh religion differs as regards the authenticity of its dogmas from most other great theological systems. Many of the great teachers the world has known have not left a line of their own composition and we only know what they taught through tradition or secondhand information. If Pythagoras wrote any of his tenets, his writings have not descended to us. We know the teachings of Socrates (Sokrates) only through the writings of Plato and Xenophen. Buddha (Budha) has left no written memorial of his teaching, Kungfu-tze, known to Europeans as Confucius, left no documents in which he detailed the principles of his moral and social system. The Founder of Christianity did not reduce his doctrines to writing and for them we are obliged to trust to the Gospels according to Matthew, Mark, Luke and John. The Arabian Prophet did not himself reduce to writing the chapters of the Quran. They were written or compiled by his adherents and followers. But the composition of the Sikh Gurus are preserved and we know it first-hand what they taught."

The Arrangements of the Contents

Some scholars' to be very much upset by an extreme lack of order and classification in the collection of the hymns of the Adi Granth. To appreciate the arrangement of the contents of the Granth we have to bear in mind the chief contribution which the Sikh Gurus made towards the different paths of realisation of the ideal for the human being. In fact the Guru invented a somewhat new path of salvation. It is neither Karma Marga, nor strictly Gyan Marga, nor even the traditional Hindu Bhakti Marga. It is Nam Marga, which on the theoretical side may be called aesthetic idealism and on its practical side it lays emphasis on aesthetic communion and its result Wismad—wonder. Music, consequently, plays a great part in this system. It is the poetry and the music of the contents of the Granth revealing simple and direct truths which charm a reader of Gurbani. What Lange in his history said of Schiller's philosophical poems' in which the spirit 'takes its flight—in das Gedankenland der

1. Cf. A. G.

Schonheit' and finds there not only aesthetic satisfaction, but also ethical harmony and religious peace, is very appropriately applicable to the hymns of the Gurus. That is why there is a belief and many Sikhs act upon it, that only a sincere and concentrated reading of Gurbani can bring peace to the soul. 'The future of religion and speculative metaphysics', writes Pringle Pattison in 'The Idea of God', 'lies according to him (Lange) in this free poetic creation of a spiritual home, (Heimat der Geister) in which our highest ideals are realised.' The Guru created such a spiritual home for the Sikhs in the Granth.

The Granth in its contents does not resemble the Vedas as some scholars think.¹ The objective was not to lay down any clear cut system of philosophy nor to place before us a definite set of rules for ritual practices or social observances. The Rig Veda will teach a woman : 'Take unto thyself eleventh husband by Niyoga'.² The Quran will teach a man : "Marry such women as seem good to you two and three and four".³ But a seeker for guidance in such worldly affairs will be hopelessly disappointed from the contents of the Granth. Mental solace and spiritual peace was the end in view of the Guru while composing Granthic hymns. This he conceived to be most easily realisable through music. So music forms the basis of classification of the contents of the Granth. 'The hymns that are to be sung in a particular Rag were first placed together ; and were then arranged under the following heads :—(1) Chaupadas—containing an average of four verses each ; (2) Ashtpadis—containing an average of eight stanzas each ; (3) Special long poems ; (4) Chhants—consisting of six line verses ; (5) Special short poems ; (6) Wars (Vars)—consisting of two or more Sloks, and a Pauri or a concluding stanzas ; (7) Poems of Bhagats in the same order.

There is absolutely no deviation from this clearly defined principle. The hymns were further classified according to the Ghar or the musical clef, in which each hymn was to be sung. According to the Indian method of singing, the accent falls and voice rises and falls, in different positions, according to the Ghar in which the verses are to be sung !

1. Cf. T. O. S.

2. Rig Veda quoted by Swami Daya Nand, X, 45 : 85.

3. Quran, Chapter 4—3, P. 80:

At the end of the Granth the Guru¹ has given an index² of all Rags and Ragnis and their families. This classification is different from the generally accepted Hindu classification. The Guru began with Sri Rag because this Rag he says has got easy approach to the spiritual abode of peace. On account of this he has called it 'the foremost of all the Rags'.³ According to the index given by the Guru there are six main Rags which have thirty Ragnis (wives) and the sons of these are 18 and 10 and 20 i.e. 43. The total comes to 84. But the hymns uttered by the Guru fall only under thirty one of this total. So that the 'Adi Granth is arranged on a clearly traceable system, depending firstly on the tunes to which the poems were sung; secondly, on the nature or the metre of the poems themselves; thirdly, on their authorship; and fourthly, on the clef or key deemed appropriate to them. It follows, as a corollary, that the position of the hymns have no reference to their antiquity or dogmatic importance; and also' that the Adi Granth is a single systematic collection, into which the later editions of the Ninth Guru, were inserted in their appropriate places".⁴ There are ten main headings under which the hymns of the Granth can be divided :

- (1) Japu ji—a philosophical poem of deep meditation, pp. 1—7.
- (2) Musical hymns, pp. 8—1351 ;
- (3) Slok Sahskriti, pp. 1352—1359 ;
- (4) Gatha, pp. 1359—1361 ;

1. There has been a great controversy about the authorship of Rag Mala. Mr. Macauliffe thought that it was not composed by the Guru. But now it has been conclusively proved that it was written by the fifth Guru and appended by him. See G. G. K. Appendix, pp. 1354—1400.
2. Dr. Narang seems to have misunderstood the source of his information. "The present arrangement, he writes, (T. O. S)" of Adi Granth is due to the genius of Bhai Mani Singh, the martyr. He recast the whole book and arranged it again so as to group together the works of each writer composed in a particular Rag. "In his footnote the Dr. says that this fact has been neglected by all English writers on Sikhism. The fact is the other way round. The Dr. is wrong in his assertion and the English writers are correct. Mani Singh thought that it would be better and more convenient to compile all the hymns of each Guru separately in one place. The Guru had done it as described above on the basis of musical measures. This was in keeping with the spirit of the emphasis which Sikhism laid on the aesthetic side of human nature. Mani Singh carried out his wish but the Sikhs instead of accepting it, fined and censured the innovator, who apologised and was pardoned. The original edition of the time of the Fifth Guru still exists at Kartarpur. The present arrangement of the Granth tallies exactly with it. There appeared an article on these different editions of the Granth in Phulwari, Vol. XIII, No. 2, 1937.
3. G. G., Sri Rag Ki War, Mahala 4, P. 82.
4. Pincott.

- (5) Funhe, pp. 1361—1363 ;
- (6) Chaubole, pp. 1363—1364 ;
- (7) Sloks of Kabir and Farid. 1364—1384 ;
- (8) Swayyas of the Gurus and the Bhattas, pp. 1384—1408 ;
- (9) Sloks of the Guru, pp. 1409—1428 ;
- (10) Rag Mala—the index of Sikh musical measures, to p. 1430.

The Teachings of the Hymns of the Granth

It has often been found that scholars of the West and also of India compare the Granth both in form and in content with Rig Veda. It is not improbable that there may be some resemblance between the two books. Teachings of both have been interpreted differently by different writers. But this apparent difference of interpretation is found regarding every holy book. It is true of the Bible, the Quran, the Rig Veda, the Gita and so also of the Granth. Just as we have got Pfeiderer, Pictet along with Roth and Daya Nand, Ram Mohan Roy, Bloomfield, Bergaigne, Sayana, and Aurobindo Ghosh giving different interpretations to Vedic hymns ; similarly there are Vedantists who say that the Granth teaches Vedantism ; there are mystics who hold that it reveals an excellent exposition of Sufism ; people having inclinations towards Mimamsic Karma-Kanda do not fails to get some hymns to support their view-point ; the Bhakti school finds the Bhakti dominating the whole volume ; but the truth is that we can neither affirm any of these views nor can we bodily deny them. This reminds me of an excellent example given by Bal Ganga Dhar Tilak about similar controversy regarding the teachings of Gita, with which I think the Granth resembles more than any other book.

“Suppose”, says Tilak, “looking at a nice and sweet food preparation, one says that it is made of wheat, and another one says it is made of Ghee and a third one says it is made of sugar, according to his own taste ; then which one of them will you call wrong ? Each one is correct in his own way and ultimately the question what that food preparation is, remains unsolved. Because as it is impossible to mix wheat, clarified butter, and sugar to prepare from them various kinds of eatables—the particular eatable cannot be sufficiently defined by saying that Ghee or wheat or sugar is the principle element in it.”¹ What the

1. *Gita*, Part I, 29.

Granth teaches is one consistent systematic whole combining and transcending all the three elements of the Karma, Bhakti and Gyan. The Guru's system is that of Nam. On account of their mental bias different writers interpret the hymns of the Granth differently.

In India the standard of judging the unity of a particular book has been determined by a classical Mimamsic verse which runs as follows :

Upakramopasainharav abhyaso purvata phalam ;

Arthavadopapatti ca lingam tatparyanirnaya.

This implies seven steps : beginning, end, emphasis by repetition or the problem to be established, newness of the subject matter, effect, the digressions made to illuminate and illustrate by comparison or contrast, the subject matter of the book, the natural logical inference from the previous stage. I need not enter into the application of these tests to the Granth, as it has already been done by the Nirmala scholars, especially by Pandit Sadhu Singh in his Sidhant Jyoti.

The Guru in the concluding passage of the Granth entitled Mundavani has summarised the purpose of the Granthic hymns in the following words :

In this vessel (the Granth, some also interpret it as the universe) three things have been put : Truth, Harmony and Wisdom or Reason. These are seasoned with the ambrosial name of God, which is the ground of all. Whoever eateth and enjoyeth shall be saved.

The Guru's idea was to present to the world a book which should serve as a text book of universal religion and something which is essential and common to the truly religious side of a faith. The social, practical, secular and ritual aspects of a religion are relative to time, place and other environments. These things change and should not, according to the Guru, form the subject-matter of a holy book, whose teachings are to guide men to spiritual peace at all times and in all countries. Even Guru Gobind Singh who institutionalised the Sikh doctrines did not include these rules in his own Granth. For that aspect of Sikhism a student has to turn to Rahat Namas etc. The teachings of the Granth are primarily spiritual and secondarily philosophical. Peace of the soul is the constant aim before the Guru.

Revelation

As we have seen above the Guru does not claim himself to be an incarnation of God—which theory he severely repudiates—but sometimes he does represent himself to be the mouthpiece of God. The knowledge contained in the hymns is described to be God given.¹ There are two theories about this revelation of the holy books. One is that God becomes incarnate as an Avatara and whatever he says and does is divine. This is the Hindu view.² The other is that when the religious life has grown stagnant and worship has become mechanical, when human hearts led captive by the desire of this world have forgotten the heavenly goal, through the elect souls (prophets etc.) the divine quickening comes and men are braced for the fulfilment of their divine vocation'. This is special revelation of God to specially selected men. It is true in the field of religion only. 'The mountain peak first catches the light of the rising sun; and so it is the prophet, standing high above the crowd of men, who receives the revealing light of God and then reflects to the many.'³

This kind of special revelation is also understood in two senses. One is that God communicates His teachings in His own words and those words are simply repeated by the prophet like a gramophone record. In this notion the prophet simply works as an instrument. The other belief is that God communicates not the words but the content of the words—the knowledge. In both these views there is generally conveyed the thought of a communication of truth to which man could not attain by his unaided powers. That is to say a knowledge is communicated by God to man which man otherwise could not have possessed. 'The history of the development of religion, a comparative study of scriptures and the modern application of psychology to religion has falsified such old notions.' There is another view about the revelation which is more widely held by the mystics and poets. According to the view the mystic unity of the individual self with the Universal Self, in other words the communion of man with God inspires certain individuals who set forth their experi-

1. See Note 1 on p. 29 of this book.

2. Cf. Lord Krishna's words in the Gita'. Whenever Evil spreads I take birth in the world. Cf. also Dayanand's views in "Light of Truth", pp. 222—224.

3. The *Philosophy of Religion* by Galloway, p. 586.

ence in the holy books. Thus inspired they arrive at the universal truth. This is the truth 'which is not reached through the analytical process of reasoning and does not depend for proof on some corroborations of outward facts or the prevalent faith and practice of the people—the truth which comes like an inspiration out of contact with its surroundings brings with it an assurance that it has been sent from an inner source of divine wisdom, that the individual who has realised it is specially inspired and therefore has his responsibility as a direct medium of communication of divine truth ?'¹

The revelation in actual words is believed by the Muhammadans in the form of a direct message from God to Prophet Muhammad.² The revelation of truth in general—the insight—is referred to by the Guru about himself. In this sense the Granth is a revealed book.

The Granth—The Adi, The Guru

Whenever I use the word the Granth in this work I mean the Adi Granth or the Guru Granth—the Bible of the Sikhs. It got its title the Guru from the compiler himself. I have already referred to this fact.³ The title was confirmed and ceremonially conferred on the book by last Guru in 1708 A.D.⁴

Apart from this dogmatic belief it is called the Guru because it throws light on the path leading to the highest goal of spirituality. Its study serves as a guide. The Guru means one who throws light ; guides in darkness.⁵ When the Guru is living bodily he guides his disciples by his words. At that time the auditory organs receive the stimuli. Now the same words are contained in the book and the task of receiving the stimuli is shifted from hearing to sight—to visual organs of the reader⁶ or to the same auditory organs if one happens to be a listener to what is being read by the Granthi or the Kirtania—the singer of hymns.

1. R. O. M., p. 79.

2. Among the Muhammadans too there are people who believe in the revelation of ideas. The late Sir Sayyid was one of them. On the other hand the Ahmadi sect goes so far as to say that God not only reveals words (Holy Quran, pp. LXX—LXXI) : but Mr. Shams one of the Imams of London Mosque told me that Mirza Ghulam Ahmad of Qadian got a revelation in English, a language of which he knew not a single word. The Imam's view was confirmed when I read 'The Teachings of Islam' 1896, English translation 1929, p. 71.

3. See p. 50 of this book.

4. S. R., V, p. 244.

5. G. G. K., pp. 471—473.

6. G. N., p. 138.

The Guru says that just as a column supports the roof, similarly the Guru's word keeps the wayfarer firm on his path.¹ Again he says the book containing the divine word is the residence of the divinity Himself.² The idea underlying, I think, is the extreme faith and reverence which are so essential for spiritual progress and religious development.

The Granth is also known as the Adi Granth. The title of Adi to it was given in order to distinguish it from a later Granth composed by the Tenth Guru. Adi means the first one. The full title of the book before me is given as : Adi Sri Guru Granth Sahibji. Sri, Sahib and Ji are words used out of respect.

B.—The Dasam Granth

The full title of the book before me is : Sri Dasam Guru Granth Sahibji, published at Gurmat Press, Amritsar. I need not enter into a detailed description of the Dasam Granth, which I have not very much used for the philosophical exposition of the doctrines of Sikhism. As far as speculative philosophy is concerned Guru Gobind Singh's views do not materially differ from the views of his predecessors contained in the Adi Granth. The idea of God which he conceived as a military leader is, of course, a new contribution to the Sikh attributes of God and this will be discussed in its proper place. There are conflicting remarks met with in English literature about the teachings of Guru Gobind. Some hold he relapsed into Hinduism.³ Quite opposite is the view that he absolutely separated the Sikhs from the Hindus.⁴ Again there are some who say that under the Tenth Guru the Sikhs became intolerant⁵ and opposed to this view are men like Jacquement who found the Sikhs to be extremely tolerant, not at all fanatic, unsophisticated and simple with open honesty.⁶

1. Jiu mandar kau thāmai thamman,
Tin Gur ka sabd manih asthamman, 3—15, Gauri Sukhmani Mahala V, G. G. p. 282.
2. G. G., p. 1225, Sarang Mahala V : Pothi Prameshar kā thān, 2—90—113.
3. See A. G., Trumpp, p. LXXII ; Macnicol, L. R. I., p. 223, "He brought into Sikhism Hindu elements".
4. It is impossible to reconcile the religion which Gobind Singh established with the belief of Hindus", *Malcolm's Sketch*, p. 150. Similar are the views of Macauliff, Cunningham, Field etc.
5. T. O. S., p. xx.
6. *Letters from India*, 1834.

In a part of the Dasam Granth the Guru attempted to give an account of Hindu mythology, a knowledge of which was so essential to understand Sikhism which grew on the soul of India. The Adi Granth contains many allusions and references which before Guru Gobind Singh's work could only be learnt from Sanskrit books. Thus the last Guru brought the knowledge of the Hindu religion and mythology withing easy reach to the Sikhs by writing in their own script and vernacular. A student of the Adi Granth has to know the nature of these beliefs which the Granth clearly rejects in its pages. The inclusion of such discussions in the Dasam Granth should not make us think that the author accepted and thus relapsed into Hinduism. The Christian missionary societies are translating the religious books of the world, but this does not mean that in doing so they fall from Christianity and lapse into other faiths. It is purely an academic interest to have some comparative insight into the teachings of other faiths.

There is also some controversy about the authorship of the Dasam Granth. Some hold, (Mr. Macauliffe included), that it is a collection of the works of various poets of the court of the Tenth Guru and that only a small portion of it can be ascribed to Guru Gobind Singh. Others, including the Nirmalas, believe that the whole of the book was written by the Guru and his purpose in writing it was not to give us a rival sacred book but to throw side-lights on the Adi Granth. There is a third group, which is prepared to accept Nirmala view that the Tenth Guru wrote the Dasam Granth but they say the Guru can never be the author of the long episode of Pakhian Chritra or Tirya Charitra. They think it below the dignity of the Guru to deal with the wiles of women.¹ But the edition that I have consulted begins this composition with Patshahi X i.e., as having been written by the Guru Gobind Singh, the Tenth King.² A stronger argument in favour of the Nirmala view is the internal evidence of style, idiom and the general form of presentation. But this need not be the last word on the point. The matter needs a careful research which is not within our scope of work in hand.

1. Cf. H. P. L., p. 40.

2. The Tenth Guru has himself said that in giving these accounts I have no other motive except my eagerness to maintain righteousness. *Avai vasna nāhi kujh, dharmyandh ke chāo.*

The contents of the Dasam Granth are divided into the following twelve parts :

(1) Jap-meditation on the names of God, pp. I-II ; (2) Akal Ustat in praise of the Immortal, pp. II—39 ; (3) Bachitra Natak—wonderful drama, pp. 38—118 ; (4) War Sri Bhagauti ji ki—a war poem, pp. 119—127 ; (5) Gyan Prabodh—giver of knowledge, pp. 127—154 ; (6) The Hindu Incarnations of God, pp. 155—708 ; (7) Hymns in Ramkali, pp. 709—712 ; (8) Hymns in Swayyas, pp. 712—716 ; (9) Hymns about the Sikhs, pp. 716-717 ; (10) Shastar Nam Mala, in praise of weapons, pp. 717—808 ; (11) Pakhian Charitra pp. 809—1359 ; (12) Zafar Nama, a letter of victory in Persian address to Aurangzeb and some stories, pp. 1359—1427.

C—Works of Bhai Gurdas

Two works of Gurdas Bhalla have come down to us :—(1) Wars, (2) Kabits and Swayyas. The former is known and was described by Guru Arjan, the compiler of the Adi Granth, as a key to the holy book. They say, the study of Gurdas's Wars is essential for following the true implications of the Granthic hymns.¹

1. A mention has already been made of Bhai Gurdas in Chapter I. For a detailed information about his life and works see S. R., I, pp. LXIII—VI, iii, iv ; H. P. L. ; *Hans Chog* by Bawa Budh Singh ; G. S. R. ; G. S. and commentaries of Gynni Hazara Singh, Amritsar and Gvani Narain Singh Tarn Taran. The first two books are written in English and the rest are in Panjabi-Gurmukhi.

PART II—SOURCES OF SIKHISM

CHAPTER IV

GENERAL BACKGROUND

“IN order to explain a particular philosophy we must first make a careful and comprehensive examination of its sources”.¹ We cannot think of any movement which can be called absolutely original. The past becomes the present, which again imperceptibly passes into the future. There seems to be a ‘Bergsonian’ change which is more or less universal. The Guru says that all is *chalaiman*—changing. But this change is not mechanical and deterministical except in the course of what we call nature, on the material level. As soon as the mind element comes in, there enters into it a disturbing factor. The continuous flow of the mechanical nature is interrupted. There was no past, present or future for that flow. The mind appears, interferes and the concept of three tenses begins. Here we have got different schools of thought. One holds that mind too is a part of this deterministic flow of nature. Another group says: ‘no, mind is free and changes this flow’. There is a third group of thinkers who hold the middle course. The mind is a part of the flow but with potential initiativeness. It has the possibilities of creation—absolute originality, but the environments or the flow of nature limits those possibilities.

What is true of mind in the course of nature, is also true of it in its own sphere. There is a historical mind whose flow like the flow of nature goes on. Movements of thought, of feeling, of willing—that is of philosophy, of religion and art, and of sciences² belong to the historical mind. Prophets and geniuses appear in this flow, add new currents to it or modify it as far

1. W. Windelband, *History of Philosophy*, p. 15.

2. I classify all the sciences on the basis of these three aspects of consciousness. All philosophies and sciences are man's knowings and doings. Thus we may have three main groups of the conscious activities of man. While living in this world man had to deal with so many things other than himself. He, in order to successfully manipulate them, must understand the objects constituting his environment. Cognition came to his help but the motive was conative. Matter in a wide sense was the means of his existence. The attempt to understand its nature resulted in what we call Natural Sciences. Arithmetic, even mathematics in general can be brought under this group. These branches of knowledge may be known as Conative Sciences. But this

(Cont. on page 62)

as they can. Here too we have the same three schools. There are some who think that these prophets too are the children of their age having been determined by their surroundings and other circumstances. There are others, the orthodox people who hold that they are absolutely original. God sent them gifted with powers of thought, which none before them possessed. More scientific are the critics who regard these originals both new and not new. It is in the third sense that I take the Guru, in fact every prophet, to be original to a point. That is why in this section I am dealing with Sikhism in its comparative light. It will not be welcome to orthodox people, especially in India and more especially among the Sikhs. As Farnell writes:—In fact the workers in this field must expect to arouse a measure of hostility in certain orthodox circles; for however intellectual and detached be their devotion to their task, it may easily modify the temperament and attitude of the average religious man, as their results penetrate the public mind. The mere process of

(Continued from p. 61)

external material which man knew through senses, pleased or displeased him. He wanted to avoid displeasure and prolong or perpetuate pleasure. The result was the 'feeling' sciences. This affective group can include pleasant sounds-music, pleasant speech-poetry, pleasant movements-dancing. The expression of this feeling side culminated into 'fine arts'. These are intimately connected with our organic nature. But man is something more than matter and life. He lived in a community which directed his thought toward pleasant behaviour and pleasant life. The consideration of these higher values resulted in ethics and religion. Then we have the pure 'knowing' sciences. The purely cognitive group includes philosophy, logic and perhaps analytical psychology and aesthetics.

N.B.—The above note was sent for opinion to Prof. Cyril Burt, Head of the Department of Psychology, University College, London. In reply (dated 18th December 1937) he wrote :

* * * * *

As I think I mentioned to you at the time, what you said seemed to be very interesting and suggestive, and I think sufficiently satisfactory for its purpose.

In a sense, of course, all sciences and philosophies are branches of cognition. The science which studies the process of cognition and also the processes of conation and of feeling is psychology.

I myself should have put things like morals and ethics and economics, *i.e.*, the normative sciences under the conative group. I see, however, that you have placed here the more practical sciences. I should have thought aesthetics come under the feeling group rather than under the cognitive group. However, all such classifications are valid only for the purpose for which they are drawn up. Hence every man is apt to draw the lines in different places and to make a slightly different arrangement. For your own purpose I have no doubt yours is quite satisfactory.

* * * * *

comparing religions and the exposition of the similarity found in the higher in respect of doctrine, ritual and legend may dim the enthusiasm of a one-eyed faith, that once claved passionately to the conviction that its religion was a new and unique revelation, springing whole and uncontaminated from a divine source. That claim was long maintained for Christianity—but much study and research, fruitfully pursued by the last generation of scholars, have invalidated that claim and it is no longer maintained by our more enlightened theologians. The indebtedness of early and latter Christianity to certain institutions, certain ritual, certain beliefs of Paganism, Hellenic, Anatolian, Egyptian, possibly Zar-thustrian has long been admitted.”¹

Every prophet borrows some being from the existing beliefs of his time. But this borrowing is not always positive. Even the reaction or what may be called the rejection of certain beliefs is also borrowing, because the source stimulating the negative attitude lies in those unacceptable beliefs already existing. We may take, for instance, any historical religion, the two aspects are always there. The very name of God—Allah was borrowed by the Prophet of Islam from the polytheistic names of the tribes of Arabia. Allah was the chief god of the tribes.² The Prophet refined the concept and said that Allah was not the chief God but the sole God, no god beside Him: “La Ila Il Allah”. On the negative side he found the tribes worshipping idols and as a reaction he rejected them absolutely.

In Sikhism too, we should expect the positive and negative influence of various religions. On the positive side the borrowing should not mean a mere transplantation of a certain belief nor on the negative side the absolute rejection of some other doctrine. It may be that whatever is accepted, is accepted with modification; and whatever is rejected, is rejected with a certain reservation. At the same time I am convinced that the essential truth, or what we may call the universal truth or that which is intrinsically true is the same in every advanced religion and the Guru, in fact every prophet, accepts this universal element of all faiths. Sometimes the same tendency leads the knowing mind to tolerate the same truth in a disguised and therefore different form. This

1. A. O. G.

2. S. B. E., VI, p. XII, E. H. Palmer.

fact is very much marked in the teachings of the Guru. The Tenth Guru, as has already been quoted, declared this unity in the external diversity of all religions. But the pulse of the feeling of this unity or the universal truth always beats high or low in the history of mankind. The curve of the mind of a nation or society, of different peoples in different places, rises and falls like the curve of individual minds. There is neither an absolute forward progress nor an absolute backward regress. When the curve of a people's mind falls there appears some lever in the form of a prophet. He sheds light, people realise their fall and rise. They do not constantly rise. The curve falls, not always due to the same reasons, nor always in the same sphere. A prophet comes not always in the religious field, but in the field where he is needed most. Necessity, they say, is the mother of invention. Mental necessity rears up a giant—mind suited to the occasion. Religious deterioration produces a prophet, political degeneration gives birth to a general or an agitator, economic depression presses forward a reconstruction of financial system at the hands of some Marx or Lenin and social degradation creates a remodeller of society. Thus the mental curve of mankind goes on. We have already seen the various shades of the fall of this curve at the time of the Guru in India. Now we have to see how and in what way the same fall determined its own rise through the help of the Gurus.

The system of Nanak has been looked at through various coloured glasses. First we have the Hindu eye. What the colour of that eye is, nobody has so far succeeded in defining. "To many it seems to be a name without any content. Is it (Hinduism) a museum of beliefs, a medley of rites, or a mere map, a geographical expression? Its content, if it has any, has altered from age to age, from community to community. It meant one thing in the Vedic period, another in the Brahmanical, and a third in the Buddhist. It seems one thing to the Saivite, another to the Vaisnavite, a third to the Sakta".¹ Before I agree or disagree with Dr. Trumpp, Maurice Bloomfield and Narang² that Sikhism is nothing but

1. The Hindu View of Life, by Sir, Radhakrishnan, p. 12.

2. 'It (Sikhism) is a phase of Hindu religious development. (T. O. S., XVI, App. II). He (Nanak) was the first Hindu reformer of modern times.' Perhaps Dr. Narang wants to class Nanak with Dayanand and Rammohan Roy. 'Sikhs form a part of Hindus', p. 17. Dr. Narang goes so far that he changes the construction of some words which the Guru used according to Punjabi syntax and structure, as Stuti for Ustat, Stri for Istri etc, Swami

Hinduism,¹ I would like to discuss what the word Hinduism stands for.

Neither the Encyclopaedia Britannica, nor that of Religion and Ethics gives us a clear cut definition, in the light of which we may definitely say, whether or not, Sikhism is 'universally' Hinduism or a branch of it. Thus W. Crooke writes in the latter. "No problem is more difficult than that of framing a definition of Hinduism—many of the tests which have been proposed from time to time are obviously inadequate." Again to quote Macnicol, "The question, What is Hinduism, is one to which no one is likely ever to be able to give a simple or quite intelligible answer. It has no creed summing up authoritatively its tenets. It has no historical personality as its centre whose life dates its beginning that can be discerned. It may be described rather as an encyclopaedia of religion, than as a religion, a vast conglomerate, comprehensive in the widest sense, an amalgam of often contradictory beliefs and practices, held together in one by certain powerful ideas and by a system of social regulations." Sir, Alfred Lyall in his 'Asiatic Studies', compares Hinduism at its 'lower levels', to a troubled sea without shore or visible horizon, driven to and fro by the winds of boundless credulity and grotesque invention'. Govind Das in his 'Hinduism' describes it as an 'anthropological process rather than a religion'. "Hinduism", to quote from another monumental work of Sir Radhakrishnan, "has come to mean a heterogeneous mass of philosophies, religions, mythologies and magics".³

We are not concerned here with the history of the development

1. Indian Philosophy, I, p. 92.
2. Sometimes the inconsistencies in the writings of these authors are simply amusing. Thus Dr. Trumpp says that Nanak was a 'thorough Hindu' and also that he 'reproved the teachings of the Brahmins as well as the authority of the Vedas and the Puranas. A. G. CI, CVII, Bloomfield: 'Sikhism is universally Hindu, p. 109; Sikhism is a new religion, p. 176.' He (Nanak) was a Hindu at bottom, he rejected the Vedas, the Castres, the Puranas, as well as the Koran (R. I.)' Narang is more analytic in his treatment but as far as I have understood him he tries to bring Sikhism in line with some other reformatory movements within Hinduism as for instance the Arya Samaj. He emphasizes those points in which the two systems agree and neglects those on account of which the former steps out of the fold of Hinduism and the latter sticks to it. But even as far as the Dr has gone the inconsistencies are traceable. They are about Hindu caste, Hindu mythology and Hindu incarnations. (See p. 12: XII; II; XI; 6. XII).

(Continued from p. 64)

Sri for Istri etc., Swami Dayanand had made the same mistake when in his *Satyarat Prakash* he wrote that Nanak ought to have used Nirbhay instead of Nirbhau.

of Hinduism, but a brief discussion to throw some light on the ancient background of Sikhism may not be out of place. If a careful analysis were to be made I would explain this medley of thoughts in Hinduism by reference to its three sources. One is the pure Aryan cult. The other is the pre-Aryan form of crude Tantrism of the South, which influenced the Aryan mind when the Aryans travelled towards the southern and eastern parts of India, after crossing the land of five rivers of the Punjab and the Ghaggar-Suraswati valley. These two have been recognised by every scholar of Hindu philosophy. But the new excavations of the buried cities of Mohan-jo-daro and Harrapa give a clue to another pre-Aryan civilisation which is sometimes called the Indus civilisation.' It could not really be imagined that the Aryan invaders from the north-west side found the Panjab and the Indus valley empty of people and uninhabited by human beings. Nor can one believe the other alternative that the Aryans may have pushed the natives of this valley in toto to southward. Some mixtures of ideas did take place before the Aryans spread out to the eastern and Southern parts of India. This Aryan expansion must have taken place long after their settlement in the Panjab and the Indus valley. Rig Veda is the product of this settled life of the Aryans.

The new discoveries of recent years based on the latest excavations give some idea of the animal worship of those days. The Lord must then have been the Pasu-pati, the Lord of the cattle, who also became the Lord of all beings. The mixture of these three strands in the early Indian Aryanism, out of which grew the later Hinduism with so many systems of thought, philosophy and religion, from which also in part, I must say the main part as far as the theoretical side of Sikhism is concerned, were derived principles of Sikh religion and philosophy. To reach the stage of Sikhism one has to look back to a great historical process beginning with pure Aryanism, Aryanism blending with the ideas of the ancient people of India and the result of their mixture what we call Hinduism. Later Zoroastrianism, Islam and Christianity also join to produce the new born religion of the sixteenth century of India. With this ancestorship I am not inclined to believe that Sikhism is mere Hinduism. We have already seen how vague the term Hinduism is. Even the broadest definition of Hinduism as a religion cannot include Sikhism as such. To

say that every one is a Hindu who does not repudiate that designation¹ gives us no positive content. By using a different connotation of the term Hindu (as we have not got a definite one) a Sikh may in one sense call himself a Hindu and in the other may 'repudiate the designation.' Thus Hinduism is such a wide term that sometimes it is even coextensive with the term Indian.

As indicative of a system of beliefs Hinduism is a such heterogeneous intermixture that there will be no religion in the world whose essential teachings, some how or other, cannot be traced to Hindu scriptures.² This does not mean that no religion is original or Islam and Christianity are also branches of Hinduism. Strangely enough this unlimited character of Hinduism has led some writers to believe that there was a time when Hinduism or as I once heard a Vedic missionary say, the Vedic religion, was the religion of the whole universe. Thus for instance S. Khazan Singh writes: There are many more analogies which clearly go to establish the fact that Hinduism in ancient times pervaded the whole earth.³ He supports his contention by a quotation from Lieut. Colonel James Todd's *Religions, Establishments, Festivals and Customs of Mewar*, who, however, is more modest in his statement: 'That a system of Hinduism pervaded,' writes the Colonel, 'the Babylonian, Assyrian empires, scripture furnishes abundant proofs.' I am not concerned with the truth or the falsity of the theory. In fact modern agricultural, architectural and linguistic and anthropological researches indicate that Africa and India including Western Asia were once one patch of land inhabited by people of common beliefs and customs. Thus the same writer Khazan Singh holds that Hinduism was the only religion in the ancient world. At some time Abraham revolted and a Semitic religion was formed. These two religions are the original source of all the modern religions of the world. "It is clear" goes on Khazan Singh, "that all the religions now existing in the world under different appellations, either Hindu or Muslim beliefs variegated only in their subordinate details. And the Sikhs and the Khalsa are also Hindus in that sense, although they form a compromise between the two, different in their rituals and ceremonials which mark them out as a distinct religion. In fact the Khalsa

1. Cf. *Essentials of Hinduism* by Govind Das.

2. Cf. *Hinduism and Islam* and *Buddhism and Islam*, by Abul Fazal, 1909, 1910, respectively.

3. H. P. S.

represent the oldest religion of the world from which both the present Hindu and Muhammadans are descended. They represent the oldest religion in its most pure and perfect form, rejecting and discarding all later corruptions and adulterations".¹ The reader cannot expect anything more dogmatic. I have come across some orthodox Nirmalas too arguing about the antiquity and the purity of the Khalsa in a similar tone. The tables here are quite turned. History is reversed. This does not help us much. What this brings us to, is that in this far fetched and too broad a sense, not only Sikhism is Hinduism, but there is no religion left in the world which directly or indirectly has not grown out of Hinduism.

I think the best way to understand Hinduism is not to take it as a religion, but as a culture, as a definite type of civilisation, which like every other civilization of the olden days, was determined by its creed'.² The idea of 'other worldliness' has played an important part in forming the outlook of people in this civilisation. It is a mould for society, irrespective of the religious faiths participating in it, and such it has developed through experiences both religious and social of a vast number of generations.³ When I say 'Sikhism is not Hinduism' I mean by the latter the Brahmanical faith. When I say 'Sikhism is Hinduism' I mean by it the Hindu culture. I shall discuss the relation between Sikhism and Brahmanism a little later, but I was tempted to make this distinction between Hinduism as religion which is Brahmanism and Hinduism as a historical process of Indian culture. What Sir Radhakrishnan has described in his 'Hindu View of Life' seems to me to be the Brahmanical view of it. That is not a wrong use of the word Hindu but only another and a narrower use of it. The vital principle of this culture to quote from the same book is, 'its insistence on the inward life of spirit'. And also, that the religious experience of a Hindu is Darsana—insight into the nature of Reality and Anubhava—the actual experience of that reality. Thus Hindu culture would bring under it all systems of thought, of Indian origin at least. It will not be too wrong to say that under this cultural interpretation of Hinduism can be brought

1. H. P. S., p. 342.

2. Cf. Viscount Samuel in 'Philosophy' 1938.

3. Cf. Two notes on 'Who is a Hindu?' which appeared in the *Tribune*, Lahore on March 31st, 1940 and April 4th, 1940, respectively.

the Indian Christians, Muslims and Parsis who share with the general Indian mind a common music, a common art, a common basis of literature and more or less a common outlook on life.¹

On the basis of theoretical beliefs, I think the nearest approach to this view-point of interpreting Hinduism as a culture is that of Prof. Dass Gupta in his 'History of Indian Philosophy'.² Briefly stated it comes to : that a man's reality is his soul, which suffers in the form of endless cycle of births and deaths as a result of his actions—Karma. The purpose of man's life is the permanent release from this suffering of transmigration. This if analysed falls under three heads : Soul, Karma and Release. It may be said that the Charvakas form an exception to these beliefs. But they never occupied a popular place in the systems of Indian thought. They are, in fact, extreme materialists who represent a type of people who are found everywhere and at every time. They are sensualists believing in 'eat, drink, and be merry' denying the existence of God and soul. Thus defined Hinduism becomes an anthropological movement embracing all peoples living in India. Sikhism is one phase of that movement.

The attempt to interpret Sikhism as Hinduism, apart from its cultural implications, or more precisely to interpret Sikhism as Brahmanism, has been as history shows, repudiated by the Hindus themselves. For instance in the days of Guru Amar Das the Brahmans took a deputation to Emperor Akbar and represented to him their complaint in the following words : Guru Amar Das of Goindwal hath abandoned the religious and social customs of the Hindus and abolished the distinction of the four castes. There is now no twilight prayer, no gyatri, no offering of water to ancestors, no pilgrimages, no obsequies, and no worship of idols or of the divine Salagram,—no one now acteth according to the Vedas or the Simrits—no gods or goddesses,³ Fani, so often quoted, did not fail to mark in the very days of the Gurus that Sikhism was developing as a separate religion. Thus he writes in the days of the Sixth Guru that the Sikhs, do not recite the Mantras of the Hindus, they do not venerate their temples, nor do they esteem their Avataras. The Sanskrit language, which according to

1. Cf. Professor Rapson in his Cambridge History of India, i, p. 55 ; and Dr. Macnicol in L. R. I.—Indian Christianity.

2. Vol. I, p. 71, 74, 75.

3. S. R., II, p. 105.

the Hindus is the language of the gods is not held in such great estimation by the Sikhs. —Among them there is nothing of the religious rites of the Hindus; they know of no check of eating or drinking. When Partab Mal, a wise Hindu, saw that his son wished to adopt the faith of the Musalmans he asked him: Why does thou wish to become a Musalman? If thou likest to eat everything, become a Guru of the Sikhs (perhaps he meant a Sikh of the Gurus) and whatever thou desirest thou canst eat and drink'.¹

III

Now we come to the other side of the picture. If the Hindus have tried to prove Nanak and his system as Hindu, the Muslims have also attempted to bring him in their fold and to represent that his teachings were Islamic. I shall analyse the points of agreement and difference between the two systems under the head of 'Islam as a source of Sikhism' and here I simply want to point out that there is another coloured glass too which has been used to see Sikhism through. A. S. Gordon describes it as a Hindu sect but having been inspired by Muhammadanism.² But this view has not been put forward so definitely and one-sidedly as it has been done by Mirza Ghulam Ahmad in his 'Sat Bachan'.³ After placing Nanak above all the Hindu Rishis, prophets and gods, he goes on to say that the knowledge contained in the hymns of Nanak is so subtle and divine that it is impossible to find the like of it in the Vedas or the other books of the Hindus. Having done so he maintains that Guru Granth is an exposition and a commentary of the Holy Quran and that Nanak was really a Muhammadan. Further on he analyses the teachings of Nanak in the same one-sided spirit and then quotes from Hughes' Dictionary of Islam, to support his contention of Nanak being a Muslim.⁴

IV

There remains a third school of orthodox Sikhs and of sympathetic English scholars. The former hold that Sikhism was revealed by God and is absolutely new and that it rose in a complete detachment of any background whatsoever. Even Mr. Macauliffe writes: Now there is here presented a religion totally unaffected by Semitic

1. *The Dabistan*, p. 269, 286.

2. E. R. E.

3. *Sat Bachan* by Hazrat Masih Maud, Mahdi Masaud, Mursil-i-Rabbani Mirza Ghulam Ahmad Sahib Qadiani. December 1911.

4. *Sat Bachan*, p. 3, 6, 30, 124.

or Christian influences. Based on the concept of the unity of God, it rejected Hindu formularies and adopted an independent ethical system, ritual, and standards which were totally opposed to the theological beliefs of Guru Nanak's age and country—it would be difficult to point out to a religion of greater originality or to a more comprehensive ethical system.¹ In a similar strain writes Miss Dorothy Field, 'A reading of the Granth strongly suggests that Sikhism should be regarded as a new and separate world religion.' In another passage she says: The religion is also one which should appeal to the occidental mind. It is essentially a practical religion. If judged from the pragmatistical standpoint in some quarters it would rank almost first in the world.²

V

I accept the view of the critical school with modification. Most of them hold that Sikhism is a mixture of Islam and Hinduism. Some of these say that the background of Sikhism is 'plainly Hindu' and Islam was a directive element in some of its principles.³ Others hold that it was a mixture of the higher elements of the two religions.⁴ "This religion was a sort of compound of Muhammadanism and Hinduism, in which the leading doctrines of both were reconciled by a strange kind of combination".⁵ To me Sikhism presents a two-fold aspect: the ground and the superstructure of Sikhism are clearly discernable. The background of Sikhism is not Hindu alone but Aryan and Semetic both. At the same time from the very beginning it asserts itself as an independent religion, in which a new spirit breathes and on which the mighty personality of the Guru has left an indelible impress.

This brings us to the originality of the Guru or the newness of Sikhism. If we analyse the philosophy and religion of the Sikhs into bits and pieces then there is nothing what we can call original or new in it. But I do not think that in this sense anybody can assert absolute originality of any system, philosophy or religion of the world. This absolute newness is inconceivable. As A. H. Whitehead says in his 'Adventures of Ideas', "Of course no novelty is wholly novel"; it is what he calls the 'shift of emphasis' which

1. S. R., I, P. LIV.

2. R. O. S., P. 10.

3. Cf. *Theism in Medieval India*, V. p. 485—95, T. G. S., Appendix II.

4. Cunningham, Morier, Wheeler and others.

5. Early Records of British India, p. 180.

strikes new in various systems. What is new in Sikhism is not its bits and pieces of which it is made, but the form or the whole, in which those pieces are synthesised, never existed before the Guru in India or even in Asia. It is in this sense that Dorothy Field and Macauliffe speak of the originality of the system of the Guru. Therefore such statements should not be a matter of surprise for Bloomfield¹ or any other scholar. It is too wide to say, "that on the side of the doctrine or philosophy, Sikhism contains absolutely nothing new, nothing that is not to be found elsewhere, in some place, at sometime in India." 'Some place', and 'some time', these words of Bloomfield are too general. These two phrases do not mean 'at the same time and at the same place'. The 'synthetic whole' of doctrine or philosophy, as Sikhism presents to the world, as far as my study goes, was never and no where present before the birth of this religion. Of course, the brick and mortar of the structure of Sikhism laid scattered everywhere. It is not the material that matters, but it is the mould or the pattern in which that material is shaped, which is importance. It is in the architecture that we find the mind of the architect revealed and not in the material stuff of the building. Never has the concept of Maya (in the sense of 'illusion' pure and simply)² combined in itself both reality and the unreality of the world; never before was the cosmos considered to be an evolutionary as well as a develotionary process; never before did the Karma become absolutely extinguishable by the grace of God; never before the divinity of God and the humanity of man were conceieved in every human being; never before were hell and heaven—the sources of barbarian terror and attraction—abolished from the sphere of religion; never before was the pessimism of India replaced by a high optimism in this world of misery and mirth; and finally never before on the soil of India had such a complete metamorphosis, to use Dorothy Eiels's term, taken place, so that jackals were turned into lions and sparrows were emboldened to face the falcons. These are some of the features which require a systematic discussion in which we shall see that after all the old bottles were once emptied and refilled with new contents. We now turn to the main systems of thought to see what did each contribute positively or negatively to the structure of this new faith and philosophy.

1. Cf. An article on Sikhism in *History of Religions*, p. 169.

2. For another interesting interpretation see *Indian and Western Philosophy* by Dr. Betty Heimann, p. 53.

CHAPTER V HINDUISM IN RELATION TO SIKHISM

I.—Brahmanism

A.—VEDIC

STRICTLY speaking Brahminism is the religion preached by the Brahmana part of the Vedas. There are three parts in each Veda : Mantras or the hymns known as Sanhita, the Brahmanas dealing with religious duties and teachings and the Upanisads being the philosophical portion of the Vedic literature. The definite form of the Hindu or the Brahminical faith begins with the Brahmanas. Of course on the philosophical side there is a gradual development from the hymns to the Upanisads. But the earlier age "is the age of groping, where superstition and thought are yet in conflict".¹ The Darsanas come next and the critical school with commentaries on Sutras follows.² The concept of God varied from time to time and there is a regular development from polytheism to henotheism (or kathenotheism as Professor Max Muller termed it), and then to monotheism and monism.³ Simple and primitive as the Vedic mind was, it was not given to much introspection and thinking. A Vedic seer was attracted by the objective beauty of nature. "The earliest seers of the Vedic hymns delighted in the sights of nature in their own simple and unconscious way. Being essentially of a poetic temperament, they saw things of nature with such intensity of feeling and force of imagination that things became suffused with souls—the moon, the stars, the sea and the sky, the dawn and the nightfall were regarded as divine. This worship of nature as such is the earliest form of Vedic religion".⁴ After this we have what is known as anthropomorphism. Like the early Greeks the Vedic mind deified the mighty forces of nature. Man considers himself to be a weak and tiny creature as compared with his natural environment, which is rather permanent and much stronger than him. Such for example are : Heaven, earth, clouds, thunder, fire, air, water, mountains, forests and rivers etc. As a result we meet the

1. I. P., I, p. 57.

2. Cf. I. P., I, p. 66 and I. P., p. 18, 24.

3. Cf. I. P., I, pp. 89–92, 92–99.

4. *Ibid*, p. 73.

following gods mentioned in the Vedic hymns: Varuna, Mitra, Maruts, Surya or Savitr, Visnu, Pusan, Usa, Avins, Adityas, Agni, Soma, Yama, Parjanya, Indra, Vrtra, Vata or Vayu, Rudra, Sindhu, Saraswati, Vak, Sakti etc.

Next is the stage when the mind felt confused with so many gods and a tendency appeared to identify one god with another or with all gods together. First we have henotheism, holding one or the other, not always the same god as supreme and the others subordinate to him. Varuna, at last, succeeded in emerging through the host of gods. But sometimes his rank was challenged by Indra, at another time by Prajapati. Then we have also got the concept of Brahmā.

The Guru seems to have taken the fruit of the whole process. He rejected both polytheism and henotheism and accepted monotheism and monism. To me there seems to be a difference between the Vedic and the Guru's approach of the unity and the universality of reality. The Vedic Brahmā is more the outcome of the animistic tendencies and that of the Gurus of its supreme unity. The process is reversed. The latter starts with one God and universalises Him, the former starts with 'many' and occasionally gives the glimpses of 'one'. It is more cosmic in character whereas the Guru is more theistic in spirit. Beginning from the Semitic unity of God he comes down to the cosmic reality of the all pervading Brahmā.

In cosmology, Deussen gives the following four theories of creation held by the Hindu thinkers. These of course belong to the Upanisad period. At the polytheistic level several gods were looked upon as the authors of the universe. The four theories are; (1) that matter exists from eternity independently of God, which he fashions but does not create; (2) that God creates the universe out of nothing, although His creation, yet it remains independent of God; (3) that God creates the universe by transforming Himself into it; (4) that God alone is real and there is no creation at all. The Guru as we shall see rejects the first two and combines the third and the fourth but modifies them in the synthesis.

The Karma and rebirth are accepted by the Guru but they have undergone a change on account of his, what we may call, the religion of grace. The nature of release or Moksha has also been conceived differently on account of the same grace element in his system.

As a religious system the following elements of Brahmanical faith have been rejected by the Guru :

1. The authority of the Vedas was set aside by the Guru. He does not believe that the truth revealed in them is absolute or complete and by reading them one can realise perfection.¹

2. Yajna or Yagya, Havan and sacrifice were discarded.

3. As a necessary corollary following from the above is the futility of recognising any priestly class.²

4. The Ashrama Dharma theory of dividing man's life into four stages was rejected by the Guru and in its place a healthy psychological readjustment with man's environments within the household life was preached and emphasised by the Guru.

5. The Varna distinction and division of human society had become mechanical and hereditary. It became a source of pride and contempt for members of the higher classes and of a feeling inferiority and undesirable servility for members of the lower classes.³

6. With the fall of the authority of the Vedas, Sanskrit lost its divine sanctity and prestige in the eyes of the Guru and his disciples. No language was sacred, he declared. God under-

1. (a)—G. G., p. 56 : Sri Rag Mahala I :

Kete pandit jotki Beda (Vedas) karhi bichar—8—5.

(b)—p. 211, Gauri Mahala V :

Bed (Vedas) Puran Smrti bhane —4—6—144.

(c)—p. 216, Gauri Mahala V :

Chatur Bed mukh bachni uchrai āgai mahl na pāiai—3—6—164.

(d)—p. 226, Gauri Mahala I :

Par par pothi Smrti patha,
Bed Puran parai sun thata,
Bin ras rate man bahu nata—7—11.

(e)—p. 265, Gauri Sukhmani Mahala V :

Bahu Sastar bahu Smrti pekhe sarab dhandol,
Pujas nāhi Hari Hare Nanak nām amol.—Sloka III.

(f)—p. 686, Dhanasari Mahala V :

Pare re sagal Bed nah chukai man bhed, ik khin na dhirhi mere ghar ke
pancha—3.

(g)—p. 748, Suhi Mahala V :

Bed Kateb Smrit sabh Sasat in Parian mukt na hoi—50.

(h)—Also see S. R., i, p. 177 ; A. G., p. CXII.

For detailed treatment of the subject see Guru Sahib Ate Ved by Bhai Jodh Singh ; Ham Hindu Nahin by Bh. Kahn Singh and G. P., & G. S. by the same author.

2. Cf. S. R., V, p. 158.

3. G. G., p. 53, Sri Rag Mahala V :

Warn awarn na bhāwni je kisai wadā kare.....

stands our feelings and intentions without their being clothed in words.

The above six were the main columns of the Brahminical faith which were rejected by the Guru¹. "The emphasis on

1. On these points the following references selected from the holy books of the two religions will be of further interest :

I.—(a) Teaching of Brahmn by No, No—S. B. E. Vpanisads, p. 88 ;

(b) Ditto ditto S. B. E. Vedanta Sutra, Vol. 34, p. LIV ; Vol. 38, pp. 166—175 ; Vol. 48, pp. 615—618.

We have already seen that the Guru rejected Shah Hussain's hymns on the ground of this idea of 'silence' about God. The Guru says in Rag Asa that his God is most manifest :

Bed Kateb sansar habha hun bāhrā, Nanak ka Patsah disai jāhrā (G. G., p. 397, Asa Mahala V, 4—3—105).

II.—A—The knowledge of Brahmn is increased by Brahmanical rites and Veda study. S. B. E. Vedanta Sutra, Vol. 48, p. 147 ; Laws of Manu, p. 204.

B.—Brahmn is to be known only from scriptures, Vedanta Sutra, S. B. E., Vol. 48, pp. 337—347 ; Vol. 34, pp. 223—229.

C.—Veda knowledge and Veda study procure union with Brahmn : Laws of Manu, p. 165 ; S. B. E., Vol. 44, p. 99.

D.—Union with Brahmn is reached by good conduct, by performing religious rites and the like : S. B. E. Vols. 2, 7, 8, 14, 15, 25 ; pp. 218, 183, 106, 249, 176, 25 respectively.

III.—The Guru denies Brahmanical Karma Kanda and its formalism and preaches instead the love of God and the service of mankind :

A.—(1) G. G., p. 62, Sri Rag Mahala I :

Andar khāli prem bin dhah dheri tan chhār.....15.

(2) P. 139, Slok Mahala II,
Bhai ke charṇ kar bhaw ke loṇ surt kare. War Majh, Sloka III.

(3) P. 112, Majh Mahala III :
Prem prit sada dhīāiai bhai bhāi bhagi dirṛawaṇiā—4—5—6.

(4) P. 881, Ramkali Mahala IV :
Mere ik khin pran na rahai bin pritam bin dekhe marhi meri maia—2—5.

(5) P. 253, Gauri Bawan Akhari Mahala V :
Mirtak kahiai Nanaka je prit nahin Bhagwant—Sloka XVI.

B.—(1) G. G., p. 25, Sri Rag Mahala I :
Wich dunia sew kamāiai, tan dargah baisaṇ jāiai—4—33.

(2) P. 1012, Maru Mahala I :
Bin sewa kinai na paiaṇ dujai bharm khāi—3—5th Ashtpadi.

(3) P. 1244—Sarang ki war Mahala I :
Ghal khai kichh Hathuh dei, Nanak Rah pachchane sei—XXII.

(4) Service should be voluntary and there is no merit if it is performed under pressure :

Bhadhdha chatti je bhare na guṇ na upkār,

Seti khusi swariai Nanak karaj sar.

War Suhi, Mahala II, VII Sloka, p. 787

Sati Guru ki sewa saful hai jeko kare chit lai.

X Sloka, Mahala III, War Bihagara, p. 552.

(5) P. 647, War Sorath Mahala III :
Man tan agai rakh kai ubhi sew kare. XIV Sloka,

sacrifice," writes Sir Radhakrishnan, "the observance of caste and the asramas, the eternity of the Veda, all belong to the teaching of the Brahmins." Here it was a kind of negative reaction or a revolt against Brahmanical tradition preached by the Guru on the practical side of the religion. In the mechanical observances of the Brahmanical rites the Guru found no satisfaction for the craving of the spirit and no peace for the agitating mind. 'This mechanical spirit of tradition is essentially materialistic, it is

(Continued from p. 76)

- (6) P. 861, Gaur Mahala IV :
Jan Nanak tis ke qarn pakhaliai, jo Harijan nich jati sewkan—4.
- (7) *Ibid.*
Nihkapt sewa kijai Hari kerī, tār mere man sarab sukh paie—5.
- (8) P. 266, Gauri Sukhmani Mahala V :
Char padarath jeko magai, Sādh janā ki sewa lāgai. 3rd Ashtpadi.
- (9) P. 882, Rag Ramkali, Mahala V : Pawhu charnatali upari āwahu,
aisi sew kamāwahu—4—2.

IV.—G. G., p. 467, Rag Asa, Sloka Mahala I :

- (a) Like likh paria teta karia.....9 See the whole Sloka.
- (b) Paria howai gunhgār tā omī sadhu na māriai.....Pauri 12.
- (c) See also G. N. Chapter V.

V.—A : G. G., p. 465, Asa Mahala I :

Wai na chele nachan Gur.....Sloka 5.
Tirath nawhi archa puja agarwas bah kar.....Sloka 6.
Gal māla tilk līlātā.....Sloka 14.

- B : G. G., p. 633 : Sorath Mahala I :
Dubidha na paṛo Hari bin hor na pujo marai masan na jāi.....1.
- C : G. G., p. 381, Asa Mahala V :
Ram nam jap hirde jāpai mukh te sagl sunawai.....4—43.
- D : G. G., p. 388, Asa Mahala V :
Hari Hari akhkar due ih māla.....
Hari māla ur aṅtar dhārai
- E : G. G., p. 747, Suhi Mahala V :
Karm dharm pakhand jo disai.....50.
- F : G. G., pp. 951—53, Sloka Mahala I :
See the whole Sloka 11 & 12 :
Hindu kai ghar Hindu awai.....
Manmukh Hari mandar ki sār na jāni.....

VI.—God-Brahmn created the castes : S. B. E. Laws of Manu, p. 326, 413 ;
Laws of Manu revealed by God, S. B. E. Vol. p. XV, 19 ; Vol. 33, p. 35.
Sudras not qualified for divine knowledge, Vedānta Sūtra, Vol. 34,
p. XXXVII, 223—9 ; Vol. 48, p. 337—347.

The Guru condemned caste system and held that the knowledge was not reserved for any caste or sect. "Whoever loves Him finds Him." *Jin prem kio tihī prabh paio.* (Swayyas—10th Guru). Some scholars, both European and Indian, hold the view that the Guru condemned the caste in theory but did not set it aside in practice. V. A. Smith in his Oxford History of India defines caste in terms of restriction in diet and marriage. The Gurus set aside both these restrictions. Without going into details I give below some historical and scriptural references :—

blindly pious but not spiritual, obsessed by phantoms of unreason

(Continued from p. 76)

Historical : (a) Distinction of caste not observed in matrimonial relations. S. R., II, p. 132, V. p. 108.

(b) Differences of social status and restrictions of caste were ignored in the kitchen-service and other activities of life. Kings and beggars, Brahmins and Sudras had all to sit in the same row in the Guru's kitchen. See S. R., I, p. 52, II, p. 15, 33, 84, 85, 97, III, p. 16, IV, 220, V. p. 93, 101.

Scriptural :—

I.—(a) G. G., p. 83, Sri Rag ki War Mahala I :

Phakkar jāti phakkar nāu,
Sabhna jāi ik ka chhāu 1—3.

(b) G. G., p. 112, Majh Mahala III :

Dehi jāti na aggai jāe,
Jithai lekha māngiai, tiththai chhutte sachh kamāe. 3—4—5.

(c) G. G., p. 1309, Kanrā Mahala IV :

Jati na jati dekh mati bharmo,
Suk-Janak pagi lag dhiāwai go. 2nd Ashtpadi.

(d) G. G., p. 52, Sri Rag Mahala I :

Waran awaran na bhawni je kise wadā kare.—I Ashtpadi.

(e) G. G., p. 498, Gujri Mahala V :

Baran jati koā puchhai nāhi bachhah charn rewaro—10.

II.—G. P., Articles, 545—550.

III.—G. S., Kala I, 53, 54, 84, 219.

II, 126, 129, 130, 244, etc.

Outside the Sikh circle the following authorities support the above contentions : Mohsan Fani. English translation, p. 270, 286 : Malcolm, p. 46, also the footnote ; Barth, p. 246. Whereas among the Hindus even the most reforming mind like that of Dayanand believed in the caste distinctions : *Light of Truth*, p. 298, 300—305.

VII.—Assimilation with Brahmin is obtained by going the path of the four Ashramas : S. B. E. Gita, p. 316, Vol. 14, p. 275.

The Guru teaches that a uniform state of mind 'Ikraś' should be cultivated and the life should be lived in the house laughing, playing, eating, dressing and merrymaking but with an attitude of non-attachment.

I.—G. G., p. 414 : Asa Mahala I :

Kahā Chlah man rahuh ghare, 2—7.

II.—G. G., p. 422 : Gujri ki War, Mahala V :

(a) Nanak Sat Guru bhetiai pīri howai jugt.

Hasandiā, khelandiā, panandiā, khawandiā wiche howai mukht.—XVI Sloka.

(b) Uddam karedia jio tūn, kamawdiā sukh bhunch ;

Dhinaidiā tūn Prabhu mil. Nanak utri chint—XVII Sloka,

III.—G. G., p. 1297, Kanrā Mahala IV :

Char baran Chār āshram hai, koi milai Gur. Gur Nanak so āp tarai kul sagal toradho.—2—5—11.

IV.—W. G., War, I, XIX Stanza :

Bhai gilāni jagatwich chār waran āshram uhae.....

Kalijug andar bharm bhulae—19.

V.—G. P., p. 394, Article No. 547.

that hunt feeble minds in the ghastly disguise of religion'.¹ The Guru declared: the Karma and mechanical observances are mere hypocrisies and they lead to death.² He, therefore, said "Abide pure amid the impurities of the world".³

The controversy about the Hindu mythology and incarnations belongs more to the Vaisnava school of Hinddism and will be dealt with in that section.

B.—THE GITA AND THE GRANTH

If there is any book with which the Granth resembles in its implications, that one I think is the Gita. There has been some controversy about the origin of the teachings of the Gita, but as Macnicol points out, "it may not be the case, that the Gita 'emanates from an un-Brahmanical source' but it would seem to represent an attempt to bring together the doctrine of the identity of the individual and the Supreme soul with the popular theism which in Visnu and his incarnation Krishna." This idea was borrowed from the Upanisadas, and this Advaitistic idea is very common both in the Gita and the Granth.

The teachings of the Gita have been interpreted by different school in three different ways. One believes in Advaitism (absorption of the individual soul with God) with Gyan (knowledge) through Sannyas (renunciation); the other is Dvaitism (dualism, soul when becomes perfect does not merge into God but reaches His presence) with Gyan through Bhakti (mystic devotion); the third which has been more clearly expounded by late B. G. Tilak, is what is known as Energism—Karma Marga, is derived from the practical dilemma in which Arjuna was placed. This agrees with the first school except that the path in the case of the latter is renunciation and in the case of the former it is Karma (action). The Guru makes a new synthesis. He takes up Advaitism as philosophy with Gyan in practical life. The approach to it lies not exclusively in any of the three traditional paths but in aesthetic appreciation of the workings of God in every minute detail of our worldly life.

There are some other points of difference too. The religion of Bhagawad Gita has a handicap of which Sikhism seems to be

1. R. O. M., p. 121.
2. G. G., p. 747, Suhi Mahala V :
Karma dharma pakhand jo disah tin jam jagati lūtai—3—50.
3. G. G., p. 741, Suhi Mahala I :
Anjan mahi niranjan rahiai jog jugt iw paiai.....1—8.

free. That is the corporeal personality of Krishna-God in flesh and bone. The Sarguna (saguna) concept of God—the attributive reality of Brahmn—in the Gita, in this respect is very much lowered. A Sikh is more or less safe from the logical difficulty which Arjuna had to face. There is a great gap between Arjuna and Lord Krishna. This gap is difficult to fill. Arjuna however much he may try can never expect to occupy the same high pulpit where Lord Krishna stood. Psychologically this supreme position is helpful in devotion, but harmful in the ultimate elation of spirit. This logical contradiction in the Advaitism of the Gita is not always felt in that of the Granth. The Guru of a Sikh, though represented to be perfect from birth, is not so far removed from him as the Lord is from Arjuna. The personality of the Guru is a model which is meant to be realised and can be realised. And history testifies this fact. We have seen how the 'five beloved ones' baptised their own Lord, thus bringing to the same level the Guru and the Sikhs.

Apart from the logical difficulty, this brings in a theological difference that the Gita accepts and the Granth rejects the Avatara theory of the incarnations of God.

At the lower level the Krishna cult degenerates into idol-worship and the degrading Rasa-dancings and farsical performances which the Guru condemns in War Asa.¹ Emphasis on the worship of idols and symbols for devotional purposes is met with in the Gita.² Symbols have some sentimental value and are very useful in mental attachment to ideals. But in course of time the ideals disappear and an empty formalism remains. The Guru transferred the objective concentration of the devotee through manifest nature to pure form of God, to word contained in the Granth, and to the holy congregation. For individual guidance, intercourse with the developed minds, saints and Sikhs is mentioned, but it is doubtful how far a regard for a saint can in practical sense be distinguished from men-worship; and the respect for the Granth from idol-worship. The attachment to the Holy congregation was a better substitute but it requires a great patience and control. A single personality has a great force and magnetism, but it sometimes leads to unhealthy subjection and mental deterioration.

1. G. G., p. 465, Slok Mahala I :
Wāin chele nachchan gur.....
Gāwan gopia Jāwan kānh..... 5th Slok.

2. Gita, pp. 590—595.

In all such difficulties the Guru preached Bibek (Vivek) discrimination or insight.

There is one more difference between the teachings of the Gita and the Granth. That is about the Mumukshu—the person released. The Gita and the Vedanta goal of a Mukta—released—person is essentially individualistic. It is true that he achieves this goal through community but on its achievement he does not live for the community. Moreover when a man gets release by Gyan in his own life he continues to live because of the Prarabdh-commenced Karma. This of course dissuades him from committing suicide. But what if he dies by accident? The Guru says that all Karma is lost as soon as a Sikh reaches the stage of Jiwan Mukta. Afterwards he lives under the will of God, not aimlessly but to help others (who are also his ownself in essence) to attain release. He swims across the worldly—Sansarik—ocean and also makes others swim. He lives to help others. He dies not when the already commenced Karma comes to an end, but when God wills him to die. The concept is more Semitic—Islamic and Christian. It seems to be the outcome of the helplessness of man to understand the ultimate problems of life.

This difference is more visible in the very effort for the attainment of Mukti. The Hindu effort for Mukti is more egoistic. The Guru preaches it through Grace, combined with the humility of efforts.

C.—SIX BRAHMANICAL SCHOOLS OF PHILOSOPHY

I

The belief that the reading of the six Shastras and a mastery of the knowledge contained in them will bring salvation or will enable man to reach the ultimate ideal set before him has been repudiated by the Guru. Even on the side of knowledge he does not believe that the truth revealed in them is final. In *Sukhmani* the Guru writes: I have searched all the Shastras and the Smritis, but they do not worship God.¹ Again in *Rag Majh* he says that a man may boast of the wisdom of the six Shastras, he may perform all rituals enjoined by them, but he will not get any comfort from these things.² Bhai Gur Das too, who actually attended the Guru's sermons, writes³ in the same strain. In

1. G. G., p. 265, *Gauri Sukhmani Mahala V*.

2. S. R., III, p. 113.

3. W. G., War V, Stanza IX, War XVI, Stanza XX, War XXIII—XI.

fundamentals of philosophy the system of the Guru does not entirely agree with any one of these schools. He believes in absolute monism but like Sankara does not regard the world as unreal (an illusion). The Guru accepts the relative reality of the world. In metaphysical details there is some resemblance between Guru's philosophy and that of the Sankhya and the Vedanta; but that is only, as I say, in lower details. The concept of God (Purusha) of the Sankhya is very different from the Guru's concept of Him. In the first place the Guru denies the Sankhya plurality of selves and their co-eternality with God. The God of the Sankhya and of Daya Nand who follows the same philosophy 'is a great cosmic executive whose business is to preside over the inexorable process of transmigration and Karma.' All the three main concepts of the Sankhya; Purusa (Purusha), Prakrti and Jiva are held in quite a different way by the Guru. In this respect the Guru's system is very much derived from the Vedanta. On these points the Guru does not owe any indebtedness to Nyaya and Vaisesika, on the contrary he is directly opposed to the atomistic pluralism of the latter and a suppressed atheism of the former. As we shall see the Guru repudiates the authority of the Vedas which² the Nyayikas held as one of the important form of Logical Proofs. The Mimansic ritualism was one of the great factors which led the Guru to revolt against the religious systems of his age. He found the people of his days missing the wood for the trees. Means had become ends and ends were lost sight of. But how interesting is the psychology of practical religion and how indispensable is symbolism for an organised faith, that the same external formalism which the Guru had condemned in the case of others, entered into his own system as soon as an attempt to organise it was made by the last Guru. At this stage a modified Mimansa crept in. But this influence is not traceable in the hymns of the Granth. Their ideal is kept as lofty as it was conceived in the beginning.

II

Advaitism and Sikhism: The resemblance between the two systems is so great, that most of the Nirmala writers have been holding, at least on the theoretical side, the two systems to be absolutely identical. It is true that Sankara has influenced every

1. Dr. Griswold quoted in R. I.

2. Cf. *Indian and Western Philosophy*, p. 84.

philosophy and religion in India¹, but if closely examined, the Guru, inspite of subscribing to many views held by Sankara, differs from him on many important points. The concept of ultimate reality is almost the same in both the systems. Both Sankara and the Guru are monistic idealists. The soul, the world and the Brahmn are not conceived by Sankara as three distinct realities like the Saynkhya. According to him all the three are one; the Brahmn being the only single reality. The apparent multiplicity of both men and things is due to Maya and Avidya—illusion and ignorance. Just as through illusion a rope in a dark night is taken for a snake, similarly under the influence of Maya and Avidya, the ignorant soul considers himself to be separate from God and regards the world as real. Thus release lies in the acquirement of knowledge—Gyan—which disillusion the soul and the identity of Jiva—soul, Jagat—world, and Brahmn—God is established. Brahmn associated with Maya is known as Ishwar (Isvara) and when associated with Avidya he is known as Jiva. This knowledge is obtained by renouncing the world and adopting Sannyas and asceticism. This system of Sankara on the theoretical side is known as Advaitism and on the practical side it is known as Nivritti Marga—the path of renunciation. In this system action and knowledge are antognistic like darkness and light. With the advent of the one the other disappears. Therefore all desires (or impressions)—Vasana—are to be killed and all actions to be given up. The practical side of this system is also known as Sannyas Nishta or Gyan Nishta.

There was no place for devotion in this system and to satisfy a layman's mind a worshipful Ishwar was conceived. He is the personal God of Sankara. Such a personal God, as George Thibaut puts it, is unreal. According to the Guru God is Purkha (Purusa)—person and Sat—real. The Guru does not regard the world as simply an illusion. It is not "unreal in Cankara's sense". The Teacher's cry, "opines Carpenter, 'Rid thyself of duality' has no metaphysical significance. It is the summons to the exclusive worship of the only True. God is the universal father, who abides in every heart and makes all partners in His infinite activity."³ This interpretation of J. E. Carpenter implies the recogni-

1. Cf. I. P., II, p. 658.

2. S. B. E., Vol. 34, p. XXX.

³ *Theism in Medieval India*, p. 485.

tion of duality of God and soul. For the Guru the reality of the world and the soul is not an illusion but they are real only in a relative sense. Nothing is real in the sense in which God is real. On the practical side the Guru preached Pravritti but in an Nivrittic spirit—living in the world with a detached frame of mind. The common formula of the Nirmala scholars more or less sums up the practical side of the Guru's system. *Ride Gyan, Mukh Bhakti, Wartan Wairag*: Enlightened mind with a devotional love expressing non-attachment in behaviour. The advaitism of the Guru never found expression in Vedantic phrases like: *Ahn Brahmanasi*. I am God or *Tattvam Asi*—That art Thou. To refer again to the episode of the Guru's rejecting of hymns of some Bhagtas at the time of the compilation of the Granth, this overconfident divinity of the finite self was the ground on which Kahna could not get his hymns approved by the Guru. The mere monistic character of the Guru's system should not lead us to say that Sikhism is nothing but Advaita Vedantism.

2. VAISNAVISM

I.—General

Vaisnavism is the Bhakti cult of Hinduism. On account of devotional element in Sikhism it has often been regarded as an offshoot of the Vaisnava faith. It will be worthwhile to have some comparative idea of the two faiths. Vaisnavism began about the fifth century before Christ. "It first appeared as a religious reform 'writes' Sir R. G. Bhandarkar", 'like Buddhism and Jainism, but based on theistic principles. Its early name was Ekantika Dharma, or the religion of a single-minded love. In its background stood Bhagavad Gita a discourse professing to be preached by Vasudeva Krishna. It soon assumed a sectarian form and was called the Pancaratra or Bhagavata religion". Later this faith mingled itself with the faiths of Narayana and Visnu. The latter was a Vedic god and never came into prominence till the regular formulation of Vaisnavism. The religion of the Abhiras or cowherds crept into this faith after the beginning of the Christian era. Sankara's Advaitism and Gyan eclipsed this cult of love in the end of the 8th and the beginning of the 9th century. Ramanuja came to help the Indian mind when in the course of two centuries the system of Sankara had degraded into mere in-

1. Vaisnavism, Saivism.....etc., p. 100.

tellectualism. He revived the cult of Bhakti. He was followed by other Bhagtas, who broadly speaking belong to the same Bhakti Marga, but they differ from each other in their theoretical beliefs. They were either dualist or non-dualists or something midway between the two. Their names are: Nimbarka, Madhava, Ramananda, Kabir, Vallabha, Chaitanya, Namdeva, and Tukaram etc. Of these I shall deal with Kabir rather in detail under a separate heading. Nimbarka and Vallabha preached the worship of Krishna and his mistress Radha, All these Bhagtas slightly differ in their metaphysical beliefs. For instance Ramanuja held qualified monism (Visist-Advaitism) according to which the individual self—Jiva—is conscious—Chit, cosmos—Jagat—is unconscious—achit, and these two form the body of Ishwar—God; Nimbarka established dual-non-dualism (Dvait-Advaitism) holding the three different from each other, yet the activity of the self and the cosmos is dependent on Ishwar. The subtle and the essential elements of the first two—Jiva and Jagat—are contained in the Ishwar; Madhava adopted a clear dualism of God and the self, for otherwise worship and Bhakti are impossible; and Vallabha came to be known as Sudh-Advaitist believing in purified—non-dualism. According to him the individual self, cosmos and God are one only when the veil of Maya is removed and they come to their pure essence. The difference between this school and Sankara's system is that, according to this school the conscious ego—Jiva—and the Brahman cannot be looked upon as one and the same in the sense in which it is done by Sankara but that the various souls are particles of God like sparks of fire; that the cosmos, which is composed of illusion, is not unreal (Mithya) but illusion is a force which has separated itself from the Ishwar—God—at His own desire, that the conscious ego—Jiva—which has become dependent on illusion, cannot acquire knowledge, which is necessary for obtaining release, except by the divine pleasure; and that, therefore, Bhakti—devotion—is necessary. This system has some close resemblance with that of the Guru. Nimbak and Vallabha belong to the same age and there is no wonder that two might have met and exchanged their ideas.

The following are the chief characteristics of the Vaisnava faith:—

1. The Vedas form the ultimate basis and authority for the later Vaisnava scriptures.

2. With the inception of the Puranas the Hindu mythology began to play an important part in Vaisnavism.

3. Worship of a grossly personal God was inculcated and the theory of Avataras came in. Vasudeva appears first, later he is identified with Narayana, later still with Visnu; then Krishna and Gopala Krishna also mingle in the composite personality of Vasudeva. The cult of Rama also began. The Puranas began to teach the mythological incarnations of Visnu.¹ These incarnations are sometimes enumerated as six, ten or twenty in number, but the most important are Krishna and Rama. Guru Gobind Singh in his Dasam Granth gives a description of twenty four Avataras², which seems to be a mixture of Hindu and Buddhist mythology.

4. Worship of idols symbolising the particular incarnation of God.

5. Complicated ritual and formalism constitute the practical side of the Vaishnava faith. Ramanuja counts sixteen modes of worship to be practised by the devotees of Visnu :—

(1) Remembrance of him; (2) Utterance of his name and praises; (3) Salutation; (4) Resorting to his feet; (5) Constant worship with devotion; (6) Surrender of the whole soul to him; (7) Servitude; (8) Sakhyam—companionship; (9) Imprinting the marks of the conchshell and the discus and other weapons of Hari on the body; (10) Making of a vertical mark on the forehead; (11) Repeating the Mantras on the occasion; (12) Drinking the water used in washing the feet of Hari (13) The eating of the offerings of cooked food made to him; (14) Doing service to his devotees; (15) The observance of fast on the 11th of bright and dark halves of each lunar month; (16) Laying Tulsi leaves on the idols of Hari.³

6. These Vaisnava schools encourage the renunciation of the world and the adoption of a recluse's garb.

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1. Cf. A modern Hindu philosopher's concept of Avataras: The redemptive function of God is an incessant activity, though it becomes emphasised when the moral is sharply disturbed. God manifests Himself in striking forms whenever new adjustments have to be sought about. The special revelations are called in Hindu mythology avatataras or descents of God. *An Idealist's View of Life*, by S. Radhakrishnan, p. 337.
 2. Cf. O, God, They who are known as 24 Avataras, have not found a trace of thee. Brahma, Vishnu and Siva, what are these wretched beings! Gobind Singh's Gyan Prabodh.
 3. Bhandarkar's *Vaisnavism* etc., pp. 41, 55.

On the side of Sikhism we have to see which of these sixteen modes were accepted or rejected by the Guru. There is no denying the fact that Vaisnavism in general and the Bhakti movement in particular are very closely related with Sikhism. Out of the six main characteristics of the Vaisnava faith given above I have already dealt with No. I under the Brahmanical faith saying that the Guru rejected the authority of the Vedas. There is a little controversy about the second point. Some believe that the Guru accepts Hindu mythology and others say that he accepts it only in a tolerant spirit. Sometimes one is led to ascribe the continuance of Hindu mythology in the Sikh scriptures to, what Galloway calls 'a survival element' in a religion. But mythology is a question of belief and not of ritual. At some place the Guru gives a rational interpretation to mythical ideas. For instance the theory of four Yugas or the great cycles of time has been interpreted by the Guru not as temporal divisions, but as definite characteristics of the mental life of the people, dividing them into four main types.¹ In Japu ji, the well known myth of the Bull supporting the earth has been rejected and rationally interpreted in the terms of the Law of Nature.² The Guru also made use of the mythical tales of different religions for purposes of illustration. He preached his own views in the terminology of the man whom he was addressing. Through the beliefs of his listeners he established his own truths. The attitude of the Guru was well described by Gobind Singh, the last Guru, when he said to Bahadur Shah, the Moghal Emperor, that he was well disposed to the faiths of all people and he instructed every one according to his belief.³ Yama and Azrail, Narak and Dozakh are all mentioned. The mythical tales are used to illustrate some moral or spiritual truths. 'Pride leadeth to fall' is best illustrated by the story of Harnakhash, Prahlad and Narsingh (man-lion) incarnation of God.⁴ Untouchables become superior by devotion to God is made impressive by some Krishna stories.⁵ Brahma, Visnu, and Siva and other gods are reduced to an ordinary human level and their number is

1. Cf. Rag Gauri and War Asa in G. G.

2. XV Stanza of Japuji.

3. S. R., V, p. 233.

4. G. G., Bhairi Mahala III, p. 1152—Story of Prahlad. 13—1—2.

5. G. G., Suhi Mahala, IV, p. 733 :

Nich jati Hari napha uttam padvi pāi,

Pachho Bidar dasi sote Kishna utriā ghari jāi. 4—1—8.

described to be millions in the universe. None of them found the real truth. They were all in ignorance and darkness.¹ The Guru describes the Hindu trinity of gods as diseased persons who, he says, are weeping in agony.² My interpretation that the Guru used the old mythology for the purpose of illustration is based on a Granthic hymn in which the Guru says that the Teachers express their ideas of universal truth in the folks' own beliefs.³ In short the Granthic allusions to Vaisnava mythology are not to be taken as a part of Guru's teachings, much less as an element of Sikh religion.

Same is true of Vaisnava incarnations. The Guru instead of accepting these Avatars as God on earth used the same names for the High and Formless God. Muhammad did the same with the name of Allah. Thus the names Rama and Krishna in the Granth are the names of God, not of the persons who were the sons of Dasrath and Kushaliya and of Vasudeva and Deoki respectively. Whenever the Guru refers to them in the latter sense he considers them as ordinary mortal beings and takes away from them all the halo of divinity. Guru Gobind in his *Wonderful Drama* says: God created millions of worms like Krishna and Rama and destroyed them. Many Muhammads were created but all died like ordinary men. Nanak in his Slokas says that "If Rama had been God he would not have lost his Queen Sita, and he would have healed himself his half-brother Lachhman instead

1. I.—S. R., I, pp. 40—41.

II.—G. G., *Gauri Mahala* III, p. 231 :

1. *Brahma Ved parai wād wakhani,*
Antar tamas ap na pachhanai. 7—5.

2. *Asa Mahala*, V, p. 401 :

Brahmadik Sankadik .Sanak Sanandan sanatan Sanat kumar tin kau mahal dula bhawau.

Agm agm agudhi bodhi kimat prai na pawau. 4—2—122.

3. *Rag Gujri Mahala* I, p. 489 :

Nabhi kamal te Brahma upje Ved Parhai mukh kanth sawār,
Tako ant na jāi lakhna āwat jāt rahai gubār. 4—2.

4. *Bhairo Mahala* V, p. 1157 :

Koti Bisan kine Avatar,.....

Koti Mahesh upai samae..... 8—2—5.

5. All such Gods err, see *Prabhati Mahala* I, p. 1343, (8—4).

2. G. G., *Bhairo Ashtpadi Mahala* I, p. 1154 :

Rogi Brahma Bishn Sarudra rogi sagal sa sārā, 9—1.

3. G. G., *Sorath ki war Mahala* IV, p. 646 :

Prathāi sakhī Mahapurkh bolde sañjhi sagal jahane. XII Slok,
Mahala III.

of calling Hanuman to do so." In Rag Bhairon Guru Arjan rejects the idea of God having been born as Krishna on Janam Ashtami day. 'It is nonsense to say that God was born on any day. God is not subject to birth and death. Do not be a brute of an infidel by saying that God takes birth and dies. May that tongue be burnt which says that God is subject to birth'.¹ Reviewing the lives of Rama and other Avataras, Nanak in Ramkali Ki War, describes them as feeling miserable like ordinary men on account of the ups and downs of life. Had they been God they would have never met that fate.² No importance is to be attached to Guru's using Hindu names for God, because he was equally openminded to use Muhammadan names for Him.³

If there was anything to which the Guru was most intolerantly opposed that was the use of idols symbolising God. The Tenth Guru in his letter to Aurangzeb wrote that they (the Hindu Rajas) were idol-worshippers, whereas he (the Guru) was an idol-breaker.⁴ Fani, in the days of the Sixth Guru wrote that 'Sikhs have neither idols nor temples for idols'.⁵ An idol cannot substitute a conscious and responsive God.⁶ Then why to worship

1. G. G., Bhairon Mahala V, p. 1136 :
Sagli thiti pasi dari rākhi,
Astam thiti Govind janmāsi
Bharmi bhule nar kart kachrāin,
Janm marṇ te rahat Nārāin—1—Rahāu,
Kari panjir khawa-aio chhor,
Oh janm na marai re sākāt dhor—2.
Sagl pradh deh loroni,
So mukh jalo jit kahib Thakur joni—3.
Janmi na marai na āwai na jāi,
Nanak ka Prabhu rahio samāi—4—1.
2. G. G., Ramkali ki war, Slok Mahala I, p. 953—54 :
Rowai Rama nikālā bhaia,
Sita Lachhman wichhar gia. 14th Slok.
3. Some of the Vaisnava saints were much opposed to the use of the Muhammadan names of God. For instance Nama refused to say Khudā and consequently was subjected to tortures under the orders of the emperor. (G. G., Bhairon Nam Dev, pp. 1166—67).
4. D. G., Zafar Nama, Sri Mukh Wār Patshahi X, p. 1393 :
Manam Kushtanami kohian but prast,
Ki o but prastand u man but shikart. (Verse 95).
5. *Dabistan-i-Mazahib*, p. 246.
6. G. G., Bhairon Mahala V, p. 1161.
Jo pathar ko kahte Dev
Taki birtha howai sev.
... ..
Nā pāthar bolai nā kichhu de
Phokat karm nih fal hai sev—2.
... ..—4—4—12.
G. G., Suhi Mahala V, p. 739 :
Ghar mahi Thakur nadar na āwai
Gal mahi pahan lai lat kāwai. 4—3—9.

it? Why hang a stone round one's neck, for God is within us. Ignorant fool worships a stone. How can a stone help you to swim across this worldly ocean, when it itself is drowned.¹

In spite of all these teachings the Granth is taking the place of an idol among the illiterate Sikhs. The religion of the educated always differs from that of the uneducated. The latter needs something physical and objective which should be the subject of his emotional attachment. A Sikh finds a great artistic satisfaction in beautifully clothing the Granth, making a luxurious bed for it in a well decorated room, offering flowers to it and washing the floor of the room in which it is kept. But a faithful mind goes farther and expects that in doing so he is performing a deed which is inherently good and which will help him in attaining the salvation in the Vaisnava sense. The history of the idol is being repeated in the case of the Granth.² The idol was an artistic symbol in the beginning and then came to be regarded 'as full of the mystic essence of the deity, charged with his power and activity and binding to dwell among his people. Hence arose such practices as smearing the idol with blood, or placing food in its hands or mouth to maintain its divine life of clothing it with beautiful robes, washing it or purifying it at intervals.³ The Granth contains the word of the Guru and its worship by the faithful Sikh should not have much of an unhealthy influence of an idol. He always expects some good counsel from the book. But, in spite of the rational teachings of the Guru, a layman's faith in Sikhism is centring round the Granth with so many superstitions about it. What Farnell speaks of Christianity is more or less true of every religion in the world. "The popular religion of Christendom, except within the shrinking borders of Puritan Protestantism, must to-day be called idolatrous. In this phenomenon

1. G. G., Bihāgre ki War Mahala IV, p. 556 :

Maha'a I;

Hindu mule bhule akhuti jānhi,

Narad kahia si pāj karā, hi.

Andhe gu,ge andh andhār.

Pāthar le p jah mugdh gawār.

Ohi jā āpi dūbe tum kahā tāranhār ?

2. Recently (1935) the Sikhs in America enquired from the main religious body of the Sikhs—the S.G.P.C.—whether the chairs could be used in the presence of the Guru Granth by the members of the congregation. The S. G. P. C. executive favoured the use of the chairs with a due regard to the Holy Book. This led to a great discontentment in the orthodox press.

3. A. O. G., p. 35.

very obvious before our eyes, we may discern a proof that the popular mind is incapable of reaching or at least of abiding by the concept of an omnipresent infinite God ; and only from the concrete image which we must call fetishistic can we gather a convincing perception of the helpful nearness of the deity.

The other element of Vaisnavism which reacted against the Guru's mind was the ritual side and the formalism of the cult of Visnu. The human mind faces many obstacles on account of its own inherent tendencies on its way to self-development. On the one hand it cannot grasp and have a continuous hold on abstract and universal truths. Some practical observances become necessary for the emotional satisfaction of a devotee. On the other hand the human mind is so weak and easy-going that very soon it begins to lose the sight of the inner elements of those observances and gets engaged, without being conscious of this fall, in the mechanical performances of his religious routine. People become hypocrites. It was this hypocrisy and mechanical and insincere worship of God to which Nanak and his followers strongly protested. This he found in all religions of his time and his attacks are directed against believers of every kind of formalism. "The religion", writes Barth," had become singularly formal and destitute of all elevation of sentiment." Plato went too far when he said that God is not to be cajoled by rites of atonement or by prayer or sacrifice. The Guru believed in prayer but he condemned the belief that God could be pleased by rites or mechanical worship. In the Granth we read that people consider God like a Baby or a toy who could be pleased by frauds and deceptions. By ascetic practices men can destroy their bodies but the 'snake' inside remains unkilld.¹ He instead preached a religion of the heart with special emphasis on love and service of mankind.

The Vaisnavas are strict vegetarians but the Guru did not have any superstitions in matters of diet. Reverence for the cow was also disregarded.²

But however we may credit the Guru for revolting against the Vaisnava tradition, there is much of Vaisnavism which continues in Sikhism. The Nirmalas and the Namdharis are Vaisnavites in

1. G. G., Asa Mahala V, p. 381 : Warmi mārī sāp na mari nām na suni dorā.
4—3—42.

2. S.R., IV, p. 220

many practices. Some of the essential elements of Sikh religion seem to have been borrowed from the traditional Vaisnavism. For instance out of sixteen modes of worship counted by Ramanuja fifty per cent are emphasised in Sikhism. Rememberance of God, utterance of His name and praises, constant worship with devotion, surrender of the self to Him, companionship, eating of the offerings of cooked food made to Him as Karah Prasad, doing service to His devotees—Sewa, servitude and humility. Drinking the water used in washing the feet of the idol of Visnu was first substituted among the Sikhs by using the feet-water of the Guru (Charan-Pauhal) at the time of initiation ceremony,¹ and was later made more dignified by the Tenth Guru in the form of Amrit (the double-edged sword-water); the salutation of Vaisnavas continued in the days of the earlier Gurus,² but the Tenth Guru made it more manly by changing it into an utterance of greetings of victory (*Fateh*) without bending or falling at the feet. The Guru rejected Nos. 9, 10, 15 and 16 of the Vaisnava modes of worship. The concept of Visnu was raised from a mere god to the Supreme and Formless One. The Guru seems to have modified or retained those Vaisnava modes of worship which were associated with the mental make-up and character-building of the devotee and rejected those which were mere forms and ceremonies except some which later came in when the religion was organised.³

II.—Kabir

Before analysing Saivism and its influence on Sikhism, I would deal with Kabir, who was more or less a Vaisnavite and who is unmistakably associated by all writers with Nanak. Kabir has been described as the 'author of the whole reformatory movement going on in India during the middle ages'.⁴ He lived from 1398 to 1443 A.D.⁵ There are different accounts of his birth and parentage. Some say that he was a Muhammadan, and others

1. S. R., I, p. 47.

2. Pairin pai Gur-Sikh pair dhuaia. W. G. 6—20.

3. Cf. Sukhmani Gauṛi Mohala V: Who is a Vaisnainta? 2—9. G. G., p. 274.

4. Trumpp, quoted by Macnicol in L. R. I, p. 218; Cf. also Mohan Singh in H. P. L., p. 28.

5. These dates have been taken from S. R., V, p. 122 and footnote to p. 140. R. Burn in E. R. E., VII, p. 632, says that Kabir lived from 1440 to 1518 A. D. According to E. B. he lived in the latter part of the 15th century, Vol. 13, p. 235. Dr. Mohan Singh has written a book entitled '*Kabir and Bhakti Movement*'. His arguments seem to be very sound on these points.

take him to be a Hindu. Some hold that he was a Brahmin and others have described him to be a low class weaver. We are not so much concerned with his biographical details as with his relation to Nanak.

I have come across four different views about 'Kabir' relation to Nanak :—

- (1) that Nanak was a disciple of Kabir ;
- (2) that Kabir was a disciple of Nanak ;
- (3) that although the two never met, yet Nanak was influenced by the teachings of Kabir ;
- (4) that there was no direct or indirect contact between the two and that Nanak owes nothing to Kabir or his disciples.

1. The advocates of the first view are :—

- (a) A. S. Gordon, E. R. E., iv, p. 287 : All that was best and most tolerant in his system (Ramananda's) was then taken up by Kabir in the Punjab in the sixteenth century—with him and with his great disciple Nanak originated the reforming movement of the Sikhs.'
- (b) J. N. Farquhar, "Modern Religious Movements in India" p. 336. 'Nanak the founder of the Sikh sect, was a disciple of the famous teacher Kabir !' In an earlier book Farquhar had taken a different view, and he doubted whether the two ever met. (Cf. An Outline of Religious Literature in India, 1920, p. 336).
- (c) F. E. Keay in his 'Kabir' and his Followers'.

2. The second view-point is the belief of some orthodox Sikh writers like Nihal Singh Suri who makes not only Kabir but also Ravidas, Ramananda and Pipa all disciples of Nanak (*Jiwan Wirtant Sri Kabir Ji*, Lahore, 1917).

3. As to the view that Nanak was influenced by Kabir's writings, we have writers like Trumpp, Barth, Otto Strauss. Cunningham too does not hold this view improbable. Thus Barth writes that during his travels Nanak 'entered into relations with disciples of Kabir' (R. I. p. 243). Otto Strauss in his article on Indian Religions says that 'Kabir is interesting not only for his own sake, but also because of the influence he exerted on the founder of the Sikh religion. (The *Religions of the World* by

1. Kabir never went to the Punjab. See E. B.

Professor Carl Clemen, translated by A. K. Dallas, 1930, p. 131). 'Nanak takes the same religious view-point as Kabir' (p. 132).

4. The fourth is the view of Macauliffe and Dorothy Field and has more recently been expounded by Mohan Singh in his 'History of Panjabi Literature' and 'Kabir etc.,' (Lahore.)

To examine these four views we can have three tests : chronological, internal and external evidences and a critical and comparative study of the teachings of the two masters.

It has now been chronologically proved and conclusively established that Kabir and Nanak were never contemporaries.¹ The former predeceased the latter, and thus there cannot be any relation between the two in the form of a 'Guru' and a 'disciple'. None of them was the master or the disciple of the other. Neither of the two mentions the name of the other in his writings. Nanak mentions so many names of persons whom he met. If he had met Kabir, his name would have surely been there. Nanak's humility is proverbial and he would never have concealed his indebtedness to the teachers of his age. Nor we have any evidence outside the religious scriptures of the two faiths. No historian of the age of Nanak and his successors makes any mention about the personal contact between Kabir and Nanak. There now remains the comparison of the ideas of the two reformers of Medieval India.

As I have already said that 'Kabir was a Vaisnavite in faith and there was a general trend among the Medieval Vaisnavas against the Brahmanical tradition of the cast system. Both Kabir and Nanak shared it. The former felt it more strongly, because he being brought up as a Sudra, had experienced the tyranny of caste. Naturally we find strong protests in the writings of Kabir against the Brahmin superiority. 'Brahmin', he says 'may be the 'guru' of the whole world but he has got nothing to do with the Bhagatas.² Then again he says to the Brahmin,' 'How are you a Brahmin and me a Sudra ? Is it milk that runs in the veins of your body whereas it is blood in my case ?''³ 'If you

1. H. P. L. and Kabir by Mohan Singh, Lahore.

2. G. G., p. 1377, 237th Sloka :

Kabir Bahman Guru hai jagat ka, bhagtan ka gur nāhi.

3. G. G., Rāg Gauri, p. 324 :

Jau tūṁ Brahmin Brahmini jāiā,

Tan ān bat kāhe nahi āiā.

Tum kat Brahmin ham kat s d,

Ham kat lohṁ tum kat d dh. 4—7.

are born', continues Kabir rather vulgarly, 'of a Brahmin woman, then why did you not choose a different path to come to the world'. In spite of these academic protests Kabir did not succeed in doing away with caste. This may be due to the social disadvantages in which he was placed. On the other hand Nanak being a high caste man did not give vent to any feelings of anger about caste, but he had thoroughly realised that it was unnecessary both in religion and society. He condemned caste in his writings and also tried to abolish it in practical life. He was married under caste rules because marriage in India, even upto the present day, is controlled not by the bridegroom or the bride, but by their parents. Parents of Nanak were Hindu and they married their son according to the Hindu custom. Otherwise he disregarded caste in all activities of his life. He ate freely in the houses of Sudras, untouchables and Muhammadans and other non-Hindus; and had no restrictions about social intercourse.

The other point in which the two teachers resemble is their stern opposition to idolatry. They both protested against the worship of God in stones. The third point common between the two is their harsh attack on the formalism and the externality of the religious life of their age. They very destructively criticised the hypocrisy of the priestly class of both Hindus and Muhammadans.¹

These are the three points which are common in the teachings of Kabir and Nanak. But these were shared by Kabir's predecessors and other contemporaries also. If on the ground of these we hold that one was influenced by the other, we shall, I am afraid, be guilty of the fallacy of hasty generalisation. To avoid the charge of the fallacy of non-observation we have to see so many other points in which the two teachers differ. In the first place, as I have already said, these three protests did not issue forth quite originally from the tongues of Kabir and Nanak. There was no caste in Buddhism which still prevailed in those days; and there was no caste in Islam which was to some extent aggressive in Medieval India. Moreover reformers like Gorakh,

1. G. G.

(a) Nanak : Gal mala tilak lilata.g. Dui dhoti bastar kaptang.

... War Asa, p. 470-71.

Kabir : Gaj sacheh tai tai dhotian, tihre pāian tagg ... Asa, p. 475.

(b) Nanak : Musalmana sifat shariat parh parh karhi wichār... War Asa.

Kabir : Hindu Turkahan te ae kin eh rah chalāi... Asa, p. 7, 47.

Ramananda and other Bhagatas had already started protesting against Brahmanical social divisions. Same is true about protests against idolatry and the formal aspect of religions. But the strength with which Kabir and specially Nanak formulated his attacks is not met with anywhere else. The germs of protests were there in the atmosphere. Kabir magnified them and did whatever he could in his own limited locality. Nanak also took the hint, but his feelings were greatly intensified by his practical study of the problems in his extensive travels. He started a regular campaign and succeeded in building up a monotheistic system, free from all those elements which he thought were opposed to or unnecessary for religious development, and spiritual consciousness.

Kabir on the other hand remained a modified Vaisnavite. His writings reveal his faith in the following main pillars of the Vaisnava School of Hinduism :

1. Vedic authority : Although he did not believe that a lip reading of the Vedas could help a man to get release from suffering¹ yet he did not question the absolute truth revealed in them.²

2. The Puranic mythology : If he did not accept it positively it was consciously tolerated by him.

3. Rama as incarnation of God was worshipped by Kabir. "In one respect", writes Dr. Narang, "Nanak surpassed Kabir and every other reformer" who continued to pay homage to Rama and Krishna as divine beings, where Nanak "boldly questioned their divinity."

4. As a true Vaisnavite Kabir remained a strict vegetarian.³ Kabir far from defying Brahmanical tradition as to the eating of meat, would not permit so much, as the plucking of a flower, whereas Nanak deemed all such scruples to be superstitions,—Kabir held the doctrine of Ahinsa or the non-destruction of life, which extended even to that of flowers. The Sikh Gurus, on the contrary, allowed and even encouraged, the use of animal

1. G. G., p. 728, Rag Tilang .

Bed Kateb iftra bhāi dil ka fikar na jai ... 4—1.

2. G. G., 1319, Bibhas Parbhati :

Bed kateb kaho mat jhuthe, jhutha jo na bichare...

3. G. G., Asa Sri Kabir ji, 479.

Pāti torai mālni pati pāti jio...

flesh as food.¹ Nanak has exposed this Ahinsa superstition in Asa Ki War² and Malar Ki War.³

5. Kabir was not opposed to renunciation or Sannyas, but he also approved of the household life.⁴

6. Vaisnava Bhakti degenerates into a mere repetition of a certain name, which the Guru condemned⁵; whereas Kabir is not conscious of this defect.⁶

7. Kabir does not distinguish between the psychological notion of mind and the metaphysical idea of soul. For him 'mind' undergoes the process of transmigration of souls.⁷ For the Guru mind is gross in the sense that it is attached with the body and is the outcome of five elements: "Ih Man Panch Tat Te Janma".

8. Like Buddha, Kabir regards the world and life a suffering; the Guru makes it dependant on the attitude of man. A believer in God and in His Will cannot find himself miserable even in the most heart-breaking and hardest events of life. 'It is all pleasure, there is no pain my friend'.⁸

9. As a natural corollary from the above, Kabir welcomes

1. S. R., VI, p. 141.

2. XVIII Sloka, p. 472.

3. XXV Sloka, p. 1288.

4. G. G., p. 1377, Slok Kabir :

Kabir jau grhu karhi ta dharm kar, nāhi ta kar bairāg. 248.

5. G. G., Gujri Mahala III, p. 491 .

(a) Ram Ram sabh ko kahai, kahiai Ram na hoi...

(b) Bihāgre ki war Mahala, IV, p. 455 :
Ram Ram karta sabh jag phirai,
Ram na pāiā jāi...Slok Mahala III—XVIII.

(c) Wadha s Mahala III, p. 565 :
Mukhhu Hari Hari sabh ko karai,
Wirlai hirdai wasāiā. II Ashtpadi.

(d) Suhi Mahala, IV, p. 732 :
Hari Hari karhai nit kapt kamawhai, hirdā sudh na hoi...4—4.

(e) Malar Mahala, I, p. 1255 :
Bin jihwa jo japai hiāi. koi janai kaisa Nāo. 4—1—6.

6. G. G., p. 329, Gauri Kabir :
Kahu Kabir akhkar dui bhakh,
Hoiga khasmta lega rakh. 33

7. G. G., Gauri Kabir, p. 330 :
Is man kau koi khojo bhāi,
Tan chhute man kaha samai ?
... ..
Is man kau nāhi āwan jānā
... ..
Is man kan rup na rekhia kāi...9—1—36.

8. G. G., p. 1302, Kānrā Mahala V :
Dukh nāhi sabh sukhi hi hai re ekai eki netai...2—3—22.

death.¹ Like the popular Hindu belief, he takes death to be the commencement of blissful life for a devotee. The Guru takes the world as an arena and life as a conscious struggle for victory over sin.² Death is not to be afraid of. It is not the end of life. It is simply an event among other events.

With these facts before us, I think, the probable theory will be, that both Kabir and Nanak took hints from the general atmosphere of their age and developed independent systems of their own under the influence of their vastly different, inherited and environmental conditions. This can also serve the purpose of history. Why to involve anachronisms by making them personally connected and to unsuccessfully and also unnecessarily reconcile the somewhat opposed but decidedly different teachings of the two in one system of ideology !

3. SAIVISM

1.—General

Sivapadasundaram defines Hinduism as a group of religions. "The most important members of this group", he says, "are Saivism, Vaisnavism and Saktaism, whose authorities in addition to Vedas, are respectively the Siva Agamas, the Pancharatra and the Sakta Agmas."³

The functions of creation, sustenance and destruction were entrusted by the ancient Indians to three gods : Brahma, Visnu and Siva. In other words the three potential energies were deified under these three names. In the course of time there grew three religions in the name of the three gods. According to the Puranic mythology Brahma got the Vedas from God and laid the foundation of the Vedic religion which when formulated became Brahmanism ; Visnu was associated with Vaisnavism and Siva and his wife Sakti with Saivism and Saktaism.

The origin of these deities is anthropomorphic. Siva and

1. G. G., p. 1365, Slok Bhagt Kabir :

Kabir jis marne te jag darāi, mere man anand ;
Marne hi te pāie puran Parmanand—22.

2. G. G., Sri Rag Mahala V, p. 72 and 73 :

Hau Gasai da pahlwānrā,
Mai Gur mil uchch dumālṛā,
Sabh hoi chhinjh ikaththia, Dayu baitha wekhai āp jio—17.
Wat wajn tamk bheria, Mal laththe laide pheriā,
Nihate panj juān mai, Gur thāpi diti kand jio—18.

3. The Saiva School of Hinduism, p. 13.

Visnu are the outcome of the affective side of man. Visnu like a father sustains our life and is responsible for our well being. He is, therefore, fatherly, and kind. The finer side of our feelings finds satisfaction in a kind, tender, sympathetic sustainer god—Visnu. I regard Visnu as a type and not a particular god. This is the invention of the primitive mind but it is present wherever man realises his helplessness and wants to depend on some fatherly superhuman agency. But the world presents us roses accompanied by thorns. Life is seasoned with difficulties, sufferings and failures. There must be some source of this rough side of nature. Thus God also came to be terrible. Such a God was first Rudra and then Siva.¹ This is another type of God who is also present wherever human beings have got some thing to pinch their minds.

Now there are two motives in the worship of these gods. When in danger, a child either seeks the help of his father to protect him against that source of danger, or having personified that source tries to avoid that calamity by adopting some means to please him. So the devotee either by prayers, offering flowers, and any other form of tender worship requests the fatherly Visnu to help him against destruction, or tries to please the very source of destruction—Siva. Naturally a terrible god cannot be pleased by flowers or soft words. There must be something destructive in the worship of a destroyer. To avoid destruction of one the devotee must give an actual or symbolic destruction of another. Thus sacrifice comes in. Siva's consort Sakti becomes the recipient of still more ghastly sacrifices. Sacrifice of animals or men is needed to please her. Her worshippers are known Saktas. Sometimes husband and wife—Siva and Sakti, also known as Parvati are worshipped together.

Death seems to have attracted the earliest notice of man. Death instinct, as Dr. Freud says, is most primitive and most universal. The idea of super-ego, by perversion or otherwise, must have given birth to a death deity very early in the human history. Hence there is no wonder that in Sir Marshall's opinion Saivism is "the most ancient living faith in the world." According to the new calculation it is now at least five thousand years old. "Among the many revelations", writes Sir Marshall, "that Mohenjo-daro and Harappa have had in store for us, none perhaps

1. R. W. Frazer, E. R. E.

is more remarkable than this discovery that Saivism has a history going back to the Chalcolithic age or perhaps even further still."¹ Dr. Pran Nath confirms by saying, "The cults of Siva and the mother-goddess had already been judged to be very old. It is interesting to find them current as far back as 3000 B.C."²

II.—Gorakh Nath—Siddhism

At a stage of religious development in India Saivism and Buddhism combined to form a new sect of the Jogis or the Yogis (In the Granth it is written as Jogi or Joga, the Panjabi form of the Sanskrit word Yogi or Yoga). It was more with this sect that Nanak was occupied during his travels than with any other. The greater part of the material of his philosophy is contained in his dialogues with the Siddhas or the Jogis. Besides many other hymns, there are two long philosophical poems in the Granth which are said to contain the sum and substance of the Guru's talks with these ascetic saints. Names of Machhindra (Matsyendranath), Gorakh Nath and Charpat Nath occur in the hymns of Nanak. The reputation of Nanak caused no where so much jealousy as among the followers of the Jogi sect. Therefore this sect deserves a closer study to enable us to find some exchange of ideas between the faiths of Gorakh and Nanak.

The Siddhas are also known as the Kanphata Jogis, but the Guru generally uses the word Siddha for them. A Siddha is he who by Yogic discipline attains supernormal powers and other Siddhis-perfections.³ The Guru of this sect is generally accepted to be Gorakh Nath. G. A. Grierson writes: In Northern India he is represented as a contemporary of the reformer Kabir who flourished in the fifteenth century; while in the Western India, one Dharm Nath, who is said to have been his fellow disciple, appears to have introduced the Kanphata doctrines into Kachh at the end of the 14th century. All authorities agree in making Gorakh Nath one of the twelve (or according to some twenty two) disciples of Matsyendranath, disciple of Adinath, a Yogi saint, whom the Nepalese identify as none other than the Buddhist deity Arya Avalokitesvara."⁴ All traditions state that disciple

1. Mohenjo-daro and the Indus Civilisation, p. VII.
2. The Scripts of the Indus Valley, Seals, p. 25.
3. Cf. I. P., II, pp. 366–68; The Gorakh nathis in E. R. E.; and Yoga as Religion and Philosophy by S. Das Gupta.
4. E. R. E.

Gorakh was greater than his master and that it was he who introduced the custom of splitting the ears of the disciples and founded the subject of the Kanphatas. In Nepal Gorakh is said to have converted Mahayana Buddhism to Saivism. He is also reported to have been a disciple of Sankaracharya who it is said felt displeased with him and turned him out of the circle of his discipleship.

Jogism of the days of Nanak seems to be a strange mixture of Saivism, Buddhism, Yogism of Patanjala and Vedantism. When Vaisnavism with its devotional element began to flourish, the Saivites, in order to cope with their rival sect also brought in the Bhakti element and the idols of Siva like those of Visnu began to be worshipped. Linga became a symbol of Siva like those Saivas are Linga worshippers to-day'. Very early Visnu and Siva were regarded to be equal or one and the same. The combination resulted in a new concept of godhead: Hari-har—Preserver and Destroyer—Visnu and Siva. This shows how all kinds of ideas mixed up in Saivism in general and in the system of Gorakh Nath in particular. J. N. Farquhar thinks that the Kanphata system is derived from the Nathas some of whom are still Saktas.¹

The theological tenets of Gorakh's system as gathered from Hathayogapradipika, Gorakh Ki Ghosti and Gorakh Bodh are that they believe in Siva as a Supreme God, that the world is suffering, that emancipation from worldly existence is the goal and this is to be achieved in the form of union with Siva, the means for which is to practice Hathayoga.

According to the authority of the Gorakh Bodh the vital air resides in the circle of the naval—Nabhi—and is supported by the void—Surya—which is spread everywhere. In its turn the vital air vivifies the Manas which resides in the heart. The Manas is open to the influence of the moon—Chandra—which resides in the sky, the vital air to the influence of the Sun—Surya—and void to that of the time—Kala. There is further another element the word—Sabda—which resides in form—Rupa. Before coming into existence of heart, naval, form and sky, the Manas was contained in the void, the vital air was shapeless—Nirakara—, the word was informed, and the moon resided in the intermediate space between heaven and earth. The void is of four kinds: Sahja, Anubhava, Parana, and Atita-sunya and it is to it that the 'vital spirit

1. Outline of the Religious Literature of India, p. 142.

—Parana—resorts, during sleep or death. There are five principles—Tāttva—one of which seems to be Nirvana and ten Dvaras—or means of attaining perfection, which are not named'. This is the mystic side of Gorakha's Yoga. I have given it here, because in the Granth the whole terminology of the system is used and its practice has been repudiated. The Sabda idea is Saktic in origin, because Sakti herself is sound, the eternal word or Sabda. In the Vedic hymns we came across a goddess of speech—Vak. Both the words occur in the Granth in the mystic sense.

The Saktic Yoga is also similar to Hatha Yoga but it is based more on the principle of sound. There are many channels of this Sabda, the scientific basis of which is the air in our nerves or Naris. Three have been mentioned in the Granth : Ira, Pingla and Sukhmana. The last is the most important because it is connected with the spinal cord. Connected with these channels there are six great centres or circles—of occult force situated in the human trunk, the one above the other. Each of the circles is described as a lotus. Muladhara, the lowest and the most important of all, contains Brahmā in the form of a Linga, and the Devi lies asleep, coiled three and half times round the Linga like a serpent. In this posture she is called Kundalini, the coiled one. By Sakta Yoga she may be waked and induced to ascend to the highest Chakra—circle, or centre. These channels and centres form the basis of all the miracle-working power which the initiate can achieve.¹ The terminology of this Yoga also occurs in the Granth but its practice and miracles achieved thereby are condemned by the Guru.² The practice of Yoga is more or less physical in nature and the Guru discarded it because it does not

1. *Ibid.*

2. G. G. :

(a) Gauri Mahala V, p. 208 :

Jag jugt sun āio Gur te...5—11—132.

(b) War Asa Mahala I, p. 465 :

...Ud na jāhi Siddh na hoi—5.

(c) Japu ji :

...Riddhi Siddhi awrā sād—XXIX.

(d) Subi Mahala I, p. 731 :

Jog na khintha jog na dande...4—1—8.

(e) Ramkali Mahala I, p. 907 :

Singi surti anāhadi wājai, ghati ghati joti tumāri...25—9.

(f) Ramkali Mahala III, p. 809 :

Jogi jugt gawāi ha dhai, Pākhand jog na hoi—27—2.

(g) Ramkali Mahala I, Siddh Gosht, pp. 938—946.

Darshan bhekh karo jogindra, mundra jholi khintha...IX.

(Continued on page 103)

help a Yogi (Yogin) in giving up egoism and selfishness and it is not a process for building up a moral character, so essential for a house-hold life. Moreover it is a very complicated and difficult method to be practised by everybody.¹

The other aspect of Yogism which has been condemned in the Granth is the guise of a Yogi, his attachment to form and external appearance, and his becoming a beggar and not leading a worldly life. Generally these Yogis who give up their homes smear their bodies with ashes, put on a waist cloth, upper sheet, a necklace with a horn (Singi-nad) attached to it, a wallet (Jholi) a hollow gourd for alms and huge ear-rings. Nanak addressing the Yogis asked them to have some inner moral worth and some character element corresponding to their hypocritical forms.²

In spite of these differences there are some points which seem to have come down from these Yogis to the faith of the Sikhs. Some of them are common because of the general characteristics of the age. These Yogis did not recognise caste, had no scruples about food and ate meat. Some of them led married lives too. Many of them in the Western India still open free kitchen to all twice a day. They also had the system of discipleship. In short most of the Sikh practices are found among the Yogis. I am inclined to say that the influence of Siddhism on Sikhism has been greatest of all sects in India. The Granth sometimes speaks of the Guru in the terms of a Yogi: My True Guru,

1. Patanjali Yoga, Saiva Yoga, Sakta Yoga and Gorakh's Hatha Yoga can all be traced to Upanisadic texts and these differ only in details. They all involve asceticism.

2. G. G. :

(a) Japuji :

Munda santokh saram pat jholi, dhian ki karhi bibhut. XXVIII.

(b) Suhi Mahala I, p. 730 :

Jogi howai jogwai, bhogi howai khāi...—4—5—7.

(c) Bilawal Mahala IX, p. 831 :

Jog jag nihphal tih mano, jo Prabh jas bisrāwai...2—2.

(d) D. G., Patshahi X, Ramkali, p. 710 :

Re man ih bidh jog kamao,
Singi säch akapt kanthlā dhiān bibhut chaṛāo—1...3—2.

(Continued from p. 102)

(h) Maru Mahala I, p. 1042 :

Niali karm bhuiaṅgam bhāthi
Rechak kumbhak paruk man hāthi. 15—5—22.

(i) W. G., I War Stanzas XXIX—XLIV :

1. Baba bole, "Nathji ! Asān wekhe jogi wast na kái ;
Gur-sangat Bani bina. duji ot nahi rāi." 4—42.

2. Bājhuh sachche Nam de, hor krāmāt asathe nahi." 2—43.

the Yogi, is free from all disease—‘Rog Raht Mera Satguru Jogi’.¹ Still the two systems remain distinct. For instance the starting point of a religion is the concept of God, which the Saivites and the Gorakhnathis or the Gorakhpapthis not only identify with a god Siva but they also idolise him in Linga; then they simply make Him the director of the universe and not ‘the all in all of’ it, as is done by the Guru.² Soul, Maya and Anava (something like the Avidya of Vedants,³ are co-eternal entities with God. These are fundamental differences and make the two shools entirely different. But on the practical side the influence of the Yogis cannot be denied and Sikhism owes to them the modifications which Nanak conceived from his close touch with the Siddhas of his time.

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1. G. G.; p. 1141, Bhairo Mahala, V, 4—7—

2. Cf. R. W. Frazer, E. R. E., II, pp. 91—96.

3. Cf. The Saiva School of Hinduism, p. 56.

CHAPTER VI

BUDDHISM AND JAINISM

I.—Buddhism

Buddhism is not one of the religions which commonly prevailed in India in the days of the Guru. Buddha is mentioned in the Granth in a few hymns and associated with the Siddhas, with whom, as we saw in the last chapter, Nanak had personal contact. He visited many Buddhist temples and reached the very birth-place of Buddhism, where, at Gaya, under a holy tree, Buddha, is said to have received the 'enlightenment'. The teachings of Buddha, if they at all reached Nanak, reached him in a disguised form either through the Yogis or the general atmosphere which still breathed Buddhistic influences. Although Buddhism as a religion of the masses had disappeared, yet the soul of Gotama still haunted the land of his birth. "But while it was disappearing as a church", writes Barch, "it did not take along with it the germs which it had for long had the opportunity of disseminating, and it left the very religions which succeeded in smothering it, more or less pervaded by its spirit." The revolt against Brahmanical tradition started by Buddha, although lulled to sleep on its way, yet it reached Nanak which by the time of the Tenth Guru became intensified and culminated in the Khalsa. "No race in India", says Samuel Johnson," has shown a braver and more independent spirit, in thought or in conduct, than the Sikhs". This freedom of speculation and protest against Brahmanical tradition 'points plainly to that element in the national character of which Kapila and Gotama were earlier exponents'. "The Hindu sects of the last six centuries," continues Johnson, "are marked by a democratic spirit which may rightly be called the after-life of Buddhism in a people who had rejected its form and its name. Has this harvest sprung from the ashes of martyred church? Is this the meaning of that prescience of a 'farther shore' beyond the ocean of death?" But our question is as to what exactly Buddhism stood for and what exactly in Sikhism can be identified with or distinguished from this ancient faith.

In the first place the follower of Buddha needs no God and in that sense Buddha's doctrine is absolutely atheistic and there-

1. *Oriental Religions*, 719.

fore fundamentally different from the faith of the Guru. Consequently the nature of Nirvana or Release must be different in the two systems.¹ It will be clear from Buddha's four noble truths as summarised by Barth : A—To exist is to suffer ; B—Suffering is caused by desire which increases by gratification ; C—It is possible to get rid of this suffering by suppressing desire ; D—The way which leads to this suppression is the Buddhistic 'good law', the practice of a definite discipline. The end of this is Nirvana-extinction. As we have seen under Kabir that the Guru does not take life to be a suffering, nor therefore the release its extinction. His teaching does not involve asceticism, nor a code of morality detached from its perfectly moral and divine source—God.

So we see that the Buddhistic influence on Sikhism is of quite a different nature. From other Hindu systems Sikhism does not so much differ in theory as in practice, but in the case of Buddhism, the opposite is true. There is no borrowing in theory but the influence is visible in some practical aspects. Buddha tried to abolish caste and his idea of brotherhood becomes an important theme with Nanak. Purity of heart and sincerity in our dealings with mankind were the essence of religion for Nanak. These virtues with a complete disregard for forms and rituals were first emphasised by Buddha. No sanctity of any particular language is the third common element in the teachings of the two prophets. Buddha preached in the spoken language of the people and was the first Indian prophet to become a missionary. In these respects Nanak very closely resembles Buddha. Fourthly, the organic character of the Sikh idea of Sangat is met with among the Buddhists in their Sanghas or congregations, entrance to which like that of the Khalsa, was by certain vows ; and those who went out of the brotherhood were to become renegades and apostates like the *Patits* among the Sikhs.

But unlike Buddha, the Guru never established an order of mendicants, Bhiksus, monks and nuns. 'The disciples of Nanak', writes Trumpp, 'would have sunk into a state of dull apathy the world around them, or they would have led a contemplative life in monasteries, as the Buddhists did, if Nanak cautioned by his many disputes and contentions with the Jogis, and convinced by the practical experience of the wickedness and hypocrisy—

1. Trumpp makes the two identical. Cf. A. G., p. CVI.

of erratic Faqirs, had not enjoined to them, to remain in their secular occupation and not to leave the world.' The Guru seems to have learnt some good lessons from the history, practices and the fall of Buddhism. Later Buddhism gave to Bhakti movement the creed of idol worship and the theory of Avatars or incarnations. Both these facts by the time of the Guru had led to mental debasement and naturally he asked his disciples to make neither an idol of the Guru nor of God, The Guru was not to be taken as a God incarnate. The other two factors which have contributed to a healthy and rapid growth of Sikhism also seem to be the lessons learnt from the fall of Buddhism. 'Why has Buddhism' says Johnson, 'lacked his vigour and stir of progress? Doubtless because, with all its reaction upon Hindu belief and institutions, it remained within the old Hindu circle and made contemplation the chief end of man.

The Guru definitely declared that the Khalsa could progress only if it remained always distinguishable from the general mass of people by its behaviour and appearance. The words he used were : Niara—separate, Rahani—Rahat : behaviour and appearance. The last two centuries as lived by the Sikhs have simply confirmed the Guru's forethought. If there were periods of decline, they declined because of their relapse in the old folk and if their star has ever shone, it has been because their mental horizon became clear of external influences. A religion declines and ultimately disappears, not because of some superiority in the rival religions but there also appears some defect within the fold of the religion itself. Besides its Hindu covering Buddhism developed another cause of its decline and that was its institution Sangha. It became far more illiberal and formidable than the caste system of the Brahmanical faith. It became a narrow-minded priestly class of the Buddhists. Vaisnavism and Saivism under their new Bhakti garb uprooted the Sangha as well as the Brahman. The Guru abolished all distinctions of caste and preached that all honest work was sacred. A shoemaker, a soldier and a philosopher were useful and respectable members of the society. But the time has yet to show whether the Khalsa does not become another Sangha, because as the time rolls on the shift of emphasis is becoming more and more on the external appearance of a Sikh than on his inner purity. Intolerance and a narrow outlook on life are the natural consequences.

II.—Jainism

There are references to Jainas in some hymns of the Granth. Nanak in his missionary travels met some Jaina priests and argued against their method of living. There is nothing in common between the general philosophy of Jainism and that of Sikhism, although the two have been considered together by Alban G. Widgery'. The concluding remark of the author is interesting and thoughtful: Sikhism may not unreasonably be regarded as providing what Jainism seriously lacks; but it might gain something in depth on its subjective side and something of precision by association with the analysis found in Jainism.

In practical life Jaina asceticism and the doctrine of extreme Ahinsa were attacked by the Gurus. According to Jainism Karma consists of atoms. These fill the soul as sand fills a bag and act on it like a weight. The soul by its nature rises upwards to heaven, but Karmas, which are material, keep it downwards on earth. When these Karmas are finished, the soul on leaving the body will rise perpendicularly "to the top of the universe, where liberated soul abide forever".² To attain this liberation the new Karma should be stopped from entering into the Jiva and already existing Karma must be extinguished. Thus the salvation is through acts or works, not through inaction or Sannyas of the Vedanta. 'Jainism' says Dr. E. J. Thomas, "is the most extreme form of Kiryavada."³

With this concept of salvation and its attainment Jainism preaches a life of extreme asceticism. Combined with extreme Ahinsa the mode of living of the Jaina Sadhus becomes rather unclean. The Guru in War Majh and War Malar criticises this kind of life of the Jainas. The first of the 'Thirtythree Swayyas' of the Tenth Guru also make an indirect reference to this practice of the Jainas. The hymn in War Majh runs thus :

They (the Jainas) pluck their hair, drink dirty water, beg and eat other's leavings, spread out the filth and smell it, do not use natural water, having smeared their heads with ashes they pluck their heads like sheep, they give up their ancestral

1. Living Religions and Modern Thought, 1936. pp. 97—107.

2. Professor Joeshi in E. R. E. Cf. also Epitome of Jainism by Nahar and Ghosh.

3. The Life of Buddha, quoted in L.R.I.

occupations and their families weep with lamentations—day and night they are filthy, they are always in a mood of despair and never live a life of prosperity ; they walk in a single file, brush the ground before they lay their foot on it all this they do to avoid killing life, but it is God who giveth and taketh life.¹

Arguing with a Jaina priest Nanak once said that non-violence is a relative concept. To save one we destroy another. Even Nature while providing sustenance to one becomes destructive or violent to others. He gave the example of rain in summer which is beneficial to some and destructive and harmful to others. Surely, in the light of Sir J. C. Bose's botanical researches, establishing life in plants, it is difficult to be a consistent non-destructionist, except, of course, in cases of those people who are willing to resort to self-destruction. As a reaction to this mode of life of the Jainas, the Guru preached a healthy, cheerful and hopeful life with a desirable restraint on senses and animal passions, relying on God for help and success. So that the influence of Jainism on Sikhism is not even to the extent to which it is traceable in the general trend of Hindu mind. The chief Jaina traits in the Hindu thought seem to be Ahinsa doctrine and the theory of Avataras, which can equally be assigned to the Buddhistic influences. None of the two ideas seem to have found a superstitious allegiance from the Guru. The latter was rejected and the former was substituted by a moral love and sympathy for fellow beings.

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1. G. G., p. 149, XXVI Slok ; War Malar, p. 1284, XVI Pauri.

CHAPTER VII

RELIGIONS OF NON-INDIAN ORIGIN

Zoroastrianism, Judaism, Christianity and Islam

I

It has generally been held that Sikhism is a branch of Hinduism which came into being because of the Muslim influence on the religious mind of India. That is partly true. But my researches into Guru's teachings and their analysis have led me to say that Sikhism is the natural outcome of the contact of Indian mind with non-Indian mind containing Avestic, Judaic, Christian and Islamic currents of thought. Nanak, though born in India, travelled in the lands of the birth of these religions. He must have met the professors of these faiths and exchanged ideas with them. Persian and Arabic vocabulary in the Granth is not so insignificant that the reader may not notice it. Some hymns are composed exclusively in Persian. Besides some close resemblance between some of the Guru's ideas and the teachings of the prophets of the religions under discussion, the Granth contains references to this group of religions and their holy books. The Guru designates the Indian group of religions as Hindu and the Semitic group of religions as Turks.¹ He calls the holy books of the former by the name of Vedas, and of the latter by the name of Katebas. The word Kateb according to all traditional commentaries includes the four holy books of these four non-Indian religions.² Even to-day the Christian converts in some parts of the Panjab are called by the villagers Qiranis—from Quran. Sometimes Quran is specially mentioned in the Granth and is generally conjoined with the Katebas, just as the Puranas, the Shastras or the Smritis are conjoined with the Vedas.

The idea of the Will of God—Hukm—and man's submission to it as found in Sikhism was not held by the Hindus as such. It is more Christian and Muslim in its nature. 'Thy Will be done' is one of the basic teachings of Granth. "Nothing happens without the will of God" says the Pahlavi text.³ 'All

1. Cf. H. P. S., Chapter XX, p. 342.

2. See Kateb in G. G. K. and G. S. R.

3. S. B. E. XXIV, p. 253.

happens under His Will', is common in the Granth.¹ This Will is 'irresistable' and therefore it must be submitted to.² This idea of submission preached by the Lord Christ became the very name of the Religion of Muhammad—Islam. Just as this idea of submission to God's will brought victory to Christ over the Cross, similarly the faith of Arjan and Teg Bahadur came out victorious over great tortures and frightful scenes of their deaths. Such a faith, says Dr. Sir Muhammad Iqbal, "can make a man calmly offer his prayers when bullets are showering round him".³ This he calls 'refined fatalism'. Whatever 'ism' it may be, it has stood in good stead whenever it has been rationally acted upon.

II

The idea of the Holy Wars—Crusades—among the Christians, Muslims and the Sikhs seems to have come from Zoroaster. The Guru always fought in defence, but even as such, the idea was foreign to the Indian religious concept. Zoroaster, though Aryan in parentage, was non-Indian in breeding.

Dr. Dhalla says that Zoroaster preached a religion of righteousness and pastoral simplicity.⁴ Like him Nanak too did not complicate the practical side of his religion. Work honestly, serve your fellow beings, and remember God form the threefold path of Nanak's teachings: 'Kirt Karo,' 'Nam Japo' and 'Wand Chhako' was the constant theme of Nanak to his listeners, as emphasised in all biographies or Janam Sakhis of his. But unlike Zoroaster, Nanak did not divide his God into two parts: Aharmuzda and Aharman. Hence ethics of Zoroaster, as Dr. A. V. William Jackson calls it, is dualistic. But this dualism merges into monotheism as soon as God overcomes bad. This is the Christian idea of progress. Although it is not probable that Nanak might have ever had an access to Avesta and other Pahlavi texts, yet sometimes the ideas of the two books resemble so much that one is led to suppose that some of the verses of the Granth are simply translations of some Avestic lines. Nothing can be based on these accidental resemblances, because some of the hymns of the Granth have got similar resemblances with so many other religious books. The goes in favour of our general contention that Nanak during his

1. Hukmai andar sabh ko...II Stanza-Japuji, G. G., p. 1.

2. Bible-Dan, 4 : 7, 35 ; Rom. 9 : 19, Eph. 1 : 5 ; Jas. 1 : 18 ; 4 : 15.

3. The Reconstructions of Religious Thought in Islam, 1934.

4. Zoroastrian Theology.

travels did meet the priests of so many religions and heard to their views.¹

III

How interesting is the resemblance between the Jewish Mantra, Muslim Kalma and the Sikh Mul Mantra : 'Thou art one, Thy name is one'.² The Jewish concept of God as Name in the Old Testament is so common in the Granth that one looks a counterpart of the other. Muhammadans have also got the idea of Ism-i-A'zam, the Great Name. The ultimate origin may be Jewish. The idea was not absolutely unknown to the Hindu scriptures. The remote ancient origin may be one, but the description of Jewish Name as found in the Old Testament and the Encyclopaedia of Religions and Ethics is very much the same as held by the Sikhs, especially the Nandharis and the Nirmalas. The secrecy of the Name and its being breathed by the 'holy lips' into 'holy ears', 'in a holy place' are characteristically similar in both the religions. The name is sometimes spoken as the 'distinguished or proper name', or more frequently the 'name pronounced'. It is also called 'remembrance', 'mention', 'the name of four letters', 'the great name', 'the great and auspicious name'. Here again the substitute names similar to Jewish names are found in the Granth : Nam—name, Sabad—name pronounced, Simrin—remembrance, Yad or Jap—mention or repetition etc. Accidentally the Sikh name of God is also four-lettered. Here again we may say that these resemblances are accidental and can be psychologically explained, for human nature has got similar spiritual and mystic experiences and habits.

IV

The third member of non-Indian religions is Christianity. I am led to believe that Nanak met Christian missionaries, once when he went to Ceylon through Malabar and other Southern parts of India and again when he went to Arabia and Palestine. Missionaries of three Christians churches have been working in India. The earliest was the Syrian Church. A legend goes that Apostle Thomas came to India in 50 A. D. to Travancore and the South. But there is no doubt that the Syrian Church has

1. Professor Teja Singh has drawn the author's attention to Mr. Chatterji's book on Gatha and Guru Gobind Singh on this subject of the relation between Sikhism and Zoroastrianism.
2. A. E. Sufferin in E. R. E.

a regular history from the fourth century A. D. The origin was perhaps the city of Edessa in Mesopotamia. This was followed by the Roman Catholic Church from Italy in fourteenth century in two branches, one led by St. Francis Xavier and the other by Robert de Nobili. They also worked in the South, in Goa, Fishery Coast and Cape Camorin. St. Francis is said to have left India in 1552 A. D. Nobili preached in the disguise of a Brahmin. Nanak, who was so fond of meeting professors of different faiths would not have come from the South and the West without arguing and discussing with these new invaders on Indian religions. The Protestant Church begun by the German priests in the early years of the 18th century was rather late. The Tenth Guru died in the South in 1708 A. D.

Some writers find in the teachings of the Guru some Christian influence. For instance J. W. Youngson writes : "Whether Nanak was acquainted with Christian Truths is a debated question, but whether he was or not, we must allow that, being in some degree conversant with the Muhammadan faith, he may have known something of the revelation of God in His Word, the True Teacher, God incarnate, the Lord Jesus Christ." The Muhammadan channel for the flow of Christian influences to Nanak can also be traced through his intimate connection with some Sufis. 'The leading elements of the system of Sufism', writes Farquhar, 'come from two external sources. The first was Neoplatonism, which flowed into Islam through Greek Philosophy, Gnosticism, Christian teaching and Christian asceticism. The other source was Indian thought, but whether it reached the Sufis through Buddhism at a very early date, or through Vedantism later, is not yet clear.' A more recent observer, Baron Jean Pellenc, in his French book "L'Indes' Entrouvre" says, "Of the two religions whose theories he (Nanak) assimilated, one was Sufism—the other doctrine which deeply influenced the founder of the Sikh religion was that of Christianity.² Many passages in the Granth are strikingly akin to the Christian New Testament ; indeed it would not be too much to say that a good half of Nanak's work deals uniquely with the Gospel narrative from the birth of Christ to the Ascension".³ The latter is an extremely exaggerated statement and shows utter

1. *India through French Eyes*, 1936.

2. *Ibid*, p. 128.

3. *Ibid*, p. 131.

ignorance of the author about the contents of the Granth. But the idea that there is some Christian influence is suggestive and is shared by many scholars. This influence was about the inception of Sikhism. Its culmination into the Khalsa has also been shown to have been 'suggested by Christian example'. Thus V. A. Smith says, "Guru Gobind Singh bound the Sikh fraternity together by instituting or adopting two sacraments, perhaps suggested by Christian example." Fatherhood of God, brotherhood of man, divine grace, righteousness and holiness, are some of the elements in Sikhism which suggest direct or indirect Christian influence. But there is no last word on the question. The teachings of Nanak cannot be analysed in such a way, that a particular element may be definitely assigned to a particular source. All our conclusions are as yet probable. Christianity itself has been supposed to have been influenced by the teachings of Zoroaster, Buddha and others.

V

A.—Islam

Just as Christianity and the system of Western education is playing an important part in the religious development of modern India, similarly Islam and Muslim culture exerted a considerable influence on Indian life and religion in the Middle Ages. There is no gainsaying the fact that Islam, if not so much as a faith, but at least as a State Religion played an important role in the development of Sikhism. Leaving aside the political influences, I shall briefly consider the Muslim teachings and their positive or negative influence on the Guru.

Like Buddhism and Siddhism, Islam influenced Sikhism more on the practical side than on the side of its theoretical teachings. For instance, there are two modes of worship of God in Islam: Individual and congregational. The Hindu worship was mostly individual. Besides the two individual prayers, a Sikh has also to join the congregation in the Gurdwara twice a day, at sunrise and sunset. The evening congregation may be held in the house, but the whole family must join it. The congregational element and the community feeling among the Sikhs is thus Muhammadan or more generally Semetic in origin. Then the way in which the Granth is wrapped in clothes and when opened, but not read, is covered by a sheet of cloth was also the fashion for its sister

Quran. The more important resemblance between the two books is in the headlines of every composition in the book. The Mool Mantra of the Granth and the Bismillah of the Quran, are both dedicated to One Merciful God and are placed in the beginning of every new Chapter. They resemble both in content and form. None of the two contains a verb, the implication and the significance of which is that the nature of God transcends all conceptions of time. Just as the Muhammadans believe that the Fatihah permeates the whole Quran,¹ similarly the Sikhs take the Mool Mantra to be the soul of the Granth, which is considered to be its detailed exposition. Both are regarded as the quintessence of their respective books. I have already pointed out that Muhammad's Miraj and Nanak's flight to Sach Khand are the outcome of the same belief.

On the theoretical side, although the Muslim concept of the unity of God strengthened Nanak's monotheistic belief and his concept of the solity of God, yet instead of replacing the Hindu immanent God by the transcendental God of the Muslims,² he combined the two aspects in the same deity. One thing which is particularly Muslim or more correctly Semitic is the male character of God. The Guru never in serious thought represents God as female, as it is sometimes done in the Hindu books. The Guru's God is merciful, but not so much as to say "God forgives even if there is no repentance on the part of the sinner"³. The difficulty in the Guru's way was the law of Karma, yet God's mercy was there and the sinner must repent, do good and then expect grace from God. Sometimes in the Quran, but never in the Granth, God is described as avenging.⁴ Similar ideas are met with in the Vedic hymns. God is mentioned to be Retributor⁵ and Wrathful.⁶ The Guru says, "My Lord is kind and always kind".⁷

The Hukm-philosophy, as has been pointed above, is, though

1. Cf. Muhammad Ali's translation of Holy Quran, Lahore, 1934, p. 1.
2. "Surely your Lord is Allah who created the heavens and the earth in six days and then took His seat on the Arsh," p. V, *The Philosophy of Islam* by Khaja Khan, Madras, 1903.
3. *Quran*, p. LIII.
4. S. B. E., VI, p. 46.
5. S. B. E., XXXXVI, p. XXVI.
6. *Yajur Veda*, quoted by Swami Daya Nand, p. 197, XIX—9.
7. G. G., Tilang Mahala V. p. 724 :
Mihrwān Sahib mera Mihrwān Sahib. Sahib mera Mihrwān...4—3.

Semetic in general, but it is characteristically prominent in the Muslim thought. The very word Hukm is Quranic. Again Quranic ideas like : All people are a single nation (2—213), and people are naught but a single nation (10—9)' found expression in Guru's words like : All men are of the same caste and that we are all equal, no high and low, all brothers, no friends or foes. Just as in the mosque, the ideal of brotherhood is triumphant, 'the beggar, the sweeper, the prince worship side by side', similarly in a Gurdwara all social superiority or inferiority is set at naught. A king like Ranjit Singh and a Maharaja like Hira Singh deemed it is a good luck to serve and fan the poorest members of the community in a Sangat—a religious congregation. The Muslim theory of creation by the mere will of God, is inferred from some hymns of the Granth.² The Guru says in the Japu ji that by one Word God created the whole world. As we shall see, the Guru's idea of the Word has got a different metaphysical significance, yet the ordinary interpretation does not make any difference between the two. In the Quran we have the word Kun to create and Qum to recreate. God says 'Be' and it is.³ Similarly Muhammadan ideas of after-death are also found in the Granth.⁴ But this should not amount to saying, that the Guru believed in all those Muslim ideas to which allusion are found in the Granth. We shall revert to these theories in the course of our discussions of theoretical problems.

The ideas of the Guru reveal his contact with two types of Muslims : the orthodox and the Sufis. The hypocrisy,⁵ intole-

1. *Indian Islam* by Dr. Titus, p. 171.

2. (a) G. G., *Ramkali ki War Mahala III*, p. 948 :

Hukme hi sabh sājjan.. IV Slok.

(b) Hukmi howan ākār...Japu ji II.

(c) Kitā pasāo eko kawāo...Japu ji—XVI.

3. S. B. E., VI, p. 16.

4. G. G., *Gauri ki War*, p. 315, Mahala V :

(a) Azrail fresta til piṛe ghāṇi . XXVII.

(b) Also in *War Asa*, Slok XX, p. 473.

(c) *Ramkali ki War*, p. 953 :

Nanak akhai re mana suniai Sikh sahi,

Lekha Rabh mangesia baithā kaddh wahi,

Talba pahsan ākia bāki jina rahi,

Azrail fresta hosi āi tai...XIII Slok.

5. S. R., I, p. 38—41.

rance and formalism of the former disgusted Nanak. His attacks against the Mulla' and the importance which he attaches to externality are as severe as they are against the Brahmin. For a Muslim, the Allah and other Quranic names of God are the only legitimate ones. "Most excellent titles hath God, by these call upon Him and stand aloof from those who pervert His titles.² 'All Muhammadans agree', writes Edward Sell,' that such names as the Living and the Wise and the Powerful can be applied to God, but they must be Tawqifi, i.e., authorised in some revelation, Quran or tradition. God can be called 'ash-Shafi'—the Healer, but He cannot be called the 'at-Tabib' the physician, because that word is not applied to Him either in the Quran or by Muhammad.' The sanctity of language and special names was rejected by Nanak. According to him God has countless names.³ God can understand our ideas without their being clothed in words. The orthodox belief that Mohammad was the prophet or the only prophet or the last prophet of God, did not appeal to the Guru. He said, if there was one prophet then there were millions like him. Muhammad, he says was, subject to pleasure and pain like ordinary men. When a Qazi asked Nanak to have faith in one God and His one Rasul—prophet, he said : why to have faith in the latter who takes birth and dies, believe only in the One who is Omnipresent.⁴ The narrow-mindedness and the

1. G. G. :

(a) War Majh Mahala I, p. 140 :

(i) Je rat lage kapre jama hoi plit,

Jo rat piwahi māṇsa tin kio nirmal chit ?

Nanak nāo Khuda-ika dil hachchai mukh lehu,

Awar diwaje duni ke jhutte amal karehn...VI.

(ii) Mihr masit sidk musalla hakk haīāl Kurān...VII.

(b) War Asa, Mahala I : pp. 465-66 :

Musalmana sift sriat paṛ paṛ karhi bichār...VI Slok.

(c) Maru Mahala V, pp. 1081-82 :

Allah agm Khudai bande,

Chhod khiāl duniā ke dhande—1.

... ..

Musālman momdil howai,

Antar ki mal dil te dhowai...—13.

... ..

Hak Hukm sachu khudaiā, bujhi Nanak band khalastra. 15—3.

2. *Quran*, VII—169.

3. *Japu Ji*—XIX.

4. S. R., I, p. 102, 121, 123.

intolerance of this school led him to say the opposite: that all religions were true only if they were to be sincerely lived, and not hypocritically boasted of. Allah and Ram, mosque and temple did not differ in essence. So much so, that the Sixth Guru got a mosque constructed for Muslims. The First Guru did not object on principle to say prayers in a mosque, but he could not join the group as the leader was not sincere in his prayers. This school of Muslims did not influence Nanak very much positively. But on the other hand, but for the limited outlook of this school, we might have missed the universality and broadmindedness in the teachings of Nanak.

B.—The Sufis

More positive in content was the exchange of ideas which took place between the Gurus and the Muhammadan Sufis. They are the followers of the mystic and emotional side of the teachings of the great Prophet's religion. They practise inaction through asceticism. All knowledge except that of the One must disappear. At the final stage, this consciousness of the 'other one' merges into 'all and the same one' and this is their *Fana* or Absorption.¹

Nanak had personal relations with some well known Sufis, the verses of one of whom are recorded in the Granth. The prevailing Sufi sect of the Guru's days was the Chisti order. Seven Sufi orders are counted in the third century after the Prophet.² In the tenth century A. D. Khwaja Abu Abdal Chisti founded the Chisti order, which two centuries later found its way to India. Khwaja Muin-ud-Din Chisti of Sistan came to Delhi in A. D. 1192 with the Army of Shihab-ud-Din Ghauri. Three years after, he went to Ajmer which became the first centre of the order in India. Nanak met Baba Farid II who was the 13th spiritual successor of the First Sheikh Farid Shakarganj. This Shakarganj was the disciple of Khwaja Qutub-ud-Din of Delhi, who was initiated to Sufism by Khwaja Muin-ud-Din Chisti. Ultimately the order is linked with the second Caliph Hazrat Umar and thus with the Prophet.

Advaitic Bhakti and Sufism have got close resemblance with

1. Dr. Farquhar writes: *Fana* lies very near Hindu thought. It is not quite absorption in God, for it is accompanied by everlasting life in God; yet individuality passes away. Outline....., p. 331. Cf. *Islamic Sufism* p. 147. 'Absolutism alone remains'.

2. *Islamic Sufism* by S. A. Shah, Chapter I.

each other. There is a fusion of the two Sikhism. Just as there are stages in the spritual uplift of a Sinfī, similarly Nanak also speaks in his Japu ji of five steps in the spiritual progress of man. Singing of the praises of God, music and free kitchen are some of the common practices among the Sufis and the Sikhs. Respect for all religions and prophets and a general tolerance for the convictions of others, emphasis on inner worth instead of the external rituals are shared both by Nanak and the Sufi saints. But the two systems differ on some fundamental points. The Sufis are chiefly Faqirs. 'Faqir or poverty is indicated as the concomitant of Sufis' spiritual endeavour.¹ The system of Nanak is that of the house-holders. The final stage of the Sufi, like the Vedantist is renunciation. It is 'complete in solitude far from the dwellings of man. The desert or jungle or away in the heights of the great mountains, the devotees find peace to contemplate without any outside interruptions. Thuswise the best is attained'² The Guru does not favour this kind of life. The method of realisation of the ideal according to Sufism involves asceticism. Farid says that in order to realise God, I shall reduce my body to such a state that no blood will be left in it.³ Then again he says that in order to reach God, I shall tear off my clothes and shall wander in coarse rugs.⁴ On both the occasions the Guru corrects him and says: the body cannot exist without blood and that if there is truthfulness and sincerity in the heart one can realise God in one's own family and house.⁵ Like Kabir, Farid too considers life a misery and the world nothing but an embodiment of pain⁶. Naturally we find him saying that how nice it would have been if at the time of his birth his nurse could have cut his throat.⁷ The Guru as before corrects him and says: Believe in God and his Grace, the world will be turned into a garden and life into a pleasure.⁸

This concludes the present section. To some readers it may look too brief and to others a little too long. My purpose in this comparative survey of Sikhism was to show, that to say that

1. *Ibid*, p. 242.

2. *Ibid*, p. 32.

3. G. G., Slok LI, p. 1380.

4. *Ibid*, CIII, p. 1383.

5. *Ibid*, Sloks Nos. LII and CIV.

6. *Ibid*, Slok LXXXI.

7. *Ibid*, Slok LXXXVI.

8. *Ibid*, Sloks LXXXIII, p. 1382.

it (Sikhism) is the branch of this or that religion is to shut our eyes to the multifarious trends of thought originating from all these sources and contributing to the general atmosphere in which the founders of Sikhism flourished. Just as the mere presence of the ideas of transmigration of souls and the law of Karma should not make us think that Sikhism is nothing but Hinduism; similarly its 'stern' monotheistic character should not persuade some writers to say that Nanak was a Muhammadan. If the Vedas and the Katebas, the Gita and the Gatha are the ancestors of Guru Granth; Zoroaster, Buddha, Christ, Muhammad, Sankara and Gorakh are in one way or the other, predecessors and precursors of Nanak. But this great geneology and ancient inheritance should not make us believe that Nanak's ideas were all acquired by him. He did not start with a clean-slate-mind. Apart from the 'power of the unconscious' which the modern psychoanalyst has explored¹, all prophets I believe, though dogmatically, from the very beginning are linked with some thing which is universal, eternal and also conscious—traditionally known as God. So was Nanak.

1. Cf. Dr. E. Jones in *How The Mind Works*, Edited by Professor Cyril, Burt, p. 79.

PART III—THEORETICAL PHILOSOPHY

CHAPTER VIII

GOD : PROOFS AND NAMES

I

ACCORDING to the orthodox interpretation, the first and the last visible mark written in the Guru Granth is figure I, the symbolic unity of God and this they say is diffused in the whole body of the book. According to them it was conceived by the Guru after his notion of the universe. "In the beginning there was one, in the end there will be one and midway between the two that one is diffused."¹ Whatever may be the orthodox view, we will not find a single passage in the Granth which is not about God or addressed to God. Deity is the direct or the indirect subject matter of every hymn in the Granth. Thus God being the basic principle of Sikhism and of course of every religion worth the name, the present section should begin with an analysis of this primary notion. Philosophy and religion have God as their object. 'But' Hegel is said to have drawn a distinction between the two, saying that, 'the philosophy of religion differs from other philosophical sciences in beginning with the idea of God instead of reaching it at the last ; in the one case it is the *Terminus A Quo*, in the other the *Terminus Ab Quem*'.

PROOFS OF THE EXISTENCE OF GOD :—Every attempt in understanding the concept of God begins with the proofs of His existence. The Guru seems never to have bothered himself about proving the existence of God. He was so much imbued with the divine love, that he could not even imagine that there could be any doubt about His existence. He simply starts with God as existent and in fact the only being existent in the real sense. He takes Him as an object requiring no proof, some thing most visible, most outstanding. That which is such, needs no

1. G. G.

- (a) Gauri Bawan Akkhari Mahala V :
Nanak eko raw riha dusar hoana hog. I Slok, p. 250.
- (b) Maru Mahala V, p. 1001 :
Bhanti Nanak jab khel ujharai, tab ekai ekan kara. 4—4.
- (c) *Ibid.*
Tis bin duja awar na kou.
Adi madhi ant hai sou. 2—9.

proof. This has passed into a proverb : *Partakh Nun Parman Ki ?* "Nanak's God", he says "is most visible".¹ "To whichever side I turn my eyes I perceive Him."² For such an obvious thing, how could he think of any proof. But this visibility and perceptibility, we must admit, was a mystic notion for him. After all, God is not so obvious as the sun, although for a believer the very sun is the proof of God's existence. The sceptic wants God as real as the sun, real in the sense of visible, but the traditional controversialist says that just as the sun does not exist for an owl, similarly God being as real as the sun, is not known to owl-like people who are mentally blind, that is, whose mental vision is blocked by the web of ignorance. This illustration again brings us to mystic field and the Guru, in fact, does refer to the mystic eye and the mystic vision. "The eyes that see God are different"³, they are not the physical eyes with which we see the sun. The Gita and the Upanisadas refer to the same mystic vision when we read that God is not to be apprehended by the senses, but by the mind. In modern times, the importance of the traditional proofs has greatly diminished. These proofs do not produce a religious conviction in the mind of a sceptic. We cannot reach the idea of God from pure abstractions, nor can His existence be established by arguments which God is a reality, which can better be experienced than proved. The critic has to believe in the mystic. The difficulty in the way of an argument is, that the concrete reality of God which is aimed at contains more than it is to be found in the premises from which it is to be inferred.

Inspite of the fact, that the existence of God is an assumption and a presupposition for the Guru and that he mainly relies on the inward belief, we can gather from the hymns of the Granth what can be described as the basis of that belief and therefore the proofs of the existence of God. The first proof for the Guru

1. G. G., Asa Mahala V, p. 397 :
Bed Kateb Sansār habhha hun bāhra,
Nanak ka Pātsah dissai zahra. 4—3—105.
2. G.G., Prabhati Mahala I, p. 1342 :
Jah jah dekhā tahtah soi—8—3.
3. G. G., Wadhans Mahala V, p. 577 :
Nanak se akhriān heann, Jinhi disando Mapiri.
4. S. B. E., VIII, p. 257, XV, p. 22.

is the existence of our own spiritual self. Descartes's *Cogito Ergo Sum* merges into the Vedantic lore of *Ahn (Aham) Brahmn Asmi*. But from one end to the other it is the self which is the source of all philosophical conceptions, whether it be the dualism of Descartes or the absolution of Hegel. This self (micro-cosm) when enlarged and magnified, freed from its limitations, became God for the Guru. There is no difference of kind, there is, of course, a difference of degree. By the way it is not Leibnizian central monad which was the outcome of a pluralistic concept of reality. So that for the Guru, our own self is the proof of the Self. We could know God by means other than our own self, if He were not our own self. We can know a table and prove it, because it is in its present form other than the subject which knows it. When the self has to know its own greater self, no other proof is required except the idea of its own self. The Guru says, if he were other than the self, we could establish, prove and make others understand of His existence.¹ The self is the conscious activity, the idea and the will. The natural anthropomorphic tendency leads us from our own will to a Supreme Will. It is not the traditional ontological proof of the existence of God, but it can be taken as one form of it, because the argument has been conceived differently by different philosophers like Anselm, Descartes, Spinoza, Leibniz, Kant and Hegel. The idea also borders on the historical proof of God according to which He in the very beginning infused in man the idea of a God above him. But the Guru's concept is a little different. Going back historically, God sent a spark—rather extended a part of—from His own self and made it appear like a man. The spark—that

1. (a) G. N., pp. 14—17.

(b) G. G., p. 294, Gauri Sukhmani Mahala V, :

Tis te bhinn nahi ko thao . . . —2.

Bed Puran smrit mahi dekh,

Sasiar sur nakhatra mahi ek,

Bani Prabh ki sabh ko bolai,—3

... ..

Taki gati miti kahiha jai,

Dusar hoi ta sojhi pai. XXIII.

(c) G. G., Bilawal Mahala III, p. 797 :

Atul kio tolia jai,

Duja hoi ta sojhi pai ?

Tiste duja nahi koi

Tisdi kimat kikku hoi ? 4—2.

part—always thinks of and runs towards the source. Hence the consciousness of God.

The Guru's argument from the self to the Self, although pantheistic in its tone, yet it does not make the self as such and God identical. The difference becomes clearer when we find the Guru conceiving God as a creator of the universe. He is Karta—the Creator. As soon as he thinks of God as Real, he immediately makes Him the Creator.¹ But the ultimate source of this cosmological proof of the existence of God is again our own self. Just as we create in our own sphere at a smaller scale, similarly we conceive that this cosmos must be some body's creation. It cannot be the work of any man, but at the same time man thinks that the world must have been created by some body like man, a Big Man, a Super Man—God. Whenever we find the Guru reflecting upon the universe he always assigns its creation to a creator and he being conceived in our own image is always thought of having some plan or purpose in view. The teleological argument could not have found a simpler expression than the case of a baby before our own eyes. The baby has no teeth to chew food and God sends milk to its mother's breast. As soon as the breast gets dry, the teeth come out and the child begins to eat food. Such facts as these suggested to the Guru the existence of a designer. The sun, the moon, the stars in the sky are the work of an artist creator.²

More important than these arguments is perhaps the necessity of the existence of God in the system of the Guru, from the point of view of the practical realisation of God by a Sikh in his own life. The Guru represents Him as perfectly Blissful, without fear and enmity. He is the embodiment of all conceivable Virtue. Such a being became a necessary postulate for Kant. The communion with a moral God makes the devotee moral. A happy God will make his believer happy, a fearless one will make him fearless. A man becomes like the God whom he worships.³ This forms the basis of Simrin (remembrance of God) in

1. Japuji—Mul Mantra.

2. G.G., Gauṛi Kabir, p. 329.

3. G.G., Gauri Mahala I, p. 223 :

Sat Guru sewe so jogi hoi,

Bhai rachi rahai su nīr bīan hoi,

Jaisā sewai taisā hoi. 8—7.

the Guru's system. This is what may be called the Moral argument for the existence of God. In Him we find the most satisfactory solution for our moral problems. If I want to reside in the feet of God, I must be God-like. He is good, I must be good, He is true, I must be truthful. This is how the argument goes. Although we now think that the origin of moral consciousness is the conflict of our desires in human society, yet a mere humanitarian ideal cannot be adhered to so faithfully and devoutly, unless it gets a religious sanction, the primary source of which must be the ethical deity.

II

Names of God

I have divided the names of God occurring in the two Granths under two heads : Historical and Attributive. The Guru says that there is no real name of God. All names that exist in different languages are derivative or functional (Kirtam). The real name of God is only the concept of expressing His all pervasive reality and the concrete truth of His existence. This concept of Absolute Truth is expressed by the word 'Satnam'. It is not the letters or the sound symbols which have a meaning near God but it is the mental content or the heart which is a means of communion with God. It was this truth which did not make the Guru prejudiced in favour of or against any name of God occurring in any language. Any name that he could recall was used by him. He brought one more change in the use of these names. In Hindu literature, there are some names which originally stood for gods, goddesses and other Hindu Avatars. I have already mentioned this change brought by the Guru in the use of these names. He used them all for One Supreme Being. Once the Muslim Emperor Jahangir asked the Guru 'What is the essential difference between the Hindus who worship Ram, Narayan, Parbrahm and Parmeshar and the Musalmans who pray Allah, the bounteous Lord ?'. The Guru replied in Ramkali :

As Madho, He is Lord and life of the world,
The Destroyer of fears ; worship Him in thy heart.
Whether known as Rikhikesh, Gopal, Gobind,
Or Mukand, Thou alone, O God, are the kind Master.
Thou art at once Pir, Prophet and Sheikh ;

1. S. R., IV, p. 15.

Master of hearts, Thou dispensest Justice.
 Thou art holier than the Quran and other Muhammadan books.
 Whether as Narayan, Narhar, or the Compassionate,
 Thou pervadest every heart and art the heart's support.
 As Wasdev, Thou dwellest in every place.
 Thy sport is not understood.
 Thou art the Bestower of kindness and mercy.
 Grant us devotion and worship of Thee, O Creator.
 Saith Nanak, when the Guru hath removed superstition,
 Allah and Parbrahm are the same.¹ 4—34—45.

Such was the attitude of the Guru towards the sectarian names of God. The following is the list of these Historical names. I have divided them into three groups : Hindu, Muhammadan and New i.e., the names invented by the Guru.

Hindu : Bhagwant, Bhagwan, Bishan or Vishnu, Bishambar : Brahm, Chakardhar, Chakarpan, Damodhr, Girdhari, Gobind, Gopal, Gopinath, Goverdhandhari, Gusain, Hari, Ishar, Kesav, Krishn, Kanh, Madho, Madsudan, Murari, Narayan, Parbrahm, Parmeshar, Pitambar, Prabh, Raghurai, Ram, Sarangdhar, Sawal, Siam, and Wasdev.

Muhammadan : Allah, Ghani, Haq, Kabir, Karim, Khaliq, Khuda, Malik, Nir Sharik (La Sharik), Pak, Rabb, Rahim, Rahman ul Rahim, Raziq and Sahib.²

New Names : There are four kinds of names which more or less strike to be new, in the Sikh scriptures.

A.—First of all are the names which are associated with the friendliness of God. God has so far been a father, but very rarely a friend. The importance of the difference lies in bringing God nearer and making Him more easily approachable and accessible to man. Such names are : Mittar, Mit, Pritam, Piara, Sajjan and Yar.

B.—The Guru combined the idea of immance and transcendence of God in one concept. It is difficult to combine the two senses in one word, because the two exclude each other. I have come across a word in the Granth which rather gives a new concept of God : Tarowar or Ped meaning 'tree'. God is Tree, not like a tree but His nature is to be understood after the structure of a tree. The concept is an attempt to reconcile the two ideas

1. *Ramkali Mahala V*, G. G., pp. 826-97.

2. For scriptural references see Appendix.

of transcendence and immanence. We shall refer to this concept again in another section, but surely the name of God—Tarowar is quite new.

C.—The Tenth Guru introduced some martial names of God, associated with sword or other war implements. Such names symbolise power or Sakti. These names are Asiketu, Asipan Kharagketu, Mahankal and Sarabloh.

D.—There are some names in the Sikh scriptures which express the non-sectarianism of God. In spite of the fact that nearly all religions emphasise the universal character of God, the followers of one religion some how or other begin to believe that until and unless, the other people embrace the religion they follow, there is no possibility of their attaining what may be called salvation. This ultimately comes down to a sectarian God. To avoid such pitfalls, the Guru used names which mean that God has no label of a particular religion. He, is therefore, religionless : Adharm and Amazab.

The death blow to the sectarian concept of God comes when the Guru denies all names to Him. The superstition or the narrow-mindedness that certain names are the only names of God was removed by the Guru by saying that He is nameless : Anam.

Wahiguru is a special name used by the Sikhs with some peculiar attachment. Just as Allah is for the Muhammadans, Ishwar or Ram for the Hindus and Jahweh for the Jews, similarly Wahiguru is taken to be for the Sikhs. With the birth of the Khalsa this name has become as sectarian as Allah or Ram. The Guru never meant this. As far as I have followed the Name-philosophy of the Guru, which I propose to discuss later, Wahiguru is not so much a name of God as the expression of the entire feeling of satisfaction which man gets from an aesthetic experience of nature and the world which is the wonderful workmanship of the Wonderful Lord. What I mean to say is that when an English man enters into that mental state of aesthetic appreciation of God's workings, he will not say Wahiguru, but in that state of Wismad—of wonder and ecstasy, his lips will move as if automatically to say something like Wonderful Lord. That is, it was not the word Wahiguru which the Guru wanted his followers to utter, rather it was a suggestion to have that emotional satisfaction which a man feels in such an aesthetic

communion with God through His manifestation. Aesthetic had never before formed an integral part of a religion and the term Wahiguru is as new as the idea itself.

CHAPTER IX

ATTRIBUTIVE NAMES

I

Most of the names used in ordinary language for God express His attributes. The historical names mentioned above are also of similar nature. In what follows we shall again have to deal with them in analysing the Guru's notion of the Deity. In the Japuji the Guru says that the attributive names of God are countless. Ever since God created the world, millions of people have tried to describe His attributes, but he says, there is no end to them. If all the seven oceans were to be turned into ink and the vegetable kingdom could be mended into pens and the whole earth into paper, even then all the attributes of God would not be exhausted by writing. These are poetical expressions. The idea underlying is, that the very fact that man is man, goes against his entire comprehension of the Divine attributes. Man sees God through his own nature and he cannot transcend his being to exhaust the knowledge of the Supreme Being.¹

The attributes of God given in the Sikh scriptures will help us in understanding the Guru's concept of God. There are different ways of classifying the Divine attributes. There was an interesting controversy among the Muhammadan theologians about these attributes of God. The Being of God is the essence : Zat. The Becoming is the manifestation of the attributes—Sift. Imam Ghizali ignored Zat and believed in Sift. A separate school of Mutazilites led by Wasl-ibn-ul Ata ignored Sift and believed in Zat. As I have already said, the Guru holds that the pure Being or Zat is Anam or Nirgun : Nameless or Attributeless. But the same Being out of its own will Becomes. Man is a part of this Becoming, therefore his names about God are the names about the Becoming aspect of God. Muslim theologians divide these attributes under seven heads of Life, Knowledge, Power, Will, Hearing, Seeing, and Speech (Hayah, Ilm, Qudrat, Irada, Sama, Basar and Kalam). This scheme is more anthropomorphic. I have accepted with some modification the plan of classification given by some writers of the Philosophy of religion. It will be found that there is no hard and fast line between the various

1. Cf. Schiller's Poem on 'Human Knowledge' translated by E. A. Bouring.

heads of classification. There will be attributes which can fall under more than one head ; and there will also be an overlapping in some cases. The classification is not very rigid, only a working plan has been adopted. Our purpose is to get a clear concept of God as revealed by the various attributes found in the Sikh scriptures. The following may be treated as a table of contents of the treatment of the Sikh attributes of God :

I.—Names indicating the Unity or the Plurality of God : One or Many.

II.—Attributes of God determined by the nature of relation in which He stands to the world of human experience. Relational Attributes.

(a) Creation ;

(b) Having brought the world into existence, does God remain outside it or in it, or both ways ?

(i) Transcendent, (ii) Immanent, (iii) or Both—Transcendent as well as Immanent.

III.—Metaphysical attributes :

A.—Names implying agnosticism ;

B.—Humanly known : (i) By Reason or by Intuition ;

(ii) Existent ;

(iii) Personal attributes :

(a) Has He any Form ?

(b) Is He conscious ?

(c) Is His personality material ?

(d) Temporal ?

(e) Spacial ?—Omnipresence.

(iv) Omnipotent :

(v) Omniscient :

IV.—Ethical. V.—Aesthetic. VI.—Political and Martial.

II

One or Many

Two different theories have been proposed to explain the source of belief in God : (a) from Nature to God, (b) from ancestors to God. Writers of Indian philosophy trace the origin of belief in God in Nature worship. 'The moon and the stars, the sea and the sky, the dawn and the night-fall were regarded as divine. This worship of nature as such is the earliest form of Vedic religion'.¹ The natural phenomena become gods and polytheism results. Supporters of the ancestor-worship theory and

1. I.P.i, p. 73.

workers in the field of anthropology deny this. 'Among modern scholars the view has been prevalent, that the striking objects and forces of nature furnished the earliest impulse towards the belief in gods and much labour has been expended on the endeavour to trace the higher personalities of the most advanced religions back to some elemental perception of sun, moon, dawn, and wind. Much of this labour had been wasted, and the assumption which dictated it is probably false. There is the equally primitive belief in the superhuman being of old time, the founder and teacher of the culture and rites of the tribe, who then departed to the skies and from whom might emerge the concept of a higher personal god of no direct association with nature or the elements.' This also must have led to polytheism. Different tribes had different powerful ancestors and they were deified.

Whatever the origin, the earliest concept of God was polytheistic. Just as one force of nature seems stronger than the other, the sun is more powerful than the moon or the star, or on the other side, one tribal head is stronger than the other, similarly the idea must have been transferred to the earlier gods. The stronger god was made to dominate the weaker ones. The result was the next stage in the theistic development, known as henothesim. From here man's mind was on a direct road to monotheism. Only one god came to be recognised. At this stage the other gods were either tolerated as manifestations of the same god or their reality was absolutely denied.

Both Aryan and Semitic mind passed through this process to reach the unity of God. In India it remained confused and less pronounced. It was due perhaps to the extremely tolerant spirit of the Hindus. In the West, the most ancient monotheistic tendency is visible at Tel-el-Amarna near Thebes in Egypt, in the worship of Aton—the only sun God. This was solar monotheism established by Amenhotep IV or otherwise known as Ikhnato, who lived in the 13th century B. C. The most pronounced monotheism was that of the Aryan prophet Zarathustra in Persia. The Chinese worship of Heaven-Tien is also monotheistic, but the true monotheism is that of the Jews in Jahweh. This was taken up by Christ and Muhammad. 'Finally we may observe certain reforms', in India, 'Such as the Sikh religion'.² Just as in the origin of the theistic concept, so also here at the end,

1. A. O. G., p. 103.

2. A. O. G., p. 91.

we have again divergence of views about the latest concept of God in religion. According to the Indian thinkers monism or Advaitism is the highest concept of God. The one Supreme Being of monotheism becomes the Absolute. Anthropologists again differ. According to them magic and animism are the primitive forms of spiritualism. Magic is a belief in the materialistic forces and animism is a belief in the spiritual elements. Life is attributed to inanimate objects and natural phenomena. Dreams and death led to the belief in the separability of souls which could enter into all kinds of objects. Transmigration of souls may be traced back to this belief. In a refined and philosophical form the soul element was universalised and a single soul was thought to pervade every where. The mortality of all that is visible led to the immortality of that which was invisible. There came to be one immortal soul and all that is visible being illusory. The same tendency can lead to pantheism, all differences being only superficial.

But, Polytheism, Henotheism, Monotheism, Monism and Pantheism, apart from being the chronological stages in the religious ideology of man, also represent the successive phases of the mental development of an individual as far as the development of his concept of God is concerned. Moreover men of different level of intelligence need different concepts of God. The Guru had to deal with all kinds of people having various kinds of beliefs. Thus we expect from the Granthic hymns references to all the concepts of the deity, except the polytheistic one. The problem of religion for the Guru was to realise the single reality underlying the worldly phenomena. For this all of us are not equipped in the same way. The guidance of the Guru was considered to be necessary, because the disciple was to be guided according to his mental level.

The family government is the immediate analogy for a child or a primitive man, to comprehend the system of the divine government. Father is the head of all. Under his directions different members have to perform different duties. A child or an uneducated villager can easily understand that there are different gods for different natural functions, and that all of them work under one Supreme Being. This is the henotheistic concept of God met with in the Sikh Granth. Brahma, Visnu, and Siva, the three potentialities of creation, growth, and decay are deified

and subordinated to one God.¹ In some passages Indra is entrusted with rain.² Vedic god Rudra is also mentioned. This is the simplest concept of God. In the earliest phase of his development, the devotee cannot easily grasp the abstract idea of a universal all-pervasive reality. Hence the idea of some divine agencies.

The next stage comes when the importance of these gods is nullified and they are reduced to a mere human level. No difference is made between ordinary creatures and these deities. Brahma, Vishnu and Siva are mortal beings. The disciple has reached a stage when he can transcend the idea of the family government, and can think of God as the only powerful being. The existence of these gods and deities is not yet denied but they are entirely mortalised and humanised.³ The next transition is to what may be called pure monotheism, denying the existences of all gods, goddesses, and Avataras except One. He is the sole God, Ik, or Ek, or Ik Oan Kar. Om was the symbol of God in the Hindu scriptures. It is sometimes spelled as Oam (Aum)—the three letters standing for Brahma, Visnu and Siva. The word also means Brahman. The Guru in order to express his 'stern'⁴ monotheism changed the constructions of the word. He prefixed the figure I and suffixed Kar to the same old word : Om. The latter means 'only'⁵. Figure I⁶ expresses the unity. Thus the idea of unity and solity is combined in the above expression. The Granth begins with this Ik Oan Kar—The only one God.

1. G. G., p. 6, *Japuji*, Stanza XXX; The Tenth Guru in the chaupai—Kal pai Brahma ... ;
2. G. G., *War Malar*, p. 1280, Mahala III.
3. The textual references have been given in Part II under the Guru's attitude towards Hindu mythology.
4. E. B.
5. G. G. K., p. 105.
6. The unity of God expressed in the numerical figure and not in verbal form is unique with the Granth. This first and the primal number one reminds me of the number theory of Pythagoreans. 'It was not, however, in the general relations of constructions in space only that the Pythagoreans found numbers to be the determining principles; the same was found to be true also in such phenomena of the corporeal world as they were chiefly engaged with. Their theoretical investigations concerning music taught them that harmony was based upon simple numerical relations of the length of strings (octave, third, fourth); and their knowledge of astronomy, which was far advanced, led them to the view, that the harmony prevailing in the motions in the heavenly bodies had, like the harmony in music, its ground in an order, in accordance with which, the various spheres of the universe moved about a common centre at intervals, fixed by numbers. Suggestions so various as these mentioned, seemed to have united to evoke in a man like *Philolous* the thought that the permanent-Being which Philosophy

(Continued on Page 134)

The religious philosophy of God in Sikhism culminates in monotheism. But the mind which along with the mystic development has also been acquiring an insight into the nature of ultimate reality does not remain content with a transcendent God away from his own self. Faith passes into reflection, mystic emotion of love with 'the other' changes into speculative identification of self with the Self, and of worshipper with the Worshipped. God and soul become one. The individuality merges into universality. The result is the Absolute of Philosophy. It is not arrived at through intellectual argumentation; it is rather the emotional state of mind grounded in reason, but by the feeling of unity in diversity and diversity in unity. Here comes the manyness of God in Sikhism.

Same God is one and many. This 'many' aspect of God is not the primitive polytheism. Whether God be the subject of many or the predicate of it, the copula and god must remain singular. The Primal Being when takes the form of Becoming, He in so doing, becomes many. But for the true eye even the many is one. When many, He is known as Anek.¹ He is One—Ek, becomes Many—Anek, and again becomes One—Phir Ek.²

The idea is made clear by an illustration borrowed from mathematical numbers. Without attributes God is Nirgun—Qualityless. In that state He is not knowable. Let us take Him as zero (a point) in the Nirgun form. When the zero expands, it

1. G. G. Gauri Sukhmani Mahala V, p. 279, XII Ashtpadi :

Bujhai dekhai karai bibek
Apahi Ek apahi Anek...6.

2. D. G. jāp, p. 3, 43rd. verse.

(Continued from p. 133)

was seeking was to be found in numbers. In contrast with the changing things of experience mathematical conceptions possess as regards their content the marks of validity not subject to time—they are eternal, without beginning, imperishable, unchangeable and even immovable (History of Phil. by Windleband p. 45). These qualities the Guru found in number one alone. He did not believe in numbers but in one number. By doing so he seems to have avoided the pitfall of dualism to which the Pythagorean theory of numbers fell. They discovered some antithesis between limited and unlimited, good and bad, perfect and imperfect. They said that just as there is antithesis between odd numbers and even numbers, similarly there is antithesis in the universe. The Guru thought that this antithesis was to use Kantian term phenomenal, not noumenal and therefore not real. There is no number which is not one. Four is one fourtimes and 3 is one-three times. So it was all one and nothing but one. Later on Aristotle rightly understood and consistently explained and removed this defect of Pythagoreans in his Metaphysics. He said that the antithesis of odd and even did not exist in number one. Thus the Guru seems to have safely put number one as the symbol of God.

comes to be known, and becomes one. Now the same transcendent spirit, which was unknowable before it became one, pervades immanently in one and all subsequent figures. One becomes tens, then hundreds, thousands, millions, and so on. When the process regresses, that is the expanded one contracts—Qualityful is on its way to becoming Qualityless—zeros go on dropping until we reach one and from there we reach the same unknowable qualityless zero.¹ This illustrates how God is millions and billions. He is many and also one.² Define the one God as one, Nanak, and the one God as manifold.³ Thus the Guru tried to solve this problem of one and many and thus I think every idealist mystic school has tried to solve it. On temperamental differences many people consider themselves to be so real that they are unwilling to be swallowed up by such an absolutely one being; and there are others too who find great satisfaction in such an enlargement of their self. Infact, "The pendulum of human thought swings continually between the two extremes of Individualism (or Pluralism) leading to Atheism and Universalism (or Absolutism) leading to Pantheism or Acosmism".⁴

1. G. G., Ramkali Mahala I, Dakhni Oankar, p. 930 :

Onm akhkhār suno bichār.

Onm akhkhār tir bhawn sār.

(O is the best letter in the three worlds).

Cf. After all, we and all our speculation belong to the world of so called 'spurious existence'; and as to the One, so transcendently different from all that we know—none of our concepts are applicable to it. It is *Nicht* in contrast to *Ich* as Eckhart quaintly says. We ascend to it, as the 'negative theology' of the scholastic mysticism taught, by dropping one after another every determinate predicate, so that we end by saying with Proclus that the One or God is above substance, life and intelligence and cannot even be called One except figuratively in it all difference begins and ends." J. Ward, the Realm of Ends, p. 35

2. G. G., Rāg Suhi Mahala V, p. 736 :

Bajigar jaise bāji pāi,

Nanahā rūp bhekh dikhlaī,

Sāng utario thamio pāsārā

Tah eko ekankarā—1.

... ..

Sahas ghata mahi ek ākās

Ghat phute te Ohi pragās. 4—1.

3. G. G., Gauri Bāwan Akhkhari, Mahala V. p. 250.

Nirankār ākār api Nirgun Sargun ek

Ekahi ek bakhanno Nanak ek Anek. Slok II or S. R., III, p. 169.

CHAPTER X

RELATIONAL ATTRIBUTES

A.—Creation

I

First of all we have those names of God which express the part played by Him in the formation of the world. In the Mool Mantra, after expressing the unity and the reality of God, the Guru says that He is Karta—the Creator. The concept of God as creator is not so much pronounced in the Vedic polytheism. Various gods are made responsible for various functions. Brahma becomes the creator at a later stage, but he is not the supreme one. The Guru's God is creator in the same sense in which Jewish Jahweh and Muhammad's Allah are the creators of the universe. The concept of this creator God is associated with man—a moral and spiritual personality. Zoroaster's Ahurmuzda is also similarly conceived. The creative function in Greek and Indian mythologies is more naturalistic than theistic. In those passages of the Granth where the potential existence of Brahma, Vishnu and Siva is referred to, these deities have also been described as being the creation of Karta—the High God, not that these gods are in any sense partners of God in the work of creation. The other names of God as creator used by the Guru are : Kartar, Siranda, Usaranwala, Khaliq and Bharanhar.

II

The concept of a creator God leads us further to know whether the Guru thinks of God as a creator of the world in the same sense in which a carpenter is the creator of a table. The material cause of the table is independent of the carpenter. This led Aristotle to assume that God was the mover of the universe. He was all-cause, first and final, efficient and formal, but not material. In India too, we have the Sankhya system and other schools of similar thought, which hold that God is only an efficient cause. Purkh needs Prakriti—matter for the creation of the world. The Guru makes God the sole cause, the cause of causes. There is no fundamental cause outside Him, and hence He is named Karn-Karan.

III

This concept combined with God as creator comes to some

thing like creation out of nothing. That is not the sense which the Guru seems to have in mind. Although the Hukm or the Will or the Word of God is mentioned in the Quranic or the Biblical sense, but the idea here is more monistic. He 'wills' to be known and expands. The word of God as Karta is merely His Will like that of a creative genius. It is mere will and not an audible sound. Just as God is Nirgun—Qualityless, in His pure form, similarly the word is an unknowable will in that state. The Will 'wills', and the world is formed, God becomes qualityful. In the process the unknowable will has also become qualityful. It has become a word—an audible sound, Sabad. From this point of view God is named Hukmi'—one from whom the Word issues forth. "He hath no form or colour, of outline; He becometh manifest by the true Word."²

IV

Thus God is creator, the sole cause manifesting through Will and manifested as Word in a subtle form and as World in a gross form. But the divine Being has been given some other attributes with relation to the world. He is Mool, the root—the ground of the whole universe. He is Tek, the support of the world. He is Asra and Adhar in the same sense. Thus God is made the *Ratio Essendi* of the world. If God ceases to be, the world automatically ceases to exist. Here too we are hovering round the same concept of the world being the manifestation of God. God is not the support or the ground of the world as the columns are for a roof or the legs are for the surface of a table. So that if the support is withdrawn, the thing supported will remain, although in a different form. Not so with God and the world. Let me take the help of a crude illustration. There are seen some toy-birds. If we press the body of the bird, a long tongue-like projection comes out of the mouth of the toy. Stop pressing the tongue will disappear in the mouth. It is like the protruding and withdrawing of the legs and head of a tortoise. God seems to be ground of the world in that sense. There is no external agency for the pressure, but God Himself is self-caused activity-volition. The inner urge sends forth the word and its withdrawl takes it back again.

This is not the only sense in which God is mentioned to

1. Hukm does not mean an order or command. In psychological terms it is the conative tendency of the conscious-chit Brahmñ. Hukui is the supreme conscious agency itself.
2. S. R., i, p. 330.

be the ground or the support of the world. He is also named Dharnidhar, Dhurandhar, Saringpani, and Basundhar. There is some sense of weight-lifting in these concepts. In the Hindu mythology a bull or tortoise was supposed to support the earth. The Guru in the Japu ji says that the bull is the Dharma—the Law, God holds the earth and other spheres in the form of or by means of the Laws. The laws are not separate from Him. He Himself is those laws. They are the different forms of His will.

V

Quite a new attribute is assigned to God, when the Guru speaks of Him as Tarowar or Ped—Tree. This is both a meta-physical and a mystic concept. The tree is every morning fresh. It is new every time and therefore with its every day new blossoms and flowers attracts the lover of the beauty of nature with a fresh vigour and fondness. 'A thing of beauty', said Keats, 'is a joy for ever'! Like a tree, God is always fresh, beautiful and new. The psychological law of 'affection being blunted by repetition' does not hold good, if the beloved is always ready to receive its lover every time with new and fresh appearance. This is the mystic sense of the concept of Tarowar. God as tree is Nit Nawan—always new, Nawtan—of fresh and youthful appearance and body. Perhaps in the same sense, the Egyptians talked of 'the youthful fresh god'. It is on account of this freshness that there is always Chao—fondness in the heart of a devotee: SAT SUHAN SADA MAN CHAO.

There is an analogy of a tree in the Gita² which was borrowed from the Katha Upanishad, in order to explain the relation between God and the universe. The Guru's concept of God as Tree is quite different. It is of course a metaphor to express the ever newness and freshness of the world and so of God. God can be new if He is always growing. The changes in a tree are quite marked. Every morning and every season it is quite different. Does it mean that God or the world is an evolutionary process? No. Evolution is a determined sequence in the

1. E. R. E.

2. "This is called the eternal Asvattha tree with its roots high up and branches downwards, the leaves of which are the Vedas and he who knows this, knows the Vedas. Its branches spread high and low, its leaves or sense objects are nourished by the gunas, its roots spread downwards tied with knots of Karma, the human world. In this world its true nature is not perceived, it is the beginning and it is the end and the nature of its subsistence remains unknown; it is only by cutting this firmly rooted Asvattha tree with the strong axe of unattachment that one has to seek that state from which when once achieved no one returns." Quoted in *Indian Idealism* by Das Gupta, page 56.

events of nature. That does not carry with it the idea of ever new. May it not be emergent evolution? A qualified yes. In fact, it is some thing like the universal change of Bergson. Dr. C. Lloyd Morgan illustrates the idea of Emergent Evolution by an example of carbon and sulphur. The two combine. The weight can be predicted. The sum of the weight of the components is the Resultant. But the new properties of the mixture are the constitutive emergents. A similar example was used by the Indian materials—the Charvakis, to explain away the entity of the soul by an illustration of the mixture of lime and turmeric. This interpretation does not prove consistent with another attribute of God, according to which He changeless, Nihchal and Ikraś. I combine the Guru's two concepts in this way: God as one unique and permanent reality remains the same. Its manifestation grows like a tree, changes and is, therefore, new. This change, this newness and growth are for man and not for God. Change and new are possible in time. God is Akal—Timeless, and, therefore, ever the same. For human beings there is change, growth and freshness. The two aspects may be called the phenomenal and the noumenal. This means the relativity of reality as far as the human concept is concerned. For us it is like a tree, emergent and therefore new. To make it more clear Mr. Morgan has used a diagram, in which are given vast multitude of individual pyramids—atom pyramids near the base, molecules a little higher up, yet higher 'things' (e.g., crystals) higher still plants (in which mind is not yet emergent), then animals (with consciousness) and near the top our human selves' Divine activity is to be conceived as omnipresent and manifested in every one of the multitudinous entities within the pyramid. God, if any, is in all, without distinction of entities.¹

The start in this theory is with atoms, but late Sir E. Rutherford (Lord) and Niels Bohs have gone still lower to electrons and protons. However, down we may go, the divine activity in this kind of evolution will remain simply directive. The dualism of the efficient and the material is not consistent with the Guru's concept of God as derived from the idea of a tree. However, material in appearance, the ultimate source of the world is Mind-God. The modern physicists have also begun to say that 'the stuff of the world is the mind stuff'.² God as pure Being is

1. Cf. pp. 11—13.

2. *The Nature of the Physical World* by Sir, A. Edington.

ever the same, and as Becoming is ever new. The idea is monistically idealistic and pantheistic.

Thou art the tree, Thy branch hath blossomed ;

From being small Thou hast become great.

God is in the beginning, the middle and the end, and none besides is seen.

O Bestower of comfort, Thou possessest no attributes and yet Thou possessest all.

Thou dwellest at ease ; Thou art the Enjoyer, Thou art saturated with love.

Thou knowest Thine own affairs ; it is Thou who rememberest Thyself.

Thou art God and again Thou art Thine own worshipper ; Thou art concealed O, God, and again manifest.

Thy slave Nanak ever singeth Thy praises, look on him with a little kindness.

This is how God is all in all, worshipper and worshipped, and yet the worshipper prays and expects kindness from Him. To explain this apparent contradiction we have again to take recourse to the different levels of the mental development of the devotee. God is the same, but the concepts of a simple minded beginner, of a passionate devotee, and of a really enlightened philosopher for practical realisation are different. It is probably in this sense that we can explain the double currents of the Guru's thought in one and the same passage. We can also say that the Guru, and this perhaps is more correct, in such cases speaks from different points of view : God of philosophy—qualityless supreme reality, and God of religion or the qualityful manifestation of that reality. Or else, we may speak of the Granth in the same words, which Professor Das Gupta uses for the Gita, that it does not know that Pantheism, Deism, and Theism cannot be jumbled up into one as a consistent philosophic creed, and it does not attempt to answer any objections that may be made against a combination of such opposite views. The answer to all objections of apparently contradictory concepts of God is that in religious experience all differences merge in the melting whole of the superpersonality of God. It is not strict philosophy, but emotional idealism of religion.

In the process of the world formation we started with a creator God and ended with God as creation. But the next process is that of providing for the maintenance of the world.

From pantheistic we have again to come down to the theistic level—to a fatherly God. The world needs a Visnu. Just as a father is responsible for giving food to his children, similiary God—father—must give meat to a lion, grass to a cow, and bread to a man. He is, therefore, Gopal, Gobind, Pratpalgh, Pratpalak—Nourisher of the earth, sustainer of it, and one who brings it up just as a father does his son.

A sustainer God will give us our daily provisions, will keep us living, but the Guru's God is also an Artist. Life is not mere existence and man is not content with bread and butter. He seeks pleasure in the form of his emotional satisfaction through art. Five elements are too gross to give birth to such a refined element in human nature as the love for art. It must be traced back to 'the original source of beauty'—God. He is an artist, a decorator and a beautifier—Swaranhar. Not chaos and disorder, but system, arrangement and orderliness are the characteristics of divine teleology. Thus God does not merely create, He also decorates. Does it mean that there is nothing ugly? And if there is ugliness, is it the work of something other than God? The answer depends on the eye which sees. For a lover every work of the beloved is splendid, and for a destructive critic there is no scope for appreciation. The diseased and the jaundiced eye cannot see the true reality. But in a monistic system, wherefrom should the disease and jaundice come? That is the crux of monoistic idealism. The Guru has no answer to give, except that it is the will of God.

Man does not always live. In spite of the nourishment which he receives from his kind Father, his body must come to an end. That is the will of the Artist God. The old must give place to the new. Therefore, God creates, sustains, and when thinks it necessary, he calls back. He is therefore, Saddanhara—one who calls back. All this happens under His Dharma—Laws, and therefore ultimate responsibility of construction and destruction lies with Him. He is thus Destroyer and un-doer—Dharanwala or Bharanhar and Haranhar. He erects this earthly temple of the world and our body and then Himself pulls it down.¹ In

1. G. G., p. 414, Asa Mahala I ;
 (a) Dhahi usāre hukmi smawai,
 Hukmai wartai jo tis bhawai. 8—6.
 (b) P. 1034, Maru Mahala I ;
 Atalu adolu atolu Murare,
 Khin mahi dhahe pher usare. 16—2—14.

the flash of an eye He creates and destroys.¹ In a moment He establisheth and disestablisheth ; and there is none but Him.²

The Quran says that God is living. He is Al-Hayy. Similarly the Bible, 'Hereby ye shall know, that the living God is among you'³

In a cosmic sense, the Guru speaks of Him as all filling world-soul. He is Jagjiwan—the life of the universe. When the Guru cast his eyes on many, he found that the bestower of life to all was God. He is Prandata—the giver of vital breath. He is the sole lord of it—Pranpati.

Workings of God sometimes baffle man's intellect. On some occasions we fail to see the purpose in some of the events which Nature causes to happen. If there is teleology, there must be some purpose in every manifestation. Some people, on account of their failure to see such a purpose, become atheists, others submit to the will of God and ascribe everything to His pleasure. It becomes His sport or Lila, just a play. Why does a child make a toy of clay and then unmake it? His teleology in such an act is in his pleasure. In moments of our helplessness we also imagine God to be playing magical tricks. He becomes a Juggler. 'There is only one highest Lord ever unchanging, whose substance is cognition, and who by means of Nescience, manifests himself in various ways, just as a thaumatrug appears in different shapes by means of magical power !'⁴ This is how the Vedanta Sutra teaches us, and further that 'the creation of this world is mere play to Him'.⁵ The Guru also expresses the same idea of God's play in his writings. 'The King, the Supreme God made the play of the world to behold it', 'God began to play by making the four ages his chaupar board. He made men and lower animals His dice and began to throw them Himself.'⁶ Expressions like these led Dr. Trumpp to say that, "No teleological principle whatever is assigned for the production and destruction of the created beings. The world is, therefore, in fact nothing but a play or sport of the Absolute Being, which is expanding or contracting itself, as it pleases".⁷ We cannot stress this point

1. G. G. p. 284, Gauri Sukhmani Mahala V :

Haran bharan jākā netaṛ phor. 8—16.

2. S. R., III, p. 371.

3. *Joshua*, 3—10, also *Dent.* 5—26.

4. S. B. E., 34, p. 190.

5. *Ibid* 357.

6. S. R., i, p. 6, 7.

7. A. G., P. C.

as the interpretation is not consistent with other attributes of God as defined by the Guru. Any how this feature of play in God's workings led the Guru to call Him a Player—a Bazigar, a fine sportsman. He is not jealous, nor He is selfish, does not stop giving us bread, even when He finds us behaving like atheists. We fall and He guides. That is His true sportsman like spirit.

So much about the attributes of God determined by the part that He plays in the formation of the world. To sum up : we began with God as creator, imagined after our own fashion, with the difference that we depend on the material which is outside us and God is the absolute cause of everything that He forms. It is a most common-place idea. The Guru shares this concept of God with the Avesta, the Bible and the Quran. The idea of God as ground or causality was not overlooked by the Guru. This seems to have led him to a finer attribute of God as Tarowar—tree—ever growing and new. The idea could not be identified with evolution or emergent evolution. These being more materialistic and mechanical at the base, whereas for the Guru even matter is mind and ultimately it is the same one great Mind-God. Having created the world He not only maintains it, but also makes it orderly and beautiful and whenever He pleases, He disestablishes a part or whole of it. He is life, source of life, and the lord of it. But inspite of our attempts of understanding Him and His attributes, His workings baffle the human intellect at every step. They look like tricks of a juggler. He plays with the world and pleases Himself. But He is a true sportsman and, therefore, Bazigar.

B.—Transcendent or Immanent ?¹

Our next question now is, that having created the world, does God remain out of it or in it. In other words, is He transcendent or immanent ? The question has agitated all thinkers of every age. Our purpose is not to solve the problem (supposing that it could ever be solved in some way) but to investigate how the Guru tackled this difficult question of the transcendence and the immanence of God. More definitely we are concerned with the attributive names of God used by the Guru expressing these two concepts.

The cosmic-minded Hindu took God to be immanent. The most exalted Allah of the Muslim must remain very high, therefore, transcendent. How can He be immanent in a vicious person

1. I attach dictionary meaning to transcendent : out of, beyond, too high ; and to immanent : pervasive, in, inherent.

and how can He remain transcendent of a holy and virtuous being? Such problems as these led to a reconciliation of the two extremes. We naturally expect from a later thinker a combination of the two concepts. The Guru in his own way tried to bring this about. God is immanent both for the theist and the pantheist. The theist's conception of immanence primarily means that, God creates the world by the utterance of His word and under His will He sustains it. Thus God's will constantly pervades the working of the universe. As God, He remains outside the world and as Will, He is in it. This is how Islam and Christianity speak of the immanence of God. But in the Guru's system, we find the idea of immanence somewhat in a pantheistic sense. As we have already seen, the same God when becomes qualityful, we call it the world. The idea is not entirely pantheistic. The qualityful world does not exhaust the qualityless God. A part of God remains outside and beyond. Just as all things are in space and space is in every thing, and yet space is more than the objects that occupy it; similarly God transcends this objective world, the world of our senses and also pervades in it. The world is only a part of God. It does not exhaust the whole of God.

Transcendent

As transcendent, God is named Nirgun, qualityless, not affected by the appearance or disappearance of the world. He is Pragma, the soul beyond, the original soul. It is only in the transcendental sense that a devotee can worship and pray to God. If He were one, then whom to pray and why to pray? It is only in the transcendental sense that the Guru addresses God as Tun—Thou. Although all light is His light, yet He is Parmjot—the supreme light, the light beyond.

Transcendence has also been expressed in the terms of special distance. He is High and Above. Thus God is Dur—very far. He is Aprangpar—farther and farther. The Chinese called Him: Tien Heaven. The Guru also sometimes called Him Akas—Heaven and also Baikunth Ke Wasi—Resident of Heaven. Parmaranth is another name having the same meaning. Like the Chinese Shang, He is Ucho Ucha—Highest than high. Such names were used by the Guru to express the superiority and loftiness of God, whereas the Chinese called Him, Heaven or Above, because they thought like the Jews that it was not lawful to use the real

name of God 'Shang Ti' lightly. Therefore, they named Him after His residence. Just as the word court stands for the Emperor, similarly the word Heaven stands for God. The superiority of God and His being above man is also expressed by names like : Malik or Sahib—Master or Lord, Jagannath—the Lord of the universe, Narpati—the Lord of man. Narahnarind, Jagdis and Tirbhawandhani fall under the same category. These names primarily have reference to the social order and the governmental systems, but at the same time they also express the loftiness of God.

Further, God is transcendent in the form of the authority proceeding from the Will which is responsible for the world of actuality, but that Will cannot be argued about' A. N. Whithead in his 'Religion in the Making' puts a similar idea in a better way : There are various possibilities having an inherent quality of being actualised. This actualisation is limitation on possibilities and it is imposed by God. God does not come into the process. He does not even create it. He remains outside, but imposes limitation on possibility. 'This limitation is in no way rational. It cannot be reasoned out'. But Professor Whitehead's idea of transcendence is that of absolute transcendence.

I. G. G., p. 1, Japuji :

(a) Hukmi howan ākār,
Hukm na kahia jāi.

(b) P. 174, Gauri Majh Mahala IV :

Choji mere Govinda Choji mere piaria Hari Prabh mera Choji jio.

...
Ape jagat upaida mere Govinda, Hari ap khele bahu rangi jio.

...
Hari autar bohar ap hai mere Govinda, Hari ap rahia bharpuri jio.

... —4—4—30—68.

(c) P. 537, Rāg Bihāgrā Chhant Mahala IV :

Apni māiā āpi pasāri āphi dekhān hara
Nānā rup dhare bahu rangi sabh te rahe niārā—3—1—2.

(d) P. 784, Rāg Suhi Mahala V :

Ghat Ghat wasi sarb niwāsi, nere hi te nera—4—1—11.

(e) P. 785, War Suhi ki Sloka nal, Mahala III :

Ape takht rachaion ākās patālā,
Hukme dharti sājian sachchi dharmsala—1.

(f) P. 1145, Bhairo Mahala V :

Sabh te uch jākā darbār,
Sada sada takau johar.
Uche te uchā jākā than,
Koti agha mithi Hari nam.—4—19—32.

It may be consistent in philosophy but this idea has not got much value in a religion of love and devotion. Religion also needs an immanent God.

Immanent

"We acknowledge God as above and beyond. But unless we also intuitively enjoy His activity within us, feeling that we are in a measure one with Him in substance, we can have no immediate knowledge of causality or of God as the source of our own existence and of emergent evolution".¹ Metaphysical necessity like this, mystic rapture of the Sufi and the Vedantist, and close nearness and sometimes even the sameness of God and man in religion have led to the concept of the immanence of God. Immanent names of God found in the Sikh Granth may be divided into three groups. Firstly, expressing the all pervasiveness of God; secondly He being identified with the world of sense, this is in the pantheistic sense; and thirdly God being the essence of every thing.

In the first group we have God permeating every thing. As Coleridge said, 'In our life alone doeth Nature live'. God is thus the cosmic principle—Atma, light of all—Sarabjot, all pervading. Sarbatramrang or Nam or Ram or Maula or Sarabatam, residing every where—Sarabniwasi, nearer than near—Nere hi te Nera, enjoying the worldly phenomena—Bhogi. "The Supreme Being who created the vesture of the world to behold it, seeth, tasteth and knoweth every thing; He is contained within and without the world".²

"We can distinguish in the Granth," wrote Trumpp, "a grosser and a finer kind of pantheism." "The grosser pantheism identifies all things with the Absolute, the universe in its various forms being considered the expansion of it; the finer pantheism on the other hand distinguishes between the Absolute and the finite beings and borders frequently on theism."³ J. E. Carpenter thinks that Guru Nanak's idea of God is pantheistic rather than theistic.⁴ Macauliffe after discussing theism and pantheism of the Guru concludes by saying that: No religious teacher has succeeded in logically dissociating theism from pantheism. In some passages of the Guru's writings pantheism is distinctly implied, while in

1. *Emergent Evolution*, p. 301.

2. Nanak, S. R., i, p. 7.

3. A. G., P. C.

4. *Theism in Medieval India*, 506—511.

other texts, matter is made distinct from the creator, but an emanation from Him. Although anthropomorphic theism is a religion, while pantheism is a philosophy, and anthropomorphic theism is generally held orthodox and pantheism heterodox, yet on account of the difficulty of describing the Omnipresent and Illimitable in suitable human language, both religion and philosophy are inextricably blended by sacred as well as profane writers".¹

We have in the Holy Bible "Doth not the Lord fill heaven and earth", (Jeremiah); and "God in whom we live and move and have our being" (St. Paul). Pantheism is common in the religions and philosophies of the East and West. A.S. Gorden draws a distinction between the pantheism of the West and that of India in the following words: Western pantheism broadly speaking, has regarded God as immanent in Nature and the natural Universe. To the Indian Nature is immanent in God. European pantheism is hardly wronged if it be said to have its eye first on the natural world, into which it introduces God. Indian pantheism made God all in all and introduces nature only because the incessant demands of the practical every-day experience compel it to do so, and to endeavour thus to reconcile theory with apparent fact; while at the same time it saves the unity and the absoluteness of the Divine by denying the natural universe any true existence or reality at all. There is one only not another. Hence Indian pantheism as far as its conception of the deity is concerned would be more strictly and correctly described as 'pantheistic monism'.²

This distinction does not strictly apply to the pantheism found in the system of the Guru. It does not deny the existence and reality of the natural universe. As it has already been pointed out, according to the Guru, the world is a part of God. God is the whole and, therefore, perfectly real. The world is a part and hence partially real. God is in the world just as a whole is in any of its parts; and the world, this or any other, is in God just as any one of the parts of a whole is in that whole. To take our old mathematical illustration of the zero and figure one; God is infinite, indefinite and unlimited zero—Nirgun. Zero or a point becomes one—Sargun, finite and limited. Its value is

1. S.R., i, p. LXII.

2. E.R.E.

fixed and it is definite. A point or a zero has got infinite possibilities. One of them is actualised in the form of figure one. Now the point is in number one, but this one does not exhaust the scope of the zero. One is in the zero, but only very partially.

In this pantheistic mood the Guru gave to God names like Sargun—qualityful, Khalaq—the world, Ape Ap—every thing Himself, Sohang and Sarabmai etc., etc.

The problem of good and evil remains a great stumbling block in the way of such a monistic notion of the deity. God is in every heart, yet people are good or bad. "In one person, Thou art haughty, in another humble; in one person Thou art a Pundit and preacher and in another Thou art stupid,"¹ and yet in another hymn: We are impure; Thou O Creator art pure; we are without virtues; Thou bestowest them; we are fools; Thou art clever and wise.² Such seems to be the confusion about the immanence and transcendence of God. A.N. Whitehead avoids this difficulty of good and evil by making God only a side actor,³ just a functioner. It may be so in a religion not yet made, but not so in religions already made. The Guru says, the evil is due to our Haumai—the ego acting under limitations. Wherefrom this limitation and why? To answer, let us ask another question. Why should figure one be so limited and fixed? Why should it not have the infinite possibilities like the zero point? Simply because by nature they are so. It is the nature of one to have a fixed value and it is the nature of the zero point to be infinite. The world is a part of and not the whole of God and cannot thus be perfect and good like God Himself. The very fact of partition brings in limitations.

As an essence of things, God has been called Gauhar—essence, Tat—reality. This is the Thing-in-itself or the Noumenon of Kant or the Tat of Sankara. The sense is that, that which appears to our senses is not the real.⁴ The real is God which is inner reality of every object.

1. S.R., iii, p. 151.

2. *Ibid* 354.

3. Religion in the Making.

4. General references on the subject are G.G., pages : 507, 525, 535, 616, 683, 728, 1178.

(a) P. 507, Gujri Mahala V :

Rajan mahi tun raja kahiah, bhuman mahi bhuma ;

(Continued on Page 149)

Both Transcendent and Immanent

As I said in the beginning of this section, the attempt has also been made by the Guru to express God both as transcendent and immanent in the same idea and in the same passage. God is made to enjoy all the pleasures of the world. He is Bhogi like the Slavic God, Bhog. 'God tastes an infinite joy in infinite ways,' said Browning. Thus God is not only Karta—creator, but He is also Bhugta—Enjoyer. This is possible for a pantheistically immanent God.

“He Himself is the Relisher ; He Himself is the relish ; He Himself is the Enjoyer ;

He Himself is the robe ; He Himself the couch and the spouse ;

He Himself is the fisherman and the fish ; He Himself is the water and the net ;

He Himself is the lead of the net ; He Himself is the bait within it ;

O my friends, my Darling is in every way playful.

He ever enjoyeth the virtuous wife ; see what a state is mine !
(who not being virtuous, am divorced from God).

(Continued from p. 148)

Thakur mahi thakurai teri, koman sir koma.....

Suran mahi sura tun kahiah, datan sir data ;

Grstan mahi tun bado grhsti, jogan mahi jogi—3.

Kartan mahi tun karta kahiah, āchāran mahi āchāri,

Sahan mahi tun sāchā sāhā, wāparan mahi wāpāri—4—8—1—8

(b) P. 535, Devgandhari Mahala V ;

Mai bahn bidhi pekhio duja nāhi ri kou ;

Khand dip sabh bhitār ravia pur rahio sabh lou—2—2—33.

Ekai re Hari ekai jān,

Ekai re Gurmukhi jān—1—Rahāu.

Kahe bhramt ham tum bhramo na bhāi, ravia re ravia sarab than—
2—1—34.

(c) P. 616, Sorath Mahala V :

Sagal banspat mahi baisantar sagal dudh mahi ghia,

Uch nich mahi jot samani ghati ghati Madho jia—2—1—29.

(d) P. 683, Dhanasri Mahala IX :

Kahe re ban khojan jai,

Sarb niwasi sada alepa tohi sang samāi—1.

Puḥp madhi jio basu basat hai mukr māhi jaise chhāi,

Taise hi Hari pare nirantar ghat hi khojhu bhāi—2—1.

(e) P. 1178, Rag Basant Mahala IV :

Jio pasari suraj Kirn joti,

Tio ghati ghati ramaiā oti poti.—4—1.

Nanak represententh, Thou art the lake and Thou art the swan ;

Thou art the lotus and the water lily, Thou art pleased on beholding them.¹

It was the metaphor of the lotus which satisfied the Guru in reconciling the transcendence and immanence of the same being. A lotus is in water and still out of it. 'He is within and without His creation'. But creation when it is one with God is neither whole of it nor absolutely identical with it. Same light pervading every where among the many, becomes different, when thus separately contained and is, therefore, distinguishable from the original light.² Thus it is that God is named Alep or Nirlep—not affected and polluted by the world, remaining in it, but distinct from it. He is Niranjan and Niralam—not contaminated by the worldliness of the world. The Granth says like the Vedanta Sutra that He is not touched by the evils of creation.³ This traditional example of the lotus combines the two ideas in one concept.

If as transcendent, God was spoken to be far and as immanent near, here we find the Guru saying : Ape Nerai Ape Dur—both near and far. We have oscillation of the two ideas in the same line and in the same passage : *Nirgun ap Sargun bhi ohi*—He is both qualityful and qualityless. Again : You have thousands of eyes and yet not one eye ; thousands of forms and of smelling yet none ; thousands of feet and yet not one foot ; thousands organs and yet not one organ of smell.⁴ He is both Bhogi and Abhogi, Bhugta and Abhugta—Enjoyer and non-Enjoyer.

1. Nanak, S.R., i, 265.

2. Mājḥ Mahala IV, G.G.

3. S.B.E Vol. 48, p. 429.

4. Rag Dhanasari Mahala I, G.G.

CHAPTER XI

METAPHYSICAL ATTRIBUTES

A.—Is the Knowledge of God possible ?

Many metaphysical attempts of understanding the ultimate reality of the universe and God result in agnosticism. The helplessness of man is even visible in ultimately explaining the physical phenomena of the world of perception. People have begun to talk of 'The Mysticism of Science'.¹ 'The ultimate truths of science seem best expressed in the language of the mystic, the dreams of the philosopher, the imagery of the poet and the symbols of the mathematician, embracing a measureless eternity and an infinity too vast for the limitation of the words.' It is more true of the mysticism of the religious experience. In the Japuji the Guru says, that words can give us names, praises, literacy and attributes. They are the means of expression in writing and speaking, but they cannot describe God. They do not and cannot apply to Him who is the source of all these.² We have thus names in the Granth which not only express the indescribability of the real nature of God, but also the indescribability of the mystic experience about Him. 'The Power which the universe manifests to us', says Spencer in his First Principles,³ 'is utterly inscrutable'. He seems to argue that what is known by science or can be known by it is not that Power, nor is this possible, he goes on to say, in the domain of religion. He very nearly comes to the Guru's concept of the Nirgun. When he says that we should refrain from assigning any attributes whatever.⁴ Hume in his Dialogues expressed a similar agnostic attitude about the knowability of God. Demea—one of the characters—supports his view from all authorities that the infirmities of human understanding cannot know the nature of God, which is 'altogether incomprehensible and unknown lotus'. The incomprehensibility of God is repeatedly emphasized in the Bible.⁵ In the Vedic hymns God is described as 'unknown'.⁶ So much so that the famous

1. Cf. Hibbert Journal, January 1937, an Article by John A. Osoinach.

2. XIX stanza.

3. P. 46.

4. *Ibid.* p. 109.

5. Job. 5 : 9 ; 9 : 10 ; 11 : 7 ; 26 : 14 ; etc. Ps. 36 : 6, 40 : 5 etc. Isa. 4 : 12.
Eccl. 3 : 11, 8 : 17 etc. Mic. 4 : 12.

6. S. B. E., Vol. 32.

Nasadiya hymn of the Rig Veda¹ dealing with the knowledge of ultimate reality ends by saying that 'does even he not know'. Thus even the Creator is suspected to be ignorant in this matter. Manu in his laws says that God is undiscernable one.² In a similar sense the Guru names God : Asujh—not intelligible, Nirbujh—not cognisable, Gupt—most hidden, Ghaib-ul-Ghaib—a Quranic expression—hidden among the hidden, Agadh, Agah, Aghu, Aghucha, Agam—unknowable, incomprehensible etc., Akah—unspeakable. But an absolutely unknowable God is of little use to man. It will not matter if such a God existed or not. Man is very anthropomorphic in his apprehensions. He brings down the unknowable Absolute to the level of the God of religion.

B —Not An Entire Comprehension of God.

But A Partial Apprehension of Him.

Reason and Intuition

Having brought down the unknowable metaphysical Absolute to the level of the God of religion. He is described as humanly known. He still remains incomprehensible, but we may not wholly comprehend Him ; we can at least partially apprehend Him. Thus theism reconciles agnosticism and gnosticism and takes a middle position. But even this partial knowledge of God the Guru denies to man's intellect and logical reasoning. First of all he makes this knowledge dependent on the grace of God. 'If you enable them to know, then all can know'.³ The Guru is found repeatedly praying to God to bestow on him some knowledge of Himself. But when knowledge comes, it does not come through the senses or the intellect. The medium for it is intuition or insight. God is described as Anbhai Prakash—intuitively known. It is the heart which receives God and not the brain, which may of course suppressedly confirm its rival's experiences. Thus 'the heart' says Pascal, 'has its reasons, which reason knows nothing'. Another contemporary French philosopher, Henry Bergson, more than any body else, is responsible for minimising the instrumentality of reason and elevating intuition in the domain of knowledge. According to him there are 'two profoundly different way of knowing a thing. The

1. X 129.

2. S. B. E. Vol. 25.

3. (a) G. G., P. 11, Asa Mahala IV :
Jisno tun jānāih soi jan jānai.—4—2.

(b) P. 563, Wadhans Mahala V :
Tun jānāihī tan koi jānai—3—8.

first implies that we move round the object; the second that we enter into it.¹ The Guru as we shall see, does not exclude reason, a conclusion which can easily be drawn from some hymns, but he lays great emphasis on insight or intuition. "Go to the enlightened ones", says the Guru, and ask them, 'How did you find the light (God or the Husband)?' 'Believe in 'Him', they will say, 'and give up reasoning and cold argumentation'.² The heart says Tennyson in 'In Memorium',³ stands up like a man in wrath against the freezing reason's colder part." Thus there is a long standing controversy about intellect and intuition. Even philosophers sometimes take recourse to the latter. Thus Whitehead's insistence on 'feeling' the organic reality, rather than bifurcating it by intellect comes very near the intuitive source of our knowledge. The West which believed so much in critical intelligence is drifting towards some thing which is not exactly intellect or reason. Some call it feeling, others insight or intuition. Even in the ethical field Mr. Kidd⁴ treats reason as essentially divisive and disintegrative force which is profoundly individualistic. To get a vision of wholeness or perfection, says Tagore, we have to depend on inner faculty, which he calls our 'luminous imagination'.⁵ For a poet it is luminous imagination and for a saint intuition. 'I am certain of nothing,' says Keats, 'but of the holiness of the heart's affections and the truth of imagination.'

Strictly speaking intuition and imagination differ in as far as the former is the experience of inner oneness with reality, whereas the latter has got some element of 'make believe' in it. Both resemble because they go beyond empiricism and positivism, beyond observation of the senses and argumentation of the intellect. In apprehending God the sense organs and intellect are helpless. Knowledge about God is not Partakh—derived from senses—nor it is Parman—based on argument or analogy—but it Aprokh—non-sensuous immediate knowledge. 'This intuitive knowledge arises from an intimate fusion of mind with reality. It is knowledge by being and not by senses or by symbols. It is the awareness of the truth of things by identity. We become one with the truth and one with the object of knowledge. The object known

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1. Introduction to metaphysics.
 2. Shabad Hazāre, Tilang, G.G.
 3. CXXIV.
 4. Social Evolution.
 5. Religious Man, p. 16.

is seen not an object outside the self, but as a part of the self. What intuition reveals is not so much a doctrine as it is consciousness. It is a state of mind and not a definition of the object. Logic and language are a lower form, a diminution of this kind of knowledge. That is why the experience of reality gained by our intuition is Akah—unspeakable; but it is, the Guru says, even more than Partakh—Zahara, more real than the sense knowledge. Again, that is why he says that such a knowledge of God is neither in the Vedas or other holy books, nor in the Shastras or other books of philosophy.

But such ideas as these should not make us think that there is no place for reason in the system of the Guru. Like Mr. Kidd, the Guru does not say that 'A rational religion is scientific impossibility' and that 'the essential element in all religious beliefs' is the 'ultra rational sanction'. Of course faith or Sardha is an essential element of a disciple's state of mind proceeding on the path of spiritual progress, but it should be grounded in rational discrimination—Bibek or right knowledge. The Guru prays for rational intelligence—Bibek Budhi.¹ "O Master bestow on your servant the discriminating intelligence." It is with the help of reason, he says, that we can make ourselves worthy of His grace and mercy.² He believes in a rational faith. The disciple who carries on an intelligent search for truth progresses and one who is merely dogmatic and who sticks unreasonably to his views perishes.³ A knowledge arrived at through intelligent search and rational conviction and realised practically by intuitive experience greatly benefits a devotee and such a knowledge is true—Sacha Bichar⁴ and, therefore, eternal.⁵ The possessor of such a knowledge

1. G.G., p. 640, Sorath Mahala V :
Har pario suami kai duarai, dijai budhi bibeka.—1—3.
2. G.G. : P. 1244, Sarang ki War Mahala IV :
(a) Slok Mahala I :
Sachchai sarmai bahre agai lahi na dadi,
Akal eh na akhiai akal gawai badi ;
Akali Sahib sewai akali paiai man,
Akali parh kai bujhiai akali kichai dan,
Nanak akhai rahu chu hori galan satan,—XX.
(b) P. 229, Gauri Mahala I :
Andhe Akali bahre kia tin sio kahiai ?
(c) P. 285, Sukhmani, Gauri Mahala V :
Bujhai bujban har bibeki.—2—17.
3. G.G., p. 1254, Malar Mahala I :
Sewa surti rahsi gun gawa Gurmukhi gian bichara,
Khoji upjai badi binsai hau bali bali Gur Kartara—4—3.
4. G.G., p. 934, Ramkali Mahala I :
Oangkar Dakhani :
Thir Narain, thir Guru, thir Sacha bichar—XXIV.
5. *Ibid.*

is a real Pandit. A Pandit is not he who knows the Vedas and the Shastras by heart, but he in whose heart the ground of the knowledge of these books resides ; he who is one with the subtle reality of the gross universe.¹

Thus intellect and intuition are made use of in knowing God metaphysically and religiously. "There is no break", writes Sir Radhakrishnan, "between intuition and intellect."² In moving from intellect to intuition we are not moving in the direction of unreason, but are getting into the deepest rationality of which human nature is capable. In it we think more profoundly, feel more deeply and see more truly. We see, feel and become in obedience to our whole nature, and not simply measure things by the fragmentary standards of intellect. We think with a certain totality or wholeness. Both intellect and intuition belong to the self. While the former involves a specialised part, the latter employs the whole self. The two are synthesised in the self and their activities are interdependent." The antagonism between reason and intuition or insight has also been bridged by Bertrand Russell in one of his essays entitled 'Mysticism and Logic'. He writes, that "intuition is what first leads to the beliefs which subsequent reason confirms or confutes. Reason is a harmonising, controlling force rather than a creative one. Even in the most purely logical realm, it is insight that first arrives at what is new." In the same essay he also says that "insight, untested and unsupported, is an insufficient guarantee of truth". Anbhai—intuition and Bibek Budhi—discriminating intelligence are the two instruments of knowledge, recognised in the system of the Guru. The former guides and the latter assists. That is how the co-operation of the two is maintained.

I.—God-Really Existing

The first metaphysical attribute of God which is the outcome of the Guru's intuitive experience of reality is named by him Truly Existent, Sat. Sat, says Swami Dayanand, is from Asi—to be.³ It is one who exists in all times, the past, the present, the

1. G.G., p. 274, Gauri Mahala V., Sukhmani, 4—9 :

So Pandit jo man parbodhai,

 Bed Puran Smriti bujhai mul,
 Sukham mahi jānai asthul.

2. *An idealist's View of Life*, p. 152.

3. *Light of Truth*, p. 13.

future and is not limited by time. Satya in Sanskrit is from Sat—to exist. It is one who is the true embodiment of existence among all existences. The Guru uses both the attributes. God existing in time and beyond time is Sachu. He was Sachu in the beginning, He was Sachu before that beginning, He is Sachu, and He will be Sachu in future and beyond future.¹ So the first attribute used by the Guru is in the sense of Satya in Sanskrit. He is Sati. Some writers translate it as 'true' and some make it an adjective of the next word Nam. Dr. Trumpp seems to have translated it correctly as 'Really Existing.'² As compared with the world of sense God is truly existent. The Guru not only establishes the true existence of God, but also he implies that He is the only real Being. The idea of Sati is traced back to Zarathustra, whose inspiration for monotheism is said by Professor Moulton to have been derived from devotion to truth. 'All truth was a unity', he thought. Knowing that God exists, the Guru immediately calls him Nam—all pervasive. That is why Sati Nam is sometimes taken as one attributive name.

II.—God-Personal

The vague all-pervasive idea of an existent being is not of much use for man's religious consciousness. God, if of any value in religion must be a personal God. 'A religion without a personal God has not yet been found to be a living and enduring force. There is a very interesting parable of a Pandit and a princess in the works assigned to Guru Gobind Singh, bearing on the futility of worshipping a dead stone god and on the necessity of a living personal God. The Guru says that a worshipper becomes like the object of his worship.'³ It is necessary for the development of human character that God should be as personal as man himself. The essence of personality lies in responsiveness to other persons. How can a lifeless and an impersonal God behave like a sympathetic father or mother. God must take note of His devotees. He must be responsive to our appeals, supplications and prayers. Unless He minds us and we know that He does mind us, religious experience is nothing more than an illusion and a religious practice a little short of self-hypnotism and auto-suggestion. Therefore God is not only Sat but also Purkh. I.

1. G.G., Japu ji, p. 1.

2. Cf. S.R., i, G.N.

3. Cf. S.R., v, p. 177

wonder how could Dr. Trumpp say that no personal God is taught in Sikhism. God is described as a Person in the very first line of the Guru Granth. The basic formula of the Sikh scriptures contains this attribute. He is Purkh, but not exactly like us. He is Sat Purkh. Our personality as it appears is Asat—not real. We are mortal beings, He is an Immortal Being—Akal Purkh.

A.—The Form-Gross

In the Granth, in his imagination, the Guru describes God having bodily features like us. This is a very common-place concept of God as a personal being. Unsophisticated and simple minds do require a God having a body like us. Devotees of this mental level cannot worship a personal God in the form of a conscious principle or a universal personality. God for them is a man with limbs and other bodily appearance. Personal God of the Bible originally was a God with limbs and organs.¹ Indians thought in the same way. God with body, arms, (four arms) and legs is described in the Hindu scriptures. Ancient Egyptians thought of their deities having feelings and needs of men and having hunger and thirst like us. Their deity required food and drink to live on. These gods were also supposed to experience joy, pain, fear and to be liable to sickness, senile decay and death.² God of the Guru when imagined to be a Man is not so grossly physical. He does not eat, drink or die. The beauty of God has been described in the form of beautiful features.³ He is named Kamal Nain—of lotus like eyes; Sundar Kundal—of beautiful curls; Dant Risala—of beautiful teeth; also of beautiful nose, of beautiful long hair etc. The worship of the feet of God is also mentioned in the Granth.⁴ These are emotional expressions in an

1. E.R.E., W.T. Donison,

2. E.R.E.

3. (a) G.G., p. 67, Wadhans Mahala I :

Tere banke loin dant risāla,
Sohne nak jin lammre wala.

(b) P. 1256, Malar Mahala I :

Bage kāpar balai bain,
Lamma nala kale tere nain—4—4—9.

4. Cf. An article entitled "Charan"—Feet of the Guru, by Master Iqbal Singh in Gur Sewak of February 17, 1937, published from Amritsar. This article inspired St. Bhai Randhir Singh to write a book 'Charan Kanwal Ki Mauj' Amritsar 1939. 'Gurmat Nam Abhias Kamāi' of the same author is a clear exposition of the practical experience of Nam in life.

aesthetic mood. All character qualities in God are anthropomorphic and as Goethe said, "Man never knows how anthropomorphic he is," and "all personal theism", says Farnell, "is in a sense anthropomorphic—even in its highest and most transcendental effort, religion can never escape from anthropomorphism".¹ It begins with God like man and then God is conceived as an Ideal Personality above time and space and finally God is vitalised and made a universal spirit. 'So God created man in His own image, in the image of God created He him'. Thus we have got in the Bible², and the same tendency of imagining God like man is visible in Guru Nanak when in Rag Wadhans³ he describes his God as of pleasant gait and sweet tongue. Later God becomes Sat Purkh and Akal Purkh—a person, Real and Immortal. Then He becomes Nam—an all pervading principle.

Anthropomorphic concept of the personality of God also led the Guru to use metaphors of the professional life of people. Just as in Psalms we have the Lord as our Shepherd. similarly in the Granth we find Him addressed as Kirsan—a farmer or an agriculturist and as a good accountant like a shop-keeper—Bania. Where people used to live on sheep, they called God Shepherd and where they lived on cattle, they called Him Pasupati. Where men have been agriculturists and businessmen their Lord becomes a Kirsan or a Good Accountant. The same explanation can be given for the Guru's calling God Dhani—possessor of wealth, Bir—a hero, Mir—a chief, Shah—a king, and Shahanshah or Patshah—a king of kings.

Anthropomorphic names of the personality of God do not end with professional metaphors. In the religious field. He is described as a Jogi and Banwari or Banwali—one whose rosary is the whole vegetable kingdom or one who is the lord of the vegetable world. In the domain of learning He is Pandit. In the mystic field God also gets colours. He is named Lal and Gulal—red and deep red. It may be the extreme brightness on account of which Moses fell in a swoon at the Mount Sinai or it may be the reflection of the soul which as the Sufis say is of red colour.⁴

1. A.O.G., p. 22.

2. Genesis 1—27.

3. G.G., p. 567.

4. *Islamic Sufism*, p. 218.

B.—The Form-Pure

When we reach the higher stages in the development of the concept of God, although we have names expressing His form, yet it is not a physical form, but something like the form of Plato. His name then is Murat—a pure form, Rup or Nirmal Rup—a form devoid of physical manifestations. As such He is not to be conceived perishable like physical appearances. He is, therefore, Akal Murat—of timeless form. To express the same idea in a different way, in abstraction from manifestation and appearance He is named Arup—of no form, Nirankar—formless, Arang or Anil—colourless.

So far we have been dealing with God as a person. We have seen that names implying all kinds of ideas about personality are found in the Granth. We have notions expressing physical form, pure form and also formlessness. Our misunderstanding about those names which express the man—like body of God will be removed, if we ask the Guru, was God born like man? On this point he seems to be touched to the quick. He cannot tolerate the idea of the birth of God and uses strong words against people who hold that God incarnates. He is Ajuni, one who never comes in the mother's womb. He is Nirbhar—who is free from the burden of birth and death. In spite of all this, God is a person—Purkh. Another question arises: A person changes in mind and body, what about God? The Guru says He is Achal or Nihchal—who does not change at all. Therefore He does not die. He is Abnashi—indestructible, Achut—imperishable, Anhat—ever same. Such is God in essence. But in manifestation and as manifested and also as forming the object of man's conception, it is always changing. From that point of view He is ever new—Nitnawan, ever of fresh body—Nawtan Sada. We have already discussed this under the concept of God as tree. The point is that these names apply to the Becoming aspect of God. He creates, recreates, evolves or emanates, in whatever way we may think of it, all this applies to appearance. We know the actual and not the potential.

C.—God as Conscious

Personality implies consciousness which we have already assumed in making God responsive to our appeals. No name expressing the conscious aspect of God's personality was given there. All the three activities of knowing, feeling, and willing are attributed to God. As may have been clear from the above that along with the

attributes of God as personal, there also run side by side names which would appear quite opposed to the personal character of God. At a certain stage of religious development, God is made absolutely impersonal. Thus while God is described as Chit—conscious, He is also said to be unaffected by pleasure and pain—Ragh Dokh Te Niara. He is beyond the three Gunas and is named Tir Gun-Atit. These two lines of thought of God being both personal and impersonal run parallel in the Granth. As knowing He is Janoi, one who knows, Gyan—knowledge, and Dana Bina—wise and intelligent. He also feels—Bhawratang and desires—Bhawai. As creator He wills. When impersonal He is unaffected—ApoH, He is Akrai and Akarm—not willing or doing any thing. The Guru seems to distinguish between our consciousness and God's consciousness. He feels and wills, not as we feel and will. There is no idea of want, deficiency and attainment in His feeling and willing. That is why He is named Sudh-Chit—pure consciousness.

D.—Personality in terms of Matter, Time and Space

Personality, as man knows it from his own self, has reference to matter, time and space. We naturally expect some names used by the Guru expressing either the affirmation of these elements in God's personal existence or the denial of them when He is impersonalised and his reality is made supersensuous and super-human. We take them turn by turn.

The commonest idea and simplest concept of matter, as the alleged father of Modern Philosophy Descartes is said to have first put forth is its being extended in space, and as such has form and weight. Thus the Guru names God Gaura—heavy, Atol-unweighable like an ocean and, therefore, He is also Sagar or Dariao-sea or river, Bharpur—there is no emptiness in Him or that He is filling all space. Matter that we perceive can be split up into pieces and can be pierced through; but God is Abhang-unbreakable, Achhed-unpierceable, Avagat-unchangeable. The need of exchange of goods in man's life led to the economic valuation of material goods. God is thus Amolak and Bekimat-priceless and invalueable. A gem is very precious for man and, therefore, God is Ratnagar—an ocean of gems. Such can be the notion of a devotee who is as yet a beginner and is in the first stages of religious development, but as soon as he begins to transcend that stage, he is told that God is invisible—Adrisht.¹ At the material

1. Cf. Holy Bible : Ex., 33 : 20 ; Job 23 : 18 ; Joh. 1 : 18, 4 : 24, 5 : 37 etc.

level and as manifested in the world He was known as Sankh Chakar—of countless forms and features and was also Rup—with form; but as impersonal He becomes Nirakar—formless, Tat Mayan—essence of form, Warna Chihna Bahra—without marks and features. ‘God hath no quoit or marks, no colour, no caste, no lineage. No form, no complexion, no outline, no costume, nor can in any way I describe Him’.¹ This becomes the highest concept of God. Here He becomes Saibhang—self-luminous, all pervading conscious principle—Atamram. He is absolutely universalised. All distinctions of name, caste, sect and creed disappear. As Ramakrishna Parmhans said, ‘He who is called Krishna, is also called Siva and bears the name primitive Energy, Jesus, and Allah as well—the same Rama with a thousand names.’²

E.—Temporal

As regards time the same two currents of thought are present in the Guru’s use of names for God. When we have to affirm time to the existence of God we must say that He is very ancient. ‘The ancient who is difficult to be seen’, says the Vedanta Sutra.³ The Guru calls Him Pauratan—very ancient. The highest speculation comes next when the idea of time still remains, but he is made Eternal. This eternality means ‘infinite duration of time, endlessly extending back into the past and forward into the future ! When thinking of the past, the Guru calls God Adi—the beginning and Parmadi—the very beginning, still beyond He is without any beginning—Anadi. Similarly He is the end of all—Ant and is even beyond that, without any end—Beant and Anant. With this idea of eternity is associated closely the idea of permanency and immutability of God. Nanak says in Sri Rag : The Merciful alone is permanent ; the whole world besides is transitory. Call Him permanent on whose head no destiny is

1. (a) D.G., Jap—I Stanza.
Chakra chihn ar varn jati.....

(b) G.G., Gauri Sukhmani Mahala V :
Rup na rekh na rang kichhu, trhu gun te Prabh bhinn—Slok XVI.

(c) P. 883, Ramkali Mahala V :
Barni na sakan jaisā tun hai,
Sache Alakh aparā. 4—5.

(d) P. 1358—Slok Sahskrti Mahala V :
Na Sankhang na Chakrang na gada na Siāmang aswa raj rupang
rahanat janmang. 57.

2. Romain Rollan, *Prophets of New India*, p. 126.

3. S.B.E., Vol. 48, p. 361.

recorded. The heaven and the earth shall pass away ; He the one God alone is permanent. In the same sense He is Thir—who does not move or change, Avagat—eternal, always the same Ekowes. He goes on for ever—Hames-ul-rawann. He is in the past, present and future—Samabiang. Next the idea begins to transcend time. So that first God becomes Chakardhar—one who holds the cycle of time in His own hands. But time is a finite concept of the finite mind of man. God who transcends all experiences of man also transcends time in every sense. He is timeless—Akal. No time-idea can be applied to Him. He is beyond Traikal—the three tenses.

The creation of the world becomes a great stumbling block in the way of such a concept of timelessness about God. The creation and destruction of the world must happen in time. Time as Bacon said is a motion which implies change and which further means the appearance and disappearance of worldly phenomena. The Hindu mythologists made the various durations of time relative to different kinds of beings, men, gods, greater gods, and God. Man's one year is only one day and one night of the gods and three hundred and sixty of our years is one year of the gods. 12,000 years of the gods have been divided with different durations into four Yugas. This comes to about forty three millions of the years of men. This is one cycle of Yugas of the gods. Seventy one such cycles of Yugas of the gods make up one Manvantara. Fifteen such Manvantaras or about one thousand Yugas of the gods make one day of Brahmdeva and one thousand more such Yugas make one night of that of god. Thus our 34,320,000,000 years is one day of Brahma. This is one Kalpa. 'When this day of Brahmadeva or Kalpa starts, all the perceptible things in the universe begin to be created out of the imperceptible ; and when the night of the Brahmadeva starts, the same perceptible things again begin to be merged in the imperceptible.' All this happens in the twinkling of an eye of God. The Guru calls it a Chhin or Khin. That is why its duration is like a dream. What we call the world, its existence or its duration symbolically expressed in the form of time units, however long they may look to us, are so negligible for God, that they are in no account of His. Thus by apparently denying the existence of time, the difficulty is supposed to have been overcome.

1. *Gita*, Vol. 2, p. 264.

F.—Spatial

The third element implied in our idea of personality is space. There are in the Sikh Scriptures what we may call the spatial attributes of God. No higher religion preaches the location of God in any place. The Bible says in St. John's Gospel, 'The hour cometh when ye shall neither at this mountain, nor yet at Jerusalem worship the father—God is a spirit and they that worship Him must worship him in spirit and in truth ! Similarly the Quran calls Him *La Makan*—placeless as the Guru says *Atham*. He is *Alok* and *Ades*—does not belong to a country or a continent. When Nanak in Mecca was found asleep with his feet towards the Ka'aba, 'An Arab priest kicked him and said, 'who is this sleeping infidel ? Why hast thou O sinner, turned thy feet towards God ?' The Guru replied, 'Turn my feet, in a direction in which God is not'.¹ The Guru's remark went home to the Qazi and he realised that God was not bound to one place. We have seen that God has been addressed as *Akas*—heaven, but that is a metaphor to express His glory and loftiness. Where as names as *Alok* or *Ades* make God transcendent of all space, He is also described as filling all space, residing in every place, immeasurably big, too much, beyond and beyond and without a limit. Such names are *Sarab Biapi*, *Sarab Niwasi*, *Besumar*, *Apar*, *Amit*, *Basiar*, *Bahuto Bahut* and *Aparapar*.

Closely associated with the idea of space is the attribute of Omnipresence of God. This has been expressed by saying that He is present in every place and at every time. Space-time is a unity in our experience. The two concepts may be abstracted from each other but they cannot be separated in actual life. He is not only *Samabiang*—present in all the three tenses, but He holds the entire cycle of time. In space He is *Sarab Niwasi*—every where. Both these ideas have been made use of in the Granthic hymns to preach ethical principles. It has been said that God is every-where and knows and sees every thing, therefore there is no place for hiding from Him. He is *Hadra*—*Hadur*—very near, always present. A sinner while committing a sin sees this side and that side to make sure that he is not being seen by any body ; but O God ! how can he conceal himself from you, who are every-where ?² Thus it is how we begin

1. S.R., I, p. 175.

2. G.G., P. 156, Gauri, Cheti Mahala I :

Hat patan hij mandar bhannai kar chori ghar awai,
Agahu dekhai pichhu dekhai tujh te kaha chhapawai ?—3, 6—5—17.

with the physical notion of the personality of God, and then pass through His mental characteristics and finally reach God as pure spirit. It becomes so universalised that we begin to say that He is here and there, every-where and beyond every-where; He is this and that, you and me, all in all He is alone. The attempt to make Him impersonal in religion results in the pantheism of philosophy.

III.—God as Omnipotent

The next two groups of names are those falling under the two important attributes of God: Omnipotence and Omniscience. The idea of power is one of essential characteristics of the God worshiped by man. It is found at every stage of religious development. Potentiality or power is one of the chief justifications of God's existence. He must have the power to do what His worshipper cannot do. But what does this all-powerfulness mean? The fact that God uses means and does not bring about the result by his mere word, seemed to J.S. Mill to prove he was not omnipotent, for he worked under limitations. In reply, one would say that limitations which are willed by God do not mean defects; and when, in presence of a universe of existences, what is possible for God becomes restricted to what is compossible, in the Leibnizian sense, this does not argue weakness on his part.¹ The Guru makes God powerful through His word or will. *Hukmai Andar Sabh Ko, Bahar Hukam Na Koi*—thus says the Guru in Japu ji—All are under His will, none is exempt from it. *Jo Tis Bhawai Soi Hoi*—whatever He wills happens. The high religious belief, more consonant with the majesty of the Omnipotent, is that the Ruler of the Universe works His will by a simple 'fiat': 'God said, let there be light: and there was light'. This was the view of the ancient Hellene and the ancient Israelite as it is of Islam and Christianity.² The Guru makes this will work in the form of Dharm-Laws of Nature. Some of them are known to man and others are not yet known to him. What we call miracle has got the appearance of being contrary to law, but in fact it is contrary to laws known by man. Therefore such is God's power that He can cause lions, hawks, kestrels, and falcons to eat grass; and those who eat grass, He can make them eat meat; He can make hills appear in place of rivers and bottomless

1. Galloway in *Philosophy of Religion*. 2—A. O.G.

2. S.P., I, p. 174.

oceans in place of sandy deserts ; a worm-like creature may become a sovereign under His will and an army may be reduced to ashes. It will be no wonder if He makes animals live without breath.¹

It is on account of such superhuman powers that the attribute of greatness is applied to God by Guru. He is so great that we cannot even know His greatness. Every body calls Him great by inference or by imagination but, 'hath any one ever seen how great Thou art'.² "Even though a bird fly, it cannot compete in endurance with the torrent and the wind which moves by God's will. How great shall I call God ? To whom shall I go to enquire regarding Him ? He is the greatest of the great and great is His world.' This power and greatness make Him the Lord of gods and goddesses, however great they may be. He is the Lord of Sur and Asur--good and evil gods supposed by different religions. He is also Asur-Sanghar—who destroys evil gods. The names expressing omnipotence of God are Sarab Saktiman—all powerful, Samrath—competent to do anything, He has *Sabh Kichh Was Kita* every thing within His power. Sarangdhar and Saringpani also express His greatness. Most powerful are destroyed by Him, therefore He is Sabal-Malan and Balah-Chhalan. He is of incomprehensible power—Akalkala. The idea of strength in man is that he has got strong arms, therefore God is also said to have great power in arms—Bhujbal. The Hindus, perhaps under the same idea, imagined God with four arms and the Guru also uses that epithet of God as Chatarbhuji.

IV.—God as Omniscient

No force or power can be effectively used unless we also know where to use it and why to use it ? We must know before we act and action means the manifestation of power. So the use of power presupposes knowledge and omniscience is a necessary condition of omnipotence. Man knows all that happens in the

1. G. G., p. 144, War Majh Ki, Slok Mahala I :
Siha baja charga kuhia ena khawale ghah,
Ghah khān tina mās khawāle ehi chalaē rāh.....XIV Slok.
2. G. G., p. 8, Asa Mahala I :
Sun Wadda ākhai sabh koi,
Kewad Wadda ? ditha hoi. 4—2.

world of perception. His God should be able to know more than that. Even if God is to be a mere postulate for morality, He must know not only our deeds and words—which any percipient can know—but also our thoughts, all that goes in our minds, even without being clothed in unuttered words. This ethical necessity leads in every religion to an Omniscient God. He is 'the power to whom all hearts are open and from whom no secret is hid'. 'With Him are the keys of the unseen,' says the Quran, 'None knows them save He: He knows what is in the land and in the sea; and there falls not a leaf save that 'He knows it'.¹ But He also knows because He is our God who grants our prayers, who nourishes even those who cannot earn and work for bread. God must know every thing about His creation if He is to be its sustainer, if He is to be kind and fatherly. He is God who knows our necessities before we ask.'

The process of omniscience begins with God as wiser than man, next He begins to know the hidden things and hidden thoughts and finally He becomes omniscient. He is knower—Dana, seer—Bina, and wise—Prabin. Then He is wisdom personified—Bodh. Omniscience comes in when God is to be Antaryami, knowing every thing innermost. 'He seeth, understandeth and knoweth every thing'.² 'From whom canst thou hide thy evil deeds, since God ever present beholdeth thee'.³

In a monistic system there should be no difficulty in proving the omniscience of God. As Descartes said, there is nothing in this world of which I am so sure as of my thinking self. I know my will most certainly. If every thing that is, is the manifestation of God, if it is divine will in action, then God most certainly knows His will. For the Guru there is nothing outside the will of God. But this leads to determinism in ethics. The difficulty is paramount and we shall return to it later.

1. The Koran by Palmer, p. 121.

2. Patti likhi in G. G., under letter P.

3. S. R., III, p. 104.

CHAPTER XII

ETHICAL, AESTHETICAL AND POLITICAL ATTRIBUTES

I

Ethical Attributes of God

The idea of a moral deity, the guardian of the moral order, is a human rather than cosmic conception, for divine morality is a reflex of human ethic raised to its highest imaginable power".¹ What we consider good and essential for the existence of human society is affirmed of God in an ideal form and those qualities of our moral character which we consider detrimental to our well-being are denied of Him. Then there are certain attributes of God of which He seems to be the sole possessor. The ethical names of God found in the Granth can be divided and subdivided in the following way :

I.—HUMAN ATTRIBUTES

(1) Affirmed of God—

A—Found in absolute perfection in God ;

B—In general relation to man ;

C—In personal relation to man ;

(2) Denied of God, negatives names.

II.—PURELY DIVINE

I.—(1) A.—All qualities that man considers good are projected by him in his God in an absolute form. This may be so from the point of view of psychology, but religion teaches that these qualities proceed from God to man. He is absolutely Good. 'There is none good but one, that is, God'.² The little bit of goodness which we have comes from Him. He is, therefore, the origin, source, and the stock of Virtue. All qualities are found in Him in perfection.

What about evil and pain ? As in the Bible so in the Granth God is made responsible both for good and evil. It is particularly so in the teachings of the Old Testament. Christ too accepted the same Jewish idea and says—'Lead us not into temptation'. St. James came with some modification : Let no man say when he is tempted, he is tempted of God', for God cannot be tempted with evil, neither tempteth he any man'. In the case of the Guru although

1. A. O. G.

2. St. Mathew—N. T., 17 : 29.

God is the Lord of every thing, yet the idea of evil is present only at a stage when man is as yet in darkness. Many prayers are offered to God in the Granth to save His devotee from the pitfalls of sin, but as soon as man gets nearer the fountain of light, all idea of evil vanishes. In fact there is no idea of a suffering God in Sikhism. "The idea of a suffering God was alien to the highest Greek thought on the divine nature in all periods of Greek speculation, most alien to the later Stoics, who would not even include compassionateness among the divine attributes; it was alien to the Judaic tradition and to Islam; it was a stumbling block to many of the earlier Christian converts".¹ The view quoted here about the absence of the idea of a suffering God among the Jews may not be strictly correct, but certainly it was not so pronounced as among the later Christians. According to some interpretations God among the Hindus too is said to have undergone a sacrifice in creating the world. This, according to them, is the origin of belief in the Yagya (Yajna) ceremony. In a system like Vedānta and Sikhism, where God is all in all, the idea of evil is simply illusory. It is relatively real for a man at lower levels of spiritual development. As soon as one begins to have divine knowledge, the evil is on its way to extinction. So that God is all good.

He (God) is Dukhlath—in whom there is no pain and suffering. He is all bliss and pleasure—Sukh. He is the ocean, the mine, the treasure of perfect happiness and blissfulness—Sukh Sagar, Sagal Sukh Sagar, and Sukh Gami. That is why He can bestow pleasures on men and as such He is Sukh Dai and Sukh Data. The stage of this blissfulness is Sahaj and, therefore, God is also named Sahaj. There is no up and down or increase or decrease in His good qualities, and, therefore, He is Puran and Sampuran—perfectly perfect. He is the ocean and mine of good qualities and the embodiment of virtue—Guntas, Gunigahir and Guninidhan. With pleasure and blissfulness are associated the qualities of coolness and calmness and God is, therefore, Sital and Silwant. He is cheerful and happy—Nihal, Persann, Harakhwant, Rang Anand and Binodi. The sandal wood is a very common metaphor to express the coolness and sweet fragrance of a holy man and so of God too. He is hence named Chāndan—Sandal. The necessary correlates of these qualities are attributes of sweetness, courtesy and humility in behaviour and, therefore, God is Amrit,

Mithbolara and Nimribhut. We also saw that God is Truth—Sachu. The classical name to express the combination of the qualities of Truth, Consciousness and Happiness, especially in Vedanta literature is Satchitanand (Sacchidanand). The Guru uses the word in the same old sense, but in Punjabi its construction is Sachdanand. These qualities names should not make us think that God is good, cheerful, happy and blissful like man. Man's qualities imply limitation and are conceived as good because of their opposites. Not so with God. The Guru, therefore, calls Him Dukh-Sukh-Rahit or Atit, that is He is above such opposites because He is Bibeki.

B.—The chief and perhaps the most primitive interest of man in God is to seek protection in distress, to appeal to helping God in his failures and to expect some favours from Him in the course of man's struggle for life. In distress and danger God is conceived to be a protector—Sahai. Says Nanak in Rag Gauri :

As a herdsman guardeth and keepeth watch over his cattle,
So God day and night cherisheth and guardeth man and
keepeth him in happiness.

O Thou compassionate to the poor, I seek Thy protection ;
look on me with favours.

God is Gharib Niwaz—nourisher of the poor, Din Dard—sympathiser of the lowly, Din Bandhap and Din Dayal—kind to the helpless, Anatha Nath—lord of the unprotected, Nithawian Thaun—refuge of the refugeless etc. We expect Him to help us because He is kind and merciful—Dayal, Karim, Rahim, Meharban, Karnamai, Rabb, Rakha, Dayyi, and Kirpanidh. He is considered to have bestowed on us all favours and gifts of mind and body and is, therefore, named Jio-pind-data. On account of His charitable disposition and generosity, He is Dani, Data, Datar, Dihand. He gives all that we want : Sarab Thok ka Data, fulfils all our desires—Ichha Purak, Man Ichha Dan Karanang. We pray to Him when we are in pain, because He is Dukh Bhanjan—remover of pain. He has imposed on us certain duties, the chief of which is to develop to perfection all the moral qualities which we share with God. He is good accountant and knows all that we intend and do. He will deal with us justly. As an accountant, He is Bania and as a dispensar of justice. He is Adli and Pura Niain—perfectly just.

Ethical development becomes impossible unless God's justice also implies punishment. The idea of the Guru here differs both from the Hindus and the Muhammadans. The Hindu law of Karma is so strict that there is no scope for a forgiving God. Repentance has no meaning in the terms of this law. "God cannot forgive the criminal even when he repents".¹ Quite opposed to this is the Muslim belief that God forgives even without repentance. The Guru chose the midway position. He believes that a sincere repentance and prayer change the whole character of man. The accumulated effect of the evil deeds of the past is washed away. God is pleased and, therefore, forgives a sincere repentant devotee. God does not degrade man on account of his evil deeds. He does not humiliate as a heartless and revengeful man will do—'Khajjal Nahin Karda'. He is rather our Olah, in whom we can confide our secrets, can trust our honour and to whom we can tell all our weaknesses, because He is 'Paij Rakhanhar'—maintains the honour of His devotees. That is His Bird—self imposed task. On account of these forgiving qualities He is named Bakhshind—forgiver. Thus from physical needs and primitive wants when man reaches a religion of ethics and morality God is made just, not revengefully just but forgiving.

The generous, forgiving and helping nature of God has been expressed by different names. He is Nistaranhari or Taranhar—one who helps us in swimming across the ocean of this world, Pattit Pawan—one who makes the fallen or impure ones pure and holy. He guides the misled—Bhulian De Samjhai. He loves His people—Bhagat Watsal.

C.—Anthropology traces the origin of the belief in the existence of God from man's personal or blood relations. The love of God has been expressed in the metaphors of these personal relations. The man who is emotionally alive cannot conceive God as indifferent as the Epicureans thought Him to be. God interests Himself in the affairs of men like a grandfather or a father. The first name used by the Guru in what I call God in personal relation to man is Baba—the grandfather. The God of the primitive and savage people, says A. Lang, was also an all-father God.² He is Pita as father and Mata as mother. The Guru tried to express love which God bears towards man in all conceivable

1. E. R. E.

2. *An Idealist View of Life*, p. 338.

relations The Freudians say that no attachment is greater than sex attachment. God as grandfather, father and mother may have love combined with respect and reverence and perhaps fear too, but from the Indian point of view the attachment of a wife to a husband is incomparable ; therefore God is Husband and men are His wives. He is thus called Kant, Bhatar, Khasam, Dulah and Bharta—all meaning a husband. The idea of respect and reverence is still present because for an Indian wife the husband is an object of great respect. We next come to some relations which express man's equality in relationship with God. As such God is brother—Bharata, Bhai and friend—Mitar.

This I take to be one of the chief contributions of the Guru in the concept of God. The Guru's idea of a friendly God may not be new. God was Mitra—friend in the Hindu literature.¹ The Guru also calls Him Mitra, Sangi, Sathiaara, Sajjan and Sakha. But the emphasis which the Guru lays on the idea of friendship with God and His friendliness towards man was never felt before. When he expounds the friendly relation between God and man he makes them so close and intimate that one is absolutely in the bosom of the other. The Latin poet, Statius is said to have expressed his opinion that it was fear which first made gods in the world. That fear is absolutely removed when God is made the Yar or the Yarara of man. Yar is an intimate bosom friend and Yarara implies extreme love and equality. God cannot be in a nearer relation to man than as Yar or Yarara. He is Pri, Piara, Pritam and Pirgha—all conveying the sense of a beloved. "Tell the dear Friend—Yarara, the condition of ones away from Him. All means of luxury or sources of comfort are for them causes of torture and pain : soft blankets : a disease mansions as dwelling with serpents, goblets : stakes of torture, cups : daggers and your indifference to us is like what animals suffer from butchers. Without that Yarara towns are furnaces".²

Can an impersonal God have such relations ? When the Guru becomes metaphysical-minded he divests God of all such attachments. "He hath no father, mother, or brother, no son or grandson. He hath no friend, no enemy, no father, no mother ; He hath no worldly love, no house, no desire, no home ; He hath no son, no friend, no enemy, no wife".³

1. Light of Truth, p. 8.

2. D. G., Tilang Kafi, p. 711.

3. S. R., V, p. 76.

(2) NEGATIVE NAMES : ATTRIBUTES DENIED OF GOD

God being above human experience is supposed to be free from those defects which the experience of a finite being involves. Although God is not different or separate from man and the world, yet He in His pure form is not subject to the same limitations or what the modern moralists call the element of self-negation, which He in the process of worldly manifestation seems to have taken upon Himself. It is a paradoxical statement but that is how it stands. The element of evil, pain or suffering which is present in the world and is so commonly experienced by man in his life is denied of God. From different points of view different attributive names were used by the Guru. The theory of three Gunas is well known in Hindu philosophy. Kapila made a special use of it in his Sankhya System. These Gunas are Sattva, Rajas and Tamas, in Punjabi known as : Sato, Rajo, and Tamo. Sattva 'is potential consciousness, causing pleasure', Rajas is 'the source of all activity and produces pain', and 'the third is Tamas, that which resists activity and produces the state of apathy or indifference'.¹ The Guru denies all these Gunas in the real nature of God. He is Tirgunatit. The Arabic word 'fama' means greed and the Guru says that God has not even a smallest particle of it—Till Na Tamai. We eat but God does not—Nirahari ; we have faults but God is faultless—Be Aib ; we are dependent but He is independent—Be Muhtaj, Ghani ; we fear but He is fearless—Nirbhau ;² we have enmity and God is without it—Nirwair ; and similarly He is Nihsang—desireless or without Moh—attachment ; Nihkantak—without pain ; Nirmal—without impurity ; Be Parwah—without cares ; Abhul—infallible ; Adol—does not waver, and Achhal—cannot be deceived.³

II.—PURELY DIVINE ATTRIBUTES

As far as I have been able to understand there is no attribute or quality in God which according to the Guru cannot, in however a small degree, be found in man at the stage of his highest development. It is consistent with the Guru's general concept of reality. God and the individual soul stand to each other as

1. I. P., II, p. 263.

2. There is a very interesting account of the universal prevalence of fear in a hymn of the Fifth Guru in S. R., III, pp. 93–94.

3. Cf. Zarathustrian Idea—"All viewing Lord cannot be deceived"
E. R. E.

fire and spark. There is a difference of degree and not of kind. Certainly there are some characteristics of divinity which through shared by man are not found in God because of man. Thus for instance the fatherhood of God and the quality of mercifulness in Him would be inconceivable apart from man and the world. These are what the Guru calls the Kirtam names of 'God. The essential characteristics of Godhead are Truth, Light or holiness and purity. God is Pawitar, Punit, Pawan and Pak—holy and pure. He is Nihkewal—most certainly holy. Such names have also been used in the Granth for saints and spiritually alive people. This shows that God, saints, even ordinary men and the world are in the same line of purity, truth and holiness. God is at the highest end and perhaps stone is at the lowest. But the position of God is unique. He is Nirala—extraordinary. He is all Truth—Sarbang Sacha and all Light—Parkash, Raghurai, Dev, and Guru or Sat Guru. As such He is the only one—Kewal.

II

Aesthetical Attributes

If 'aesthetic idealism' was suggested as a name to be given to the system of thought of the Guru, I would like to consider it for acceptance. The way that the Guru suggests for communion with God is through aesthetic appreciation of his workings. Aesthetic attributes of divinity are very prominent in the Guru's idea of godhead. The presence of beauty in nature led the Guru to the concept of an Artist God. "Certainly", writes' E. F. Carritt, "those who reflect on the experience of beauty are apt, like Wordsworth or Ruskin, to find an added joy in the thought that in the violet and the mountain sunrise, bird song and music of the spheres, what speaks to our heart and rouses there such feeling echoes, is itself a heart, though not the heart of any fellow artist". This is rather a new concept of God. 'The attribute of beauty had not much value for the Jewish religious imagination and we are not sure what the Psalmist exactly meant when he exclaimed 'Out of Zion hath God appeared in perfect beauty'. There is no prominence of the idea of beauty as a divine attribute in the Egyptian religion, except in the worship of the material divine sun; nor as far as I am aware in Moslemism, nor in Mesopotamian or Vedic polytheism. The association of the idea of beauty with the religious sphere, encouraged by the

1. The Theory of Beauty, p. 294.

strong anthropomorphism of the Hellenes and by their unique artist faculty and enthusiasm, was a distinctive feature of Greek philosophy, and especially the Platonic and Neo-platonic, reappearing at a later period in the religious theory of the Cambridge Platonists'.¹ The aesthetic element in religion is not a foreign, a super-human or sub-human factor. The aesthetic and religious are inseparably combined in human nature. The origin of art, in fact, as the Italian artist A. Della Seta says, lies in religion. He goes so far to say that "Art will never arise and develop among men unless it has foundation in religion."²

In spite of the fusion of aesthetic and religious instincts in man aesthetics as a part of monotheistic religion had rarely appeared in the history of human thought. The emphasis and the stress which the Guru lays on the aesthetic side of our emotions does not exist in any other theological system; but never have such teachings of a religious prophet been so indifferently and superficially taken up by his followers as is done by the Sikhs. In part circumstances are also to be blamed which have made the Sikhs more soldierly. But the God of the Sikhs is not only martial; He is also a Being who gives complete aesthetic satisfaction. He is Beautiful: beautiful in form and appearance, beautiful in voice and sound, and beautiful in movement. He is beautiful in all respects. As beautiful in form, God is the source of all beauty manifested in the world. His beauty of voice gave poetry and music to a man. Schopenhauer said that 'Music is the archetypal rhythm of Nature and the Universe, which by means of this art breaks through into the world of secondary existence'.³ God's beauty of movement is the source of all rhythm and uniformity in the events and laws of nature. Rhythmical movement of our arms and legs in dancing are the expression of the same universal rhythm. In appearance the beauty of the features of God has already been described, but the beauty of His form on the whole is expressed by names like Sundar—beautiful, Manmohan or Manoramang—one whose beauty allures the heart, Jagmohan—whose beauty allures the whole world, Nadnot—whose beauty pleases the eyes, Husnul Wajuh—of beautiful face or body, Rura and Sohna also mean the same thing. These attributes have got clear

1. A. O. G., p. 211.

2. Religion & Art, p. 35.

3. Quoted in 'A History of Aesthetics' by B. Bosanquet, p. 322.

reference to physical beauty. Metaphorically He is the Lamp of Beauty—Husanul Charag. The beauty of His voice is expressed by describing Him as Git Gite—the song sung by whom is the best of all songs, Tan Tane—His music is the best of all musics, Nad Nade—His rhythmical sound is best of all such sounds. He is also the best of all the dancers of the world—Nirt Nirte—His dance and acting are super-fine. To such a God the Guru bows down every moment.¹ As such He is Choji, who does wonderful things and, therefore, Ascharj and Bidani—extraordinary and unique. When we meditate upon such a Being and His manifestation the emotional expression in words is like Wonderful Lord—Wahiguru. This aesthetic appreciation of God's workings has been described by the Guru in repeated Wahu. Wahu—Wonderful, Wonderful and Khub, Khub—Beautiful in many passages of the Granth especially in Gujri Ki War and Swayyas.²

I

Political Attributes

What I call the political attributes are the names of God which are in one way or the other associated with our governmental systems. The basis of all these attributes is power, civil or military. The Guru uses both kinds of names for God. The origin of this idea seems to be semitic rather than Aryan. Aryan religions scarcely give any political attributes of the deity. 'The

1. D. G., Jap.

2. G. G., pp. 514—15, Gujri ki War, Mahala III :

I.—(a) Nanak Wāhu Wāhu kartia Prabh pāiā karm prahati hoi.
Slok XIV.

(b) Wāhu Wāhu kartia sada anand howai meri māi. Slok XV.

(c) Wāhu Wāhu tisno ākhiai ji sabh mahi rahiā samāi. Slok XVI.

(d) Wāhu kartia man nirmal howai haumai wichhu jai. Slok XVII.

(e) Wāhu wāhu hirdai uchra mukhhu bhi wāhu wāhu karen. *Ibid.*

...
Nanak wāhu wāhu jo māni chiti kare tis jan kankar neṛ na āwāi.
Ibid.

(f) Wāhu wāhu we parwāhu hai Wāhu wāhu kare so hoi.
Slok XVIII.

II.—G. G., pp. 1401—1403—Swayyas :

(a) Sati sāchu sri niwas adi purkhu

Sada tuhi Wahiguru, Wahiguru, Wahiguru Wahi jio. 1—6.

(b) Sewak kai bharpur jugu jugu Wahiguru Tera sabh sadka,
Nirankar Prabh sada salamati kahi na sakai kon tu kadka.
1—11.

(c) Guṛmukhi sangati sahhai bichāru Wāhu wāhu ka hadā tāmāsa
2—12.

Zarthustrian religion was wholly inspired according to its own credentials by Ahura Mazdah, but it had no concern at all with political life. Nor in the rich and varied religious literature of Vedic India, where so many aspects of the deities are so impressively presented, do we find any recognition of them as political powers, or as the source of wise state-council, or any figure corresponding to Zeus of the city or Athena of the council chamber. The religious imagination of India, profound, vague and metaphysical as it was, had no concern with social institutions'.¹ At the time when the Gurus wrote their hymns, big monarchs ruled over great empires. Naturally the pomp and show of those monarchs inspired the Guru to elevate his God in similar terms. 'The magnificence of the earthly court was transferred to the celestial ; the unapproachable majesty of the king was translated into the ineffable majesty of God ; the hopeful belief of the people in the benevolence of the king as the shepherd of his people may have assisted the growth of the conviction that benevolence and compassionateness were essential traits of the King of Kings.

The Guru named God Raja—a ruler ; Rajan Raja—ruler of rulers ; Shah, Sultan, Mian, Patshah—king : Shahan Shah—Emperor. The Guru saw before his eyes kings defeating other kings and thus devouring their empires. This led the Guru to say that God was a True King—Sacha Patshah and His empire was everlasting—Nihchal Raj. 'My Lord is perfect, His throne is secure—God's palace is beautiful ; it is adorned with bright gems, rubies, pearls, diamonds ; it is surrounded by a golden fortress and is an abode of pleasure.'² His government is true—Sachi Sarkar : He is Lord of canopy—Chhatarpat ; He is of great splendour and glory—Partapi. He is a high sovereign of a very high court—*At Ucha Taka Darbara*.

With Guru Gobind Singh the social idea of God was very much crystalised. God was the highest as well as the lowest member of society. He was king of kings—Rajan Raj and also poorest of the poor—Rankan Rank. Even before the Tenth Guru the socialised concept of God was present. Bhai Gurdas, the first theologian of the Sikhs, in the days of the Fifth Guru wrote that one Sikh was an individual, two make up a community and

1. A. O. G. p. 139.

2. S. R., I, p. 262.

five constitute God. That is a very revolutionary idea and has not yet been fully appreciated even by the Sikhs. The same idea culminated in the Khalsa. The community of the pure and the elect ones became the Guru and also God. But God will be realised when no discordant element will be left—*Aki Rahe Na Koi*, the Truthful and the Pure will be Supreme—*Raj Karega Khalsa*. Thus from the aristocracy of kingship, God is brought down to the level of the poorest members of the society and in the end is identified with an organised community of the Khalsa—the elect and divine.

The idea of a martial God comes along with the idea of a saviour God. If He is to be protector—*Rakha*, He must be brave and courageous—*Bir* and *Dilawar*, the best hero—*Chhatrang Chhattari*. As such there could be no body whom he could not defeat or destroy. Therefore He became all-conquering—*Sarab Jitang* and destroyer of enemies—*Satrang Pranasi*. But the origin of a martial God in Sikhism is not so much in the concept of a saviour God. His Will is all-powerful and He does not require to fight with weapons against undesirable elements. The martial attributes of God were, in fact, the outcome of Guru Gobind Singh's special need for military and war. Such a God is a warrior's God and a hero's deity.¹ When other means fails, God makes use of His power and the best symbol of power is the sword. Sword and other military weapons symbolise divine power in Guru Gobind Singh's writings. First of all God is represented as hoding a sword in His hand or placing it on His banner. As such He is named: *Asipan*, *Asidhuj*, *Asiketu*, *Kharagketu*, *Astarpane* and *Astarmane*. Later on the sword becomes a deity and we have something like a cult of weapon-worship in *Shastar Nam Mala*.² God becomes all-steel—*Sarab Loh* or sword-*Bhagauti*.³ The sword is made the prime cause of the world and is made responsible for its creation and sustenance.⁴ It has also been stated that in the process of creation the first thing was a double

1. Cf. A. O. G., pp. 156—159.

2. D. G., p. 717.

3. *Pakhian Charitra*, D. G., p. 809.

4. D. G., p. 39, *Bachitra Natak* :

Khag khand bihandang khal dal khandang ati ran mandang harbandana.

... ..

Jai jai jag karan srisht ubaran

Mam prati paran jai tegang

edged sword.¹ The underlying idea of all these names is Power. Creation is activity or the expression of the conative disposition of God and there is no activity which is not also the expression of power. Some people expressed this power of God by making Him four-armed or many-armed and some made weapons the symbols of the martial potentiality of God.²

Before concluding this section of the attributive names of God I would like to mention some names which either belong to the Vedic religion of nature-worship or to the mythology of the Hindu Puranas. The Guru used all such names for one Supreme God. To the former kind belong names like Indra, Rudra, Ravind, Bhan (moon) or Bhan Bhane (the moon of moons), Suraj (sun) or Suraj Suraje (The sun of suns) etc. To the latter class belong the names like Bawan Rup, Brah, Gajpati, Narsingh, Kuram, Machh, Kachh, Chhatarbhuj, Kamlakant, Lakshmi-bar, Charcharan, Aspatipir, Chakardhar, and Chakarpane etc.

Such are the multifarious attributes of God revealed in the Sikh scriptures. The human concept of God, as the history of the word GOD shows, is a regular process of development. The concept of God develops not only in the history of races but also in the history of the same individual. Man's God differs with different mental levels of the same individual and with his different outlooks on life determined by different circumstances. This is to what the above discussion leads. The Guru's main attribute, which he calls the real attribute, is that which expresses 'the all pervasive changeless reality which is one'. That is Sat Nam. All other attributes, he says, are 'Kirtam' functional and anthropomorphic.³ They are human concepts and, therefore, can never be final. They are from the world of appearances and are, therefore, phenomenal : *Kirtam Nam Kathe Tere Jihba : Sat Nam' Tera Para Purbala*. Man-made names of God are not illusory or false as some would seem to suppose. Man is a part of God, though a limited and a finite one. The attributes of God conceived by man proceed from the original source—God, but they cannot be totally ex-

1. D. G., p. 119, War Sribhagauti Ji Ki, Paṛi :
Khanda prithmai sāj kai jin sabh sansar upāiā ;
... ..Kini terā ant na pāia. 2.

2. Cf. Sword as the Symbolic Weapon of the Teutonic War God Zin Tyr among the Saxons, E. R. E.; also the Egyptian Worship of War-elements.

3. G. G. Rag Māru, p. 1081.

haustive like the logical character of a whole. No name can comprehend the entire nature of God.

The distinctive contribution of the Guru towards the concept of God from the modern critic's point of view is two-fold: the socialised nature of God and the aesthetic notion of the deity. God is Sat, Suhan—True and Beautiful. Both the ideas go together. As Professor A. N. Whitehead says,¹ 'Truth matters because of beauty'. But in the system of the Guru these two concepts do not merely belong to the realm of 'appearance'. Although derived from the experience of the Becoming, they are metaphysical concepts expressing the ultimate Reality. Being in its process of Becoming is on its way to Being. In the realm of Becoming, we have less or more of truth and beauty, but in Being all is perfectly perfect. That perfection will be manifested here in this world in the organisation of the 'elect souls'—the Khalsa, in a harmonious unity. Social God or perhaps more correctly the socialised God is a poor name. At the farthest end it will be 'many' in 'one'—a single reality—Sat Nam.

1. *Adventures of Ideas*, p. 344.

CHAPTER XIII

COSMOLOGY

We learn both from the Granth and Bhai Gurdas that there was a time when this cosmos did not exist. Nanak says in Rag Maru :

In the beginning there was indescribable darkness ;
There was no earth or heaven, naught but God's unequalled
being.

There was not a day or night, or moon or sun ; God was
alone in a meditative mood ;

There were no sources of life, voices or wind or water ;
Neither creation nor destruction, nor coming nor going.

.....
There was no Brahma, Vishnu or Siva ;
No one existed but the One God.¹

It is a long hymn and further in one of the lines, the Guru denies the existence of any kind of knowledge or meditation etc.² The whole idea characteristically resembles with the theory of the Nasadiya hymn of the Rig Veda,³ which according to Sir Radhakrishnan represents the idea of creation of the Vedic mind when it had reached the monotheistic level.⁴ The state of pre-creation in Christianity and other western religions is also described in similar terms. "And the earth was without form and void

1. *Thus spoke Nanak* by Sir Jogendra Singh.

2. G. G., p. 1034, Maru Mahala I :

Arbad narbad dhundu kāra,
Dharm na gagna hukm apara. 1.

... ..
Karm dharm nahi Maya mākhī. 8.

... ..
Na tadi Gyan dhian kul opati, nā ko gant ganaida. 9.

... ..
Bhān na bhakti na Siv Sakti. 12.

... ..
Bed kateb na Smrti Sasat,
Pāth Puraṇ Udai nahi āsat. 13.

... ..
Nanak sachi rate bisn ādi bism bhac gun gāindā. 16—3—15.

3. X—129.

4. I. P., I, p. 100.

and darkness was upon the face of the deep".¹ "David asked of God, 'O Lord, where wert Thou before creation'. 'I was a hidden treasure, I loved to be known and created the world to be known'. The Prophet was asked by one Abizarara, 'where was God before creation? 'The answer was, 'He was in a cloud, above which there was no air and below which there was no air'.² Similar is the Chinese conception of the Great Tao, the state of Being before creation.³

The idea of the world once being non-existent and then its having been created at a certain point of time is said to have some philosophical difficulties. 'There is a contradiction', writes Galloway, in the idea of a Deity quiescent for ages and then, late in time, suddenly stimulated to create a world. If the creation of the world is a good, then God for ages must have been content with a lesser, when it was in His power to produce a greater good. Or, if not content, then though he desired the greater good, his will must have been inadequate to its achievement. Neither view is consistent with the Divine Nature. In short, what conceivable reason for creation could become operative at a point in time which was not operative from the first? To these criticisms no satisfactory answer is possible.' He goes on further to explain the difficulty by saying that the problem has been wrongly stated. 'God is prior to the world in a logical rather than in a temporal sense'. However faulty the idea may be, the Guru definitely says that for countless ages there was no creation and God was alone in an extreme form of meditation.⁴ The Guru seems to think that the world and its creation and the idea of time may be of any importance for man and the finite beings. A few hours life for a germ may look, if it has at all any sense of duration, longer than a hundred years life is for a man. For the latter the life of the former has no significance from the point of view of duration. Our notions are all relative. For God, this creation, this what we call countless ages of time, may even be less than a twinkling of an eye. For

1. Genesis—2.

2. *Islamic Sufism*, p. 129.

3. Cf. *Philosophy*, XII, No. 45.

4. G.G., p. 227, Maru Mahala I :

Kete jug wart gubārai,

Tāri lāi apar apārai,

Dhundukār Niralam baithā na tadi dhandh pasara he. 1. 16—17.

Him to be with world or without it does not make much difference. No idea of less or more, or good or bad is implied in His will to create or not to create.

From the state of pre-creation we come to creation itself. The presence of animate and inanimate objects and their mutual differences have led to some different theories about the process of creation. To some matter and soul look so antagonistic that both of them cannot proceed from the same source. The Sankhya theory is as well known in India as Cartesian dualism is in the West. Purkha (Purusa) and Prakrti are both eternal and one is as helpless as the other to create the world of its own accord. God constructed the world out of material which already existed, working after the fashion of a human architect. Such theories make matter co-eternal with God. The Guru emphatically denies the existence of any such external element beside God. Nor does he favour the idea of creation out of nothing. He believes in the creation of the world by Divine Will—Hukam. When this Will began to work and how it works, the Guru says, all this is known to God. The time, day, date, month, season and year, when this world was made is not known to anybody. One who created it only He knows.¹ 'There is, indeed, no way in which we can represent to ourselves the process by which the Supreme Will brings things into being.'² The world appears under God's Supreme Will, but the nature of that Will cannot be described.³

In spite of the helplessness of man's understanding of the actual working of God's Will, there are hints here and there in the Sikh scriptures which give some idea what the Guru thought of the process of construction and destruction of the cosmos. We have to understand the Guru's idea in relation to the various theories of the Hindu thinkers about the formation of the world. I reproduce here a passage from B.G. Tilak's *Gita Rahasya* which more or less summarises the chief Hindu views on the subject. 'The Sankhyas say that as soon as Matter is united with Spirit, its minting starts; and just as in spring, trees get foliage and after that, leaves, flowers and fruits follow one after the other,'⁴

1. *Ja Karta Sristhi kau Sāji ape janai soi*—XXI Japuji.

2. Galloway, *Philosophy of Religion*.

3. Japuji.

4. *Ma. Bha. San.* 231, 73; and *Manu* 1 : 30.

so also is the fundamental equable state of matter disrupted, and its constituents begin to spread out. On the other hand in the Veda-Samhita, the Upanisads, and the Smṛti texts, the Parabrahman is looked upon as fundamental instead of matter, and different descriptions are found in those books about the creation of the cosmos from that Parabrahman (Highest Brahman), namely that : 'hiranyagarbha samavartagre bhūtasya jātaḥ patir eka asita', i.e., 'the Golden egg first came into existence',¹ and from this Golden Egg, from Truth, the whole world was created;² or first water was created³ and from that water, the cosmos; or that when in this water an egg had come into existence, the Brahmadeva was born out of it, and either from this Brahmadeva, or from the original egg, the entire world was later on created⁴ or that the same Brahmadeva (male) was turned, as to half of him, into a female⁵ or that Brahmadeva was a male before water came into existence⁶ or that from the Parabrahman only three elements were created, namely, brilliance, water and the earth (food), and that later on, all things were created as a result of the intermixture of the three.⁷ Nevertheless, there is a clear conclusion in the Vedānta-Sūtras,⁸ that the five primordial elements namely, Ether (ākāśa) etc., came into existence in their respective order from the fundamental Brahman in the shape of the Atman⁹ and there are clear references in the Upanisads to Prakṛti, mahat, and other elements, e.g., see Katha (3.11), Maitrayani (6.10), Svetasvatara (4.10 ; 6.16) etc. From this it can be seen that though according to Vedānta philosophy, Matter is not independent, yet after the stage when a transformation make its appearance in the Pure Brahman in the shape of an illusory Prakṛti, there is an agreement between that philosophy and the Sāṅkhya philosophy !

The terminology of Sāṅkhya and Vedānta cosmology occurs in the Granth and there are also references to other theories mentioned above. No detailed scheme has been put forward by

1. Rāg. 10—121—1.

2. Rāg. 10.72 ; 16.190.

3. Rāg. 10—82—6 ; Tai. Brā. 1—1—3—7 ; Ai. U. 1—1—2.

4. Alān—1—8—13 ; Chan. 3—19.

5. Br. 1—4—3 ; Mān. 1—32.

6. Katha, 4—6.

7. Chan. 6—26.

8. 2—3—3—15.

9. 4—2—1.

the Guru, but we can make out a system from what he has said at different places. First of all we have to find out to what particular theory he makes a clear reference. One of the probable views is that God uttered His word and the whole world with all that we see appeared all at once. A line in Japuji: *Kita Pasau Eko Kawao* is quoted to support this view. This is a wrong interpretation. *Pasau* does not mean a sudden creation. *Pasau* is from *Pasarna*: to expand, to spread or to evolve.¹ *Kawao* means Word, but it does not mean an order for sudden appearance of the world. As I shall explain below, the Word is Will which is the cause of all the manifestation what we call 'world' or the cosmos. Moreover the view of sudden appearance of the world is in contradiction with the Guru's ideas expressed elsewhere. For instance Nanak says in Baramahan Rag Tukhari: The Formless One continueth His creation. Then in Rag Majh and Asa we find the Guru using the metaphor of a tree to illustrate the formation of the world. To use a Western term it is something like the emergent evolution. It is neither emmnation, nor strictly evolution. As for the Indian name for the process the Guru calls it by the name of *Udkarkhan*. When the process will revert, or when God's extended part will contract, then the whole world will turn back to its source and will merge into it. This process is known as *Akarkhan*.² It is Sankhya theory in lower details but there is fundamental difference and important modification at the source. To distinguish between the Guru's scheme and that of the Vedanta and others, it would help us if the original theory of the Sankhya is outlined very briefly. The word *Udkarkhan* used by the Guru is infact the Sankhya idea in its origin and all other important terms of the same theory also occur in the Granth.

The world evolves out of *prakrti* which works rather independently.³ 'In the unmanifested condition, *prakrti* is but the union of opposites. When they are held together in a state of equilibrium there is no action.' The three *gunes*—*sattva*, *rajas* and *tamas* are inherent in *prakrti*. When the equilibrium of these *gunas* is disturbed the *prakrti* begins to evolve under the influence of *Purusa*. 'Prakrti which contains within itself the possibilities of all things, develop into the apparatus of thought as well as

1. Cf. G. G. K., P. 827.

2. Benati Chaupai, D. G.

3. Cf. I. P., II, p. 266 -277.

the object of thought.' Mahat or the Great, the cause of the whole universe is the first product of the evolution of Prakrti. It is the basis of the intelligence of the individual. While the term 'mahat' brings out the cosmic aspect, buddhi, which is used as a synonym for it, refers to the psychological counterpart appertaining to each individual. Ahamkara (self-sense) or the principle of individuation, arises after buddhi. The three gunas can combine with infinite shades of difference and the result is the infinite varieties of objects or individuations. 'The Gunas take three different courses of development from ahamkara according to which the latter is said to be sattvika, rajasa or tamasa. From ahamkara in its sattva aspect (Vaikarika) are derived the manas and the five organs of perception and the five of action, and from the same in its tamasa aspect (bhutadi) the five fine elements. The rajasa aspect (taijasa) plays its part in both and is present in the results. From the tanmatras, or the five fine elements by a preponderance of tamasa, the five gross elements arise. In all the developments, though one of gunas may be predominant, the others are also present, perform their functions and help indirectly the evolution of the products. The five organs of perception are the five sense-organs of modern psychology. The five fine elements are the counterpart of the five senses. Thus there are twenty five elements in all. According to the Advaita Vedanta the only reality is Brahman and all else is an illusory manifestation. When Brahman becomes associated with Maya, it becomes Isvara i.e., the inferior form of Brahman. At this stage prakrtim, buddhi, ahamkara and five tanmatras are regarded as relatively fundamental elements. The remaining sixteen are merely vikaras-evolutes and are not looked upon of any fundamental nature.

I have been able to gather from the hymns of the Guru, a process of creation which is as follows : The fundamental reality is God in its Aphur—transcendental conscious state. The word Aphur needs a little explanation. It is not Sunya-nothingness ; it is that state of consciousness in which there is no knowing, feeling or willing, nothing what we call consciousness in the terms of present-day psychology. That is the only fundamental element according to the Guru—Aphur Brahman. Similar ideas were expressed by some of the German mystics who accidentally flourished almost at the same time when the Gurus were carrying on their

mission in India. For instance Jacob Bohme (1575—1624) held : “At the beginning of the first development God is will without object, eternal quietude and rest, unqualified groundlessness without determinate volition.”¹ From that Aphur state sometimes whenever God pleases, He wills. This willing is the Hukam stage of God. It is God but not Aphur God. His willing is activity. As Lessing said : His thoughts are actualities. As soon as willing appears, individuation results. This the Guru calls Haumai-egoism or individuation. This becomes the cause of the whole material and mental world. Maya and Avidya and the three gunas are all included in the concept of Haumai. Matter or prakrti have no fundamental existence independent of God. The order of the Sankhya or the Vedanta is here reversed. Haumai or individuation does not succeed prakrti, but it precedes it. The priority of Haumai is logical and not temporal, because the contents of Haumai are all material and mental elements. The three gunas work in Haumai and cause all kinds of creation. This Haumai proceeding from the will of God may be called in Kant’s terminology ‘Intellective Intuition’. Understood in this light the Guru’s God is transcendent as Aphur and immanent as Saphur.² Thus Saphur God is will or Hukam and is the source of whole creation. The Hukam takes the form of Law and order in the universe. There are laws more general or less general, the laws of science and the laws of Nature all proceed from the Divine Word.³ Thus under these laws things appear or disappear and we call it construction or destruction. It is all illusion in the sense that strictly speaking the ultimate reality remains one, and the same.

B. G. Tilak in his Gita has given three tables of cosmological elements according to the three systems of Sankhya, Vedanta and Gita. To make clear Guru’s concept of these elements I give below all the four tables side by side.

1. *History of Modern Philosophy* by R. Falckenberg, translated by A. C. Armstrong, London.
2. Cf. Professor James Ward’s exposition of Kant’s idea ‘Intellective Intuition’ reconciling the transcendence and immanence of God in theism, in his book : *The Realm of Ends*, P. 234.
3. G. G., p. 224, Gauṛī Sukhmani, Mahala V :
 Nām ke dhāre sagle jant

 Nām ke dhare āgās pātāl.....5. XVI.

SANKHYA	VEDANTA	GITA	SIKH or the GURU'S
1—Spirit (purusa)	1—Superior Brahman	1—Paraprakrti	1—Aphur-Self
2—Matter (prakrti)		2—Apraprakrti	2—Saphur-Self
3—Mahat or Buddhi (Reason)	2, 3, 4, 5—9 eight elements as inferior Brahman	3—10, sub-divisions of apraprakrti	3—Haumai-Individuation
4—Ahamkara (individuation)	10—25, the sixteen element are not fundamental	11—25 same as in the Vedanta.	4—Soul
5—9 Tanmatras (Five elements)			5—Prākrti with 20 evolutes :—
10—Mind	because they are evolutes.		5—Tanmatras
11—15, Sense organs			5—sense organs
16—20, Organs of action			5—organs of action
21—25, Gross elements			5—gross elements

The above table shows the difference between the Guru's system of cosmology and other main systems of Indian thought. It is of course monoistic idealism, but it is not thorough pantheism,¹ as some writers seem to suggest. The world is neither an illusion nor identical with God. It is the outcome of Haumai,² which the Guru says in its manifested form is contradictory to Nam.³ At the same time Haumai proceeds from Hukam—the will of God. Hukam, as we have seen is the Saphur state of God and before that He was Aphur.⁴ In Haumai various combinations of the three gunas begin to form the world in infinite ways and construction and destruction go on, but the ultimate reality remains unaffected and God as such is transcendent and above all these changes. The forward process, as we have seen, has been called by the Guru Udkarkhan. When God wants to roll up His manifestation, the order is reversed and it is named Akarkhan.⁵ The whole process is sometimes metaphorically compared to the spider and its spinning and rounding up the web. The metaphor is common among the Sikhs and the Vedantists. As Ramkrishna Parmhans said of his Mother Goddess: She is the parent of the

1. Cf Trumpp, A. G.

2. G. G., Siddhgosht, pp. 938—946 :

Haumai Wich jag upjai purkha.....LXVIII.

3. G. G., Wadhans Mahala III : p. 560 :

Haumai nawai nal wirodh hai.....—4—9—12.

4. G. G., Siddhgosht :

Hukmai āwai hukme jāwa hukme rahai samāi. XXI.

Adi kau bismad bichār kathiale sunn Nirantar wās liā. XXIII.

5. Cf. S. B. E., Vol. 38, P. 25, 48, 402.

world and the world carries her in its heart. She is the spider, draws the thread out of herself and then winds it round herself and the world is the web she has spun. The spider My Mother is at the same time the container and the contained. She is the shell but she is also the kernel.¹ Sometimes the metaphor of ocean and waves is used to illustrate the relation between God and universe and at other times that of snake and coils. These are Vedantist analogies to express the illusoriness of the manifestation and the reality of the Brahman.²

It is true that the Guru believes in one ultimate reality but he does not hold like the Vedantist that the world is an illusion. God is the sole cause of the world and there is no duality.³ No fundamentality is assigned to any other being except God. The Guru does not deny the diversity in the world. God is life of the universe and as such happens to be the string for the beads. There is diversity but underlying this manifested difference there is permanent unity. 'My True Lord', says the Guru in Rag Maru 'has made such an interesting world, in which every thing is different from the other—He created light and darkness and still there is one element in all, and that is He Himself'.⁴ Light in the apparent reality is life and darkness is matter. They

1. *Prophets of New India* by Romain Rollan, P. 147.

2. Cf. S. B. E., Vol. 48, pp. 618—621.

3. (a) Gauri Sukhmani, Mahala V, G. G., p. 276 :

Karn Kāran Prabh ek hai dusar nāhi koi. XI.

(b) G. G., p. 387, Asa Mahala V :

Ape ped bishāri sākḥ

Jat kat pekhau ekai ohi. 4—17—68.

(c) *Ibid*, Gujri ki War, Mahala III : p. 509 : Pauri :

Apna āp upāion tadhu hor na kai,

... ..

Jio tis bhāwa tiwai kare tis bin awar na koi. 1.

(d) *Ibid*, p. 736 : Rag Suhi, Mahala V :

Bajigar jaise bāji pāi

Nānā rup bhekh dikhlaī,

Sāng utār thamio pāsāra

Tab eko ekankārā. 1. 4—1.

(e) *Ibid*, p. 277, Nat Mahala, IV :

Ih parpanchu kia Prabh Suāmi, Sabhu jag jiwan jugne,

Jio Salalai salal uthai bahu lahri mili salalai salal samane. 2. 4—6.

4. G. G., p. 1055, Maru Mahala III :

Merai Prabh Sachai ik khel raṇḇāia ;

Koi na kishi jeha upāiā ;

Ape faraq kare wekhī wigsai sabhi ras dehi māha he. 1. 16—4—13.

are not two distinct things, as Whitehead insists, they are two interwoven threads in the pattern of active process which is the universe, threads distinguishable by common sense and scientific thought are nevertheless not separable in fact. 'The doctrine's, he says, 'that I am maintaining is that neither physical nature nor life can be understood unless we fuse them together as essential factors in the composition of 'really real' things whose inter-connections and individual characters constitute the universe.'

Before passing on to the next topic, something must be said about the Guru's concept of Maya. The Guru arrives at this idea through experience. He saw every thing changing, old yielding place to relatively new. In the realm of thought and things phenomena come and go. 'Seeming' is essentially of 'passing nature' :

In the first place, man issueth from his dwelling in the womb ;
He afterwards attacheth himself to his children, wife and family.

Thy dishes of many sorts and thy varied dresses,

O wretched man, shall assuredly pass away.

What place is that which shall ever be permanent ?

Even the realm of Indra must assuredly perish ;

Even the realm of Brahman remaineth not permanent ;—

And even the realm of Siva shall dissolve.

The three gunas, mountains, trees, the earth, the sky, the stars, the sun, the moon, wind, fire, water, the laws, alternations of day and night, religions and their books rituals and other observances, races, castes, beasts, birds, all visible creation and all forms of existence shall pass away.²

Every thing changes and the only thing that does not change

1. For more scriptural references about cosmology and other topics discussed above see G. G. :

(a) P. 67, Sri Rag Mahala III : 10—6—23 ;

(b) P. 223, Gauri, Mahala I : 9—5 ;

(c) P. 276, Gauri Sukhmani, Mahala V ; 10th Ashtpadi, 4—8 Stanzas.

(d) P. 350, Asa Mahala I : 4—7.

(e) P. 464, Asa Mahala I, War, III and IV, Slokas ;

(f) P. 929-30, Ramkali, Mahala I, Dakhni Oangkar.

(g) P. 940, Ramkali I Siddh gosht : XX—XXIV Stanzas ;

(h) P. 1004, Maru Mahala, V : 4—1—17.

2. G. G. Rag Gauri, S. R., P. 161.

is God in His Aphur state. As such the reality of the world is relative. This manifestation as such changes and is transitory. This is Maya. The essence of it is the divine element which is permanently real. Maya does not mean that the world is an illusion. The Vedantists compared the world to the horns of a hare.¹ The hare seems to have horns but infact he has not got any. Same is the case with the world. The Guru holds that the world is necessary for us. He did not go into the metaphysical details of the idea. His belief was that of a practical religious thinker. We are not to leave the world because it is false and illusory. There are, he says in the Mundawani, three elements in it : Truth, Harmony and Reason. These are also characteristics of right knowledge which can only be gained from the world and in the world. The world is not false in the sense that it does not exist. It is false in comparison with the really Real otherwise the gross world is in the subtle Nam. The gross aspect of reality goes on changing while the essential or the subtle remains the same. The gross is Maya and the subtle is Nam. The Guru compares the world to an arena where we have to combat our sources of bondage.² All this is possible if we consider ourselves to be dealing with the stern realities of life. A sportsman spirit is preached, which is possible only if the game has got a touch of reality. We cannot pay with illusions and false shadows. The Guru did not give up the old Vedantist word Maya. He used it very often but in a modified sense. It is change. All that emerges, appears and disappears is Maya and therefore Asat, and all that underlies this change is real and therefore Sat, which is all pervasive : Nam. He is God, He is the sole cause of all that appears.³ He is 'one' and 'many'. He himself caused Good and Evil.⁴ But all that appear, all difference of one and many, all

1. S. B. E., Vol. 48, P. 433, 503;

2. For more references from Gurbani, see G. G. :

(a) World as manifestation of God is real : II Slok of War Asa Mahala I, P. 463 ;

(b) P. 580, Wadhans, Mahala :

(c) Sachu terā pā Trā, P. 747, Rag Suhi, Mahala V, 4—1—47 ;

(d) Hakme dharti sajan sachchi dharm salā : P. 785, War Suhi Sloka.

(e) Hari mandar eh jagat hai....., P. 1345, Prabhati, Mahala III.

(f) Ehn wis sansar tum dekhde ehū Hari ka rup hai Hari rup nadri āiā. P. 922, Anand XXVI.

3. G. G., Bawan Akkhari, 1 Sloka.

4. *Ibid*, II and VIII Slokas.

distinction of good and evil is Maya and is only at the stage when we do not enter into the underlying reality which is one absolute whole. The way to enter it, as we shall discuss later, lies in Wismad : aesthetic feeling.

The great stumbling block in the above metaphysics of the Guru is the fact of God's transition from Aphur state to Saphur state, from unconscious state to conscious state when Will or Hukam appears and the formation of the universe results. A similar concept but in quite a different universe of discourse is used by Whitehead ; the all-pervasive unity in the world he calls 'unconscious mind' mind not conscious like our own. But the question remains, how and why such a mind comes to have what Whitehead calls 'feeling' and the Guru consciousness or volition—*Hukam*. The Guru has no answer except that God knows His own ways and His ways are not our ways. It is God's pleasure—*Khel*, a feeling of sport. No body can say the how and why of it. Infact all our knowledge does reach a point when we have to admit the limitations of our understanding and we can never overcome the fact that man is a creature and not a creator of the universe. The Guru at that point says : *Karte Ki Mit Kia Jane Kia* :—How can the created know the limits of the Creator ?

CHAPTER XIV

I

Man

Man is the central figure in the whole universe. No religion or philosophy can exist without man nor can either be said to be complete without giving an explanation of the nature and purpose of man's life. The birth and death of a man according to the Guru happen, like every thing else, under the will of God. He sends us and we take birth. He calls us back and we die. He does not believe in particular gods or angels incharge of the departments of birth and death. All happens under the law of God's will : *Hukami Howan Ji*. The individual takes birth under His Hukam. That Hukam works according to some laws. The law for the birth of man, the Guru says, is the law of Karma.¹ We put on the garb of this body according to our actions of the past life. The law works both progressively and regressively. In its progressive direction the final stage is man.² Man is so to say the last emanation, the last step of the staircase of creation. If he continues to progress, to rise, he enters into the Sachkhand—the realm of Truth ; and if he falls, he again enters into the cycle of births and deaths.³ Although it is expressly stated that man's life is the most favourable opportunity for getting release from this cycle, yet the masculine appearance is not an indispensable condition for release. The old thought was that to get release every Jiva must be born as a man. It was believed that women before being entitled to salvation must first by good actions secure an opportunity of a male birth. The Guru makes no such distinctions of sex for spiritual emancipation. He does not rigidly believe that man is the only eligible candidate for salvation. He believes in the singleness of mind as a necessary condition for release. If that can be secured, say under the influence of the society of the saints and the holy people, then even animals can get salvation.⁴ But that does not deny the superiority of human

1. Karmi awai kaprā—Japuji.

2. Kai janam bhae kit patanga... Gauri, Mahala V, P. 176.

3. G. G., P. 1075, Maru Solhe Mahala V : Lakh Chaurasib jone sabāi, Mans kau Prabhi die Wadiai, Is pauri te jo nar chukai so āi jāi dukh paidā—2—16—1—5.

4. S. R., IV, pp. 187—188, a horse and a snake got Mukti.

birth which is the best opportunity for the attainment of perfection or release and human birth is so often praised by the Guru.

As we saw in the cosmological table, the single element under individuation takes two forms : spirit and matter. Spirit remains divine and holy in character and, therefore, nearer to its source : God. The matter under the influence of three gunas becomes gross. The union of the two is man. The soul in man is Jivatma, which is the light of God. The Guru says in Anand :

O body of mine God infused light into thee and then thou comest into the world ;

When God put light into thee thou comest into the world, God is the mother, God is the father, who having created man, showed him the world.

To him who understandeth by the Guru's favour, this world is a show or appeareth to be a show.

Saith Nanak, when He who formed thy body out of the elements of nature, put light into it, then comest thou into the world.¹

Thus there are two main constituents of the human being. One is soul and the other is body. The two are one in essence, but one is subtle and the other is gross. The gross is made of Rakt and Bund. The Saivas and the Vedantists also explain the bodily constitution in the same way. One comes from the female and the other Bund-semen from the male. The two together develop into the material clothing for the soul. It is maintained by food-Ann—and therefore, it is Annmaikosh. Muscles, bones and nerves grow from semen and skin, flesh and hair etc., come from the Rakt. This building is supported by breath which is another constituent of our body and this is Pranmaikosh. Then there is a mental layer which is also physical, born of five gross elements, but whose existence is possible only because of the soul's contract with the body : 'Ih man panch tat te janma'. This is Manomaikosh. The other layers of Gyan and Anand are more subtle. The Gyan belongs to Reason and Anand to Soul, which lives inside all these layers. 'The body is a mixture of wind, water, earth and fire, within it is the changeful play of the intellect. The body

1. S. R., II. p. 127.

hath nine gates and a tenth door—the body is gross-earth, the breath, the wind speaketh in it.¹

The essential and more important constituent of our being is the soul element. We should always think of that and not be lost in the visible. The soul is the support and the essence of life. It is life itself. It is inherently active.² The soul is also described as a resident in the colony of the body.³ The body is a temple of God and it must not be harmed. It is, therefore, pure. It should be kept pure by thought, word and deed. Similar thought of the purity of the body is present in other religions too. 'The influence of the idea of purity on the moral religious consciousness has been great. Its potency reaches its maximum under the belief to which St. Paul gives expression, namely that the human body is the temple of the holy spirit and that, therefore, any foul thought or word or act is sacrilege against the sanctuary. And this thought is not exclusively Christian, for Epictetus expresses it in the dictum: Thou bearest God about with thee within thy-self; and thou dost not realise that thou

1. I. S. R., II, p. 291.

2. G. G., p. 309, Gauri ki War, Mahala IV :

(a) Pauri : Ih sarir sabha dharma hai, jis andari Sachche ki Wichhi joti.
Sloka XVI.

(b) P. 921, Ramkali Mahala III, Anand :

E ! sarira meria Hari tum mahi joti rakhi ta tu jag mahi āiā—Slokas,
XXXIII—XXXV.

3. G. G. :

(a) P. 180, Gauri Guareri, Mahala V :

Man Mandar tan sāji bari

Ishi madhe bastu apar

Ishi bhitari suniat Sāhu...4—16—85.

(b) P. 1031, Maru Mahala I :

Jagat upāi khel rachāiā,

Pawnoi pāni agni jio pāiā.

Dehi nagri nau darwājā, so daswa gupt rahatā he. 4—17—5.

(c) P. 1058, Maru Mahala III :

Kāiā Hari Mandar Hari āp saware. 16—2—16.

(d) P. 1032, Maru Mahala I, Dakhani :

Kāia nagaru nagar gar andari,

Sāchā Wāsā pur gagnandari,

As thir thān sada nirmāil, āpe āp upaidā. 1. 16—1—13.

(e) P. 1038, Maru Mahala I :

Panch tatu mili ih tan kia

Atam Ram pae sukh thia...25—1—18.

art outraging him with thy impure thoughts and unclean deeds.¹ The superiority of the human body is also shown by saying that even gods pray for it.² Naturally any idea of ruining this body by ascetic exercises or penances was opposed by the Guru. Necessaries of life must be attended to.³ We must work to maintain the body. But the necessity of maintaining the body should not make us bodily-minded. We should not be led to worship it and be engrossed in sensual pleasures making 'eat, drink, and be merry' our motto. The body is only a means. To indulge in it will be irrationality and animality.⁴ Man is above animals, all species are subordinate to him and serve him.⁵ Therefore our attitude to this body should be that we have to keep it alive and healthy. It is our guest and we must give it six pounds of food every day, otherwise it is breakable and must one day break and take its leave.⁶

The body at its farther end becomes mind, which is an evolute and, therefore, phenomenal. In essence, the mind too is spiritual or divine: *Man Tun Jot Sarup Hain*. In other words mind at its farther end also merges into soul. The region of soul is entirely non-material.⁷ The soul is a necessary aspect of our being. As Fichte says, 'If matter alone existed, it would be just the same as if nothing at all existed'. Infact in the light of the Guru's monistic system body, mind and soul all lie in the same line with no unbridgeable gap between them.⁸ By way of an illustration let us take a long piece of paper so coloured that one end of it is pitch black and the other snow white. From black to white there is a gradual and imperceptible decrease of darkness. The blackness goes on uniformly decreasing as we go from the black end to the white end. In the middle we have got somewhat

1. A. O. G.

2. *Is dehi kau simrahi dev*, G. G., p. 1160.

3. Cf. G. G., P. 655, *Sorath Kabir*; p. 694, *Dhanasari Dhanna*.

4. *Gauri Sukhmani*, p. 267, 5—IV *Ashtodi*: *Kartut pasu ki manas jati*—

5. G. G., p. 374, *Asa Mahala V*:

Awar joni teri panihari

Is dharti mahi teri sikdāri. 4...12.

6. G. G., p. 584, *Wadhans Mahala III*:

Ihu sarir jāiri hai isno jaru pahuchai āe...4—4.

7. Cf. *Mirza Ghulam Ahmad's new interpretation of the idea of soul in Islam. The Teachings of Islam (English Translation)*, P. A.

8. Cf. *Life After Death*—*Maran Ton Pichhon*—1934 by the present writer.

grey. Now there is no one point where we can say that blackness begins or ends. One merges into the other so imperceptibly that the whole looks to be a unity. A unity in which diversity is undeniable and a diversity in which unity is most obvious.¹ Same may be said of soul, mind and body. The extreme light is soul and the extreme black is body and the grey margin is the mind. The blackness is the composite influence of the three gunas—Maya—which is God's own making. The blackness does not mean the negation of whiteness, just as zero temperature does not mean the absence of heat. The fact is that our thermometer cannot measure in positive terms any heat below the zero degree of temperature. Same is true of darkness and light. Our experiences are relative to our capacities and the means that we use. What we call matter is not the total exclusion of spirit. It is the comparative lack of manifestation of the soul-element. The stone, plant, animal and man are in the same line with some difference of degree, but none of kind.² This is how the Guru's monism stands making man a distinguishable but not separable part of the whole universe.

2.—The Individual Soul

In the light of the above discussion there should not be any difficulty in arriving at the conclusion that God and the soul of the individual are in essence the same. Individual souls as such are not identical with God. There are verses in the Granth which can be interpreted and the interpretation is not wrong, that God is in the individual soul and the individual soul is in God. That God and His devotee are one and there is nothing intervening between the two : *Brahman Mahi Jan, Jan Mahi Parbrahman*,³ *Atam Mahi Ram, Ram Mahi Atam*,⁴ *Har, Harjan Dui Ek Hai*.⁵ In the Jap, the Tenth Guru says that *Atam*, *Sarabatam*, and *Parmatam* all mean the same thing, yet the difference is recognised. The simile of ocean and waves is generally used

1. Cf. Some Psychological Experiments : C. S. Myer's Experimental Psychology, Chapter VII of Vol. I and Collins and Drever's book Chapter I.
2. G. G., p. 183, Gauri Mahala V :
 (a) *Dulabh deh pāi Wadbhagi*...4—42—111.
 (b) P. 1063, Maru Mahala III : 16—6—20—16—7—21.
3. Gauri Sukhmani, 3—XVIII, p. 287.
4. G. G., p. 1541, Bhairo Ashtpadi Mahala I :
5. D. G.

by the Guru to indicate the relation between God and the individual souls. According to him souls do not stand to God as a 'manufactured article' stands 'to the craftsman who has fashioned it', rather it implies an indentity which, as Clement C. J. Webb says, is found between 'the river and the spring from which it flows'.¹ Like 'the kingdom of God is within you' the Guru says that God is not away, it is thyself: So *Prabh Dur Nahin Prabh Tun Hain*.² The two are the same like the sun and the ray,³ like the fire and the spark and like the heap of dust and its particles.

As from one fire millions of sparks arise; though rising separately, they unite again in the fire;

As from one heap of dust several particles of dust fill the air and on filling it again blend with the dust;

As in one stream millions of waves are produced, the waves being made of water all become water;

So from God's form non-sentient and sentient things are manifested and springing from Him, shall all be united in Him again.⁴

All this means the essential similarity of the two, but it does not mean the identity of God and the individual. Although the waves and the ocean both consist of water, yet there is a great difference between the two. 'I am one wave of thee who art an endless sea. Thou art as distinct from me as heaven is from earth'.⁵

But wherefrom does this difference come? It is through egoism which is subjectively known as Avidya-ignorance and objectively considered it is called Maya. Haumai is the essence of the individual self. The Guru distinguishes between what W. James calls the material self, the social self and the spiritual self, the I, Me, and Mine. The individual self Haumai is the common ground of all the three. As A. H. B. Allen points out,⁶ that all selves, inner or outer, conscious or unconscious have an active central factor or 'Self'. Under the influence of this inner ego, the Haumai,

1. *God and Personality*, p. 156.

2. G. G., p. 354, Asa Mahala I.

3. Suraj Kiran mili jal ka jal hua Ram. G. G., p. 846, Bilawal Mahala V.

4. S. R., V, p. 276.

5. S. R., V, p. 104, Diwan Goya.

6. *Self in Psychology*, p. 271.

the self is agent and is responsible for its actions. All birth and death, giving and taking, earning and spending, becoming true or false, meditating good or evil, enjoying pleasure or pain, becoming dirty or clean, caste and race, ignorance or wisdom and bondage or release constitute self caused by Haumai.¹ All individual souls get differentiated under the influence of the infinite shading of the three gunas, thus causing infinite varieties of Haumai leading to the performance of various karmas whose impressions or effects are carried by the Jivas by means of their subtle bodies. This makes possible the continuity of the individual self in the series of births and deaths.

Man in relation to the universe may be regarded as a universe on a small scale. The universe has been named by the Guru Brahmand and the man as Pind. Just as the body of man is made of five gross elements—ether or sky *i.e.*, space, air, fire, water and earth, similarly the universe is also composed of these elements. The divine element or the soul is the essence of both of them. To illustrate this resemblance, the Guru uses the simile of the sea and a sea-drop. Just as the sea is represented in the drop and the drop is the sea on a smaller scale, similar is the resemblance between man and universe² *Sagar Mahi Bund, Bund Mahi Sagar : Jo Brahmande Soi Pinde*. Brahmand and Pind have all things in common. Whatever is there in the universe can be found in man. So that both in material and spiritual elements man can be taken as a universe in a small degree. The idea may be favourably compared with the Western idea of Microcosom and Macrocosom of the days of the Renaissance. Man's nature was looked upon as the quintessence of the cosmological powers. Man knows the all in so far as he is the all. This was the pervading principle of Eckhart's mysticism in Germany. As body, man belongs to the material world ; indeed he unites within himself, the essence of all material things in the finest and most compact form. Just on this account he is competent to understand the corporeal world. As intellectual being, however, he is of 'sidereal' origin and is, therefore, able to know the intellectual world in all its forms. Finally as a divine 'spark', as 'spiraculum vite', as a partial manifestation of the highest principle in life, he is

1 G. G. War Asa Mahala I. VII Sloka.

2. G. G., p. 754, Suhi Mahala III :

Kāiā andar sabhu kichh wasai khand mandal pātālā,

Kāiā andar Jagjiwan dātā wasai sabhna kare pratpala. 2. 8—2.

also able to become conscious of divine nature whose image he is'.¹ Often in the Granth we come across instruction that 'understand yourself and you will understand the universe and God'. This is known as the *Apa Kho jana*: the search of the self. The idea is more mystical than metaphysical and is common in all types of mysticism. A Persian mystic poet, the author of *Gulshan-i-Raz* says: If you cleave the heart of a drop of water,

There will issue from it a hundred pure oceans.

3.—Death and After

Life after death has been, in the history of the world, a source of great courage and forbearance in people's suffering for their religion and country. He—that—endureth—to—the—end—shall—be—saved, was carved by some prisoner in 1553 A.D. on a wall of the Crypt in the Tower of London. Another inscription stands in the name of T. Fane 1554 and reads: Be—Faithful—unto—the—deth — And—i—will—give — the—A—Crown—of — life. These lines meant much more to those who wrote them than they do to us now. It is difficult to imagine what the condition of society would have been if the belief in God and life after death had been absent from the ideology of man. The religion, philosophy and history of Sikhism like the history of Christianity is very much influenced by this belief.

'Whoever believes in a God', said Rothe, 'must also believe in the continuance of man after death. Without that there would not be a world that could be thought of as realising God's purpose'. In Kant's system of philosophy, God and immortality were necessary postulates for morality. To this Galloway says that we should not go so far as to say that immortality is a postulate without which morality becomes unmeaning. But it is a supposition which gives greater consistency and deeper significance to the facts of moral and religious experience. That ideal and upward striving element, which is interwoven with the texture of man's moral and spiritual life, is far more intelligible if the final destiny of the soul is not in this world but beyond'. For him the idea of future life has three values. In the first place, the idea helps to harmonise man's ethical experience. The ideal is perfect Good which is transcendent and which cannot be realised in this mundane world. We must continue to live beyond this world to attain this perfection. Secondly the concept of personal

1. *History of Philosophy* by Windlehand, p. 376.

immortality enables us to form an adequate notion of the goal of social progress. Thirdly, the idea of immortality gives us the only assurance which is satisfying, that spiritual values will be conserved. The Guru does not argue about immortality on such grounds as these. Just as he believes in God with implicit faith, so does he believe that death is not the end of man. Ethical and social progress are facts of this world and belong to this world. All these values continue after death not in a world beyond this, but in this very world in the form of reincarnation. He does not believe that the ideal of perfection or the perfect good is not attainable as long as we are in the mundane world. This world is the arena and the battlefield containing all possibilities of perfection. Not that this world is a preparatory place for another world where the perfect good is to be achieved. Perfection is the idea of man and must be realised in the environments which stimulate it. If in one span of life an individual does not reach that stage which should enable him to reach his source he gets another opportunity, failing again another, then another in the form of different births. There is no going beyond this world until and unless a man loses all worldliness and becomes God-like.

The Guru believes in what is known as 'transmigration of soul'—Awa Gawan, the cycle of birth and death. The doctrine is not exclusively Indian. 'The tenacity with which the Greek philosopher Pythagoras held this doctrine is well known. Well known, too, is the success with which he and his followers for a long time imparted their views to the Dorian aristocracy on this and kindred subject, such as, for instance, the non-destruction of life. As in Republic Plato himself believed in it and in Phaedo represents Socrates to have been satisfied with this doctrine. English poets like Wordsworth and Browning feel interested in a belief similar to this. The great Muslim poet Maulana Rumi, the author of the famous Mathnawi says in the same book :

Low in the earth

I lived in realms of ore and stone ;
And then I smiled in many tinted flowers ;
Then roving with the wild and wandering hours,
O'er earth and air oceans' zone,
In a new birth, I dived and flew,

And crept and ran
 And all the secret of my essence drew
 Within a form that brought them all to view
 And lo a man !

In another passage the same poet expresses a similar idea of the progress of man's soul starting from the inorganic world, passing through organic and animal, reaching the human level. 'And he will be again changed from his present soul'.¹

Both the passages referred to in the above characteristically resemble a Granthic hymn in which the Guru traces the ascent of the soul from lower forms of life to the final culmination in man which is the best opportunity to get release from this bondage of births and deaths.² In this hymn the Guru says, how the individual soul had to pass through so many forms of life to reach the stage of man. It passed through all species of mineral, vegetable and animal existences. Worm, moth, elephant, fish, deer, bird, serpent, horse, ox, rocks, mountains, vegetables etc., are all counted. 'Thou didst wander through the eighty four lakhs of existences—and after a long period this human body hath been formed for thee'.

Although the above scheme of evolution of the soul of man has not been scientifically discussed by the Guru, yet there seems to be a little psychogenetic approach to the idea. There is some implicit reference to the psychical inheritance of character from one species to another. For instance he says that man has got five chief temptations appealing to five organs of sense or action viz., visual and auditory, of taste and smell and sexual. These are animal passions and sensual life of man consists in their indulgence. Among the animals there are certain species which are markedly given to one or the other of these five impulses. For instance the elephant has been described as extremely sexual and on account of this weakness he is entrapped by man and comes to lose his freedom. A deer is enchanted by a particular melodious

1. Islamic Sufrin.

2. G. G., p. 176, Rag Gauri Guareri Mahala V :

(a) Mil Jagdis milan ki bāria
 Chirankal ih deh sanjaria.

(b) P. 11, Asa Mahala V :
 Bhai prapat Manukh dehuriā
 Gobind milan ki ih teri bariā. 2—4.

sound and is thus ensnared by the hunters. A moth loses its life because of the irresistible attraction which the brightness of the flame of a candle or a lamp has for it. Similarly fish through its passion for taste and the Bhanwar—the flower smelling insect, on account of its passion for smell lose their lives. Man has got all these impulses and passions because he has in the course of his upward ascent passed through all these species. The soul has got a subtle body (may it be in the form of the minutest cells or the embryonic particles), which becomes the means of carrying these mental traits from one form of life to another. There is no continuity of consciousness from one birth to another ; but general impressions or the net result of one's whole life's activities are transferred from one existence to another.

According to the Guru the future life is of two kinds : transmigration of soul or going into the presence of God, sometimes, spoken of as merging into the Absolute Being. The basis of our individual existence is Haumai—sense of personal ego. As long as actions are performed with the idea of 'I-ness' or 'Myness' 'Main or Haun' the individuation remains. If the actions are dedicated to God, the sense of the selfish ego is lost, the individuation ceases to be and transmigration comes to an end. Till then the cycle of births and deaths goes on. The Guru does not believe in Heaven or Hell—as places of bliss or torture, where people go after their deaths to reap the fruits of their actions. Whenever the Guru speaks of transmigration, he never makes any mention of heaven or hell. The names of Narak and Surag occur either as allusions to others' beliefs or when the Guru addresses people of other faiths believing in heaven or hell. No writer has so far realised this distinction of the Guru's teachings. Sometimes he uses these words metaphorically to express the good or bad conditions of life in this world. For instance, he says, wherever there is a company of holy men and righteous people there is Baikunth or heaven, Dharmraj' or Jamdut—the angels of

1. G. G. :

(a) P. 742, Suhi, Mahala V :

Baikunth nagar jahān sant wāsā

Prabh charan kamal rid māhi niwāsā. 4—21—27.

(b) P. 749, Suhi Mahala V :

Taha baikunth jah kirtan tera tun ape sardha laihi. 4—8—55.

(c) P. 890, Ramkali Mahala V :

Tah baikunth jah nām ucharhi. 4—14—25.

death, are either spoken of as destructive forces of nature or they have been used where beliefs of others are expounded. According to the old belief, two angels Chit and Gupt were always with man recording his actions both known and unknown. The Guru says the actions—conscious or unconscious are Chit and Gupt.¹ Every thought, word or deed, known or unknown leaves behind an impress which clings to the subtle body and becomes responsible for dragging the soul from one birth to another.

“The words man speaketh shall be taken into account ; the food (honestly and dishonestly earned) he eateth shall be taken into account, all movements hearing, seeing—all that we do or think are taken into account”.² No angel of death comes to take the soul. The law of nature works. As soon as the harmony of the gross elements is broken, the equilibrium is lost and the gross body stops working. The souls of true devotees go direct to God and of others take up other existences. Although the Guru may have borrowed the theory of transmigration of souls from the Hindus, yet there are differences in details. For instance the future life as described in the Gita or the Vedanta can be divided into four forms :

(1) Union with the Brahman-Moksha ; (2) Sun-heaven for the Gyani, preceding No. 1 ; (3) Moon-heaven for the ignorant with a record of good deeds ; (4) Hell for the ignorant with a record of bad deeds.³ ‘According to common Hindu notions every action carries with itself its fruit or reward. If one under the influence of the quality of goodness, has done here meritorious acts, he is after his death admitted into heaven or paradise, where he is allowed to enjoy the fruits of his works till they are exhausted ; then he is turned back again into a womb and born on earth in a high caste and in a pious family, to commence anew the old course, which may end, according to his actions, to his advantage or disadvantage. If he has acted under the quality of passion, he is reborn after his death in the house of worldly-minded men. But if he has acted under the quality of darkness, and heaped up demerits, he is variously punished by Yama and then born in the body of some animal or even thrown into hell ; when his punishment there is over, he is then born in some

1. G. G., p. 338, Bilawal Mahala V : Chit Gupt karmahi jan. 3—10—2.

2. Sri Rag, Mahala I.

3. Gita, pp. 405—412.

vile animal body and has to go through various transmigrations, till he be born again in a low human womb.¹ This general belief of the Hindus has also been attributed to the Guru by Dr. Trumpp, without supporting his contention by the Guru's words. He quotes some verses in foot-notes but they are all from the Vaisnava Bhagats and not from the Sikh Gurus. The Guru does not believe in heaven or hell. They are, as I have said, the conditions of life in this world. 'Where sacred hymns are being sung, there we have heaven *Tahan Baikunth Jahan Kirtan Tera*:² The house of a saint is a paradise : *Baikunth Nagar Jahan Sant Wasa*. Where Nam is, there is paradise : *Tahin Baikunth Jahin Nam Uchrahi*. A vicious man burns in his passions and thus lives in the hot pit of fire or hell.

Infact the Hindu belief in heaven or hell is not consistent with a belief in transmigration of soul. First they believe in Moksh-release. In the other case of good or bad action man has to come back from heaven or hell to the world below to begin again the cycle of birth and death. If the Jiva has enjoyed the fruits of his good or bad actions in heaven or hell, then what factor remains which determines man's rebirth ? If the reply is that the Jiva begins the cycle as it began for the first time, then how are we to explain the inequality of opportunities in this life ? How to account for the diversity in mental and material inheritance of different men ? There is no satisfactory answer. The Guru seems to have avoided the inconsistency by rejecting the theory of heaven and hell.

The next important difference is about the time which the Jiva takes in reaching its abode after the actual time and date of death. Once a Pandit read the Garur Purana in the prescnce of the Sixth Guru and some of his Sikhs. According to it the soul reaches its abode in the next world a year after the dissolution of the body. A Sikh called Sundar said, 'By the Guru's favour I can traverse that road in twelve hours'. Bhai Lala said, 'I can do it in three hours.' Bhai Nihala said, 'What need have we to go there at all ?' The Brahman then said to the Guru, 'Listen to what thy Sikhs are saying'. The Guru then cleared the position by saying that they were the ideas according to the Brahman's books. Sikhs have no such pitfalls.

1. A. G., p. CIV.

also described in the Gita by Tilak.¹ The man who has acquired knowledge—and he must have acquired this knowledge at least at the moment of death—goes and reaches the sphere of the Brahman, after his body has fallen and has been burnt in fire, through that fire, passing through the flames, daylight, the bright half of the month and six months of the Uttarayana; and as he attains release there, he does not take birth again and come back to this mortal world; but that man who has been a mere orthodox performer of ritual and has not acquired knowledge, reaches the sphere of the moon, through the smoke of the same fire, and through night, and the dark half of the month, and the six months of the Daksinayana; and when he has enjoyed the reward of all the meritorious actions, which he has performed, he again returns to this world.²

The Guru finds in all activities of nature a certain system which he calls Sut-harmony or orderliness. According to him the universe is governed by law-Dharma. There is a law for the transmigration of soul also. How it works he does not explain, nor I can think man can explain it, unless he actually dies, experiences the whole process and comes back to us with all the memories of various stages which he passed through. I may use a crude and perhaps a very imperfect illustration. Let us suppose the universe of life like a big board of 84,00,000 holes or sockets every one being different from the other in form and size so that only one nail or a pebble suits or comes into a particular hole. By some mechanism, say the inherent active principle, the board moves and so do the nails or pebbles. No nail can go into a wrong hole. Same is the case with souls.³ Every one finds its appropriate place in the board of existences. If some conscious purpose is working in the world and the Jivas are not lifeless pebbles or nails, then the finding of suitable existences in the multitude of 84 lacs of species should not be a greater obstacle in the theory which in the West is known as metempsychosis or reincarnation than the 'utter gulf' of the 'transfiguration' theory, which it causes between the life of this world and the next.⁴

1. Vol. II, p. 72.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 403.

3. Cf. J. M. E. McTaggart's analogy of hats and heads and substances having chemical affinities in 'Some Dogmas of Religion'—1930.

4. Cf. *Realm of Ends*, by J. Ward, p. 406.

A still greater difficulty comes when the Guru makes an evil man descend lower than the human level. By evil deeds man can also take birth in the lower species. The difficulty generally conceived in such an idea is the development of the human personality which cannot be placed into a lower organism. The Guru seems to think that when a Jiva descends to lower forms of life, it does so because by his actions he has washed off all traits of higher personality and by the time he dies some single animal passion overtakes him so much that his mind becomes simplified to an animal level. The law of nature provides opportunities and environments according to the needs and demands of a certain individual soul. Naturally—I mean by the law of nature why not to call it the law of Self-adjustment, the best suitable life will be made available for that individual. The explanation of transmigration of soul in Indian thought is more metaphysical than scientific or psychological. The essence of all that exists lies in the three gunas. The infinite combinations produce infinite species. The jiva gets birth in different species under the influence of these gunas. If in his life a man develops the darker element, then at his death under the influence of this dark guna, his soul will be dragged by the clinging guna to a level of life where there is the domination of that guna. In the terms of modern biology we may perhaps think of the embryo—the whole man in Leibnizian monad—which may be conceived as the possible means of transmigration. Discussing the Hindu idea of transmigration we should never forget that it never separates the body from the soul until and unless the final release is achieved by the individual. The body that clings to the soul, although not so gross as our perceptible body, yet it remains an organism which contains all the essentials of developing into a physical being provided the necessary environment is procured. It has got all the counterparts of the gross body and carries the net result of our life's experiences in a potential form. Other possible explanations have been discussed by Professor Ward. As for instance the finer organism suggested by W. Cyphers or the 'inner body' of Bonnet and younger Fichte, or again the invisible body of Theile developed by the soul as its development required. "It has been assumed, that disembodied souls do infact steer their own way back to a suitable rebirth. An atom liberated from its molecular bonds is described as manifesting an unwonted activity,

technically known as 'the nascent state' ; but still it does not recombine indifferently with the first free atom that it encounters, but only with one which it has an affinity". All these theories are conjectures, and conjectures they will remain as long as we are unable to do experiments with death and the survival element thereafter. Till then faith rather than reason will remain dominant in every theory about future life and the mechanism in which it is made possible.

The origin of a belief in future life lies in our conception of the ideal of perfection which man has placed before him. Those who fail to reach this ideal must be supposed to get another opportunity for their personal development. This development requires both the continuity of environment and some personal continuity in the form of some kind of memory. Some made it possible midway between earth and heaven—the Hades life or the Alam-i-Barzakh or I'raf of the Muslims, other thought it more tangible just in this very world, which could not become operative without being reborn. The idea of punishment and reward was conceived in the form of unfavourable or favourable opportunities which the next life would provide by a regress or progress in the descending or ascending scale of animal kingdom. This is how the Guru thought of the transmigration of soul. No heaven or hell, no good or bad angels to lead the departed souls to garden of luxury or to the pit of torture.

But transmigration is the worst alternative and the Guru asks his disciples to escape from it. Even the best next life is a bondage. The cycle of birth and death is a snare for the soul and keeps it separate from the original source-God. Separation is suffering and the union with the parent is the eternal bliss. The Guru is fond of using the metaphor of husband and wife to express the love between the souls of men and God, the great husband. Just as a true wife in separation from her husband suffers and pines to sleep in the same bed with her beloved, similarly the soul away from God pines to have union with Him. The Haumai stands in its way and the release from it lies in Nam, To become God-like is the ideal of man, so that after leaving the body the soul may go direct to the presence of God and be one with Him. This is the supreme state and to achieve it one must dedicate all

activities to God and remove the idea of self-sense, or ego.¹ This supreme state is the same Aphur state of God. It is supreme or pure consciousness but without knowing, feeling or willing. No rejoicing or mourning, no feeling of hopes or desires, no personality or sense of individuality, no sermons or singing of hymns. It is supremely meditative state. We enter it when we realise what we are.² This supreme state is the aim of man. It is neither heaven nor paradise. It is the total dissolution of the individual existence by re-absorption of the soul in the fountain of light. It is not 'annihilation' or nothingness as Trumpp seems to think. It is pure universal existence—Satya, a life in God and with God.

The ideal is Abhedata non-duality-merging of the individual into the universal. It is merging of the drop into the ocean. Every thing returns to its origin. 'He created men and to Him they return'.³ This returning according to all mystics whether Eastern or Western is absorption in the Absolute. Theoretically the Sikhs would admit this absolute absorption but in practice it is expressed in more humble way. When a man dies and his body is cremated, a prayer is offered to God—O God, as willed

1. G. G. :

(a) P. 175, Mahala V, Gauri Guareri :

Kin bidhi kusal hot mere bhāi ?

Kis patai Hari Ram Sahāi ? 1.

...

Ek kusal mokau Satguru batāiā

Hari jo kichh kare su Hari kia bhagta bhāiā

Jan Nanak haumai mar samāiā. 4.

In hidh kusal hot mere bhāi

In pāiai Hari Ram Sahāi.

(b) P. 201, Gauri Mahala V :

Bin Kartuti mukti na pāiai

Mukti padarath nam dluāiai. 1—4—107.

What salvation or mukti is the ideal of a Sikh ?

(c) P. 534, Devgandhari Mahala V :

Amrit pri bachan tuhāre...

Rajna chahan mukti na chahau, muhi prit charan kamlare.

2—3—29

(d) P. 1076, Maru Mahala V :

Kai baikunth nāhi lawai lāge

Mukti bapri bhi gyani tiage

Ekankar Satgur te pāiai hau bah bali Gur darsaidā. 15—2—7.

2. S.R., I.

3. *Quran*, p. 622.

by Thee, such and such person, Thy humble servant is leaving this world and this elemental body, grant a place to his soul in Thy Holy feet and peace to his survivors." That is how the God of religion and philosophy conflict in Sikhism. In the same spirit the release or Mukti is denied as a lower ideal. Love of God and to be near His beautiful person and feet are made the highest aspirations of man. 'My Sikhs desire not heaven', said Guru Ram Das to Tappa, 'heaven, they deem not fit reward for their merits. They never engage in worship which is merely intended for the admiration of the public. Their minds are absorbed in God's love. That is their heaven and salvation.'¹

The following is an interesting explanation of the Guru's concept of Mukti as given in the Panjabi glossary of the Guru Granth.² It begins with a comparative account of release and ends with the Sikh idea of it: The writers of Shastras consider this body as a source of suffering and an escape from it is named Mukti. There is a little difference in their view points. (1) the Mukti for the Mimansa is getting into heaven or Surag; (2), (3) for the Nayya and the Vaisesika it is a release from the causes of suffering counted by them; (4) according to the Sankhya it is the detachment of Purkh from Prakrti; (5) for the Yoga it is the freedom from the perceptible by means of Samadhi; (6) for the Vedanta it is the union with Brahman by means of knowledge; (7) for the Charvakas death is the end of all; (8) in Buddhism it is Nirvana which is annihilation; (9) Jainas' release is going to the sphere where Jinas live; (10) for the Jews, the Christians and the Muslims heaven is the ultimate abode for souls; the mystics both Muslim and Christian come nearer the Vaisnava and the Vedanta concept of Mukti. Such Muktis, the writer continues, are ignored and rejected by the Sikhs. Thus it is that the Guru says that the enlightened persons gives up even Mukti. What does he aim at: I do not want kingdom, I do not want Mukti, I want the love of the feet, O God. "The lover", says Pringle Pattison, "has no eyes but for his mistress, no thoughts but of her; the deeper and purer his passion, the more is this the case. So it is with the love of God. The joys of heaven for the genuinely religious man (it must in justice be said) are not con-

1. S. R., II, p. 261.

2. G. G. K., p. 1132.

ceived as extraneous rewards conferred on him for his faithfulness to the divine cause during life—in such supreme consciousness the distinction between subject and object disappears, that the two are actually fused or commingled and in particular the religious goal of the finite spirit is in such an experience to yield its individual being and be merged in the divine essence.”¹ Once this state of love is perpetuated it does not even break after death. This is Mukti.

The Guru says, he, who is continuously with God, is released. The Guru's idea is made more clear by another example. Just as a child who is with his mother in a fair and when he gets separated does not enjoy the interesting plays, games, and sights going on in the fair, similarly the man who is away from God does not find peace and comfort in this beautiful world. As soon as the child meets his mother, he becomes happy and begins to take pleasure in the events of the fair. The man who is thus one with God lives in the world, enjoys it and finds comfort in it. Such a person is Jiwan Mukh—released in life, when death comes, his soul goes direct to the presence of God and becomes one with Him.

Man's concept of release differs according to his concept of God. At different levels of religious or mental development he requires a correspondingly different God with his correspondingly different concepts of release. The culmination of all ideas in the Guru's system is in absolutism. It is sometimes objected that such a view has not got much religious value. The eternity of the personal element in man—the soul—in the form of reabsorption in the Absolute ‘neither completes nor fulfills the personal life’. The Guru offers continuity of the phenomenal personality in the form of transmigration. The personality in its purer form without, of course, of any sense of finite individuality, continues in the form of the Absolute. It is not void or nothingness but a pure, harmonious and a single state of blissfulness. Metaphorically it is described as an ideal colony or divine kingdom² where

1. Idea of Immortality.

2. G. G. :

(a) P. 430, Asa Mahala V :
Panch manāe panch rusāe....

Āhichal nagari Nanak Dev. 8—1.

(b) Cf. Similar idea of Ramdas in Rag Gauri
P. 345 : Begampura sahai ko nāo. 3—2

there is no rise or fall of pleasure and no disturbing factor. It is one uninterrupted state of joy—Anand. It may be argued, how does it encourage an individual as an individual to work for an impersonal ideal.

A close analogy for one's attachment to an impersonal ideal, I have found; in the death of the Unknown Soldier who died in the Great War and was later buried in the Westminster Abbey. Why should an individual soldier die for the British Empire? No individual purpose is served. But still every one of us feels that the welfare of the Empire is my welfare, and long life and the prosperity of the nation is the continuation merges into the net result of the whole nation. One or two generations, in some cases more, may remember their martyr ancestor, but the individuality as such has been absorbed in, what we may call, the Absolute of the Empire. In the realm of religion where individuality is regarded as set back and perfection lies in transcending the narrow limits of selfishly personal, the sentiment for absorption in the Absolute becomes as strong and noble as any other source of hope held by a religion. The personality here is enlarged, man becomes Man and self becomes Self. The boundaries of the limited self and individual consciousness are so extended that the whole world visible or invisible, this particular of ours or any other, all become a part and parcel of Self. With feelings as these, the metaphysical non-duality becomes a religious force exciting emotions of universal love and unselfish outlook on life, facing all the events of the world in an optimistic spirit as a result of the disappearance of the discordant between the self and the Self. That is how, as J. E. Carpenter says, the Teacher's cry 'Rid thyself of duality' does not remain a metaphysical theory but it becomes the summons to the exclusive worship of the the Only True, 'Who makes all partners in His infinite activity'.

PART IV—PRACTICAL PHILOSOPHY

CHAPTER XV

THE TRADITIONAL PATHS OF REALISATION

AND

THE GURU'S ATTITUDE TOWARDS THEM

I

ADIVER in the ocean of the Granth for shells of philosophy and metaphysics though does not come up to the surface with an empty carrier, yet the Guru does not fill the gourd of a beggar for speculative theories like Kapila or Kant. A purely intellectual investigator barren of feeling and sentiment feels foreign in the Guru's land. We do not get a regular and rigid system of cosmology and its before and after. He who creates the world should know all about this, says the Guru in *Japu ji*. And in fact, a religion meddling in cosmology and passing judgments about it is exceeding its limits and is making, what Farenell calls, 'usurpation'. 'Progress in religion consists partly in a recognition of its true sphere and a wise self-restraint, and a religion is dangerous and in danger when it defies or challenges the rightful claims of the intellect. On the other hand, it is part of the function and it is in power of religion to give us a scale of values, which the discursive intellect is wholly powerless to give'. The Guru's immediate concern was the achievement of 'gladness' of the heart, which as Tagore says, is the one criterion of Truth, and the 'true foundation of all religions'. The religion of the Granth is a cult of aesthetic feeling, a religion of beauty, poetry and music, aesthetically merging into the wonderful workings of the Wonderful Lord. Not that Beauty or Truth are personified as objects of worship in the Granth. They are values in relation to and have the character of being values because of the highest value—the object of religion. "The value of beauty, goodness and truth are the creations of man and the object of religion is still higher in the scale than man and his works".¹ The Granth teaches that all values proceed from the supreme Source. Developing from the lower to the higher is getting nearer to the source. This development is made possible through experience, not the intellectual analysis or mere rational understanding of that experience,

1. *Beauty and other Forms of Value*, by Alexander, p. 299.

but it is by means of actually living in the experience ; not knowing about the experience, but actually having it. "It is like beauty which must be seen and felt from within".¹ The religion of which beauty forms an integral part is more a matter of experience. The truths of such a religion are felt and not intellectually grasped. The Guru devised some means and modes which he thought will lead his followers to that region of 'feeling'. The importance of this faith, therefore, lies in its practical aspect. As Carpenter says, 'the work of Nanak and his successors was the most definite in its practical results', and as Bloomfield had already said, 'the revolutionary factor of Sikhism is contained in its institutions—it was a new religion and offered shelter to many'. Our task now, therefore, lies in discussing the practical side of Sikhism.

The distinction between the theoretical and practical aspects of a system is very old in India. One is Sidhanta—philosophy and the other is Marga—the method of living that philosophy. 'Whatever religious doctrine is taken, it naturally falls into two divisions ; one is the philosophical aspect of it, and the other the actual mode of life prescribed by it. In the first place the meaning of Release (Moksha) is usually explained in a scientific and logical way after explaining what conclusions must be drawn as to the nature of the Paramesvara after a proper consideration of the material body (*pinda*) in its relation to the cosmos (*Brahmanda*) ; in the other part there is an explanation of how a man has to lead his life in this world, so that such mode of life should become a means for obtaining that Release'.²

II

There are three such modes of life enumerated by the Hindus. They are known as Karma Marga, Bhakti Marga and Gyan Marga. What I maintain is that the mode suggested by the Guru, although containing elements of all the three margas, yet it is not identical with any of them. The synthesis gives us a new Marga which in the light of the terms used in the Granth, should be called Wismad Marga on the practical side and Nama Marga on the theoretical side. It is a distinction in names, otherwise they are the two aspects of the same process. I shall discuss these four margas one by one and point out where the fourth differs from the other three.

1. Sir Francis Young husband in 'The Gleam'.

2. Gita.

The essentials of the three paths named above are not peculiar to the Hindu mind. They are present every where in every religion. Their origin does not lie in the geographical boundaries of India, but in the nature of the human mind in general. Man's first consciousness in his awareness of the material world around him and at this stage even his self-consciousness is the consciousness of his material self. The medium of contact between him and the world is his activity—conation. For a primitive man life means a physical action in the world outside. His God was also a physical being, a person who 'acted' like him. To please him some action must be performed. This became the worship of God through actions : Karma Marga. This we may call the co-native aspect of God's worship. It has got an interesting historical development, the idea of action—worship passing through many phases.

On the same line of argument we may say that next is the affective worship of God. Man developed his idea of God and He was now not merely a God who could only know our actions, but also He came to be a God who possessed feelings and also was cognizant of men's feelings. Worship through actions only is confined to the physical-minded. God is a refined being and wants refined feelings. He can be best realised by means of emotional attachment. We must love him, feel for him and must have tender heart to reach him. This became the feeling worship of God—the Bhakti, the religion of love and grace. But temperaments differ. Mind is not merely affective and conative. The third aspect of our mental act is cognitive. The knowing side of our mental life appeals to the intellect. God must be intellectually grasped. He must be realised through knowledge. An intellectual being considers himself higher than an emotional or a physical-minded person. The third goddess of mind—intellect and rational insight—got her own followers and worship through knowledge—the Gyan Marga, came in.

Although I hold that these are man's natural tendencies and are more or less found in every religion, yet nowhere outside India were they so distinctly classified and formulated into separate and independent means of realisation of the religious ideal. We have also to keep in mind that the three paths are not absolutely exclusive of each other. Just as in the same conscious process we have all the three aspects of cognition, affection and conation,

but at the same time one of the three dominates the other two, so that on account of that dominance we call a particular mental process cognitive, affective or conative; similarly none of these Margas excludes the other two. It is impossible to think like that. All the three are present in every approach of the ideal and yet one out of the three dominates and determines the whole outlook of the devotee. With these preliminary remarks let us take them one by one.

The path of action has had two directions in India, one the expression of our conative tendency and the other the repression of it. One was to do some thing to please God and the other was to avoid doing any thing whatsoever. The expressive tendency of conation has had three steps: sacrifice, rituals, and desireless actions. Whether religion begins with ancestor worship or the worship of nature personified, the pleasure or displeasure of the deity must be conceived like our own. Material offerings should be made. Meals, clothes and other necessities of life must be supplied to gods. The deity will be pleased more if something we hold dear or precious is offered to him. This in course of time culminated in human sacrifice. The other impulse to this was the revengeful or the retributive character of the deity. To save one life another should be offered, say a small or a big animal; to save many lives some dear and precious life should be offered, some human being or a great person. At this stage any body could perform sacrifice in any way he pleased. Soon form and artificiality came in. Liturgy was developed and a priestly class formed. In India it was the religion of the *Yajur Veda* which became a 'mechanical sacerdotalism. A crowd of priests conducts a vast and complicated system of external ceremonies to which symbolical significance is attached and to the smallest minutes of which the greatest weight is given'. According to the Vedic religion therefore the Karma or action meant sacrificial ritual and Jaimini in his *Purva Mimansa* says that this sacrificial ritual was the principal and the ancient religion.²

This action-philosophy became more formal in the *Mimansa* according to which Release could only be obtained by some actions, even though one may perform them ignorantly and insincerely. At this stage the actions are divided into various groups. We

1. I. P.

2: *Gita*.

have *Kratvartha* actions performed for the sake of the deity, *Purusartha* actions performed for our own benefit; we have *Smarta* actions prescribed by the *Smrtis*, such as various occupational and professional deeds for the four *Varnas* and *Pauranika* actions as fasting, pilgrimages etc. Then all these actions are subdivided into *Nitya* actions to be performed daily, as bathing, offering prayers at twilight etc., and *Namittika* to be performed occasionally to avoid the influence of stars for good luck, to get a son, to bring rain, to remove epidemics. One incurs sin if the daily actions are not done. Then there are some actions which are prohibited known as *Nisiddha* opposite of *Kamyas*, such as drinking or gambling etc. This is the second stage of worship through actions. Infact, these are not strictly chronological stages in the same process of development, but they are the different forms or ways of looking at the same thing. Then we have the philosophical concept of action. When as a protest to sacrifice, inaction and asceticism came in, a reconciliation was attempted. One was to be taken in the world—*Pravrtti* and the other was to renounce it—*Nivrtti*. The reconciliation came to be called both *Pravrtti*—*Nivrtti* or *Niskama* action—action performed without any expectation or fruit. Recently B. G. Tilak has been the chief exponent of it in interpreting the text of the *Gita* in this light. It is only a matter of interpretation, otherwise the *Gita* does not absolutely deny the Vedic view of sacrifice and the *Mimamsic* idea of other two forms of actions mentioned above.¹ Any how the idea of ‘desireless action’ was very much emphasised in the *Gita*, although the idea itself is as old as the *Upanisads*. ‘True inaction is action without any hope of reward. *Naiskarmya*, or abstention from action is not the true law of morality, but *niskama*, disinterestedness.’²

Reaction to this ‘action’ *marga* expressed itself in the ‘inaction’ of the *Yogis*. Asceticism was the natural result of the repressive attitude towards the conative aspect of human nature. Action is bondage and desire is sin. Willing ensnares man in matter. Withdrawals of organs of sense and action leads to the higher regions inside. There is ocean of energy in us. If we act and will that energy is expended. If restraint is exercised on the mind and a complete inactive state is reached, brilliant and extra-

1. Cf. *History of Indian Philosophy*; by S. Das Gupta, Vol. II, pp. 479—488.

2. I. P., I, p. 568.

ordinary results are experienced by the Yogin within his own self. 'The reality of the self is to be found not by means of an objective use of the mind, but by a suppression of its activities and penetration beneath the mental strata with which our ordinary life and activity conceal our divine nature'. Yogism varies from a rational control of body and mind to ascetic purification of the two and further to a complete cessation of our physical and mental activities.

Next comes the path of the heart. In India reaction to formalism on the one hand resulted in the tender-hearted ethics of Buddhism and Jainism and on the other in the religion of love in the Gita. All these currents terminated into Vaisnava Bhakti. Before this, life had become, in Sir Radhakrishnan's words, a 'series of observances. The mind of man moved within the iron circle of prescribed formulas and duties. The atmosphere was choked with ceremonialism. One could not wake up or rise from his bed, bathe or shave, wash his face or eat a mouthful, without muttering some formula or observing some rite'.¹ Thus from the conative we pass to the affective; Karma gives place to Bhakti. Bhakti also replaced pure intellectualism of Sankara. Whenever people speak of Bhakti they think of this Post-Sankara movement led by Ramanuja. Infact, the spirit of Bhakti was present from the very beginning. 'The origin of Bhakti marga is hidden in the mists of long ago'. The vague feeling of loving devotion is present even in the Vedic hymns, but the word Bhakti actually occurs for the first time in Svetasvatara Upanisad. Later under the influence of the Bhagavad Gita it became more formulated and the Bhagavat Purana made it still more popular. Monistic Bhakti was apparently self-contradictory and this led Ramanuja to adopt dualism, which for him made the concept of Bhakti more consistent. Lord and the devotee are never one and it is only because that they are two, that loving devotion of the individual for the Lord becomes conceivable. The extreme expression of devotion amounting to madness is found in another Bhakti sect of South India known as Dravida Saints, or Alvars. Their origin dates back to the seventh century. Hooper writes in his 'Hymns of the Alvars' that according to them the very madness is the pride of a Bhakta. This is confirmed by Govinda Charya in his 'Divine Wisdom of the Dravida Saints'. This is also a

1. I.P.

stage recognised by the Sufi saints in the Islamic mysticism. Even among the Sikhs, Namdharis sometimes become Mastana—mad, and a definite group of such devotees is found among them, but Sikhism as a religion does not approve of it. A Majzub Sufi, a mad Dravida Saint and a Mastana Namdhari are hardly of any good to the world. Sikhism emphasises on Bibek—a rational discrimination, in all walks of life and in all phases of mental and moral activity.

Besides these Dravida Saints and Ramanuja, the South has been quite fertile in giving birth to Bhagats. B. G. Tilak mentions in very reverential terms the names of Jnanoba or Jnannesvara and more especially Tukaram (1608—1649) and Namdev etc. In the East we had Chaitanya, in the North Ramananda, Kabir and Tulsidas. It was a very strong and an all India movement in the Medieval times and as Sir George Grierson says, 'It was the greatest religious revolution that India has ever seen—greater even than that of Buddhism, for its effects have persisted to the present day'. This was Vaisnava Bhakti, but the Saivites too imbibed the spirit, otherwise this new movement of love and devotion would have uprooted Saivism. To provide this kind of worship within Saivism, the Saiva Sidhanta was formulated in the 13th century. Of course this formulation of cult must have come much later, because three century before, we find the echoes of this spirit in the songs of a Tamil poet named Manikka Vachakar. 'No cult in the world' writes Dr. L. D. Barnett, in reference to this Bhakti of Siva, 'has produced a richer devotional literature or one more instinct with brilliance of imagination, fervour of feeling and grace of expression'.

This realisation of God through emotional attachment, the affective side of our worship of the deity, presupposes the Lord, God, or an incarnation of Him as absolutely perfect being. Compared with Him the existence of the devotee is absolutely insignificant. There is 'a sense of utter humiliation'. God is pleased when His worshipper becomes extremely meek and humble. Love of God further stimulates service and sacrifice in the mind of the loving devotee. Love, service, sacrifice are all based on faith, which is the starting point of this mode of worship. 'The forms which Bhakti takes are contemplation of God's power, wisdom and goodness, constant remembrance of Him with a devout heart, conversing about His qualities with other persons, singing His praises with fellow men and doing all acts as His service'.¹

1. I.P.

When we come to the realisation of God through knowledge we enter into the metaphysical realm. Although present from the beginning, the idea was consistently and regularly systematised by Sankara. 'He who knows me worships me' forms the essence of the Gyan Marga suggested by the Gita. In the Upanisads we have 'By knowing God final emanipation is obtained, by meditating upon Him the blissful state in the Brahman-world is reached'.¹ According to the Vedanta Sutra the essential nature of God is knowledge.² Sankara's insistence on knowledge is based on his metaphysics: 1—the multiplicity of the various objects in the world, such as 'I', 'you' or all other things which are visible to the eye, is not a true multiplicity, but that there is in all of them a single, pure and eternal highest self (Parabrahman) and various human organs experience a multiplicity as a result of the illusion (Maya) of that Parbrahman; 2—the self (Atman) of a man is also fundamentally of the same nature as the Parabrahman; 3—and that it is not possible for any one to obtain release except by the complete realisation—Jnana or Gyan: knowledge of the Atman and the Parabrahman. The cause of the illusion of the world is our individuality or Avidya—ignorance, lack of knowledge. It is what Deussen calls 'the innate obscuration of our knowledge' the twist of the mind which makes it impossible for it to see things except through the texture of space-time-cause.³ Our knowledge of these things is *apara-Vidya* or lower knowledge. It is not pure illusion which is only about the *Pratbhasika* or illusory existence. It is empirical knowledge about the *Vyavaharika*—the world of senses. The real knowledge is *para-Vidya*-knowledge of ultimate reality—the *paramarthika*. We have to start with the lower knowledge and reach the higher wisdom. To reach this wisdom one will have to detach oneself from the world. The life of a householder will have to be discontinued by degrees. As the Gyani ultimately attains perfect knowledge, he gives up worldly life and adopts Sannyas (asceticism) because action and knowledge are opposed to each other. One cannot have knowledge as long as one is leading a worldly life and one cannot lead a worldly life as soon as one comes to have knowledge. This was the path of renunciation—*Nivrtti Marga* or path of knowledge—*Gyan Marga* expounded by Sankara, the founder of Advaitism.

1. S. B. E.

2. S. B. E.

3. I. P.

III

With this brief review of the three traditional paths of the realisation of God in India I now pass on to the path suggested by the Guru, but before coming to a detailed discussion of it I would like to offer the views of the Guru about the three path reviewed above. That will also indirectly throw some light on the *marga* of the Guru.

The Guru is not prejudiced against any of these three paths. His own *Nam Marga* has got elements of all these three. Sometimes we come across hymns which praise *Karma* or *Bhakti* or *Gyan*. But, as every system has got some points of weakness and if the spirit of the particular mode of realisation is lost sight of, it degenerates into a mere show and hypocrisy. The system also becomes defective if it is stretched to an uncompromising extreme. Thus Walter E. Clark writes,¹ 'In its search for absolute truth by way of religion and philosophy, India has tended to go to two extremes.—On the one hand there is—extreme intellectualism—on the other hand there is an intense emotionalism. At this stage the system stands to be condemned. So the Guru denounced these mode of worship, rather these paths of realisation, either in their degenerate condition or on account of some inherent difficulties in the systems themselves. For instance he does not believe in the Vedic or Mimamsic interpretation of the *Karma Marga*. A man may offer sacrifices, but that does cleanse his mind. It does not build the character of man which the Guru thinks favourable for the path of realisation. A king can perform a huge *Yajna* or *Yagya* ceremony by paying thousands of rupees and can still remain vicious in character. Then a man can go through all daily and occasional forms of *Karma* prescribed by the *Mimansas* and yet may remain a cheat and deceitful. This the Guru said was sheer hypocrisy. The idea behind all these *karma* was connected with certain magical force—*apurva*—of the actions performed which in course of time was capable of producing the desired result.² The Guru denied this magical force of the *karma*. 'Karm and Dharm are hypocrisies and they lead to vice'.³ Similarly he condemns the old customs of *Hawan*, sacrifice and pilgrimage etc.⁴

1. Indian Conception of Immortality.

2. Cf. *A History of Indian Philosophy* by S. Das Gupta, 1, p. 405.

3. G.G., p. 747, *Suhi Mahala V*, 4—3—50.

4. G.G. :

(a) P. 214, *Rag Gauri Mahala V* :

Hom jag Tirath kie bichi haumai badhe bikār. 4—1—158.

(b) Hom jag jap tap sabhi sanjam tate tirath nahi pāiā. 4—1—14.

The Guru has got a fundamental objection to the Karma marga. No action can be performed without the idea of Haumai. If actions were to be taken the supreme end, the result will be some egoism, some sense of pride of having successfully performed those actions. The sense of individuality and the feeling of universality are incompatible. This does not mean that he preaches the abandonment of all actions. He aims at a change of attitude. All actions were to be dedicated to God and to be performed depending on His grace. The modern interpretation of the Gita view of karma—desireless action—was taught by the Guru. No desire for the fruit of one's deeds is to be entertained, even the devotion of God was so be free of any desire.¹ But this dedication of the karma to God was not all in all of the path suggested by the Guru. This is his explanation of the attitude of a Sikh which he has to bear towards the activities of life. This brings confidence in man and removes the chances of disappointment, and depression at the time of failure.

The repressive attitude of the Yogi towards our conative aspect of life was severely criticised by the Guru. On the one hand it was extremely difficult and was thus meant for the few. A religious path is to be universal and most practical which can be performed by a follower of every mental level and in every walk of life. Besides this inherent difficulty of inhibitionism the Guru also points out to the hypocrisy which it may lead to. The Yogi kills the body by ascetic exercises and yet the devil within—the snake—remains stinging and venomous.² The self control means the mental control and not the repression of our physical activities. Just as on the positive side of actions, the Guru differs fundamentally on the point that Karma marga attitude promotes individuality, so here on the negative side, he has got a basic difference with the Yogis. The asceticism of the Yogi starts with the assumption that body is impure. To purify it we must subject it to penances of fasting, of exposing it to snow in winter, to fire in summer etc. The Guru says that purity and impurity are all relative terms. There is no impurity in the body from his point of view. The impurity of mind and body is not intrinsic but accidental. The two are pure if they are used with a sincere heart in the service of man and God. Away from Him in the

1. Kāhu phal ki ichha nahin bachhai, Gauri Sukhmani, G.G.

2. Warmi mari sap na muā, G.G., p. 1347, Prabhatī, Mahala V.

delusion of selfishness both become impure. There is nothing wrong with our organs of sense and actions, so that they need purification by ascetic exercises. It is their use which matters. Body and other accessories given to the soul by God are means to be used to help it, therefore they are pure. One is not to stop one's activities and shut up one's sense organs to realise God and to get peace. 'The experience of Peace' writes Whitehead,¹ is largely beyond the control of purpose. It comes as a gift. The deliberate aim at Peace very easily passes into its bastard substitute, Anaesthesia. In other words, in the place of a quality of 'life and motion', there is substituted their destruction. Thus Peace is the removal of inhibition and not its introduction'. So that the Guru says that as long as we are to live in this world, we should hear, talk and do something,² there is no retiring into the forest and no cessation of activity. To give up eating and drinking is simply deceiving one's ownself and the public. As long as body is there, it has to be fed and for this purpose one must work honestly. Fasting does not bring God to man. Nanak one addressed two of his Sikhs Malo and Bhago on the subject of penances thus : To burn in fire, to abide long in water, to fast, to endure heat and cold, to hold up one's arm permanently, to do penance with body reversed, to stand for a long time on one leg, to live on forest tubers and roots, to abide on the margins of rivers, to wander over the world as a pilgrim, to fast at full moon—all such penances are works of darkness.³ The Guru prescribed the following Jog for the Sikhs : O man ! practice Jog in this way : Make truth thy horn, sincerity thy necklace, and apply meditation as ashes to thy body. Make restraint of thy heart thy lyre and the support of the Name thine alms.⁴

The path suggested by the Guru is often called nothing but Bhakti Marga, and it is true to a point but with some reservations. There are many points common between the two. First of all, the background of what I call the Wismad marga is the emotional attachment of the devotee with the Lord. The basis

1. Adventures of Ideas.

2. Cf. Rag Gaund, p. 872.

3. S. R., I, p. 136.

4. *Ibid*, V, Cf. also Japuji, XXVIII.

in both the margas is 'feeling'. Most of the steps suggested by the Guru are the same as we find in the cult of Bhakti. Still the Guru made a desirable and a distinct improvement upon the old system. Without repeating what I said by way of contrast between Sikhism and Vaisnavism in an earlier section. I may mention that the Guru did not approve of the dualism of many Bhagtas, their belief in incarnations—avatars—and their idol-worship.

Besides this the stress of Bhakti is mainly on the emotions and the exercise of reason is either discouraged or temporarily suspended. The consequences of stress on emotions in detachment from reason is not wholesome for the general development of the human personality. The body 'is suddenly deprived of its guiding star' and it wanders 'into the jungle of passions'. 'Headlong, unguiding Bhakti makes for horrible degeneracy.' Remembrance of God so essential in Bhakti in its degenerate form falls to a mere mechanical repetition of a certain formulae or names which the Guru condemned. He tried to combine rational discrimination—Bibek Budhi—with feeling—Bhao. With a strange combination of the two he tried to approach the universal reality through aesthetic feeling for the beauty of nature in form, movement and sound. Bhakti had another undesirable influence on the general Hindu mind. The tender-heartedness of the Vaisnava devotee had passed to extreme vegetarianism. Meekness and pity drove away courage and mainliness from the character of a Vaisnavite. The sword had become a symbol of evil. The Guru on the contrary made the sword a symbol of self-respect and changed his followers into soldier-priests.

As for the Gyan Marga, like Yogism it is not meant for all. Only an exceptionally intellectual person can follow Sankara's footsteps. On the other side when it falls, it degenerates into mere intellectualism and false pretensions of knowledge without moulding in any way the practical life of men. Quite in a different sense the knowledge gathered from the Vedas, Shastras and Smritis is considered to be the real knowledge. Sankara's Gyan gives way to bookish learning and later to mere lip-reading. Thus the mere reading of these books came to be considered as a means of Release. The Guru does not attach importance to such knowledge. True knowledge, he says, is in the realisation of God within us and this is not found from books however revealed

or sacred they may be. Neither a mere reading of them nor a profound scholarship about them will help a man. Such scholarship and reading is futile and empty.¹ The realisation of the Real is not an intellectual understanding of the universe; but it is an experience, a living experience of unity of the one within, with the one without. It includes the whole self. The whole of our self is neither involved in cognition nor in a mere intellectual process of knowledge. The 'feeling' the modern psychology teaches us affects our whole system. Intellect, infact, as Whitehead says, bifurcates the unity, which results in Maya and, therefore, ignorance and not true knowledge.

The condemnation of Sankara's Gyan has been made by the Guru from another undesirable result which he observed in life. It tends to pretensions and hypocrisy about knowledge. To such pretenders the Guru has given the name of Church Gyani.² In another book of this writer there is given a story of such Church Gyanis—false pretenders of knowledge, which is often at the tongue of the traditional expositors of the Granth.³ These Church Gyanis, in theory, are nothing but the Brahman, identifying themselves with the whole universe, recognising no difference or diversity any where in any form of existence; but in practice they prove to be most selfish people, great cheats and infact the personification of hypocrisy.

Apart from these defects, the Guru differed from Sankara's Gyan Marga as it ultimately led to Sannyas—the renunciation of all actions and the household life. The Guru, as has so many times been pointed out, insisted on worldly life and discouraged asceticism and renunciation. All Gurus led married lives and upto the time of their death they worked for their living. When the would be Second Guru visited Nanak for the first time, he found him in his old age working in the fields and cutting grass for his cattle.⁴ When an ascetic Jogi, Bhangarnath by name, asked Nanak as to why had he mixed acid with milk, 'that is, why he a holy man led a family life—The Guru replied—thou hast become an anchorite after abandoning thy family life and yet thou goest to beg to the houses of family men'.⁵ In the Granth

1. G.G. War Asa, p. 467, 469, Slokas IX and XIII.

2. Jag kaua mukh church gyan, G.G., p. 832, Bilawal Mahala III.

3. Pp. 54—55, Amrit Jiwan.

4. S.R., II, P. 2.

5. S.R., I, p. 157 ; Siddhgosht, p. 938.

whenever the Guru spoke about the renunciation of the worldly life he became unusually strong in his condemnations.¹

The philosophical basis of renunciation and asceticism was that to act or to desire was to relate one's self with the material world which was a bondage. Hence life came to be a suffering and world an evil. Escape from this world and its attachments meant peace and release. The Guru said that the life and the world were not bad in themselves. We are sent here to play the game in a sportsman spirit. When Farid complained of universal suffering in the world, the Guru said that the whole earth was a garden, of course with thorns. Those who have got the right attitude they enjoy it and are not affected by its thorny side. At another place he says that life is charming and the body that God hath given is beautiful, only those who affectively appreciate the workings of God enjoy it.² So it is the attitude of our mind which makes the world a place of misery. The world, the Guru says in the concluding hymns of the Granth, is an extension of God and in this universe. He has placed three things, Truth, Harmony and Right Knowledge. All the three are grounded in the Divine Being. Those with whom God is pleased, they participate and enjoy all these gifts of the Lord.

Thus the Guru preferred a household married life to the life of a recluse and a Yogi. Women must not become nuns. They must marry and without a husband the life of a woman is accursed.³ Just as Zarathustra is said to have pronounced that 'the man who has a wife is far above him who lies in continence', similarly the Guru praised the life of a householder. He earns and bestows on others, whereas a recluse depends on others and becomes a burden to society.⁴ In Rag Maru the Guru says, instead of renouncing the world, we should renounce worldliness, instead of begging for alms and food, we should beg 'love' from the Lord.⁵ In Ramkali Ki War we read that Sannyasis and Abhiagats are not those who leave their houses and live

1. G.G., p. 414, 1378 ; S.R., I, p. 102, 358 ; III, p. 131.

2. G.G., p. 966, Mahala V, in reply to Farid.

3. S.R., IV, p. 175.

4. Is bhekhe Thawhn girhu bhala jithhu ko warsāi. Wadhans ki war IV, p. 587, G.G.

5. Magna magan nika Hari jas Gurte magna.....Maru Mahala V, p. 108, G.G.

on others' charity, the recluse is he who retires in the regions of soul and enjoys all blessings in his house. A hymn of Guru Gobind Singh contains his views as to what a real Sannyas should be :¹

O man practice asceticism in this way :

Consider thy house altogether as the forest, and remain an anchorite at heart.

Make continence thy matted hair, union with God thy ablutions, thy daily religious duties the growth of thy nails ;

Divine knowledge thy spiritual guide, admonish thy heart and apply God's name as ashes to thy body.

Eat little, sleep little, have love, mercy and forbearance.

Ever practise mildness and patience and thou shalt be freed from the three 'qualities'.

Attach not to thy heart lust, wrath and covetousness and obstinacy and worldly love.

Thus shalt thou behold the Real Soul of this world and obtain the Supreme Being.

Such was the attitude of the Guru towards the three traditional paths in India. His own marga as I have said before contains elements of all the three and so far all the writers have been confusing the Guru's marga with one of these three Hindu margas. Such a confusion was natural. The Guru laid emphasis on our aesthetic faculty. He tried to approach the Unity in nature through our aesthetic nature, which is not a faculty independent of the rest of our nature. An aesthetic experience can easily be mistaken for any of the three aspects of our mental life. E. F. Carritt writes 'The experience of beauty is an *activity* and hence in its own way good and pleasant ; it has, therefore, been confused with morality and with pleasure. Its activity is *contemplation of passion* ; and hence it has been identified with knowledge and feeling simply. It contemplates passion by means of expressing it in sensible form and has, therefore, been mistaken for imitation of natural objects'.²

IV.—(Haumai)—The Disease

We have discussed above the three margas and the Guru's criticism of them. When we come to his own path we have first to enquire about the nature of the disease for which the

1. D.G., Ramkali.

2. *The Theory of Beauty*, p. 296.

remedy is to be sought. We have already seen that the creation of the world was due to Haumai and in the theoretical part we discussed its metaphysical significance. This Haumai is the cause of our personal individuality, what Professor J. Macmurray calls the 'egocentricity of man'.¹ This egocentricity or individuality is Haumai. We have seen that the Guru believes in one conscious principle pervading everywhere. Under the influence of Haumai that 'one' appears 'many'. So that what we call individual self is infact a temporary partition caused by Haumai. 'The isolation of selves is caused by our individualism'.² Part has been separated from the whole. Separation is painful. The part wants to be one with the whole. There is peace even in life if the part 'feels' that it is one with its larger self of which it is a part. This 'feeling' cannot come as long as one is under the influence of Haumai—the partitioning element. The struggle between the two, the part and the partitioning element is the human life. The Nam in us yearns to be one with the Nam outside us. The Haumai stands in the way.

When the Guru round a couplet of Kabir saying that the door leading to release is extremely narrow, narrower than the one-tenth of a musterd seed, how can I—such a fat being—pass through it? The Guru composed a couplet in answer. Yes, the path is narrow, but the fatness is only caused by Haumai. As soon as it is removed, the soul is ever free and can go everywhere without any resistance.³ Similarly when the Siddhas asked Nanak, how can this perturbed and wandering mind get peace? The Guru replied; give up sectarianism and formalism, keep always in tune with the universal self by passing beyond your individual self—Haumai.⁴ The scorching flame of Haumai can be cooled down by removing inwardly the distinction of 'many' and by merging into them as your own single self.⁵ In the ethical field the Haumai becomes pride—the irrational assertion of the individual ego. Such a pride leads to fall. The Guru counts the classical beings of Hindu mythology and argues by their example that pride does not let us have the real peace. Learning, power and kingdoms

1. *Cf. Reason & Emotion*, p. 14.

2. *Ibid*, p. 229.

3. *Gujri ki war*, G.G., p. 509, IV Sloka.

4. G.G., p. 939 : Siddh gosht 6—10.

5. *Ibid*, 44—46.

did not bring peace to Brahman, Balraja, Harichand, Harnakash Rawan, Jarasandh, Duryodhan, Janmeja and Kans.¹ So he advises the saints to give up pride, which is another form of Haumai, and which is so subtle, that the very consciousness of having got rid of it implies it.² This Haumai is thus the cause of suffering in our worldly life, and is responsible for our moral or immoral conduct and destroys the mystic ecstasy, which the Guru preaches to be achieved through our emotional and aesthetic attachment with the manifestations of the Wonderful Lord. "Be they artist" or lovers of art, mystics or mathematicians, those who achieve ecstasy are those who have freed themselves from the arrogance of humanity".³ This 'arrogance of humanity' is a veil between the particular and the universal, between the part and the whole. As R. W. Emerson said : For by being assimilated to the original soul, by whom and after whom all things subsist, the soul of man does then easily flow into all things and all things flow into it : they mix ; and he is present and sympathetic with their structure and law.⁴ Thus Haumai is disease, an obstacle, a partitioning element.

And, yet inspite of all the denunciation of Haumai, the Guru says, the way out of it lies within it. It is a serious disease, but it is a disease which carries a cure with itself. *Haumai Diragh Rog Hai ; Daru Bhi Is Mahin*.⁵ Birth, death ; profit and loss, truth and falsehood, all that we mean by the world is in Haumai ; but if the angle of vision is changed, the many become one and the partition disappears. The Guru calls it the wall-pal-erected by our false vision. As soon as the right attitude is adopted, the sight is restored. When such an attitude becomes permanent the individual self feels a part of the universal self and this results in undisturbed peace. He transcends the personal and gets Peace, which as Whitehead rightly says, is the harmony of the soul's activities with ideal aims that lie beyond any personal satisfaction.⁶ The outlook of the individual is widened. This is got neither by logical arguing nor by abstraction. It is

1. Gauri Mahala I, G.G., p. 224—35, 12—9.

2. G.G., p. 219, Rag Gauri, Mahala 4—2—1.

3. *Art by Clive Bell*, p. 70.

4. *Emerson's Works*, II, p. 94.

5. G.G., War Asa.

6. *Adventures of Ideas*, p. 371.

an experience and every body's personal experience. Such universalisation of the outlook or technically known as absorption, does not mean the cessation of personal life. The individual uses the words 'I' and 'you' as before, but he feels immanent in 'he' and 'you', 'this' and 'that'. 'Let him, writes the Guru, address the other as 'you' and let him be addressed by the other as 'you' in practical life; but this differentiation should not enter into his inner feelings.'

There is a very subtle distinction between the Guru's concept of Haumai and that of the Vedantists. The Guru wanted to combine theism and pantheism. Although an Advaitist he would not say 'I am God' nor 'I am all that is'. He would not say with the modern Vedantist Vivekanand, 'Without my will the sun and moon could not move' or 'At my will the universe goes like a machine.' Krishnamurti, the present head of the theosophical school, is another exponent of Egoistic Energism. It is Indian Netizchism and is the outcome of the present political and moral condition of India. Sir Mohammad Iqbal in his *Asrar-i-Khudi* harps on the same tune although with a different metaphysics. 'With the strength of your self-assertion overcome the whole world', writes the Muhammadan disciple of Nietzsche in his recent book the *Kalam-i-Jabril*. Dr. Nicholson summarises Iqbal's views on Khudi in the following words: He sees that Hindu intellectualism and Islamic pantheism have destroyed the capacity for action. This capacity for action depends ultimately on the conviction that Khudi is real and not merely an illusion of the mind'.

There are two angles from which this Khudi or Haumai—individuality—is looked upon. Iqbal makes every 'I', 'you' and 'he' real, Vivekanand says, no 'you' and 'he' but all 'I'. The Guru says, no 'you' and 'I' but all 'He'. 'He' is the goal and 'you' and 'I' are stages. They are not illusions. For the Guru the world is real, but only to a point and in that world 'you' and 'I' are real to the same point. There is no negation of action or energism, rather there is emphasis on the practical side of life. But this reality of the world and individuals is relative and phenomenal. It is ultimate and one in essence, but not as in appearance and manifestation. That essence which is one and ultimate and also personal in a broad sense is Nam. To reach

1. G.G., p. 412, Asa Mahala 1—4, 8—2.

it we must transcend the difference based on Haumai and encouraged by intellect or Buddhi.

Gurmat and *Durmat* : In the Western thought two sources of knowledge—intellect and intuition—are sharply defined. Benedetto Croce, the famous Italian thinker, begins his 'Theory of Aesthetics' by saying that 'Knowledge has two forms: it is either intuitive knowledge or logical knowledge; knowledge obtained through the imagination or knowledge obtained through the intellect.' The controversy between the Cartesians of the 18th and the Romanticists of the 19th century was also based on the same distinction. In our own century the dispute between the two still continues in one form or the other. The Guru was aware of the difference between the two approaches to Reality and we have already discussed it in the theoretical section. Intellect and intuition, for the Guru, are not two faculties poles asunder. The Guru's words for the two are derived from the same source. In both cases it is *Mati*; in one form it is *Dur* and in the other it is *Gur*. One is perverted Reason-Durmati and the other is perfected Reason-Gurmati. In other words both are the two sides of Haumai, one is directed towards the phenomenal and the other towards the nou-menal. Durmati has got more than one meaning. It is also used to express our vicious nature, the immoral self. Buddhi and Anbhav are the other two terms used in the same sense, as intellect and intuition. The Guru does not discard Buddhi. He insists on their co-operation, otherwise the progress is impossible. We cannot proceed an inch in space, cannot conceive a single moment of time and cannot comprehend a single particle of matter without the help of the intellect. But space, time and matter do not exhaust the self of, and the personal in, man. There is always a yearning for beyond the three entities. That which is the creature of these cannot trespass their limits. The intuition comes in. The intuition crowns the intellect with its final success but only on the spade work done by the latter. Intellect must give a start to intuition. The latter cannot become final without the former and the former cannot get a start without the latter. This is possible only when they are in agreement, when they are in a line. The intellect under Asudh-impure-Haumai gets perverted. Then it is on a wrong track. The two do not meet. Progress is withheld. This is the influence of Durmati or Manmati. It was this kind of reason—a dialectic illusion—which Kant intended

to destroy 'to make room for faith'. When intellect reaches the region of faith it becomes purified and is named Bibek Buddhi. It can then discriminate between right and wrong path and can thus co-operate with Anbhav. In this co-operation the personality is on the right track and is under the influence of Gurmati.

With necessary practice, the intellect can be diverted to the right channel. 'The intellect' says the Guru in Japuji, 'if spoiled and made dirty by perversion and darkness or evil can be washed and illuminated by Nam. Thus when the intellect is purified, when it becomes free from the narrow egocentricity and phenomenality, it becomes an aid in the realisation of the Ideal. It is not only an aid, it is an indispensable start. There is no step forward without Bibek Buddhi—the true reason, the enlightened intelligence. Without this man is blind. This is the instrument of religiousness in man. Animals do not have any religion because they are not capable of attaining this rationality—the Bibek Buddhi. It is the essence of personality. It is basis of all branches of knowledge, scientific or intuitive. "Science grows out of our rationality in relation to material things. Art grows out of our relation to living beings. Religion grows out of our relation to persons." Rationality is the core of relationship. Without this rationality, says Nanak in Rag Gauri,² men grope in the dark and behave like the blind. They reverse the whole order. They understand just the opposite of everything, bad as good, ignorant as expert, asleep as awake, dead as living, separation as union, loss as profit and so on. As soon as the Gurmati begins to work, the individual becomes universal. The source of this Bibek is God because He Himself is Bibeki—one having Bibek, rather He Himself is Bibek. The Bibek in man is to be made free so that the finite may be linked with the Infinite. In their daily prayer the Sikhs repeat this desire for this link every morning and evening *Man Niwan, Matt Uchchi Matt Ka Rakha Wahiguru*: Intellect subordinated to enlightened reason which in its turn is under the protection of the Wonderful Lord.

1. *Reason and Emotion*, p. 196.

2. G.G., p. 229.

CHAPTER XVI

NAM MARGA

I

Praise of Nam—We may now turn to a rather detailed account of Nam marga. Nam has been very much praised in the Granth. It is the cure of all suffering. The Guru has used all kinds of metaphors and illustrations to express the supreme pleasure which Nam gives. The first two Ashtpadis of Sukhmani are wholly devoted to the wonderful achievements of Nam.¹ It

1. G.G.

- (a) P. 72, Sri Rag Mahala V :
Sun galla Gur pah āiā,
Nam dān isnān dirṛāiā,
Sabh mukt hoa saisarā, Nanak sachi beṛi chār jio. II—21—2—29.
- (b) P. 236, Gauri Mahala V :
Gur sewa te name lagā
Tis kau milia jis mastaki bhāgā.....
... ..
Akhand kirtan tin bhojan chura
Kahu Nanak jis Satigur purā. 3—2.
- (c) P. 239, Gauri Mahala V :
Bin Simran jaise sarpārjāri
Tio jiwah sakat nām bisāri 1. 8—7.
- (d) P. 240, Gauri Mahala V :
Mil mere Gobind apna nām dehu
Nām bina dhrig dhrig asnehu 1. 8—10.
- (e) P. 296, Sukhmani :
... ..
Ih phal us jan kai mukh bhane
Gur Nanak nām bachan mani sunc. 6—XXIV.
- (f) P. 382, Asa Mahala V :
Amrit nām tumara Thakur ehu maharas jan hi pio,
... ..
Dhanno so kalijug sadh sang kirtan gaiāi Nanak nām adhar hio.
4—8—47.
- (g) P. 489, Rag Gujri Mahala I :
Tera nām kari channathia je man ursa hoi.....
Puja kichai nām dhiāiāi bin nawai pujna hoi. 4—1.
- (h) P. 946, Siddhosht, LXVII :
Name nami rahai bairāgi sachu rakhia urdhare,
Nanak bin nawai jog kade na howai dekhhu ridai bichare. 68.
- (i) P. 1138, Bhairo Mahala V :
Nanak das ihu kiā bicharu
Bin Hari nām mithia sabhi chhār. 4.

is the main topic of the Granth. It has been called ambrosia. A sweetest possible thing is less sweet than Nam. 'If there is Nam I live, if not I die.' In Rag Bhairon the Guru repeats five times the word 'beautiful' to qualify Nam. 'Beautiful, beautiful, beautiful, beautiful, beautiful is Thy Nam.' Without it a man lives the life of snake, a crow, a filthy worm, a dog, a pig, a donkey etc.² These are metaphors. Lives of these animals are associated with some specific vices. Nam stands to life just as life stands to body. A body is dead without life and a life is dead without Nam. All activity of man without Nam are worthless and cause bondage and suffering.³ An animal is much better than a man without Nam.⁴ 'Were a mansion of pearls erected and inlaid with gems for me; perfumed with musk, saffron, fragrant aloes, and sandal to confer delight; may not these things O God, make me forget Nam'. The Guru goes on counting all luxuries, but he places Nam over every conceivable pleasure of the world.⁵ He does not denounce the pleasures of the world, but without that link of the finite soul with its parent Infinite God they seem to be empty and do not give the deeper satisfaction. Nam supplies the real content and the underlying pathos of every pleasure is removed and the enjoyment is shared by the whole self. This Nam, he says, is not a philosophy nor a knowledge to be gained from books. *It does not come from without, rather it goes out from within.* 'I have searched all the Shastras and the Vedas, but Nam is nowhere to be found.'⁶ The mistake that Nanak discovered was that people took God either 'without' man—outside in nature including man, in the form of humanity etc., or He was considered 'within' man in the literal sense. Nanak taught that when 'within' of man comes into affective relation with 'without' of man, then Nam is made manifest and the feeling of unity leads to the realisation of God in Pind and Brahmand—in man and universe.

II

Nam not Repetition of some names or formulas.—When

1. G.G., p. 1198.
2. G.G. p. 239, Gauri Mahala V, 8—7.
3. *Ibid*, p. 40, 8—11.
4. Rag Gujri Mahala I, 4—1, G.G., p. 489.
5. G.G., Sri Rag.
6. G.G., *Sukhmani*, p. 246.

we actually analyse the teachings of the Guru to find out an answer to the question as to the definition of Nam or a clear and direct exposition of it, there is not much response to the query. So far writers on Sikhism have been interpreting Nam in the sense of repetition of God's name. Trumpp says that the 'muttering of the name of God came to be a universal medicine' and 'a very easy way of salvation'. A later writer Mr. Macauliffe does not in any way differ from this tradition interpretation. 'In connection with this we may say', he writes, 'that the repetition of God's name is one of the principle forms of Sikh worship.'¹ Miss Field, Farnell, Carpenter, Narang and Macnicol and all others including the Sikh writers have followed the view adopted by these two writers. Khazan Singh too justifies the mere repetition of the name of God on more philosophical grounds.² 'The Guru inculcates upon us', writes K. Singh, 'that the repetition of the Lord's name supplies us with a delicious and inexhaustible store of nectar which gives eternal peace of mind, enjoyment and happiness.'³

If this is the interpretation of Nam, then surely it is magical in its nature and origin. This, infact, was the old Hindu concept of the repetition of certain Mantras. The general Indian belief in such a magical name is derived from the peculiar Indian logical theory "that objects can be comprehended by means of the name, the logical-magical aspect—based on the presupposition that *Nomen Est Omen*, that is to say, words are Satya, Reality and Aksara, constant inviolable entities; for India's magical positivism assumes that an object's name is the key to its very essence."⁴ The Mantras thus came to have an occult force which ceases to operate if the order or the sequence of letters and words of the Mantra is disturbed or even if it is translated into some other language.⁵ This magical force of the names was more hopefully and faithfully attributed to the names of God. The essentials of the belief are present in all great religions of the world. A passage from Farnell's *Attributes of God* explains this belief more clearly: More obvious and more familiar to us is the use of the Divine Name as a chief vehicle for the manifestation of the divine power :

1. S.R., II, p. 9.

2. H.P.S., pp. 416—422.

3. *Ibid*, p. 642.

4. *Indian & Western Philosophy* by Dr. Betty Heimann, p. 85.

5. *Cf. Hindu Ideals* by Annie Besant.

and the Name is conceived to attach so closely to the divine personality that like Word it lends itself to personification as the agent of the divinity. The occult power of the divine name is more illustrated from older and more recent Indian religious literatures : the name Amitabha, sovereign of a Buddhist paradise, was so sacred, according to later Buddhistic literature, that 'the most evil, by merely uttering the name of Amitabha perhaps but in blasphemy, are reborn in paradise'. In the services of the Sikh religion, composed by the Guru Nanak, there are many texts proclaiming mystic potency of the name of God : by the mere hearing of the name men attain complete enlightenment, power over death and immunity from sorrow and sin : it is the name that energises the power of the unchangeable Lord in the soul of the hearer. As regards our own sacred books we are so familiar with the passages in the Old and the New testament where the divine name is invested with a mystic potency, a half personal automatic power, which can even emanate from God into others, that the ordinary reader does not realise how strange and alien all this is to modern logic and thought. Its origin is suggested by our prevalent popular phrase 'a name to conjure with'. Here again we have an example of old world magic bequeathing a leading and pregnant thought to higher theistic religions.¹

This long quotation gives us the universality of the idea of name as associated with ancient magic. The same interpretation has been imposed upon Nanak's path of realisation. I differ from this traditional view. When I disagree I do not deny the existence of passages in the Granth which lend themselves very easily to this interpretation of Nam in the magical sense. What I maintain is that there are as many or even more passages which would contradict such an interpretation. In the light of such passages we have to find a way out which would consistently bring in line the two apparently contradictory currents of thought. This would naturally result in doing away with the magical origin of the Nam marga laid down in the Adi Granth. Whenever name is used in the magical sense it always means a mere repetition of some word or formula without any reference to the mental concentration or the development of the personality of man. By mentioning the name of Allah, says the Quran, we are protected

1. Pp. 237-238.

from the Devil.¹ The Guru never reconciled himself to such a lip-repetition of certain names or formulas. 'But when ye take rosaries in your hands and sit down counting your beads, ye never think of God, but allow your minds to wander thinking of worldly objects. Your rosaries are, therefore, only for show, and your counting your beads is only hypocrisy'.² 'The hypocrites who stop their noses under pretence of meditation and count their beads are very impure'.³ In Rag Gujri the Guru says: Every body says 'God, God', but by saying God we cannot reach God.⁴ Again in War Bihagra—the Guru repeats a similar idea—the whole world goes along muttering the name of God, but not thus God is realised. In Rag Malar, Nanak says that no body knows Nam. It is not muttering by tongue as people take it. It is a communion of the heart.⁵ We do not require words or bookish terminology for Nam. Every thing can be described in words except Nam.⁶ In Japuji the Guru says that all activities of man in relation to man and the world are made possible through verbal symbols but Nam is not comprehensible by means of letters.⁷ Presence or absence of bookish learning does not help or hinder a man in following this path of Nam.⁸ It is not mere reflection or meditation. It means the moulding of whole personality. It affects all activities of our life. 'Nam is our whole character. Nam is our whole but pure worldly life'.⁹ The man whose heart is thoroughly illuminated is said to contained God".

III

Nam not definable but imperfectly described.—Although the Guru

1. S.B.E., Vol. VI, p. 162.
2. Nanak, S.R.; I, p. 51.
3. Gobind Singh, S.R., V, p. 159.
4. G.G., p. 491, Gujri Mahala III :
Ram Ram Sabh ko kahai Kahian Ram na hoi. 4—4—6.
Also : Hari Hari karhi nit kapt kamawhi hirda suddh na hoi. Suhi Mahala IV, p. 732.
5. G.G., p. 1255, Malar Mahala I :
(a) Bin jihwa jo japai hiāi
Koi jānai kaisā nāu : 4—1—6.
(b) P. 1264, Mahala IV :
Nām nidhan wasiā ghati antari rasnā Hari gun gāi. 4—7.
6. G.G., p. 261, Bawan Akhkhari, Sloka LIX :
Dristman akhkhari hai jeta
Nanak Parbrahm nirlepa. 54.
7. IP Stanza.
8. G.G., p. 197, Gauri Mahala V : Jo prani Govind dhiawai, Pareā anparia parmgarat pawai. 4—91—160.
9. *Ibid*, p. 1146, Nām hamarai sagal āchār. Nām hamārai nirmal biohār. Bhairon Mahala V.

says that Nam is not definable, yet he gives descriptions of the mental states in Nam. It is true of all ultimate values. G. E. Moore in his *Principia Ethics* holds the same attitude towards 'good'. "If I am asked", writes Moore, "what is good"? my answer is that good is good and that is the end of the matter. Or if I am asked 'How is good to be defined?' "my answer is that it cannot be defined, and that is all I have to say about it". It is more or less true of all feelings. The nature of a feeling-state cannot be adequately defined though its expression can be described. This brings us to another set of data dealing with what the Guru calls Wismad—the wonder-element in our communion with God and His workings: Nam. "There are two ways", writes Lloyed Morgan, "in which we are acquainted with psychophysical events. In one way we are acquainted with their physical nature, in the other way with their psychical nature. The latter way M. Bergson speaks of as intuition; Mr. Alexander as enjoyment". It is this enjoyment-element in Wismad on which the Guru lays a great emphasis. The man who gets into Wismad experiences indescribable intensity Suad—enjoyment.¹ Just as there are intellectual and philosophical arguments for the existence of God, there is also an approach to the concept of God through the aesthetic feeling of wonder—for indescribable beauty and power. God Himself is described to be ever in Wismad. His is the infinite Wismad, the content and the intensity of which He alone knows.² 'In some of his moods and emotional experiences in his moral aspirations and abnegations, equally also in his aesthetic reactions to dance, music, song and the beauty of the natural world, at times in his outbursts of battleage and vindictiveness, man has felt himself in communion with a life and a power other and stronger than himself which possesses him, 'ecstasizes' or carries him out of himself, exalting him or subduing him and which he cannot but personify as superhuman and divine.' At

1. G.G., p. 285 :

- (a) Bisman bisam bhae bismād,
Jin bhujhiā tis āiā suād. 8—XVI.
- (b) Naunidhi amrit Prabh ka nau
Dehi mahi iska bisrām
Sun samadhi anhat tah nad
Kahn na jāi achraj bismād. 1—XXIII.

2. *Ibid* ; p. 291 :

- Bisman bisam rahe bismad
Nanak apni gati janhu āp. 5—XXI.

such occasions one forgets one's self.¹ A vision or a 'feel' of the universal takes out the egocentricity out of the individual. The experience is not hallucinatory. There is a definite perception of concrete reality through organs of sense: seen with eyes and heard with ears. But the data supplied by the senses do not become a material for the intellect to be divided, subtracted and abstracted into differentiations. The phenomenal Buddhi remains on the surface. It is lost in the colour, smell or the petals of a rose. The inner organ—the Anubhav—call it intuition, feeling or insight, enters into the very nature of the thing and feels quite at home because there is no difference, there is no estrangement. The whole, the experience, the experiencer and the experienced, is one linked unity. It is aesthetical insight leading man through appearance to reality, through world to God. People denying the existence of God do not and cannot deny the existence of this transcendental aesthetic experience and some Power which is the source of such an experience. Thus, for instance, Professor Julian Huxley the zoologist, once wrote,² under 'What I Believe', "I do not believe in God—there are certain experiences which transcend ordinary experience, make the individual feel enlarged and have a quality of absoluteness and perfection which is absent in the human affairs of every day—Wonder and joy are a right relation towards nature, whether we feel them in relation to a hypothetical Power behind nature, or to the stars and sea and living creatures directly". This feeling of wonder and joy is Wismad and it is indescribable.³ In such a state the Guru says the distinction between

1. G.G.
 - (a) P. 836, Bilawal Mahala IV :
Hau akal bikal bhai Gur dekhe, hau lot pot hoi paiā. 8—5.
 - (b) P. 837, Bilawal Mahala V :
Prabh pekhiai bismad
Chakhia anand puran sād. 4—8—1.
2. *News Chronicle*, London, June 22, 1937.
3. G.G.
 - (a) 293, Sukhmani :
Kahn na jāi achraj bismad. 1—XXIII.
 - (b) P. 320, Gauri ki war Mahala V :
Parbrahm Prabh dristi āiā puran agm bismād, Sloka XII.
 - (c) P. 377, Asa Mahala V :
Hari ras piwat sad hi rātā,
An rasa khin mahi lahi jatā.
Hari ras ke mate man sadā anand,
An rasa mahi wiāpai chind 1.
... ..
Nanak chakh bhae bismad
Nanak Gurte āiā sādā
... ..
... .. 3—27.
 - (d) P. 1035 : Maru Mahala V :
... ..
Nanak sāchi rate bismādi bism bhae gun gāidā. 16—3—15.

the qualities and the bearer of those qualities, God and His attributes is lost. Then God is Wismad, the world is Wismad and the self is Wismad and thus all the three merge into the state of Wismad.¹ The Guru's aesthetic is theistic. The world is garden, he says, and the source of beauty in it is God. He is the very soul, the spirit, the breath of May flowers and Spring-beauty.²

God is not only beautiful. He also enjoys the beauty of the world of which He Himself is the source. Similarly the world deriving beauty from God is not only 'a thing of beauty' it also gets for ever the joy from that beauty. In other words the world too is Wismad and Wismadi both. In Rag Asa the Guru says ; the rhythm of sound in music-nad, in poetry-ved, the beauty of form in creatures and their species, their appearances and colours, wild animals, wind, water, fire, earth, sources of production, human pleasure, union and separation, hunger and repletion, God's praises and eulogies, desert and road and infact every thing that is, is in Wismad. They are not only a source of wonder to man, but they themselves are in wonder.³ Chirping of birds in the morning,⁴ the twinkling of stars at night,

1. G.G., p. 299, Thiti Gauri Mahala V :

Eko ek bakhāniai birla jānai swād

Gun Gobind na jāniai, Nanak sabh bismad. XI.

Cf. the Sufi monism of zat, sif and Tajulli : Islamic Sufism, p. 14.

2. G.G., p. 1177, Basant Mahala III.
3. G.G., pp. 463—64, War Asa Mahala I :

Wismad nād wismad Veda,

Wismad jia, wismad bhed.

Wismad rup wismad rang,

Wismad nage phirahi jant.

Wismad paun wismad pāni

Wismad agni khedahi widāni

Wismad dharti wismad khāni.

Wismad sanjog wismad wijog,

Wismad bhukh wismad bhog.

Wismad sift wismad salahī,

Wismad ujhat wismad rahi.

Wismad neṛai wismad dur,

Wismad dekhai hajra hajur.

Wekh widān rahiā wismad,

Nanak bujhan purai bhāg. 1. Sloka III.

Note—Wismad and bismad are one and the same word, w and b being interchangeable in Panjabi.

4. G.G., p. 319, Gauri ki war Mahala V :
Chirī chuhki pahu phuti wagn bahut trang,
Achraj rup santan rache Nanak nam hi rang. Sloka VI.

the sweet night,¹ the bright lamps of sun and moon in the sky, and the wonderful creation of God on earth, the peacocks in the rainy season,² sweet and attractive thick shadows in summer³ all bear a message of Wismad to a 'seeing' eye. This Wismad does not so much depend upon the objects. The things of the world in themselves do not have the remarkable difference of degrees of stimulating the Wismadic state. Much depends upon the receptive spirit, 'the life of the spirit' as Santayana calls it, 'the life that responds to nature's charms, to her colour, her cadences, her music—it is gazing, it is listening—is sensitivity that asks not why nor whither, that simply enjoys'. For such a spirit any thing is sufficient to arouse his Wismadic nature. 'He who has seen the sea and the blue heaven, and the moon and the stars, who has clomb a mountain, who has heard a bird in the woods, who has spoken and been spoken to, who has seen a rock or a shoe of his own child, who has known a mother—he will bow to knee and thank his God and call it God.'⁴ Whenever an individual thinks and perceives not entirely scientifically and intellectually, but religiously and aesthetically, a little bit of anything in the world, he feels the wonderfulness of the wonderful Lord and involuntarily exclaims something like Wahiguru. So that the eye of a Wismadi gets Wismad from any and every object.⁵ For him, the Guru says, the whole world becomes pure, good and beautiful. "True and false, real and unreal, good and bad, have no place in the aesthetic world", says Bosonquet.⁶ Tagore relates the story of a Chinese friend of his, who, he says 'while travelling with me in the streets of Peking suddenly exclaimed with a vehement enthusiasm': 'Look, here is a donkey!' Surely

1. G.G., p. 459, Asa Mahala V :

Bhinni rainarie chamkan tāre

Jāghi sant jana mere Ram piāre. 1.

2. G.G., p. 557, Wadhans Mahala I.

Mori run jhun lāiā bhane Sāwan āiā. 1—3.

3. G.G., p. 1174, Basant Mahala III :

Chhau ghani phuli banrāi,

Gurmukhi bigsai sahaj subhai 2.

4. *Life by Hutchison Sterling.*

5. G.G., p. 801, Bilawal Mahala :

Jin chakhia tis āiā sād,

Jio gunga man mahi bismad.

Anand rup sabh nadri āiā.

Jan Nanak Hari Gun akhi samāiā. 5—1.

6. *Introduction to Croce.*

it was an utterly ordinary donkey, like an indisputable truism needing no special introduction from him. I was amused but it made me think. This animal is generally classified as having certain qualities that are not recommendable and then hurriedly dismissed. It was obscured to me by an envelopment of commonplace associations; I was lazily certain that I knew it and, therefore. I hardly saw it. But my friend, who possessed the artist mind of China, did not treat it with a cheap knowledge but could seek it afresh and recognise it as real. When I say real, I mean that it did not remain at the outskirts of his consciousness tied to a narrow definition, but it easily blended in his imagination, produced a vision, a special harmony of lines, colours and life and movement, became intimately his own !'

IV

Nam the experience of the Aesthete and not of the Artist.—While interpreting Nam as the experience of reality by the aesthetic intuition of man uniting him with the Power behind all such experiences, a subtle distinction should be made between the experience of a layman and that of an artist. Wismad marga while not excluding the artist is essentially the path of a layman. A perfect Wismadi is not necessarily a great artist. We may call him an aesthetic mystic but he is not an artist. An artist divides the world into beautiful and ugly. For a Wismadi there is no such inherent distinction. An artist knows how and why a thing is beautiful whereas a Wismadi simply knows that it is beautiful. He does not even know that he knows that it is beautiful. For a Wismadi as Professor L. S. Stebbing once said, 'the aesthetic experience is a completely satisfying experience'. In such an experience, she said, no questions arise. We question when we are not completely satisfied. The artist sees things through a medium and with an urge to production. The attitude of the artist leads to division and that of the aesthete (Wismadi) to unification. The aesthetic religion, if it may be so called, unifies the individual with the universal, whereas the faith of an artist, on account of the medium through which he sees Nature, selects and rejects the data supplied to him by her. The universe for the artist as Vernon Blake calls it is 'a reservoir from which the artist may draw his material'. The function of such an

1. *Religion of Man*, p. 136.

aesthetic religion on the practical side is to develop the 'Appreciative Personality' as Blake puts it. It is by means of sensitive personality that 'the beauty, the unity and the reality in appearance are felt.'

In short Nam is the sympathetic and aesthetic communion of man with man and environments. Love and aesthetic appreciation form its basis. In reflection it is what Santayana calls the contemplation or ultimate apprehension of essence. It leads to verbal expression like Wahiguru—Wonderful Lord or some other similar expression or name of God who is the source and basis of all objects of communication. Such an attitude is to be made permanent. This is what is called the continuous remembrance or repetition of the name of God. This is in reflection or meditation. In action it takes the form of service—performance of actions in life dedicating them to God and escaping from the passionate attachment with the phenomenal world. In the East the religion or the religious path has mainly been a matter of reflection and in the West a matter of action. The Guru began his work when the East and West had a little blended with each other in the field of religion. That explains the Guru's insistence on both aspects of our religious life. His motto was threefold: Nam as explained above and action taking two forms of Kirt—individual honest work for life and Sewa—Wand Chhakna—to share that earning with fellow beings *i.e.*, action individual and social, for one's own-self and for others. These are the three aspects of what I have called the Nam or the Wismad marag of the Guru.

V

Liv : The Continuous Feeling of Unity.—On the mental side the perpetuation of the feeling of unity of the individual with the universal, this communion of the inner with the inner of the outer is called by the Guru as Liv-unbreakable feeling of unity. When a man reaches this goal he does not give up his activities like a Sannyasi by renouncing the world. 'This is the symptom', says the Guru, of a man's union with God, that day and night he works in His name. Without this Liv the life remains miserable.' This misery comes from the idea of taking

1. G.G., p. 917, Ramkali Mahala III, Anand :

Sāchi livai bin deb nimāni,

Meh nimāni livai bajhu kiā kare vechariā. VI.

the phenomenal world as final. An eye lost in the phenomenal does not and cannot see any thing but Discord in the world and Tragedy in life. The environments and material obstacles restrict the fulfilment of our desires. This leads to failure which resulted in the feeling of disappointment and misery. The cause lies in the selfishness of our desires. The selfishness is due to the break of unity. When unity is realised the desires remain, but their selfishness is lost and, therefore, pain and misery do not result as a consequence of failure.¹ Tragic and discordant are brought in line with the peaceful and a harmony of harmonies results. By means of this Liv we live in this world and also remain unaffected by it. 'As a lotus while growing in the mud, turns its petals towards the sun, so should man while engaged in worldly affairs turn his thoughts to God.'² The boy flies a kite in the air, is busy in talking with his companions, but his mind is with the kite and the thread; the village girl has on her head a vessel full of water, walks along to her house chatting with her companions but her mind is in the vessel to keep it in balance; the cow goes out to graze and leaves her young one behind in the shed, eating and enjoying outside she does not forget her calf. These are metaphors used by the Guru to illustrate Liv. One should be busy in the world without forgetting God. World and God to be experienced together.

This is what the Guru called the Raj Jog (Yoga or Yog). A Raj Yogi is a Panch-Plato's philosopher-king. He is also known as Gurmukh—with his mind towards God, Brahman Gyani—one who realised God, Gyani—one who has knowledge, a philosopher. Such a man does not fear anybody nor does he frighten anybody.³ The Panch is the ideal man of the

1. *Ibid* :

Liv chhutki laggi trisna mālā amar vartālā

...

Kahai Nanak Gur prasādi jina liv lāgi tin viche mālā pālā. XXIX.

2. S.R., II, p. 84.

3. G.G., p. 1425, Sloka Mahala IX :

Bhai kāhu ko det nahi nahi bhai mānat ān,

Kahu Nanak sun re manā Gyani tahi bakhān. XVI.

Cf. S.B.E., *Gita*, p. 285.

Guru. His qualities have been described by Nanak in his Japuji. He is a saint in religion, a true statesman in political assemblies. All his actions are guided by Bibek Buddhi in contemplation. He is Jiwan Mukht—enjoying perfect release while living in the world.¹ He attains perfection in virtue and happiness. Although the limitation of body and the world are there, yet they do not restrict his perfection which is more of the soul than of the body. Perfection does not come after death. It is attained while the Panch is alive. He overcomes the idea of Haumai and feels one with the universal in nature. He dies alive—Mar Jiwe Maria, ‘drops the separate existence’.²

1. G.G.

(a) P. 220; Gauri Mahala IX :

Surg narak amrit bikh e sabh tio kanchan ar paisa,

Ustat nindia e sam jākai lobh moh phun taisa. 2.

...
Nanak mukt tahi tum manan ih bidh ko jo prāni. 3—7.

(b) P. 275, Sukhmani,

Prabh ki agiā ātam hitāwai,

Jiwan mukt sou kahāwai,

Taisa harkh taisa us sog,

Sada anand tah nahi hiog. 7. IX.

(c) *Ibid* ; kai kot tat ke bete.

Sadā niharhi eko netre,

...
Nanak Oi Pramesar ke piāre. 8—X.

(d) P. 449, Asa Mahala IV :

Jiwan mukt so ākhiai,

Mar jiwi Maria 2. 4—1—8.

(e) P. 632, Sorath Mahala IX :

Jo nar dukh mahi dukh nahi mānai,

Sukh sanehu ar bhai nahi jākai kanchan mati manai. I.

...
Nanak lin bhaio Gobind sio jio pāni sang pāni. 3—11.

(f) P. 1299, Kānṛā Mahala V :

Bisar gai sabh tātu prāi

Jab te sādḥ sangat mohi pāi, Rahāu.

Nā ko bairi nahi begānā sagal sang ham ko baniāi. 1.

Jo Prabh kino so bhal mānio eh sumati sadhu te pāi. 2.

Sabh mahi rawi rāhia Prabh ekai pekh pekh Nanak bigsāi. 3—8.

(g) P. 1425, Sloka Mahala IX :

Ustat nindia nāhi jibi kanchan loh samāin,

Kahu Nanak sun re mana mukti tahi tai jān. 14.

(h) P. 1426, *Ibid*,

Jih prāni haumai taji Karta Ram pa jhhan

Kahu Nanak wahu mukt nar ih man sāchi mān. 11.

2. Cf. *The Realm of Essence* by Santayana, p. 61.

At this stage not only does the Jiwan Mukht feel one with God but the whole world appears to him to be enjoying the same unity. The noise produced by a Persian wheel is the remembrance of God.¹ In such a vision the Tenth Guru went on writing 'Thou art'—Tuhin, Tuhin, Tuhin—and the First Guru went on saying Thine, Thine, Tera, Tera—losing all sense of 'me' or 'mine'. The whole world appears as repeating God's name. Ikhnaton in Egypt spoke of this world-wide remembrance of God and Bible and the Quran also have similar expressions.² But all such ideas are the projections of one's own attainments. They are the expressions of the inner unity of man with God. This union in the case of the Guru like that of the Vedantist does not turn into 'I', but as I have already said, it changes into 'Thou'. The former being still egoistic. 'As far as may be, remain servant and claim not to be Master'. 'Hence my dear friend,—even if thou art united with Him, utter not word which doeth not express thy subjection to Him. This feeling of humility is not dualistic. It is doing away with the most subtle egotism which is involved in Egoistic Idealism. There is no difference in the content of the Vedantist and this concept of unity. This is an humble way of saying the same thing. The Vedantist brings the whole within 'me' and the Guru takes out the 'me' and drowns it in the 'whole'. This union has 'its significance not in the realm of to have, but in that of to be. To gain truth is to admit its separateness, but to be true is to become one with Truth'.³ In this union the self transcends the limits of our material, social and mental egos. When these are overcome our innerself is filled with joy, which indicates that through such freedom we come into touch with reality that is an end in itself and, therefore, is bliss. The Guru finds himself helpless in expressing in words this blissfulness of unity and this joy of union.⁴ It is like a dumbman's experience of a delicious dish. This metaphor is common with all the mystics and it means that feelings cannot be adequately expressed in speech.

1. G.G., p. 1419, Sloka Mahala III :

Harhat bhi tun tun karhi bolhi bhali bāni. LXIII.

2. S.B.E., Vol. VI, p. 255. Vol. IX, p. 47.

3. S.R., V., p. 103.

4. G.G., p. 498, Gurbani Mahala V :

Milbe ki mahima barni na sakon Nanak pare parila. 2—14—13.

When thus the whole mental outlook is changed and the basic feeling of unity is restored, man becomes free from doubt, illusion and ignorance. The egg of superstition bursts and the mind gets illuminated, the fetters are cut off the feet and the captive jumps off the walls of imprisonment caused by Haumai. External performances and formalities of religion and the actions considered good or bad all encourage the sense of selfhood and cause bondage.¹ When man reaches this stage of Jiwan Mukti, his will is so moulded that it becomes impossible for him to think of anything evil. He comes to acquire what Kant called Good Will. 'A good will is good,' he says, 'not because of what it performs or accomplishes, not by its aptness for the attainment of some proposed end, but simply in virtue of its volition, that is it is good in itself—'The source of this permanent good will, lies according to the Guru, in one's constant communion with God.'²

This stage where distinction of good and evil disappears has been explained in the following way. Actions or Karma are not good or bad in themselves. That is no action has moral value. By action the change of environment or physical surroundings is meant. As soon as the Jiwa associates himself with the Karma

1. G.G., p. 551, Sloka Mahala III :

Karm dharm sabh bandhna pāp punn sanbandh,
Mamta moh subandhna putra kalatra sudhandh,
Jah dekha tah jewari mayā ka sanbandh,
Nanak sache nam bin wartan wartai andh. VII.

2 G G.

(a) P. 882, Ramkali Mahala V :

Bharm chukavhu gurmukhi liv lavhu, atamu chinhu bhāi.
Nikt kar jānhu sadā Prabh hājar kis sio karhu burāi. 3—4—2.

(b) P. 1140, Bhāiron Mahala V :

Nikt bujhai so burā kio karai,
Bikh sanchai nit dartā phirai.
Hai nikte aru bhedana pāiā
Bin Satgur sabh mohi māiā. 1.
Neṛai neṛai sabhu ko kahai
Gurmukhi bhedu wirla ko lahai. 1.
... ... 4—3—16.

(c) P. 1141, *Ibid* :

Tau kaṛiai je howai bahari,
Tau kaṛiai je wisrai nar Hari,
Tau kaṛiri je duja bhae,
Kia kaṛiai jān rahiā samae. 1.
... ... 4—5—18.

or as soon as the mind attaches itself to actions some ethical consideration comes in. Mind is capable of good and evil but the soul is not. When the soul becomes dominant then the sensual attachment of the mind with the world is lost. The soul remains unaffected and the mind is always in tune with the soul. Thus the agent performing all actions remains in constant touch with the Divine within and without. The individual will and the divine will are attuned. The good will becomes natural and automatic in the being of man. This automatic character of the human will at this stage has been described by the Guru in Rag Bhairō. He uses the word Achint—which means ‘without deliberation’, without effort or exertion. We need not enter into the psychological processes of this automatism of will which is now an experimentally proved fact. All activities of life—work, worship and wonder—Kam, Nam and Wismad, are performed without any mental conflicts. The Guru counts in this Shabad in the Rag Bhairō¹ all doings of man on the physical, mental and spiritual plains. This Achint stage is beyond psychical analysis. It corresponds with the Aphur state of God. The Achint—man feels one with the Achint-God. The man becomes a resident of Begam Pura—Sinless or Fearless Colony, Abchal Nagari—Everlasting City—the Kingdom of God.

VI

The Method of Realisation :—We have seen that in our ordinary behaviour Nam is an attitude of mind towards life and the world. Subjectively it is a supreme state of pleasure felt in aesthetic appreciation of the workings of God, at times expressing itself in terms like Wonderful Lord-Wahiguru. Its three aspects express

1. G.G., p. 1158, Bhairon Mahala V :

Satiguru mo kau kino dāun,
Amol ratan Hari dino nāum,
Sahaj binod choj anantā.
Nanak kau Prabh milio achintā. 1.
Kahu Nanak kirati Hari sāchi
Bahur bahur tis sangi manu rachi, Rahau. 1.
Achint hamārai bhojan bhān
Achint hamārai liehai nan.
... ..
... ..
Chint achinta sagali gai
Prabh Nanak Nanak Nanak mai. 8—3—6.

themselves roughly in thought, word and deed : inner feeling, verbal expression and physical action. There is realisation in heart—Ride Gyan, there is expression of love in words—Mukh Bhakti, an attitude of detachment in behaviour—Wartan Wairag. These are the three ways in which the mystic unity is felt and expressed both verbally and actively. It is a perpetual state of mind which should never break. It is to enter into the subconscious mind, otherwise a break will appear in dreams. So that the man the content of whose dreams is also the love for Unity is very much praised in the Granth. 'May the shoes of such a person be made of my skin.' How difficult it is to reach such a stage the modern psycho-analyst will tell. It is the change of the whole personality, including the conscious, the subconscious and the unconscious mind.

It is not easy as Dr. Trumpp supposed it to be.² If it were a mere repetition of a formula or a name it will surely be the easiest way of realisation. 'They are discarded as false hypocrites who mutter what they do not actually feel.'³

Thus Nam is the actual realisation through a gradual development of our mental and spiritual life. There are some steps involved in this development. It is practical achievement and requires the guidance of an expert. Like modern hypnotism it begins with a suggestion. But unlike hypnotism it is not carried on in an abnormal state of mind. Nam is the normal working of a normal mind. The expert, the leader of the Five Piaras, gives suggestion under normal conditions at the time of Amrit ceremony. He is asked to have implicit faith in One, Truly existent, Personal and Merciful God, who is manifested in the Khalsa which is always Victorious—on its forward Progress. Separation from God is suffering and union with Him is salvation or peace. As Dr. Lang—the Archbishop of Canterbury said :⁴ The eye is not satisfied with seeing, nor the ear with hearing. There are deep, ineradicable needs of human nature which nothing material can supply. The old truth abides—the human spirit is restless until it finds its rest in God ! This union with the source of peace does not entirely depend on the efforts of man. He must have faith in

1. Kabir, G.G., p. 1367, LXIII.

2. A.G., p. CVI.

3. Farid,

4. Christmas Message of 1938 : Recall to Religion.

the Grace of God and must not lose Hope.¹ At the same time man must exert and should not give up efforts.² Unless man helps himself God will not help him. Like an agriculturist and a business man a searcher for peace must search honestly and work sincerely.³ This search for God and working sincerely for

1. G.G.

- (a) P. 172, Gauri Purbi Mahala IV :
Koi karai upāw anek bahutere, bin kirpa nām na pawai. 4—12.
- (b) P. 177, Gauri Guareri Mahala V :
Jis jan hoe api kirpal
Nanak Sat Guru sada deiāl. 4—5—74.
- (c) P. 251, Gauri Bāwan Akhkhari, Mahala V :
Anik bhekh ar gyan dhiān man hathi miliau na koi,
Kahu Nanak kirpa bhai bhagt Gyani soi. 5.

2. G.G.

- (a) P. 99, Majh Mahala V :
Uddam karat man nirmal hoā,
Hari marag chalat bharam sagla khoiā. 2.
- (b) P. 201, Gauri Mahala V :
Uddam karat sital man bhae
Marag chalat sagal dukh gae. 1. 4—110.
- (c) P. 305, Gauri ki war Mahala IV :
Gur Satigur ka jo Sikh akhae, su bhalke uth Hari nām dhiāwai.
Uddam kare bhalke parbhāti, Isnan kare Amritsar nawai.
... .. XI.
- (d) P. 381, Asa Mahala V :
Uddam karat howai man nirmal nāchai āp niwāre,
Panch jana le wasgāt rākhai man mahi ekan kare. 1. 4—4—43.
- (e) P. 399, Asa Mahala V :
Uddam kiā karāiā aranbh rachāiā. 4—13—115.
- (f) P. 405, Asa Mahala V :
Uddam karan karāwuh Thakur pekhat sadhu sangi. 4—4—139.
- (g) P. 456, Asa Mahala V :
Uddam karhu wadbhagi ho simrhu Hari Hari rai. 4—3—6.
- (h) P. 522, Gujri ki war Mahala V :
Uddam kare dia jiu tun kamawdia sukh bhunch
Dhiāi dia tun Prabh mil Nanak utri chint. XVII.
- (i) P. 815, Bilawal Mahala V :
Uddam karat ānad bhaiā simrat suksār.
Japi japi nām Gobind ka puran bichār. 4—29—59.
- (j) P. 1218, Sarag Mahala V :
Aio Sunan paran kau bāni.
... ..
Uddam Sakti sianah tumri dehta nām wakhan. 2—56—70.
- (k) P. 1222, Sarag Mahala V :
Uddam karan darsan pekhan hau karmi prapat hoi. 2—74—97.

3. S.R., I, pp. 21—23.

peace means remembering God while enjoying His blessings in the world, loving Him just as a baby loves his milk, as a woman loves her consort and a fish loves water. The metaphors used by the Guru express instinctive attachment of the two loving objects.¹ The devotee has to cultivate such an intense love that it becomes what Shand or McDougall call the Master Sentiment in one's personality.

As the devotee is a humble servant of God, naturally he must pray to Him for his success. No love or worship of God is to be carried on except in a humble spirit. The worshipper has always to pray for God's grace,² not to expect anything as

1. G.G., p 838, Bilawal Mahala V :

... ..
 Prabh tujh bina nahi hōr, ...
 Mani prit chand chakor.
 Jio min jal siu hetu,
 Ali kamal bhinn na bhetu,
 Jio chakwi suraj ās.
 Nanak charan piās 6.
 Jio taran bharat pran
 Jio lobhiai dhan dan
 Jio dudh jalah sanjog
 Jio maha khudhiarath bhog.
 Jio māt putah het
 Hari simra Nanak net. 7.

... .. 10—2.

2 G.G.

- (a) P. 53, Sri Rag Mahala I :
 Dui kar joṛ khari takai sachu kahai ardasi. 2. 8—2.
- (b) P. 54, *Ibid* :
 Sāchi dargah baisai bhagti sachi ardasi. 7. 8—3.
- (c) P. 256, Gauri Bawan Akhkhari Mahala V :
 Dandauti bandan anik bār sarab kala samrath,
 Dolan te rakhhu Prabhu Nanak de kari hath. XIX.
- (d) P. 256, *Ibid* :
 Binau Sunhu tum Parbrahm din dayal Gopal,
 Sukh sanpai bahu bhog ras Nanak sadh rawal. XXIX.
- (e) P. 260, *Ibid* :
 Saran pare ki rākh dayala, 48.
- (f) P. 208, Gauri Sukhmani Mahala V :
 Tu Thakur tum pahi ardāsi
 Jio pind sabh teri rasi. 8. IV.
- (g) P. 383, Asa Mahala V :
 Tudh agai ardāsi hamāri jio pind sabh tera. 4—10—40.
- (h) P. 727, Suhi Mahala V :
 Dui kar joṛi karau ardāsi,
 Tudh bhawai tan anhi rāsi.
 Kar kirpā apni bhagti lāi
 Jan Nanak Prabh sada dhiāi. 4—2.
- (i) P. 1353, Sloka Sahskriti Mahala V :
 He prān nath Gobindah kirpā nidhān jogdguro !
 He sansar tap harnah karunā mai sabh dukh baro !
 50.

a necessary fruit of his labours. The prayer to the Almighty dominates the Sikh view of life. A Sikh does not do anything without first offering an Ardas—a prayer to God requesting Him to be with him at every step. God always saves His devotees. It is in His very nature to protect His worshippers. This function of God is known as Bird¹ in the Granth. God protects and, therefore, one is never to lose hope and confidence in Him.

To be able to do all this one has to go to the Holy Association—Satsang and there hear the Guru's word sung by the musicians. That brings him in contact with the community Guru of which he himself begins to feel a part. The Guru was the first Indian thinker who laid great stress on the value of community or Sangat as a means of religious advancement. 'Man as an individual, Comte truly said, exists only in the exaggerated abstractions of modern metaphysics'. Being born in a social group man's advancement lies in society or Sangat. The Sangat is based on the idea of freedom and equality. King and beggar are alike in Sangat. This encourages among the members of the Sangat a true religious spirit—the spirit of, as Professor J. Macmurray calls, 'mutuality', so essential for religion. This mutuality originating from freedom and equality is rooted in the love of God which is kindled by hearing the Kirtan—sacred music—going on in the congregation.

There are scores of hymns in the Granth which lay great stress on Satsang and Kirtan. The Guru says when a man is disappointed with all religious practices, philosophies and other intellectual searches he can find comfort and peace only by listening to sacred songs—Kirtan. This sacred music is simple but full of emotional sincerity. It speaks of 'an intense yearning of the heart for the divine which is in Man and not in the temple, or

1. G.G.

(a) P. 382, Asa Mahala V :

Bandhan kāti bisare augan apna bird smhāria,
Hoe kirpal māt pit nīāi barak jio pratpāria. 1. 4—6.

(b) P. 449, Asa Mahala IV :

Bhagati wachhl Hari bird hai Hari laj rakhāiā. 4—1—8.

(c) P. 544, Bihāgra Mahala V :

Jo sarani āwai tis kanth lāwai ihu bird suami sandā. 4—1—4.

(d) P. 618, Sorath Mahala V :

Hamari ganat na gania kāi apnā bird pachhāni.

... ..

Apne dās ki āpi paj rākhi Nanak sad kurbān. 2—16—44.

scripture, in images and symbols'. By means of such an association one becomes emotionally alive. Love for men around him, the real man in them, is roused and he begins to sing the praises of the Lord. This is the first fruit of his contact with the Sangat—the community Guru. Side by side listening also goes on. He sings and listens, and listens and sings. Lesson and practice go hand in hand. Next the life begins to be moulded in the light of what he sings and listens to. This is the third step in realisation. *Gawiai Sunia Man Rakhia Bhao*. Having sung and listened live upto it with a heart full of love and emotional sincerity. Gradually the mental outlook will change.

Five stages of development are mentioned. These are the five steps in the evolution of the individual's inner consciousness. First is the material environment of man. A true insight into the surroundings gives him a scientific outlook. He finds that the universe is a system. Nothing happens haphazard in the world. All events are governed by laws. This is the lowest region of mind which the Guru calls the sphere of law—Dharm Khand. In this region man looks upon things as created by God, under whose laws the world goes on. Nights, seasons, lunar days, week-days, wind, water, fire, nether regions, earth and other spheres are kept in their places by law; vegetable and animal kingdoms of countless species with different natures and habits all obey the laws of nature. Here the ethical distinction of good and bad is maintained and the elect ones are honoured and accepted by the true judgment of the True God in His True court. This is the sphere of common-place perception. The data are supplied by the senses and the whole is conceived as a great system working under the law and order of Nature. The next two regions are the spheres of imagination. One, that is the second in the series, is the region of reflective imagination, the other that is the third region, is that of creative imagination. Perception does not give us all that we know. To have knowledge we must bring in imagination. On the pure imaginative level what is perceived by the senses is extended in its vastness. The universe gets multiplied. The vision of the individual transcends the world he lives in. He now sees not wind, water and fire but winds, waters and fires. Not one world but many worlds. The individual realises the incomprehensibility of the workings of God and concludes by saying : Nanak there is no end of them. After all attempts at knowledge

one is forced to say with Bu Ali Sina (Avicenna) La Alam : I don't know. This leads to humility and astonishment—Wismad and the individual at every step is impressed by the wonderful workings of the wonderful Lord. In this realm of knowledge, divine light becomes resplendent and man begins to take pleasure in Nature and his heart constantly gives out expressions of Wahiguru.

This realisation of the helplessness of man's comprehension of the Absolute in the realm of knowledge does not cause worry. On the other hand the individual feels that in incomprehensibility lies the beauty and the Godhead of God. The defeat of the intellect makes us emotionally alive and we enter a region of happiness—Sarm Khand, the attribute of which is beauty. It follows the second stage *i.e.*, Gyan Khand. In the realm of beauty as Plato said in Symposium, 'at last the vision is revealed to him of a single science which is the science of beauty everywhere'. This is the region of Creative Imagination. The real happiness is not passive but creative. Along with his own limited creativity man sees the unlimited and infinite creativeness of God. Here God is not looked upon as creator of the world of perception but of the world of imagination too. Possibility and actuality, imaginations and creation are all one and the same for God. God here in this sphere is conceived among other things as an artist. He creates the Beautiful. All that is fine in form and idea is fashioned in this realm. 'There things are fashioned in an incomparable manner. What is done there cannot be described. Whoever endeavoureth to describe it shall afterwards repent. There are fashioned knowledge and wisdom, intellect and understanding; there too is fashioned the skill of gods and supernatural powers in which some people believe'.

From the world of science and art, of perception and imagination—both creative and reflective, we enter the world of real religion. The fourth and the fifth stages in the development of our mental outlook have respectively the divine grace and the true divinity itself as their objects. Beauty cannot be a source of happiness, unless we know that it will exist. The very first condition of our appreciation of the beautiful is that we affirm its existence. The happiness of the third region must remain pure and unadulterated. The thing of beauty must live for ever if it is to be ever a source of joy. The very idea that the thing will

cease to be, takes away the happiness in some elements. So that we have to enter another region where divine mercy prevails. It is the region of kindness. It is the realm of grace. But our perception of beauty is not to remain in the perceptible world. That is the world of science. It changes. A time will come when it will be no more. Happiness is not something which can come to an end. So in order to perceive the real beauty we have to begin with the world of science, pass through the world of the artist and the creative imagination has to lead us to the creative will of God. The attribute of the realm of grace is force'—Will or Hukam. World is governed by law and law is born out of grace or mercy. This mercy is the divine force, the will. That is wherefrom the world began and that is where we now reach. When man identifies himself with the will of God then all is good, all is beautiful and, therefore, everywhere happiness prevails. 'Here things of beauty do not die. Here saints live and rejoice'. It is the result of the awakening of the religious intuition which is the sole characteristic of the soul. It is beyond five senses, it is beyond mind and it is beyond the 'frontiers of the mind.' As soon as the spiritual intuition begins to work we enter the next and the last realm of the True God Himself. Below this we had the realm of the good and the Beautiful. Now comes the realm of the Truth. Not the Truth which as Professor Whitehead says is the quality of the Appearance. This Truth is the metaphysical Reality with capital R, which is 'just by itself'.¹ This is Sachch Khand.

All these five stages are possible in man's life. When the individual has passed all the four and reaches the fifth, it does not mean, that he has now nothing to do with the other four. These five stages do not exclude each other. There is a graded series of all the five. The lower contributing to the higher and the higher participating in the lower. In this series the highest is the fifth realm—the Sachch Khand. Same life, in the same environments but with an outlook completely changed. Truth, beauty and goodness all contribute to happiness. Man does not run away from the worldly life. The worlds of science and art exist and he enjoys them in this world of religion by identifying himself with the will of God. That is why the Guru again mentions all continents, worlds and universes in this last region of the

1. *The Realm of Truth* by Santayana

soul. But the difference now lies in the way in which they are now perceived and conceived. The last stanza of the Japu Ji which follows the description of these five stages tells us metaphorically how such an attitude of mind—the tuning of man's will with the divine will, is obtained :

Make continuance thy furnace, resignation thy goldsmith, understanding thine anvil, divine knowledge thine tools, the fear of God thy bellows, hard life thy fire, divine love thy crucible, and melt God's name therein, in such a true Mint the Word shall be coined. This is the practice of those upon whom God looketh with an eye of favour, Nanak, the Kind One by a glance maketh them happy—Then the concluding line—

Those who practise Nam like this overcome all discord and disharmony. Their faces reflect glory and so many others are liberated by them in their company.—Nanak.

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