

UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO



3 1761 00019143 7









# THE SIKH RELIGION

ITS GURUS, SACRED WRITINGS  
AND AUTHORS

BY

MAX ARTHUR MACAULIFFE

ਛੁਟੇ ਆਂਡਾ ਭਰਮ ਕਾ, ਮਨਹਿ ਭਇਓ ਪਰਗਾਸ;  
ਕਾਟੀ ਬੇੜੀ ਪਗਹ ਤੇ, ਗੁਰੁ ਕੀਨੀ ਬੰਦ ਖਲਾਸ.

The egg of superstition hath burst; the  
mind is illumined:

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

GURU ARJAN

IN SIX VOLUMES

VOL. VI

OXFORD  
AT THE CLARENDON PRESS

1909

HENRY FROWDE, M.A.  
PUBLISHER TO THE UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD  
LONDON, EDINBURGH, NEW YORK  
TORONTO AND MELBOURNE

BL

2017

.3

ESM3

X.6



1104941

# CONTENTS OF VOL. VI

	PAGE
BHAGATS OF THE GRANTH SAHIB . . . . .	I
LIFE AND HYMNS OF JAIDEV . . . . .	4
LIFE OF NAMDEV . . . . .	17
NAMDEV'S HYMNS . . . . .	40
TRILOCHAN . . . . .	76
PARMANAND . . . . .	82
SADHNA . . . . .	84
BENI . . . . .	88
RAMANAND AND RAMANUJ . . . . .	93
DHANNA . . . . .	106
PIPA . . . . .	III
SAIN . . . . .	120
LIFE OF KABIR . . . . .	122
KABIR'S HYMNS . . . . .	142
KABIR'S SLOKS . . . . .	278
LIFE OF RAV DAS . . . . .	316
RAV DAS'S HYMNS . . . . .	321
MIRA BAI . . . . .	342
LIFE OF SHAIKH FARID . . . . .	356
HYMNS AND SLOKS OF FARID . . . . .	391
BHIKAN . . . . .	414
SUR DAS . . . . .	417



## THE BHAGATS<sup>1</sup> OF THE GRANTH SAHIB

THERE have lived in India from time immemorial saints and thinkers who were dissatisfied with the superstitions and religious vagaries of the Hindus. They gradually evolved a belief in one God and preceded Guru Nanak as the dawn before sunrise. Abrupt indigenous alterations of religion have rarely, if ever, been presented to human experience. Some of the writings of the Guru's immediate precursors called Bhagats, or saints, are preserved in the Granth Sahib compiled by Guru Arjan. He selected for inclusion therein, with equal impartiality the writings of both Hindus and Musalmans, as they suited his purpose, and contributed to the great cause of religious reformation. We find in the sacred volume compositions of Jaidev, Namdev, Trilochan, Parmanand, Sadhna, Beni, Ramanand, Dhanna, Pipa, Sain, Kabir, Rav Das, Sur Das, verses of at least two Musalman saints, Farid and Bhikan ; and one recension of the sacred volume called Banno's Granth, preserved at Mangat in the Gujrat district of the Panjab, contains a hymn composed by Mira Bai, Queen of Chitaur. It is believed that Guru Arjan did not give it a place in his collection because the lady lived and died an idolater.

The Hindu Bhagats for the most part began life as worshippers of idols, but by study and contemplation arrived at a system of monotheism which was appreciated by Guru Arjan. The Muhammadan Bhagats lived in Hindu centres, and became largely imbued with Hindu modes of thought, while they

<sup>1</sup> The word *Bhagal* comes from the Sanskrit *bhakti*, which means devotion, love, &c.

at the same time retained their traditional belief in the Divine unity. There is no account given of these saints in any of the classical Sikh writings; but we have to the best of our power collected materials for the lives of most of them in the various places where they were born or where they flourished in India. Some civil officers have kindly made inquiries and furnished us with details from their districts, and political officers have also assisted in procuring information from the annals of native states.

The writings of Nabhaji, Uddava Chidghan, Mahipati, Ganesh Dattatre, Maharaja Raghuraj Sinha, Dahyabhai Ghelabhai pandit, and others in different Indian languages, on the mediaeval saints of India have also been consulted.

Nabhaji, the author of the *Bhagat Mal*, was born in the state of Gualiar. His original name is said to have been Narain Das. Everything relating to him is as wonderful as the legends he himself relates of his Vaishnav saints. He was born blind. When he was about five years of age there was a great famine in the land, and he was deserted by his parents in a forest, owing to their inability to maintain him. He was found by Agar Das and Kil, two Hindu pilgrims, who were on their way to the Ganges. He told them his history, and they adopted him. Kil sprinkled some holy water from his gourd on the child's eyes, and he received his sight. He was employed to wait on the holy men, and in this capacity heard many legends of Indian saints of all epochs. These legends he recorded at the suggestion of Agar Das in a work called *Sant Charitra*, which formed the basis of his *Bhagat Mal*, a series of metrical chronicles in the Gualiar dialect, written about A.D. 1578. He was a contemporary of Raja Man Sinh of Jaipur, and consequently lived during the reign of the Emperor Akbar. It is recorded that he had an interview with Tulsi Das, the famous



Hindu poet, who flourished in the reign of Shah Jahan. If so he must have lived to a very advanced age. Several additions and amplifications were made to Nabhaji's work by Priya Das and Pandit Lal Ji of Bindraban. It was subsequently written out in Hindu prose and translated into Urdu by different hands. Other writers in most of the great Indian dialects have written lives of the Vaishnav saints, but almost all are avowedly based on the work of Nabhaji.

Nabhaji's *Bhagat Mal* is in all versions painfully disappointing. It may be compared to the mediaeval legends of saints once current in Europe, but it has the additional defect of brevity, and, like Hindu works generally, shows a total contempt for chronology. When one great man is but an incarnation of another who lived hundreds or thousands of years before, it seems superfluous to the Hindu biographer to consider such a trifle as the date of his successive appearances upon earth. Even the pious Hindus who at different times expounded and translated Nabhaji's work, each and all pass by the dates of the Bhagats without a word of apology to the reader. We are therefore generally left to shreds of extraneous evidence for the epochs of the Bhagats whose writings are contained in the Bible of the Sikhs.

Uddava Chidghan was born in Dharur in Khanshah. Once when he was celebrating the anniversary of the birth of Rama, and taking an image of that god into his house at Bedar in the Barars, some bigoted Muhammadans stoned the procession. A fight arose between the Hindus and Muhammadans. It is said that Hanuman, the monkey-god, espoused the cause of the Hindus, and fought against the Muhammadans, as he had done thousands of years before against Rawan. By Hanuman's aid Chidghan's party was victorious, and succeeded in burning a mosque in which the Muhammadans had

concealed themselves. The era in which Chidghan flourished has not been accurately ascertained.

Mahipati was born in A.D. 1715 at Taharabad, in the Rahruri subdivision, about thirty-five miles from Ahmadnagar in the Bombay Presidency. He wrote the lives of saints in the Marathi language. His authorities were principally Nabhaji and Uddava Chidghan. He has himself given the Shaka year 1696 (A.D. 1774) as the date of the completion of his *Bhakta Lilamrita*. He died in A.D. 1790.

Maharaja Raghuraj Sinh, son of Maharaja Vi-swanath Sinh of the Baghel dynasty, chief of the Rewa state, was born in A.D. 1823, and died in 1880. He inherited his literary talents from his father, who wrote a paraphrase of Kabir's *Bijak*, and about fifty tracts on Hindu religion, philosophy, and literature. Maharaja Raghuraj Sinh was one of the most renowned Hindi poets of his time, and he was also a most generous patron of the many Hindi and Sanskrit scholars who flocked to his court. In religion he was a strict adherent of Vaishnav tenets.

We shall attempt to give the Lives and Writings of the Bhagats in chronological order.

## JAIDEV

THERE were two distinguished men called Jaidev, whose lives and acts are frequently confounded in Indian chronicles and biographies. One was a metaphysician and scholar who is said to have lived at the court of Vikramaditya. It is related of him that when a boy at school he was able to learn in a day as much as his schoolfellows could in a fortnight. Hence he was called Pakshadhar Misra. It is not with him we are at present concerned.

The Jaidev whose hymns are found in the Granth Sahib is the celebrated Sanskrit poet who wrote

the *Gitgovind*. His father was Bhoidev, a Brahman of Kanauj, and his mother Bamdevi. He was born at Kenduli, about twenty miles from Suri, in the modern district of Birbhum in Lower Bengal. He became the most famous of the five distinguished poets who lived at the court of Lakshman Sen, king of Bengal, who dates from the year 1170 of the Christian era. The five poets were called the five jewels of Lakshman Sen's court, and so proud was the monarch of them that he erected a monument to preserve their names to succeeding ages. The specialities of the five poets are thus described by Jaidev himself :—

Umapatidhara excelleth in word painting ;

Jayadeva alone knoweth purity of style ;

Sarana is praised for extempore rendering of difficult passages ;

Govardhana surpasseth in description of love ;

No one is so famed as the king of poets Dhoyi for remembering what he hath once heard.

Very little is known of Jaidev's early life. It is certain that from his youth he was a diligent student of Sanskrit literature, and developed rare poetical talents. He is described by the author of the *Bhagat Mal* as an incarnation and treasury of melody, on which, however, he, owing to his ascetic habits, long preferred to feast his own soul rather than communicate to the world the splendid gifts he possessed. He wandered in several countries, provided with only a water-pot and dressed in the patched coat of a mendicant. Even pens, ink, and paper, generally so indispensable to literary men, were luxuries which he did not allow himself. Such was his determination to love nothing but God, that he would not sleep for two nights in succession under the same tree, lest he should conceive an undue preference for it and forget his Creator.

It pleased God, with the object, it is stated, of

saving the human race, to withdraw Jaidev from his ascetic life. For this purpose, the chronicler relates, God devised the following expedient. An Agnihotri Brahman of Jagannath, to whom a beautiful daughter named Padamavati had been born as the result of many offerings and prayers, brought her up with the object of dedicating her as a dancing girl to the local idol. Her father duly conducted her to the idol and was ordered to take her away and bestow her on the great saint Jaidev. On this she was taken to him, and he was informed of the divine decision in his favour. Jaidev reasoned with the Brahman, and told him he ought to give his daughter to some more wealthy man, who would be more suitable for her than a homeless ascetic like himself. The Brahman replied that he could not disobey God's order. Jaidev rejoined, 'God is master and omnipotent. He may have thousands and tens of thousands of wives, but one for me is the same as a hundred thousand;' that is, he had no more need or ability to maintain one than he had a hundred thousand. After further discussion, in which the Brahman failed, notwithstanding the exercise of all his powers of persuasion, he left his daughter with Jaidev. Before his departure he told her it was impious to act in opposition to the will of God. She was to remain with Jaidev, and obey him according to the instructions laid down for wives in the Hindu sacred writings.

The tender girl remained with Jaidev and attended on him like his shadow. He is said to have represented to her the futility of living with him: 'Thou art wise,' he said; 'endeavour to do something to improve thy position; I have no power to maintain and cherish thee.' She replied, 'What power hath this poor creature? Thou canst do as thou pleasest. I am a sacrifice unto thee and shall never leave thee.' On this Jaidev believed that God was forcing him into the alliance, and he recon-



ciled himself to the situation. As the first preparation for domestic life he built a hut for his spouse, set up an idol in it, and applied himself to its worship. He then began the composition of the celebrated poem the *Gitgovind*. This is believed to have been his second composition, his first being a drama called *Rasana Raghava*. A third work attributed to him is *Chandralok*, an essay on the graces of style.

The fact appears to be that the mantling fire of Jaidev's genius sought for an outlet, that with experience of life a change came over his religious opinions, that he resolved no longer to play the hermit, but accept the wife offered him, distinguish himself, and seek for worldly fame and its pleasures. God has been introduced *ex machinâ* into the narrative to save Jaidev from the charges of inconsistency and submission to human passion.

The *Gitgovind* is well known in both hemispheres. It has been translated into English prose and paraphrased in English verse.<sup>1</sup> It is perhaps a solitary instance of a great popular poem composed in a dead language. In the twelfth century of the Christian era Sanskrit was, it is true, used as Latin was at the same time in Europe, but the great age had passed away when Sanskrit was a living language—the only recognized Indian vehicle of men's thoughts and aspirations. The *Gitgovind* is still not only remembered, but nightly chanted in the Karnatik countries and other parts of India, because it is ostensibly a love song and its strains are sweet and find a responsive echo in the human heart.<sup>2</sup>

During the composition of the *Gitgovind* Jaidev

<sup>1</sup> Into prose by Sir William Jones and into exquisite verse by the late Sir Edwin Arnold.

<sup>2</sup> Jaidev has been more fortunate than Petrarch, the mediaeval Italian poet, in composing in a dead language. Petrarch composed a Latin poem entitled 'Africa', which is now never read, while his love sonnets are the delight of many cultivated minds.

represented Radhika the heroine as pouting because Krishan the hero had followed other loves. Krishan alters his ways, and applies himself to the task of appeasing her and apologizing for his conduct. The poet was preparing to make Krishan address his lady love : ' Adorn my head by putting on it the lotus leaves of thy feet, which are an antidote to the poison of Cupid,' when he reflected that it would be a dishonour to his god if any woman were to put her feet on his head. While thus reflecting the poet ceased to write, and went to bathe, intending subsequently to alter the sentence into more conformity with the relative positions of the hero and heroine.

What was Jaidev's surprise when on returning from his bath he found the verse completed exactly as he had subsequently intended ! He asked his wife how it had occurred. She told him he had returned himself, and having written the verse gone away again. Upon this Jaidev knew that Krishan himself had written the verse, and thus hallowed the composition. The fame of the event and of the poem spread far and wide, and Jaidev obtained the high renown he had so earnestly sought.

Satvika, King of Urisa (Orissa) at the time, was also a poet and learned man. He had accidentally selected for a poem the same subject as Jaidev, and he appears to have produced a work of respectable merit, which he directed his Brahmans to copy and circulate. In reply they showed him the composition of Jaidev. They meant by this that the Raja's poem was as nothing in comparison with Jaidev's. As well compare a lamp with the sun. The Raja in his pride could not accept the Brahmans' criticism, but caused both poems to be placed in the temple of his capital, and promised to abide by the decision of the idol as to which was superior.

The idol rejected the king's *Gitgovind* and took to his heart that of Jaidev. Upon this the Raja thinking himself greatly dishonoured was overcome



by shame and jealousy, and set out to drown himself. Krishan is said to have taken pity on him. He appeared to him and told him it would be a vain and foolish act to put an end to his life. It was very clear that his poetical merit did not equal that of Jaidev, but, to compensate him for his disappointment, Krishan ordered that one of the Raja's verses should be inserted in each of the twelve cantos of Jaidev's poem, and both compositions should thus go forth to the world and down to distant ages. This was accordingly done.

The estimation in which the *Gitgovind* was held may be gathered from the following anecdote. A gardener's daughter while one day gathering egg-plants was singing with great zest the following verse from the fifth canto of the poem :—

The zephyr gently bloweth on the banks of the Yamuna  
while Krishan tarrieth in the grove.

On this, it is said, the idol of Jagannath followed her wherever she went, with the object of feasting his heart on the dulcet strains. The idol wore only a thin jacket which was torn by the brambles. When the king went to worship and saw the condition of the idol's dress, he in astonishment asked the priests the cause. When the Raja learned what had occurred, he was perfectly satisfied of the superiority of the product of Jaidev's genius, and issued a proclamation that the *Gitgovind* should only be read in a clean and purified place, as Jagannath, the lord of the world, himself was in the habit of going to listen to it.

Not only Hindus, but men of all creeds were enchanted with the composition. It is related that a Mughal, on hearing of the divine honours paid to the work, used to peruse it with the greatest delight. One day while riding he was singing its verses, when he fell into an ecstasy of pleasure, and thought that, though a Moslem, he felt communion with Krishan.

Oriental chroniclers are enthusiastic in their praises of Jaidev. All other poets are compared to petty kings while he is the great chakrawarti or poetical monarch of the world. As the moon cannot be concealed by the stars, as the eagle cannot be surpassed by any bird in flight, as Indar attracts notice in the midst of the gods, so is Jaidev's fame conspicuous in the world. It may be added that Jaidev himself does not appear to have been insensible of his own merits. At the conclusion of the *Gitgovind* he writes, 'Whatever is delightful in the modes of music, whatever is exquisite in the sweet art of love let the happy and wise learn from the song of Jaidev.'<sup>1</sup>

Notwithstanding the lusciousness and sensuous beauty of several parts of the *Gitgovind*, there can be no doubt that Jaidev intended the poem as an elaborate religious allegory. This, too, is insisted on by the author of the *Bhagat Mal*, who states that the love scenes and rhetorical graces of the poet are not to be understood in the sense that persons of evil minds and dispositions attach to them. Radhika the heroine is heavenly wisdom. The milkmaids who divert Krishan from his allegiance to her, are the senses of smell, sight, touch, taste, and hearing. Krishan represented as pursuing them is the human soul, which attaches itself to earthly pleasures. The return of Krishan to his first love is the return of the repentant sinner to God, which gives joy in heaven.

After the completion of the poem Jaidev went to travel and visited Bindraban and Jaipur. To the latter place its king had given him a pressing invitation. While on those travels it is related that he met a party of thags. He knew what they were from their ready offer to accompany him on his journey. Without more ado he pulled out his purse and gave

<sup>1</sup> The reader will remember the exultations of Horace, Ovid, Moore, Poushkin, and others, on the completion of their immortal poems.

them all the money and valuables he possessed, thus reasoning, 'Wealth is the basis of sin; gluttony produceth disease; and love of the world purchaseth pain, so it is proper to discard all three.'

The thags at once suspected him. They had not been accustomed to obtain men's wealth without a struggle or without at least having made a request for it, and they concluded from Jaidev's readiness to part with his money, that he merely designed to have them arrested on their return to the city. One of them proposed to put him to death, but another said that would be a meaningless act. They only required his wealth, and that they had obtained. It was at last decided that they should cut off his hands and throw him into a narrow and dark well, and this was accordingly done.

Jaidev, it is said, meekly accepted the treatment he had received as a fate predestined for him, and applied himself to divine contemplation and the utterance of God's name. It chanced that Karaunch, the King of Utkal, passed that way, and hearing that Jaidev was in the well caused him to be extricated. Jaidev was so little revengeful for the injuries he had sustained, that, in reply to the king's inquiries as to the cause of his mutilation, he told him he had been born so. The king became convinced that Jaidev was a saint, and congratulated himself on his good fortune in meeting such a man. The king had him conveyed to his capital where he was treated with all honour and respect, and a house set apart for him. He was, moreover, provided with food and every article of comfort. The king himself offered to become his servant, and, with hands clasped in the Oriental attitude of supplication, begged Jaidev to say what duty he could render him. Jaidev had one request to make, and that was that the king should serve holy men and not him. In happy faith and with open heart the



king obeyed and performed menial service for the saints of God who were waiting at his gate.<sup>1</sup> The fact that the king was performing such services was noised abroad and the thags, among others, heard of it. They assumed the guise of religious men and proceeded to the monarch's gate. This led to an interview with Jaidev. He recognized them, and told the king that they were his brethren and very holy persons. Fortunate was the king in having been favoured with a sight of them, and devoutly ought he to serve and minister unto them. The king took them into his palace, and lavished on them every honour that Oriental politeness and hospitality could suggest.

The thags, however, recognizing Jaidev, were troubled for their safety, and applied for permission to depart. This was finally granted, and Jaidev dismissed them with a large present of money and a convoy of soldiers for their protection. On the way the soldiers fell into conversation with their charge. They remarked that they had never before seen visitors to the king so heartily and kindly treated, and they inquired in what relationship the men they were escorting stood to Jaidev. The thags replied: 'What shall we say? It is not a fit thing to tell.' The soldiers promised them perfect secrecy. The thags then proceeded to exercise their inventive faculties developed by long practice. They said that Jaidev and they had been servants of a king. For some offence Jaidev had been condemned to death, and they had been appointed his executioners. They merely, however, cut off his hands and thus saved his life. Through gratitude for that favour Jaidev induced the king to pay them such extraordinary attention. It is said that God could no longer endure the fabrication of false charges against His saint. The ground

<sup>1</sup> This service consists in washing the saints' feet, waiting on them at dinner, walking round them in an attitude of adoration, &c., &c.

opened beneath the feet of the thags, and they sank into the pit of hell.

The soldiers in amazement returned to Jaidev and told him what had occurred. He began to tremble with pity for the thags, and made a gesture as if rubbing his hands—the Oriental attitude expressive of grief—whereupon, it is related, new hands sprouted from his body. The soldiers went and informed the king of the two miracles their eyes had beheld. The king proceeded to Jaidev and performed before him the prostration due to saints. He begged Jaidev to explain how the incidents had occurred. The saint for a long time refused, but, when greatly pressed by the king, gave him a detailed account of all the circumstances. The king's faith in Jaidev had now reached its utmost limit, and he knew that the man before him in the guise of a saint was really a divine incarnation. It is the usual custom of saints when they receive evil always to return good, even as bad men return evil for evil, so the king deemed his conclusion warranted by the forgiving conduct of Jaidev.

Jaidev felt a longing for home and told the king of his determination to take his leave. The king put his head on the saint's feet, and represented to him that his country had turned to God and the practice of virtue, since it had been trodden by his holy feet. If the saint were to depart, the king's subjects would turn away from their faith. He therefore implored him to defer his departure. As a further inducement to Jaidev to abide with him, he went himself and brought Padamavati so that the saint's happiness might be complete, and his distant home forgotten. Padamavati was installed in the royal palace, and the queen received stringent orders to perform all menial offices for her.

While Padamavati resided at the court the queen's brother died, and his wife was burned with him on

the funeral pyre. One day when the queen was boasting of the wonderful devotion of her sister-in-law, Padamavati smiled. When asked the reason she replied, 'To burn oneself alive with one's husband's corpse is far from being the acme of affection. True affection and love require a woman to sacrifice herself directly she even heareth of her husband's death.' 'In the present age,' replied the queen, 'thou alone art such a Sati,' a word defined by the author of the *Bhagat Māl* as a 'woman who considereth her husband a god and hath no concern with any other deity.' Not feeling flattered by the well-nigh unapproachable standard of conjugal devotion which alone Padamavati considered as worthy of admiration, the queen determined to put her to the test at the first opportunity.

One day when Jaidev was absent from home, the queen arranged that one of the royal servants in pretended haste was to come to her when with Padamavati, and inform the latter that Jaidev had been attacked and killed in the forest by a tiger. On the servant coming to where they were seated and repeating this carefully tutored story, Padamavati swooned and fell lifeless to the ground.<sup>1</sup>

The queen who had brought about this disaster, turned pale and became distracted at the unexpected turn of events. She was severely rebuked by the king when he heard of the occurrence. Life became bitter to her, and she made preparations for death on a funeral pyre which she had constructed. When the circumstances were communicated to Jaidev, he appeared in time to hinder the immolation of the queen, and approaching the dead Padamavati sang his well-known ashtapadis. To the surprise and joy of all, she was restored to life, it is said, and joined her husband in his song.

<sup>1</sup> The story in Nābhāji's *Bhagat Māl* makes the king join in the plot. We adopt in preference the story in the Marathi work, *Bhārat khanda cha aravachin Kosh*.



Jaidev and his wife by this time had had sufficient experience of regal life. They were glad to abandon all state and return to their lowly home at Kenduli, where they enjoyed the society of saints and transferred their idolatrous devotion to the love and homage of the one true God.

On the anniversary of Jaidev's birth a religious fair is held at Kenduli, the poet's birthplace, and is attended by thousands of Vaishnavs who celebrate the occasion by assembling round his cenotaph for worship, and singing the most sublime portions of his immortal songs.

The following hymns of Jaidev in far other style and manner, and written in the popular language of his time, are found in the Granth Sahib.

## HYMNS OF JAIDEV

### GUJARI

God's attributes, moral injunctions, and the inutilty of Hindu forms of worship:—

Before all things was the Being who is unrivalled and endued with permanence and similar attributes;<sup>1</sup>

Who is supremely wonderful, distinct from nature, incomprehensible, and pervadeth creation.

Repeat only the beloved God's name,

Which is ambrosia and the essence of all things.

By remembering Him the fear of birth, old age, and death afflicteth us not.

If thou desire the defeat of the god of death and his train, praise and bless God, and do good works.

God is equally in the present, past, and future, imperishable, and supremely happy.

<sup>1</sup> The attributes of God here meant are *sat*, stability or permanence; *chit*, sensation; and *ānand*, happiness.

*O man*, if thou seek to do good acts, renounce greed and the coveting of another's house,<sup>1</sup>

Together with all evil deeds and evil inclinations, and seek the protection of God.

*Embrace* the service of God alone in thought, deed, and word.

What availeth the practice of jog, sacrifice, alms, and penance ?

O man, utter the name of God, the Bestower of all supernatural power.

Jaidev hath come openly *into the asylum of Him* who is in the present and the past, who is contained in all things.

#### MARU

The following hymn, which in the original is perhaps one of the most difficult of human compositions, is given to illustrate the practice of jog.<sup>2</sup>

I drew up my breath by the left nostril, I fixed it between both nostrils<sup>3</sup> and I drew it down by the right repeating *oam* sixteen times at each *process*.

<sup>1</sup> That is, his wife and property.

<sup>2</sup> It has been explained that jog means the union of the soul with God, and the first means of effecting this is to train and obtain complete mastery over the inspiratory and expiratory organs. In the first stage of this exercise the breath is drawn up through the left nostril, called *ira*, while the syllable *oam*, one of the symbols of God, is slowly repeated sixteen times. The breath is then suspended in the upper part of the nose where both nostrils meet. This junction of the nostrils is called *sukhmana*. As the breath has been drawn up by the left nostril, so it is forced down through the right, called *pingala*, the syllable *oam* being again sixteen times repeated.

But the highest exercise of this practice is drawing the breath up to the brain, which in the language of the Jogis is styled the tenth gate, the other gates or apertures of the body being the eyes, ears, nose, mouth, &c. To assist in keeping the breath in the brain, the tongue is bent backwards so as to close the air passage. The operator also exerts himself to allow no breath to issue by the mouth or nostrils. A state of suspended animation then ensues. The brain is heated, and is said to distil nectar which falls on the tongue, and then a state of ecstasy supervenes. Skill in this practice, which is said to greatly weaken the body, is nowadays obtained by very few persons.

<sup>3</sup> *Nād* appears to mean here what is known to the Jogis as the *sukhmana*.

My strength I broke, and I have become weak; my unstable *mind* I fixed and made stable; my unfashioned mind I fashioned, and then I quaffed nectar.

*In that state* I sang of Him who preceded the soul<sup>1</sup> and the three qualities.<sup>2</sup>

The idea that Thou and I are distinct hath been removed.

What was worthy of worship I worshipped, what was worthy of trust I trusted; and I have become blended with God as water with water.

Saith Jaidev, I have repeated God's name,<sup>3</sup> and becoming absorbed in His love have obtained Him who liveth undisturbed.

## NAMDEV<sup>4</sup>

NAMDEV was the son of Damasheti, a tailor, who resided at Narsi Bamani, a village near Karhad in the Satara district of the Bombay Presidency. Namdev's mother was Gonabai, daughter of a tailor at Kalyan, in the same district. Both Namdev's

<sup>1</sup> God the Supreme Spirit, is the source whence the souls, *jīvātama*, of all animals have proceeded. The soul can only return to God by good works and laborious struggles for perfection. As long as God and the soul are distinct, the latter is subject to transmigration. When by the practice of good works the light of the soul blends with the light of God, *nirvān*, or eternal rest, is obtained.

<sup>2</sup> That is, from whom the soul and the three qualities emanated. God being a spirit cannot be said from a human point of view to possess any attributes.

<sup>3</sup> *Jaidev*, which literally means victory to God.

<sup>4</sup> The accounts of Nāmdev current in different provinces and languages of India are, for the most part, incorrect. The most trustworthy materials for his life are contained in the *Gāṭha*, compiled by Mr. Tukarām Tatya. It contains many hymns attributed to Nāmdev himself, but even these contain several exaggerations.

The author is indebted to Messrs. A. F. Maconochie and L. J. Mountford, governors of the Sholapur District, and to Messrs. N. G. Chandorkar and S. B. Sardesai, officials in the same district, for inquiries made regarding the lives of Nāmdev and other saints of the Dakhan.

father and mother, and probably their ancestors for some generations, possessed great devotional enthusiasm.

Outside the village of Narsi Bamani stood the temple of Keshiraj (Shiv), of whom Damasheti was a devout worshipper. He never omitted to pay a daily visit to the temple and make an offering to his god. Namdev's mother when pregnant used to request everybody she met to repeat the name of her favourite god. Namdev was born on Sunday the eleventh day of the light half of the month of Kartik in the Shaka year 1192, A.D. 1270. At the age of three years the young saint used to ejaculate the name of the local god of his devotion. At the age of five years he was sent to school, but he made no progress in learning. Whenever he found an opportunity, either in the absence of his teachers or otherwise, he set his schoolfellows singing songs to his favourite god, in which he joined both with voice and cymbal accompaniment. It is said that he loved God even from the day of his birth, and his divine love and devotion increased with his years.

At the age of eight years Namdev was betrothed to Rajabai, daughter of Govind Sheti. By her he ultimately had four sons, Narayan, Mahadev, Govind, and Vithal, and one daughter named Limba Bai.

His father finding that he made no progress in learning apprenticed him to his own trade. It very soon became manifest that Namdev paid no attention to practical business, but spent his time consorting with religious mendicants, visiting the temple of his god, and performing the devotions usual in such cases. It was then decided to put him to commerce. To this he consented, but represented that he possessed no capital. This was procured from a friendly banker. When Namdev found himself in the possession of funds, he gave a great feast to Brahmans, which exhausted all his money. At this both his parents and the money-lender were greatly



distressed. His mother bitterly reproached him for his recklessness and extravagance—

‘Was it for this I carried thee about for nine months? Was this misery kept in store for my old age? O why did I not rather remain a barren woman than give birth to such a son? Art thou not ashamed of thyself? People laugh at thee for thy madness. Have some respect for thy mother. Look at my grey hairs. Think of the miseries of thine aged father. What wilt thou gain by this madness? There are also other worshippers of Keshiraj. Why canst thou not act like them? What merits wilt thou obtain from this god? All who cared for him were ruined.’

Namdev’s mother, finding her remonstrances and objurgations useless, appealed to the priests of the temple to remonstrate with her son and lead him to a right understanding of his worldly position. From them, too, no hope was received of the youth’s amendment. They urged in reply to her representations that she was a fortunate mother, and that the good deeds of her previous births had ripened, and she had obtained a saint for a son.

One day when Namdev’s father was absent, the son took the daily offering of the family to the temple. It consisted of milk, which the youth had just milked from his cow. He thought that the god would freely partake of the offering on which he had lavished so much care. The stony idol, however, would not vouchsafe to do so. Upon this Namdev began to cry, threw himself down at the god’s feet and uttered passionate supplications. In due time the god relented and accepted the boy’s offering. He celebrated the event in the following hymn in the Bhairo measure :—

Nama having milked his brown cow took

A cup of milk and a jug of water for the *idol*.

‘Drink milk and my mind will be at ease ;

Otherwise my father will be angry.’

A golden cup filled with milk  
 Nama took and placed before the idol—  
 The saints alone abide in my heart—  
 On seeing Nama the god smiled ;  
 On giving milk to *the idol* the worshipper Nama went  
 home,  
 And God appeared unto him.

With reference to this miracle the author of the *Bhagat Mal*, in a paroxysm of devotion, remarks, 'Congratulations to God who loveth His saints, and is pleased with their devotion. Thou whom the Veds call Endless, and to attain whom Shiv and the other demigods performed every form of penance, art so much in the power of the saints and their love, that Thou performest everything according to their desires.'

It appears that Namdev, on arriving at man's estate, for a time grew weary of saintship. He records of himself that through evil destiny he began to associate with dakaits or Indian highwaymen, and plunder travellers. He and his gang killed several Brahmans, pilgrims, and innocent men. His father and other elderly persons remonstrated with him, but he heeded not their censures. At last the Emperor dispatched a squadron of cavalry to arrest the offenders. They refused to submit, and in the skirmish which ensued eighty-four of the troopers were slain, whereupon the remainder decamped.

Namdev possessed a large and excellent mare on which he used to scour the country and visit distant places. Whether as the result of habit or repentance, he made a vow, which he religiously kept, to behold daily the idol of Nagnath in the village of Aundhi, about sixteen miles to the east of Pandharpur.

There is another temple of Nagnath in the village of Vadval and thither went Namdev to behold the great saint Vishoba Khechar. Vishoba, in order



to make a trial of Namdev, resolved to assume the appearance of a leper. He thought that in this way if Namdev's faith were not strong, he would incontinently run away. Namdev in his search for Vishoba went into the neighbouring temple. There he saw a leper lying on the ground resting his shodden feet on a lingam, the emblem of Shiv. On beholding the insult to the idol, Namdev chid the leper and asked him to leave the sacred edifice. Vishoba replied that he was an old man who could not attend to nice formalities of worship, but Namdev might turn his feet in whatever direction he pleased. Upon this Namdev raised the old man's feet and turned them in a different direction. There, too, it is said, Namdev again saw a lingam under Vishoba's feet. He was astonished, as well he might be, on beholding this extraordinary circumstance, and asked the leper where Vishoba was. The leper replied, 'I am Vishoba.' Namdev then asked how a man reputed to be a saint could be guilty of placing his feet on a lingam and thus outraging the god. Vishoba replied that he found no place which was not filled with God. Namdev bowed to him, and expressed a desire to become his disciple. Vishoba then proposed to Namdev to take him outside the temple. When Vishoba was deposited there, he said he would accept Namdev as a disciple, and bade him close his eyes. Namdev did so, and on opening them saw no longer a leper, but a priest in vigorous health and manly beauty.

Namdev abode for several months with Vishoba Khechar and received instruction from him as recorded in a work called *Namdev Gatha*, principally in the Marathi language, but containing also one hundred and ten Hindi stanzas from which Namdev's hymns in the Granth Sahib have been selected.

On one occasion when Namdev went to behold his god in the temple he was not allowed to enter because a Brahman, who had brought cooked food to offer to

the god, would not suffer persons of Namdev's degraded caste to stand under the same roof with him. Namdev while detained outside the temple saw approach a very needy low-caste woman with a child on her hip. The child was crying pitifully for a morsel of the food brought by wealthy persons as offerings to the god. The mother tried to restrain the child's cries and longings. The child refused to be comforted and only cried and coveted the more. The woman then began to beat the child. Namdev's heart melted at the sight, and he remonstrated with the mother for her behaviour. She replied, 'The child is very hungry and wishes me to give her the god's food, which is impossible. I have nothing myself, I am totally without means. My husband was one of the eighty-four horsemen recently cut down by the inhuman dakaits. Being thus helpless myself, what can I give the child? I only possess the bones in my body. Dost thou, by thy chiding and harsh words, desire me to feed her with them?'

Her words pierced Namdev's heart, and he began to reflect how many families had been ruined through his reckless and lawless career. On leaving the temple precincts, he bestowed his mare and whatever clothes he could dispense with on the Brahmans, and, to use his own words, made a friend of repentance. He took up a knife, entered the temple in anguish, and began to pray to his god. 'O Shiv, O Mahadev, I have committed many crimes and shall have to suffer the torments of hell. How shall I find salvation?' In his agony of remorse, he thrust the knife into his head, upon which blood spurted from it and fell on the idol. The ministrants of the temple ran up, snatched the knife from his hand, tied him hand and foot, and threw him outside the edifice. A crowd gathered round him and began to revile and spurn him, not for his attempt at suicide, but for having defiled the god.

When left alone, he thought he saw Nagnath in a vision, who thus addressed him: 'Namdev, thou hadst better proceed to Pandharpur at once. Its patron god, Vitthal, will purge thee of thy sins, and thou shalt not only obtain salvation, but renown, as one of God's saints in the world.' Namdev tied up the wound in his head and started for Pandharpur, in the company of pilgrims who were proceeding thither. On the way he was tormented physically by flies which sought to settle on his wound, and mentally by the curses and reproaches of his companions.

Pundarik, who lived in the present district of Sholapur, was a saint celebrated for his devotion to his parents. It is said the god Krishan went with his cows and herdsmen all the way from Dwaraka on the margin of the Arabian Sea to behold the possessor of such filial piety. Krishan left his belongings at Gopalpur on the margin of the Bhima river, and proceeded to the dwelling of Pundarik. Pundarik by way of hospitality threw him a brick to stand on. The god accepted the offer in the hope of friendly converse with the saint, but the latter was so much engaged in the service of his parents that he had not leisure to speak to him. Krishan, disdaining to return to Dwaraka without effecting his object, remained standing on the brick, and was named Vitthal.<sup>1</sup>

Long afterwards the place was the scene of the depredations of a famous robber. The renowned Emperor Salivahan, whose capital was at Paithan, south of Aurangabad, and who gave his name to an

<sup>1</sup> 'The name of a much worshipped god at Pandharpur. He is much resorted to by the low and mean and despised of all descriptions. Hence a descriptive derivation has been invented for his name, viz. *vi*, from *vit*, knowledge or understanding, *th*, cipher, i.e. privation, destitution, and *l* for *lat*, he takes. Thus *vit*, *th*, and *l* form *Vitthal*, and acquire the sense Receiver of the ignorant and the destitute of understanding.'—Molesworth's Marathi Dictionary.



era which preceded the Christian by fifty-seven years, sent in the fifth year of his reign an officer to rid the land of the freebooter. The officer found the god still standing in the same posture as when he had been last seen by Pundarik. The place was named Pundarikpur—shortened into Pandharpur—in memory of the saint and it gradually rose to considerable importance and became the most important place of worship in Maharashtar.<sup>1</sup>

The roof of Namdev's hut was blown away by a storm while the inmates were asleep. A devout friend whom Namdev recognized as God incarnate at once proceeded to re-roof the building. This incident was versified by Namdev in the Sorath measure as follows :—

A near neighbour asked Nama, 'By whom didst thou have this hut rebuilt ?

'If thou show me the carpenter, I will pay him twice the wages thou didst.'

'O my sister, my Carpenter cannot be given thee ;

Lo! my Carpenter pervadeth all things ;

My Carpenter is the Support of the soul.

If any one want such a hut to be built, the Carpenter will require love for His wages.

When man breaketh with his family and all his friends, then the Carpenter of His own accord cometh to him.

I cannot describe such a Carpenter ; He is contained in everything and in every place.

As when a dumb man tasteth the great flavour of nectar, if thou ask him, he cannot describe it.

Hear the praises of the Carpenter, my sister—He restrained the ocean and fixed Dhru *as the polar star*.

Nama's Lord recovered Sita, and bestowed Lanka on Babbikhan.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Mahārāshṭar, the country of the Marathas, bounded on the north by the Narbada river, on the south and east by the Karnātic and Telinga, and on the west by the ocean.

<sup>2</sup> Babbikhan (Vibhīshan), brother of the wicked Rāwan, was granted Rāwan's kingdom by Rām Chandar.

The house in which Namdev and his family lived and in which in early years he plied his trade, is pointed out to the visitor. It has been greatly enlarged and modified since the saint made it his residence. The roof of the large hall is now supported by pillars. It is said that Namdev buried many of his voluminous works within the house, and forbade their exhumation under a solemn malediction.

A girl called Janabai went with her parents to visit the temple of Pandharpur. She there obtained such an access of devotion that she refused to return home, and her parents returned without her. Namdev happened to see her, and, taking an interest in her, made inquiries regarding her parents and place of residence. She replied that she had no parents but God, and no residence save His temple at Pandharpur. Namdev was moved to take compassion on her, and entrusted her to his mother. Janabai developed poetical talents, and several of her compositions are extant. She has given some particulars of Namdev's life.<sup>1</sup>

The Hindus desired to test the reality of Namdev's fast on the eleventh days of the light and dark halves of the month. They sent him a lean Brahman who asked for some food. Namdev refused as it was the eleventh day. He was fasting himself, and he thought others ought to fast also. The pretended Brahman said that he was at his last gasp through hunger. 'Bring me something at once.' In short, such was the insistence of the Brahman in asking and of Namdev in refusing, that a serious difference resulted between them. Several people assembled on hearing the uproar, and advised Namdev to give something from his kitchen for the sake of peace and dismiss the Brah-

<sup>1</sup> In the courtyard of Nāmdēv's house is a miniature statue of the lady wearing an ample crinoline. She is revered as a saint both by inhabitants and pilgrims.

man. Namdev refused, as he deemed fasting on the eleventh day the most important form of devotion. The Brahman insisted on not taking his departure till he had received something to eat. He accordingly fell down at Namdev's door, and pretended to die of hunger the same evening.

Persons unacquainted with the strict rules for the eleventh day's fast began to charge Namdev with the heinous crime of having caused a Brahman's death. Namdev neither feared nor heeded their censure. He prepared a funeral pyre, and seating himself on it beside the Brahman, ordered it to be lighted. The Brahman had no wish to immolate himself and promptly rose from the pyre and decamped. Thus was Namdev rescued from the death which he had courted. The bystanders, on seeing what had occurred, became believers, and accepted as a fact that Namdev was under the special protection of heaven.

A Brahman called Parisa Bhagwat lived in Pandharpur. He had a philosopher's stone—*paras*—the word from which his name was apparently derived. His wife Kamalja one day went to the adjacent Bhima river and there met Rajabai, Namdev's wife. The latter complained that her husband Namdev would do no work, and that in consequence the family was in very straightened circumstances. Kamalja said she possessed a philosopher's stone which she would lend her. It would convert everything into gold, and she would no longer be indigent. Rajabai, it is said, took the philosopher's stone and produced much gold by its agency. When Namdev heard of this, he took the stone and threw it into the river. When Kamalja remonstrated with him, he dived into the water and brought up two handfuls of gravel, which he threw in front of her. On looking she fancied that every bit of the gravel was a philosopher's stone. On this she left her home and became a disciple of Namdev.

Gyandev,<sup>1</sup> a disciple of Vishoba Khechar, hearing of the fame of Namdev, went to Pandharpur to visit him. Gyandev was a Vedantist and pantheistic philosopher who relied on knowledge, while Namdev was thoroughly convinced of the superiority of devotion or spiritual love to one God. The Brahmans deem Vedantism more orthodox as having been originally propounded in works which they accept as divine revelation. When a man becomes a Vedantist, he rejects religious observances and believes himself saved during life. Namdev now totally repudiated this belief. At the same time there was nothing to hinder a Pantheist from consorting with a monotheist, and both saints became fast friends; Gyandev proposed to him that they should go together to visit holy places. Namdev replied that he was in the hands of Vitthal, and his permission must first be obtained. This preliminary having been arranged, Namdev fainted at the thought of leaving his god. Gyandev tried to console him, and said that as he was an incarnation of Vitthal, the god could have no cause for regret.

In the course of their conversation Gyandev asked him to indicate the way of devotion, and explain how man could make Vitthal his own. Namdev replied, 'The strength of contempt of the world should be in the body as an unchanging companion. Man should lay aside the difference between himself and others, and feel no anxiety for things of this world.'

The object of the saints was most probably rather a thirst for information than a desire to make a religious pilgrimage. Had the latter been their object, they would have gone first to Banaras, and endeavoured to obtain the hall-mark of orthodoxy and the favour of the great Hindu priests who resided there. The two saints set out from Pan-

<sup>1</sup> Jnyāndev is the correct spelling, but on account of the difficulty of pronunciation the saint is known in Northern India as Gyāndev.



dharpur for Hastinapur, the name by which Dihli was then known. The Emperor Muhammad bin Tughlak hearing of Namdev's influence with the people, and suspecting that it would lead to an insurrection, resolved to arrest his career. The following hymn in the Bhairo measure gives the result :—

The emperor said, ' Ho, you Nama,  
Let me see the deeds of your God.'  
The emperor had Nama arrested—  
' Let me see your God Vitthal ;  
Restore to life this slaughtered cow,  
Otherwise I will strike off thy head on the spot.'  
' Your majesty, how can that be ?  
No man can reanimate what is slaughtered.  
All I could do would be of no avail ;  
What God doeth taketh place.'  
The emperor fell into a passion,  
And set a huge elephant at Nama.  
Nama's mother began to cry—

' Why dost thou not abandon the God of the Hindus  
and worship the God of the Musalmans ? '

*Namdev* : ' I am not thy son, nor art thou my mother ;  
Even though I perish, I will sing God's praises.'

The elephant struck him with his trunk,  
*But* Nama was saved by the protection of God.

*The king said*, ' The Qazis and the Mullahs salute me,  
But this Hindu trampleth on mine honour.'

*The Hindus said*, ' O king, hear our prayer ;  
Take Nama's weight in gold.'

' If I take a bribe I shall go to hell ;  
Shall I amass wealth by abandoning my faith ? '

While Nama's feet were being chained  
He sang the praises of God and beat time with his hands.  
The Ganges and the Jamna may flow backwards,  
But Nama will repeat God's name.

When seven gharis were heard to strike,<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Nāmdev got orders from the Emperor to restore the cow within a pahar or watch of three hours or suffer death. When seven of the

The Lord of the three worlds had not yet arrived.  
 God afterwards came mounted on His garur,  
 Which beat the air with its wings.<sup>1</sup>  
 He took compassion on His saint,  
 And came mounted on His garur,  
 ' Say but the word and I will turn the earth on its side ;  
 Say but the word and I will upturn it altogether.<sup>2</sup>  
 Say but the word and I will restore the dead cow to life,  
 So that every one may behold and be convinced.'  
 Nama said, ' Spancel the cow '<sup>3</sup>  
 They put the calf to her and milked her.  
 When the pitcher was filled with the milk the cow gave,  
 Nama took and placed it before the emperor,  
 And the time of trouble came on him.  
 He implored Namdev through the Qazis and the Mullas—  
 ' Pardon me, O Hindu, I am thy cow.'  
 Nama said, ' Hear, O monarch,  
 Hath this credential been exhibited by me ?  
 The object of this miracle is  
 That thou, O emperor, shouldst walk in the paths of  
 truth and humility—  
 Namdev, *God* is contained in everything.'  
 The Hindus went in procession to Nama,  
 And said, ' If the cow had not been restored to life,  
 People would have lost faith in thee.'  
 The fame of Namdev remained in the world ;  
 He took saints with him to salvation.  
 All trouble and sorrow befell the revilers—  
 Between Nama and God there is no difference.

eight gharis of the pahar had elapsed and the cow was not reanimated, Nādev felt anxious ; but when the eighth ghari was struck, it is said God presented Himself and wrought this miracle to preserve His saint from the Emperor's wrath.

<sup>1</sup> Also translated—When the end of the watch had struck, God came riding on His garur. *Vide* p. 81, n. 1, *infra*.

<sup>2</sup> Also translated—(a) I will take thee with Me on high ; (b) I will take the earth and put it in the sky.

<sup>3</sup> *Sel masel*. The gyānis think that these words were intended as an anagram of Salīm Shāh, but Nādev lived long prior to that monarch. The Emperor at the time was certainly Muhammad bin Tughlak.

Namdev continued to preach that God and his idol were one, as holy water and ordinary water have the same appearance, as a lamp and its light, as a flower and its fragrance, as the sun and its rays, as the cloud and water, as sweetmeats and their taste, as a musical instrument and its melody, as an object and its shadow are all inseparable. His teaching again involved Namdev in serious difficulty, and he had to hastily retreat to save himself from the indignation and violence of the Muhammadans.

Namdev and Gyandev next proceeded to Kashi (Banaras), where they met the renowned Sanskrit scholars of the age. Thence they travelled to Priyag. Thence they went to Gaya, where Budha in days long past performed his heroic penance and renunciation. Thence the two saints proceeded to Ajudhia, the birthplace of the god Ram Chandar. They then went to Mathura, the birthplace of the god Sri Krishan, thence to Gokal and Bindraban, thence to Jagannath, the temple of the lord of the world, on the shore of the Bay of Bengal. From there they made the long journey to Dwaraka by the shore of the Arabian Sea, the scene of Krishan's retreat from the battle in which he was defeated by King Jarasandh.

The two saints having thus proceeded to the utmost limit of India resolved to begin their homeward journey, and in due time reached Marwar. They tarried for a night in Kolad, probably the modern Koilath near Bikaner. Here occurred an incident which is related by the Marathi chronicler. Namdev and Gyandev both felt thirsty. There was a well in the neighbourhood, but it was very deep, and they had not the means of drawing water. It is said that Gyandev by the aid of jog science assumed a minute body, descended into the well, and quenched his thirst. He then challenged Namdev either to assume a minute body and descend into the well or drink water from his hands. Namdev, who was

no believer in the efficacy of jog, declined the challenge, and said that if his god Vishoba were there, he would supply him with water. Upon this, it is said, the well filled to the brim with sweet water, and Namdev's desires were in every way gratified.

Namdev and Gyandev then departed for Rameshwar in the extreme south of India, memorable as the place whence Ram Chandar set out on his expedition to Ceylon. After seeing the temple of Oamkar the two saints proceeded to Kalapdhara and thence to Dhara. In the latter place they visited the temple of Audhiya Nagnath. When Namdev arrived at the temple, he began to sing hymns with a loud voice. This attracted a crowd of people, so that the Brahman ministrants could not gain entrance without suffering the pollution of being touched by men of lower caste, deemed unworthy of salvation. Upon this they asked Namdev to cease singing and retire to a spot at the rear of the temple where he might continue his minstrelsy if he chose. Namdev told them that in God's temple there were no higher or lower castes, and that no one's touch could soil those who performed heartfelt worship. The Brahmans were not convinced; they struck Namdev, deprived him of his cymbals, and insisted that he should leave the temple. He went and sat down behind it and thus addressed God, 'I have no asylum but in Thee, and I want nothing. If Thou show Thyself to others and not to me, lend Thine ear at least to my songs.' He then began to sing verses full of self-reproach and abasement.

It is said that God, on hearing Namdev's tuneful worship, was moved with kindness and compassion, and caused the temple to turn round, so that the door remained opposite His saint. Namdev has versified the incident in the following hymn in the Rag Malar :—



I went, O Lord, with laughter and gladness to Thy temple,  
But while Nama was worshipping, *the Brahmans* forced  
him away.

A lowly caste is mine, O King of the Yadav,<sup>1</sup> why was  
I born a calico-printer ?

I took up my blanket, went back,  
And sat behind the temple.

As Nama repeated the praises of God  
The temple turned towards His saint.

Namdev returned to the subject in the following  
hymn in the Bhairo measure :—

Forget me not, forget me not,  
Forget me not, O God !

Those misled Brahmans of the temple were all furious  
with me ;

Calling me a Sudar they beat me and turned me out ;  
what shall I do, Father Vitthal ?

If Thou give me salvation when I am dead, nobody will  
be aware of it ; save me now.<sup>2</sup>

If these pandits call me low, then, O God, Thine honour  
will be in the background.

Thou who art called the compassionate and the merciful,  
altogether unrivalled is Thine arm—

God turned round the front of the temple towards Nama,  
and its back towards the pandits.

From Audhiya Nagnath the party proceeded to  
Paithan, Salivahan's capital, on the margin of the  
Godavari in the present state of Haidarabad, and  
thence to Deogiri, once the capital of the Maratha  
kingdom, in the vicinity of the famous caves of  
Ellora, where they met Sadhna, who hospitably  
entertained them, and then joined them in their  
peregrinations. They visited several places in the

<sup>1</sup> That is, Krishan. Nāmdev in the transition stage of his reformation used the word or expression Yādav Rāia for God.

<sup>2</sup> The meaning of the saint's prayer to God is—' Assist me in this world so that men may know I am under Thy protection.'



neighbourhood of Nasik, and thence proceeded to Junagarh in the province of Kathiawar.<sup>1</sup>

No very important incidents are recorded relating to the saints' homeward journey. On arriving at Pandharpur, Namdev applied himself to the composition of his abhangs.<sup>2</sup> His fame rapidly extended and his compositions flew from mouth to mouth. Many accepted the incidents related in them, but others entertained doubts regarding Namdev's accuracy. On being pressed to explain the miracles he recorded and give a clear reply as to whether he himself believed in them, he asked his interrogator if he had ever heard bells ringing in his ears, and if the ringing were real or imaginary. The interrogator replied that he had heard ringing in his ears but no material bells were actually ringing. Namdev practically admitted that his record of miracles was the result of similar deception and of excessive and childlike faith. He believed in the miracles himself, and gave poetical expression to his belief as his vivid imagination prompted him.

Namdev once met an old friend who questioned him on his spiritual progress. Namdev unbosomed himself and described his mission to Vadval. His friend wondered that a man from whose hands his god had taken food, could put himself under a human guru inferior beyond all comparison to the much worshipped and much beloved Vitthal. Namdev replied as follows : ' Gods made of stone never speak. How can they heal worldly sorrows ? People suppose that idols of stone are God, but He is a real divinity and altogether different. If gods of stone can fulfil man's desires why should he suffer sorrow and affliction ? They who worship gods of

<sup>1</sup> We have endeavoured to follow the saints' itinerary as given in the Lives of Indian Saints, but it is possible that it will afterwards be re-arranged, should Nāmdev's followers think it necessary. The geographical difficulties of the present itinerary are obvious.

<sup>2</sup> Hymns principally in the Marathi language.

stone are absolute idiots. Both they who preach and they who believe that gods of stone hold converse with saints have perverted intellects. They who call such gods great beings and style their priests saints are really degraded creatures unworthy of credence. Let not their words enter thine ears. How can men be saved who cause gods to be carved out of stone, and reverently regard them during the years of their mortal lives? Hast thou never reflected on this? Thou hast no gods except water and stones. Go visit all the places of pilgrimage small and great and see for thyself. I have learned in Vadval that God is everywhere contained. Khechar conferred the favour on me of showing me God in my own heart.'

The Marathi chronicles show that Namdev died on the thirteenth day of the dark half of the month Asu, A.D. 1350, at the age of eighty years, and that he was buried in Pandharpur, where his head, moulded in brass on the lower step of the temple of Vishoba, is now worshipped by the populace. He has left several abhangs in which he prayed Shri Vitthal to give him a last resting-place at his feet. He was accordingly buried at the entrance of the temple of Vishoba under the lowest step of the stairs by which pilgrims ascend. He desired that his head should be trodden on by holy men and that he should acquire spiritual advantage from the dust of their feet. The idea is that when a man prostrates himself at the foot of a saint the dust of the saint's feet purifies him. The climax of beatitude is attained when the dust of the soles of the saint's feet falls on the worshipper's head.

Opposite Namdev's grave was buried one Chokhya, a Mahar of the lowest grade of Sudars—a grade so socially spurned that they might not even be touched by the higher classes. They were not allowed even in the time of Bajirao the last Peshwa (1796-1817) to travel by the same road as Brahmans, and it is

believed that they are still not allowed to do so in certain places in Southern India. To the right of the visitor is seen a representation of Ganesh the elephant-headed god of learning, carved in relief out of a rock and painted red. Near Ganesh is a shapeless block of stone said to represent Hanuman the monkey-god and ally of Ram Chandar in his expedition to Ceylon.

The temple extends far inwards and contains several apartments supported by pillars. Through these the pilgrims pass in batches controlled by police officials. Over the apartments are vent holes to prevent the pilgrims from being suffocated as they pass in large numbers. From the roof of the temple is seen a chapel sacred to Rukmani the consort of Krishan, at which principally women worship. The temple was called Raul by Bhagat Namdev. It now contains many and various jewels of great value, the offerings of pious pilgrims for the decoration and glory of Vishoba. In the necklaces are seen gold coins of Spain, Portugal, and other European countries.<sup>1</sup>

All Namdev's compositions bear convincing testimony to the love he bore his favourite deity. Accordingly, the local tradition that he spent his old age at Pandharpur in the immediate vicinity of Vishoba's temple, and that he was buried there must be implicitly accepted.

The Sikhs and Panjabi followers of Namdev say that he was cremated at Ghuman in the Gurdaspur district of the Panjab. This belief is founded on legends current in the north of India and the records at a shrine bearing the saint's name in Ghuman, but it is resolutely denied by his followers in Pandharpur, who assert that, owing to the fame of his sanctity, possession of his remains was claimed by many

<sup>1</sup> It is satisfactory to find that the Bombay government allows the district British officials to be *ex-officio* guardians of the properties of the temple.



provinces of India in the same way as the god Ram was claimed by the Budhists as one of their gurus.

The following account of Namdev in Nabhaji's *Bhagat Mal* is accepted by his followers in the Panjab, though it probably refers to a different person who assumed his name. Bamdev was a calico-printer of Gopalpura near Pandharpur. He had a daughter, a virgin widow, whom he very much loved. Bamdev was himself a God-fearing man. When his daughter attained the age of twelve years, he instructed her to serve and worship God under the name of Vitthalnath, informing her at the same time that, by hearty love and devotion to Him, all her wishes should be fulfilled. She then applied herself with such zeal to the worship of God that in a short time, it is said, He even gratified her desire for a son, and she became pregnant. This became known all over the city, and to the whole tribe wherever dispersed. Evil persons rejoiced at the opportunity afforded them of defaming Bamdev. The matter eventually came to his ears, and he asked his daughter to explain her lapse of virtue. She replied, 'Thou toldest me that by hearty love and devotion to God, He would satisfy all my wishes and desires. Whatever hath occurred hath been the work of God.' Bamdev on hearing this was so overjoyed that he could hardly contain himself. When in due time a son was born to his daughter, he gave all he had in alms as a thanksgiving for the happy event. He called the child Namdev, and loved him more than his own life.

To remove the objections of evil and slanderous people to the child's birth the Purans and other sacred books were consulted, and the words of God in the second chapter of the *Bhagawat* were explained to the people. There God says, that if a man worship Him with constant love He will fulfil his desires whether for temporal or spiritual



objects. In the eleventh chapter of the *Bhagawat* it is written, that God bestoweth even salvation on His saints, so why not the fulfilment of their worldly desires? It would be nothing strange if He fulfilled the desires of a saint of His who prayed to Him with love.

There used to be a vigil held in Namdev's house on the eleventh night of the light and dark halves of the month. On one occasion on a dark night the assembled saints were thirsty, but there was no water for them to drink. No one would go to draw from the adjacent well, which was haunted. Namdev himself took a pitcher and proceeded thither with the object of satisfying his guests. A terrible and frightful ghost appeared to him. For the object of exorcism Namdev extemporized a stanza which he sang to the accompaniment of cymbals. The first lines of the stanza are as follows :—

My long-legg'd Sir, I see thy form arise,  
Thy feet on earth, thy forehead in the skies.  
Thine arms are long as *jojans*<sup>1</sup> to mine eyes.

It is said that God revealed Himself in the ghost, and the latter through the favour of Namdev was translated to heaven.<sup>2</sup>

The following parable is given by some of Namdev's biographers. There was a banker whose riches were so great that he had himself weighed with gold which he distributed among his poor fellow citizens. Hesent for Namdev at somebody's suggestion. Namdev twice sent him word that he wanted nothing, but on the third invitation decided on going to meet him. The banker said that he had distributed a large amount of money through the city, and asked Namdev also to take some, so that he him-

<sup>1</sup> A *jojan* is four kos. A kos is a linear measure varying in different parts of India from one mile and a quarter to two miles.

<sup>2</sup> Nābhāji's *Bhagat Māl*.

self might reap some advantage from the benefaction. Namdev replied, 'Why should I refuse anything that would be for thy benefit?' At the same time he reflected that when the banker abandoned the pride of wealth, it would be well for him. He therefore wrote the letter R, being half of God's name,<sup>1</sup> on a sprig of sweet basil, and told the banker to weigh gold against it. The banker asked if he were laughing at him, and said, 'Having regard for thy holiness and kindness in visiting me, ask for what thou desirest.' Namdev replied that laughter and pleasantry were out of place. He only required gold of the weight of the sprig of basil. Upon this the banker sent for small scales, and began to weigh the basil with a little gold. The gold was not sufficient to weigh down the sprig. The banker sent for larger scales, and finding the sprig weighed more than five or seven *sers*, put in six or seven *mans* of gold, but still the scale with the basil remained on the ground, while the scale with the gold kicked the beam. He then borrowed more gold from his tribesmen, but all would not suffice to lift the basil. At this the banker and his dependants were sore distressed. Namdev then saw that the banker had parted with his pride of wealth, but that he was still proud of the good acts he had done during his life, and it was necessary to dispel that pride also. Namdev told him to add the offering of the good acts of his life, and perhaps the scale with the sprig of basil would rise. The banker did so, but still the scale refused to move. The banker's good acts possessed no weight. Upon this he told Namdev to take away all the gold. Namdev inquired what use it would be to him. He wanted the wealth of God's service, to whom all the deities and the powers of both worlds were subservient. The banker grew ashamed and inspired with faith became a saint of God.

<sup>1</sup> Rām. The vowel is not counted a letter.





NAMDEV'S SHRINE AT GHUMAN



The following are given as specimens of the preaching of Namdev. If a man greet another outwardly, and inwardly remember his demerits, he doeth not well. It is like eating a fly in sweets. The mind is made steady by the knowledge that God is all-pervading. That is the true form of meditation. As loose women, though in the arms of their husbands, think of their lovers, as the chatrik while resting on the earth thinketh of the clouds which will give it acceptable rain-drops, as the lotuses in the lake think of the sun, as a cow while grazing in the field thinketh of her calf, as a miser while walking in the streets thinketh of his wealth, as a goldsmith while making ornaments thinketh of stealing the gold given him for the purpose, as the chakor thinketh of the moonlight, as a woman returning from a well thinketh of her pitcher while conversing with her friends, as the bee while flitting in the glade thinketh of the flower, so should man while following the ways of the world think of God in his heart.

Namdev visited the present district of Gurdaspur in the Panjab when fifty-five years of age. He first went to Bhattewal and dwelt beside a tank there, which is called Namiana in memory of him. He had two disciples—Ladha and Jalla, a carpenter—who settled down with followers of their own in the villages of Sukhowal and Dhariwal respectively. Namdev removed from Bhattewal, and took up his abode near another tank in a lonely forest, where he hoped for more leisure for prayer and meditation on God. His presence there soon attracted cultivators, and the village of Ghuman gradually sprang up over the spot where he is supposed to have been cremated. A fine domed building was erected to his memory by Sardar Jassa Singh Ramgarhia ; and the tank was repaired by Mai Sada Kaur, the mother-in-law of Maharaja Ranjit Singh. Since then the yearly religious fair at the saint's shrine on the

2nd of Magh—about the 13th of January—has assumed considerable proportions. His followers in the Gurdaspur district are of the same caste and occupation as himself, reverence the Granth Sahib, and in many respects resemble the Sikhs in their usages.<sup>1</sup>

The following hymns of Namdev are found in the Granth Sahib. They belong to three periods of his life—boyhood when he was an idolater, manhood when he was emancipating himself from Hindu superstitions, and old age when his hymns became conformable to the ideas of religious reformers at the time, and to the subsequent teaching of the Sikh Gurus. It is on account of his later and more matured opinions that his writings have been incorporated in the sacred book of the Sikhs.

## NAMDEV'S HYMNS

GAURI

The saving influence of God's name.

O God, Thou didst cause stones to float ;<sup>2</sup>

Why should not man float over by repeating Thy name ?

Thou didst save the courtesan, the shapeless hunchback, the hunstman, and Ajamal.

<sup>1</sup> Settlement report of the Gurdāspur district by Sir L. W. Dane, now Lieutenant-governor of the Panjāb. Lt.-Col. M. W. Douglas also has favoured us with some notes on Nāmdev.

<sup>2</sup> Rām Chandar, when he went to war with Rāwan, is said to have built a bridge from the mainland of India to Ceylon ; and this was effected by causing its rocky materials to float on the surface of the water. It is supposed that the word Rām (God) was impressed on every stone, and that it was thus made to float on the ocean. In the same way God can cause men to swim safely across to the abode of bliss. The several persons mentioned—outcasts and sinners—succeeded independently of their birth and calling ; and their salvation was effected by repeating the name of God and offering Him suitable homage.

Even the murderer *who shot Krishan* in the foot was saved—

I am a sacrifice to those who utter God's name—

Bidur, the son of a handmaiden, Sudama, and Ugarsen,<sup>1</sup> who obtained regal state ;

Men without devotion, without penance, without family and without good works, were saved by Nama's Lord.

#### ASA

The omnipresence of God. In the Hindu system there is no teleological purpose assigned for the creation of the world. It is the sport of Maya who proceeded from God. Maya still practises every art to bewitch and deceive mankind. Namdev's creed is the unity of God, who is contained in everything and fills all creation.

#### I

There is one God of various *manifestations* contained in and filling everything ; whithersoever I look there is He.

Maya's variegated picture hath so bewitched *the world*, that few know *God*.

Everything is God, everything is God, there is nothing but God.

One string holdeth hundreds and thousands of beads ; God is the warp and woof.

Waves and foam and bubbles cannot be distinct from water.

This illusion, *the world*, is the play of the Supreme God ; on reflection *thou shalt* not *find it* different from Him.

Fleeting phantoms, illusions of dreams man deemeth real advantages.

My guru instilled into me right ideas, and when I awoke *to reason* my mind accepted them.

Saith Namdev, behold the creation of God, and reflect on it in thy mind ;

<sup>1</sup> Ugarsen was father of Rāja Kans, Krishan's uncle, who sought to kill him in his childhood lest he might usurp his kingdom. Instead of that Krishan killed Kans, and gave the kingdom to his father, Ugarsen.

In every heart and in all things uninterruptedly there is only the one God.

The futility of idolatry.

## II

If I bring a pitcher and fill it with water to bathe the idol,

Forty-two lakhs<sup>1</sup> of animal species are in the water ; God is contained *in them* ; why should I bathe Him ?

Wherever I go there God is contained ;

God supremely happy ever sporteth.

If I bring flowers and weave a garland to worship the idol,

The bee hath first smelled the flowers ; God is contained *in the bee* ; why should I weave Him *a garland* ?

If I bring milk and cook it with khir<sup>2</sup> to feed the idol,

The calf hath first defiled the milk *by tasting it* ; God is contained *in the calf* ; why should I feed Him ?

In this world is God ; in the next world is God ; *there* is no *part of the* world without Him.

Thou art, O God, in every place ; Nama representeth, Thou fillest the whole earth.

Namdev had renounced his secular duties, and it was represented to him that he ought to embrace them again. He here gives substitutes for the tools of his trade :—

## III

My heart is a yard measure ; my tongue a shears.

With it I measure and cut off Death's noose.<sup>3</sup>

What care I for caste ? What care I for lineage ?

I repeat the name of God day and night ;

<sup>1</sup> Of the eighty-four lakhs of animal species in the world, half are supposed to be on land and half in water.

<sup>2</sup> *Khir* is the Sanskrit *kshir*, milk, but the word in later literature generally means rice boiled in milk and sugar.

<sup>3</sup> The god of death is supposed to throw nooses to ensnare mortals. He does not mow them down like Death in European mythology.



I dye what ought to be dyed,<sup>1</sup> and I sew what ought to be sewed.<sup>2</sup>

I cannot live for a ghari without God's name :

I perform worship and sing God's praises ;

During the eight watches of the day I meditate on my Lord.

My needle is of gold, my thread of silver <sup>3</sup>—

Nama's soul is attached to God.

The following hymn was addressed to a reputed holy man who had stolen a merchant's money, and falsely imputed the offence to Namdev. The merchant had gone to bathe, and while doing so the hypocrite seated in a religious attitude stole his purse. The merchant missed it on returning. He could not think of attributing the theft to the man in the religious garb, so he charged Namdev with it. The merchant would not accept Namdev's denial, and had him flogged. While Namdev was being punished a storm arose which lifted the cloth on which the reputed holy man sat. The missing purse was then found under the cloth. Upon that Namdev addressed the following verses to the hypocrite :—

#### IV

The serpent casteth its slough, but not its poison :

Since thy heart is not pure,

Why perform *mock* meditation and repetition of God's name ?

Thou art as the crane watching *for fish* in the water.

The man who eateth the food of lions,<sup>4</sup>

Is called the god of thieves.

<sup>1</sup> I steep my mind in God's name.

<sup>2</sup> By meditation I unite my soul with God as the needle joins two pieces of cloth.

<sup>3</sup> In this line the golden needle represents the guru's instruction; the silver thread the pure heart in which it is received.

<sup>4</sup> That is, who lives on plunder.

Nama's Lord hath settled the quarrel ;  
 Drink God's elixir,<sup>1</sup> O double-faced one.

Devotion to God is sufficient for human happiness.

# V

If thou see the Supreme God, thou shalt have no other desire ;

If thou think of the worship of God, thou shalt keep thy mind free from care.

O my soul, how shalt thou cross over the world's ocean *filled with* the water of evil passions ?

O my soul, thou hast been led astray on seeing the deceitful world.

A calico-printer's<sup>2</sup> house gave me birth, yet I became saturated with the guru's instruction,

Through the favour of holy men Nama hath met God.

# GUJARI

Namdev worships the true God and is prepared to accept whatever He sends.

# I

If Thou give me an empire, what glory shall it be to me ?

If Thou cause me to beg, how shall it degrade me ?

Worship God, O my soul, *and thou shalt obtain* the dignity of salvation,

And no more transmigration shall await thee.

O God, Thou didst create all men and lead them astray in error :

He to whom Thou givest *understanding* knoweth Thee.

When I meet the true guru, my doubts shall depart.

Whom shall I then worship ? none other would be seen *but Thee*.

One stone is adored,

<sup>1</sup> That is, turn thine attention to God.

<sup>2</sup> *Chhīpa* is a tradesman who prints calico, sews it, and washes it. Hence Nāmdev is described by some as a washerman, by others as a tailor, and by others again as a calico-printer.

Another <sup>1</sup> is trodden under foot :  
If one is a god, the other is also a god—  
Saith Namdev, I worship the *true* God.

God's presence is felt though He cannot be described.

II

He who hath no trace of impurity, who is beyond impurity, and who is perfumed as with sandal hath taken His seat *in my heart*.

No one saw Him coming ; who knoweth *Him*, O sister ?

Who can describe, who can understand the All-pervading and Unknowable ?

As the trace of a bird is not perceived in the sky,

As the path of a fish is not seen in the water,

As a vessel is not filled with the mirage-water of the sky,

*Such* is God, Nama's Lord, in whom these three *qualities* are blended ; <sup>2</sup> *His coming or going is not seen*.

SORATH

Namdev advises to accept divine instruction so that man may be contented and happy.

I

When I sing of God, then I behold Him ;

Then I, His slave, obtain contentment.

Accept divine instruction, O man ; the true guru shall cause thee to meet God.

Where the heavenly light shineth,

There playeth spontaneous music.

' God's <sup>3</sup> light is all-pervading '—

<sup>1</sup> The stone or stones on which worshippers tread as they enter temples.

<sup>2</sup> That is, God exists though no trace of Him is seen.

<sup>3</sup> Joti, the luminous One, whose light is everywhere diffused. *Joti jot samāni*. This expression is an ordinary Sikh idiom meaning that the light of the soul is blended with the light of God, and is used on the occasion of the death of Gurus. The whole hymn is in praise of celestial light.

By the guru's favour I know that.  
 In the chamber of the heart are jewels <sup>1</sup>  
 Which glitter there like lightning.  
*God* is near, not distant,  
 And *His Spirit* completely filleth mine.  
 Where the inextinguishable sun of *God's word* shineth,  
 There *earthly* lamps grow pale :  
 Through the guru's favour I have known this.  
 God's slave Nama hath been easily absorbed in Him.

The whole of the following hymn relates to the Jog philosophy and the exaltation of mind produced by its practice :—

### III <sup>2</sup>

Without covering it with leather the drum of *the brain* playeth ;

Without *waiting for the month of Sawan* the thunder roareth,

And it raineth without clouds.

If any one consider the real state of things,

I have met my dear Lord.

By meeting Him my body hath become perfect ; <sup>3</sup>

Having touched the philosopher's stone I have become gold.

In word and thought I have strung the gems of *God's name*.

I feel real love *for God*, my doubts are dispelled :

On questioning the guru my mind is satisfied.

As the pitcher is filled with water,

I know that the world is filled with the one God.

When the disciple's mind accepted the guru,

The slave Nama recognized God.

However great man may be, he should reflect that death is his fate at last.

<sup>1</sup> Virtues.

<sup>2</sup> Missing hymns have already been given in the Life of Nāmdev.

<sup>3</sup> This human life has become profitable.



DHANASARI

I

Men dig deep foundations and build palaces thereon.

Was any one longer lived than Markand<sup>1</sup> who *put* grass on his head and *thus* whiled away *his days* ?

*Only* God the Creator is dear to me ;<sup>2</sup>

O man, why art thou proud ? this unsubstantial body shall be destroyed.

The Kauravs, Duryodhan and his brothers, used to say, ' Everything is ours '.

Their umbrellas<sup>3</sup> extended over a space of twelve joans, *yet* the vultures devoured their bodies.

Lanka was all gold ; was any one greater than Rawan ?

What availed him the elephants tethered at his gate ? In a moment they became the property of others.

The Yadavs practised deception on Durbasa,<sup>4</sup> and obtained the fruit thereof.

*God* showed mercy to His slave ; Namdev singeth His praises.

The following hymn was addressed to a Jogi who endeavoured to induce Namdev to embrace his religion :—

II

I have restrained the ten organs of sense ; the *very* name of the five evil passions I have erased.

Having extracted the poison from the seventy-two tanks<sup>5</sup> of the heart, I have filled them with ambrosia ;

I shall not allow the poison to return again.

<sup>1</sup> Mārkaṇḍ was a long-lived Rikhi who did penance in a forest. There is a temple dedicated to him at Jagannāth.

<sup>2</sup> That is, I only think of Him, not of stately mansions or palaces.

<sup>3</sup> Courtiers allowed umbrellas.

<sup>4</sup> The Yādavs sent a boy dressed as a pregnant woman to Durbāsa, and put him the question whether a boy or a girl should be born. Durbāsa discovered the deception and cursed the Yādavs, with the result that they all perished.

<sup>5</sup> It was supposed by the mystics that the heart had seventy-two blood-vessels ; but this is not according to Hindu medical science, which only allows ten blood-vessels altogether for the chest.—Dr. Hoernle.

The ambrosial word I utter from my heart ; my spirit I instruct *not to attach itself* to worldly things.

I have destroyed worldly love with an axe of adamant : I touch the guru's feet and implore him.

Turning away *from the world*, I have become a servant of the saints and I fear them.<sup>1</sup>

I shall be saved from this world the moment I cease to be entangled by Maya.

Maya is the name of the power which placeth man in the womb ; abandoning it I shall obtain a sight of *God*.

The man who worshippeth in this way shall be freed from all fear.

Saith Namdev, O man, why wander abroad ? <sup>2</sup> obtain God in the way *I have told thee*.

Namdev tells by familiar examples how dear God is to him.

### III

As water is dear *to the traveller* in Marwar, and the creeper to the camel ;

As the huntsman's bell at night is dear to the hind, so is God to my soul—

Thy name is beautiful, Thy form is beautiful, very beautiful Thy colour, O my God—

As rain is dear to the earth, as the odour of flowers is dear to the bumble-bee ;

As the mango is dear to the kokil,<sup>3</sup> so is God to my soul.

As the sun is dear to the sheldrake, as the lake of Mansarowar is dear to the swan ;

As the husband is dear to the wife, so is God to my soul.

As milk is dear to the child, as a torrent of rain to the mouth of the chatrik ;

As water is dear to the fish, so is God to my soul.

All penitents, sidhs, and munis seek God, but few have seen Him.

<sup>1</sup> Also translated—I fear the courtesan *Māya*.

<sup>2</sup> Why lead an ascetic life in the forest ?

<sup>3</sup> The *kokil* sings during the mango season.

As Thy name is dear to all creation, so is Vitthal to Nama's heart.

Namdev asked his guru how the world had been created. The guru replied :—

IV

Before the world a lotus was formed ;  
From it proceeded Brahma, and from Brahma all men.  
Know that everything else *was produced* from Maya, who  
leadeth the world a dance.

Namdev then inquired how Maya was produced.  
The guru replied :—

First a voice proceeded from God ;  
Afterwards Maya proceeded from God  
*Through that voice* the parts of this *Maya* and of that *God*  
blended,<sup>1</sup> *and the world was produced.*

In this garden of God *men dance* like water in the pots  
of a well ;<sup>2</sup>

Women and men dance.<sup>3</sup>  
There is no god but God—  
Argue not on this point.  
If thou have doubts,  
God saith, 'Consider in thy heart that this world and  
I are one.'

The world is like water-pots, sometimes above, sometimes  
below.

Wandering about I have come to Thy gate.  
God—Who art Thou ?  
Nama—I am Nama, Sire—  
O Lord, save me from the world which bringeth death.

<sup>1</sup> This and the two preceding verses are also thus translated :—

Man should first cease to love the world,  
He should next subdue his senses ;  
Then the soul and God become one.

<sup>2</sup> That is, are sometimes exalted, sometimes debased, sometimes  
high, and sometimes low, like the water-pots of a Persian wheel when  
in motion.

<sup>3</sup> That is, perform their various functions.

The above hymn is also translated so as to give different versions of creation :—

1. First a lotus was made by the all-pervading God ;  
From it proceeded Brahma and *from him* all human beings.
2. *Others say*—Know that everything was produced by Maya who maketh men dance various dances.

3. *A third version is this*—First a voice proceeded from God ; through that voice  
Maya and God united,  
Whence God's garden,<sup>1</sup> in which men dance like water in water-pots.

*Namdev gives his own opinion :—*

Women and men dance ;  
There is nothing but God,  
Dispute not this ;

If thou have doubts, *pray*.

O God, be merciful ; come and save me ; Thou art mine only support.

The world is like water-pots, now high now low.

Wandering and wandering I have come to Thy door.

*God*—Who art thou ?

I am, Sire, Namdev ; save me from the world which bringeth death.

Namdev is happier than demigods and worldly men who profess religion.

## V

O Lord, the purification of sinners is Thy daily work ;  
Hail to those saints who have meditated on my God.  
On my forehead is the dust of God's feet,  
Which is far from even demigods, worldly men, munis, and saints.

Compassionate to the poor, O God, destroyer of pride,  
Nama hath found the asylum of Thy feet, and is a sacrifice unto Thee.

<sup>1</sup> *Sat*, reality ; *chit*, conscience ; and *ānand*, happiness, are the attributes of God : *nām*, name ; and *rūp*, form, of Māya. The five qualities united form the garden of the world.



It is said that Namdev composed the following on hearing two pandits disputing whether God was far or near :—

TODI

I

Some say God is near, others that He is far away.

*To say He is near or far is, as it were, to say that a fish could climb a date-tree.*<sup>1</sup>

Why, Sir, talkest thou nonsense ?

They who have found God have concealed *the fact*.

Men who are pandits shout the Veds,

But the ignorant Namdev *only* knoweth God.

On the eleventh day of every half-lunar month the Hindus fast. Namdev relinquished the practice, and also ceased to go on pilgrimages. A visitor to his house reproached him with his neglect of both these religious duties. The following is his reply :—

II

Who that uttereth God's name retaineth the stain *of sin* ?  
Sinners have become pure by uttering His name.

In the company of God His slave Namdev hath acquired ocular evidence.

He hath ceased to fast on the eleventh day, and why should he go on pilgrimages ?

Saith Namdev, my acts and thoughts have become good.

Who hath not gone to heaven by uttering the name of God under the guru's instruction ?

Namdev is satisfied with God as his portion.

III

There is a play on three *sets of* words.

There is a pot in a potter's house, an elephant in a king's house,

<sup>1</sup> Also translated—*O man*, thou art as a fish in water and seekest to climb a date-tree.

A widow<sup>1</sup> in a Brahman's house<sup>2</sup>—sing randi, sandi, handi O!<sup>3</sup>

Asafoetida in a baniya's house, horns on a buffalo's forehead,

A lingam in a temple of Shiv—sing ling, sing, hing O!<sup>4</sup>

Oil in an oilman's house, creepers in a forest,

Plantains in a gardener's house—sing kel, bel, tel O!<sup>5</sup>

Gobind in the company of the saints, Krishan in Gokal,

And God in Nama—sing Ram, Siyam, Gobind O!<sup>6</sup>

### TILANG

Namdev feels his dependence on God whom he magnifies.

#### I

Of me who am blind Thy name, O King, is the prop.

I am poor, I am miserable, Thy name is my support.

Bounteous and merciful Allah, Thou art generous ;

I believe that Thou art present before me ;

Thou art a river of *bounty*, Thou art the Giver, Thou art exceeding wealthy ;

Thou alone givest and takest, there is none other ;

Thou art wise, Thou art far-sighted ; what conception can I form of Thee ?

O Nama's Lord, Thou art the Pardoner, O God.<sup>7</sup>

Namdev on the way to Dwaraka was seized by a Mughal official and made a forced labourer. In his devotion he appears to have recognized the

<sup>1</sup> *Rāndi*—some gyānis translate this word almanac, as the Brāhmans were astronomers and astrologers. Others again translate the word learning.

<sup>2</sup> Brāhmans' widows were well treated by the public.

<sup>3</sup> *Rāndi*, *sāndi*, *hāndi* are a widow, an elephant, and a pot respectively.

<sup>4</sup> *Ling*, *sing*, *hing* are the lingam, a horn, and asafoetida respectively.

<sup>5</sup> *Kel*, *bel*, and *tel* are plantains, creepers, and oil respectively.

<sup>6</sup> Rām, Siyām, and Gobind are names of God. Siyām is Krishan, so called from his sable colour.

<sup>7</sup> This hymn, abounding in the original in Arabic words, appears to show that Nāmdev held frequent religious discussions with Mullas during his travels.

Mughal as God, and to have believed that his degradation was God's will. He composed the following on the occasion :—

II

Halloo ! my Friend, halloo my Friend, how art Thou ?  
I am a sacrifice unto Thee, I am a sacrifice unto Thee.  
Good is Thy forced labour, exalted Thy name ;  
Whence hast Thou come ? where hast Thou been ? and  
whither art Thou going ?

This is the city of Dwaraka ; tell the truth.<sup>1</sup>  
Handsome is Thy turban, sweet Thy discourse ;  
But why should there be a Mughal in the city of Dwaraka ?  
Among several thousands of people *Thou art* the only  
*Mughal* seen ;

Thou art the very picture of the king of sable hue ;<sup>2</sup>  
Thou art the Lord of the horse, the Lord of the elephant,  
and the Ruler of men.<sup>3</sup>

Thou art Nama's Lord, the King *of all*, and the Giver  
of salvation.

BILAWAL

Through his guru Namdev has obtained discernment and rendered his life profitable.

The guru hath made my life profitable—  
I have forgotten sorrow and obtained joy within me.  
The guru hath granted me the eye-salve of divine knowledge.<sup>4</sup>

O my soul, without God's name man's life is vain.  
Namdev knoweth God by keeping Him in mind :  
My soul is absorbed in Him who giveth life to the world.

To sing God's praises and remember Him is  
infinitely superior to all Hindu forms of devotion.

<sup>1</sup> Because Dwāraka is a very holy place, and man must not utter falsehoods there.

<sup>2</sup> Krishan, the lord of Dwāraka.

<sup>3</sup> The Sun, Indar, and Brahma respectively.

<sup>4</sup> To see more clearly.

## GAUND

## I

Were I to perform the horse-sacrifice,<sup>1</sup>  
 Give my weight *in gold* as alms,  
 Bathe at Pryag,  
 It would not be equal, O Nama, to singing God's praises.  
 O listless man, worship thy God.  
 Were I to offer rice-balls<sup>2</sup> at Gaya,  
 Dwell at Banaras,  
 Recite the four Veds,  
 Fulfil all religious offices,  
 Restrain my senses under the guru's instruction,  
 Perform the six duties of Brahmans,  
 Read the conversations between Shiv and his consort<sup>3</sup>—  
 All these different *occupations would be useless* ; O my soul,  
 lay them aside,  
 And remember, remember God's name.  
 Worship Him, Nama, and thou shalt swim across the  
 world's ocean.

Namdev by familiar examples describes his love for God.

## II

As the deer followeth the *hunter's* bell,  
 And giveth up its own life rather than cease its atten-  
 tion,  
 In the same way I gaze on God.  
 I do not leave Him to turn my mind in another direction.  
 As the kingfisher gazeth on the fish,  
 As the goldsmith *meditateth* stealing gold while fashion-  
 ing it,  
 As the lustful man gazeth on the wife of another,

<sup>1</sup> In the earliest ages of Hinduism the horse as an animal of great value was sacrificed by kings who were disappointed of offspring. In later times the sacrifice was made principally for ostentation by kings who aspired to be greater than their fellows.

<sup>2</sup> Balls made of rice and barley are offered to the *pitrās*, manes or ancestors, at Gaya, one of the holiest of Hindu places of pilgrimage.

<sup>3</sup> In the Tantar Shāstar.



As the gambler meditateth cheating while playing kauris,<sup>1</sup>

So Nama ever meditateth on God's feet—  
Wherever I gaze there is God.

A prayer for salvation :—

III

Float me over, O God, float me over !<sup>2</sup>

I am unskilful and know not how to swim ; O God, my Father, give me Thine arm.

He to whom the true guru hath taught knowledge, is changed in a moment from a man into a demigod.

I have obtained the medicine by which, though begotten by man, I have conquered heaven.

Place me even for a short time where Thou hast placed Dhru and Narad.

By the support of Thy name many have been saved : this is Nama's private opinion.

By other familiar examples Namdev describes his ardent longing for God.

IV

I am ardently longing for the Friend—

Without her calf a cow is lonely,

Without water a fish writheth,

So without God's name doth poor Nama.

As the calf, when let loose,

Sucketh his dam's teats and swalloweth her milk,

So Namdev hath obtained God—

When man meeteth the guru he showeth the Unseen—

As the wicked man loveth another man's wife,

So Nama loveth God.

As *man's body* burneth in the bright sunshine,

So doth poor Nama without the name of God.

The advantages of repeating God's name.

<sup>1</sup> In a game played with kauris the gambler cheats in the counting.

<sup>2</sup> That is, Save me ! Save me !

## V

By repeating the name of God all doubts are dispelled—  
Repeating the name of God is the highest religious  
*exercise*—

By repeating the name of God caste and lineage are  
effaced.

That God is the staff of the blind man.

I bow before God ! I bow before God !

By repeating God's name Death tortureth not.

God took the life of Harnakhas,

And made for Ajamal a dwelling in heaven.

The courtesan who taught her parrot *to repeat God's name*  
was saved—

That God is the apple of mine eye—

By repeating the name of God, Putana <sup>1</sup> full of deceit,

The destroyer of children was saved ;

By remembering the name of God the daughter of Drupad  
was saved ;

Gautam's wife <sup>2</sup> *though turned* into a stone, was saved.

<sup>1</sup> Pūtana was a nurse whom Krishan's uncle, Kans, sent to destroy him by applying poison to the nipples of her breasts. Krishan, though an infant, squeezed her to death. With her last breath she said, 'God, let me go.' For mentioning the name of God thus once she obtained salvation.

<sup>2</sup> Gautam, the husband of Ahalya, was a pious Rikhi who used to go and bathe in the Ganges after the first watch of night. The god Indar was wont to visit Gautam's wife during his absence. One night the moon rose at midnight. Ahalya became impatient for the visit of her divine paramour, and went to awake her husband, telling him it was the usual time for his ablutions in the sacred river. Gautam arose and proceeded on his pious duty. While bathing a voice proceeded from the Ganges, and told him not to come so early to bathe. Gautam replied that it was the usual time of his visit. The Ganges explained to him that it was not three o'clock in the morning. He must not judge by a deceptive midnight moon. Gautam cursed the moon. He returned to his house and found his daughter Anjani sitting in the court-yard. He asked her who was in the house ; she said 'Manjāra', a word which means either cat or mother's lover. Gautam, on account of her equivocation, cursed her too. He prayed that she a virgin might bear a child, and in due time she bore Hanumān, the monkey-god. Gautam on entering his house found Indar with his wife. The holy Rikhi cursed Indar with dire

God destroyed Kesi<sup>1</sup> and Kans,  
And conferred the gift of life on Kalinag.  
Nama representeth, by repeating the name of such a God  
fear and trouble depart.

The fate of worshippers of false gods.

VII

They who worship Bhairav shall become sprites ;  
They who worship Sitala shall ride on donkeys and  
scatter dust—

For myself I take *the name* of the one God ;  
I would give *all* other gods in exchange for it.  
They who repeat the name of Shiv and worship him,  
Shall ride on an ox and play the drum ;  
They who worship the great mother *Durga*,  
Shall be born as women instead of men.  
Thou callest thyself, *O Durga*, the primal Bhawani,  
When it came to my turn to be saved, where didst thou  
hide thyself ?

Under the instruction of the guru, O my friend, cling  
to God's name—

Nama representeth, thus saith the Gita.<sup>2</sup>

and shameful result. He cursed his wife too, and she was turned  
into a stone in the forest. The god Rām in his travels stumbled  
against the stone, and by the divine touch Ahalya obtained the boon  
of salvation.

<sup>1</sup> Kesi came in the disguise of a horse to eat up Krishan, but was  
killed by that hero thrusting his arm into his mouth and rending him  
asunder.

<sup>2</sup> The following are the allusions in the above hymn :—

Bhairav is an inferior manifestation of Shiv and his consort Durga.  
Shiv in this form is represented riding on a dog.

Sitala is the goddess who presides over small-pox. She is re-  
presented riding on a donkey, and is largely worshipped by Indian  
women, particularly during epidemics of the disease.

Those who worship Bhairav, sprites, Sitala, and Shiv, contract the  
qualities of the steeds of the objects of their worship.

Durga cannot confer salvation. She bestows wealth, offspring, &c.  
When King Pipa asked her for salvation she professed herself unable  
to grant it.

Namdev admonishes an idolatrous Brahman.

### VIII

To-day I Nama saw God, I *now* admonish the fool—  
O pandit, thy gayatri used to graze on the boor's field ;  
He took a stick and broke her leg ; *since then* she hath  
walked lame.<sup>1</sup>

O pandit, I have seen thy great god Shiv going along on  
a white bullock.

In his consort *Parbati*'s house a banquet for him was  
prepared ; he killed her son.<sup>2</sup>

O pandit, thy Ram Chandar—I have seen him too going  
along ;

Having lost his wife he fought with Rawan.

The Hindus are blind, the Musalmans purblind ;

The man who knoweth God is wiser than either.

The Hindus worship their temple, the Musalmans their  
mosque.

Nama worshippeth Him who hath neither temple nor  
mosque.

The saint Trilochan once twitted Namdev with

<sup>1</sup> The gāyatri is said to have originally been the wife of Brahma. For some shortcoming on her part Brahma cursed her, and she became a cow. In this form she used to graze on villagers' fields until one of them took a stick and broke her leg ; since then she has been lame. There is another story in which the gāyatri is mentioned. Vishwāmitra and Vishisht were two eminent Rikhis. The former, in revenge for a slight offered him, killed the hundred sons of the latter. At every murder he used to repeat the gāyatri to obtain absolution for the crime. Upon this Vishisht cursed the gāyatri and it lost eight of its letters. See Vol. i, p. 166, n. 4.

<sup>2</sup> Shiv said he would not partake of the banquet prepared for him by Pārbati unless his ox were also fed. The lady inquired what meal would please the animal. Shiv replied 'Your son'. This he said to make trial of her faith. She killed her son to offer his flesh to the ox, but Shiv, on seeing her devotion, restored the youth to life. Another version of this story is that Pārbati told her son Ganesh to watch outside her door while she was bathing, and allow no one to enter and behold her nakedness. Shiv presented himself for admission which was refused by Ganesh. Upon this Shiv killed him, but, softened by the weeping of Pārbati, again restored him to life, giving him, however, an elephant's head instead of his own.



being always engaged in his trade. Namdev made him the following reply :—

RAMKALI

I

*A boy taketh* paper, cutteth it into a kite, and flyeth it in the sky.

While conversing with his companions, he keepeth his attention on the string.

I have pierced my soul with God's name,

As the goldsmith's attention is engrossed *in his work*.

The queen's female servant taketh her pitcher, filleth it with water,

Converseth laughingly and pleasantly, yet keepeth her attention on the pitcher.

If the cows of a city with ten gates<sup>1</sup> be let loose to graze,

And they go grazing for even five miles, they will remember their young, *and return each by her own gate*.

Saith Namdev, hear, O Trilochan, when a child is laid in its cradle,

Its mother, whether engaged at home or abroad, keepeth her thoughts on her child.

The following hymn embodying Namdev's resolutions is also believed to have been addressed to Trilochan :—

II

The endless songs and poetry of the Veds, Purans, and Shastars I will not sing ;

I will play unbeaten music in the imperishable region of God ;

Ceasing to love the world I will sing of God.

Imbued with Him who is beyond expression and indestructible, I shall go to the abode of the Inscrutable One.

I will cease to hold my breath in the right or left nostril or between them both.

<sup>1</sup> This means a great city and a great number of cattle.

I deem the left and right nostril the same ; I shall be blended with the light of God.

I will not *go* to see places of pilgrimages nor enter their waters ; I will not annoy men or lower animals.

The guru showed me the sixty-eight places of pilgrimage in my heart where I will bathe.

I will not have myself glorified and congratulated by my select friends.

Nama saith, my heart is dyed with God, and I shall be absorbed in Him.

God preceded all creation, all religious books, and all karma.

### III

When there was no mother, no father, no karma, and nobody ;

When we were not and you were not, who was there and whence did he come ?

O God, no one hath any relation ;

Man's dwelling *in this world is like the perching* of a bird on a tree.

When there was no moon, no sun, *when there was only* water and air blended together,

When there were no Shastars and no Veds, whence did karma come ? <sup>1</sup>

I have by the favour of the guru obtained *God, for whom* the Jogis suspend their breath, and fix their attention on the bridges of their noses, and the *Bairagis* wear necklaces of sweet basil.

Nama representeth, God is the Primal Essence ; when there is a true guru he showeth Him.

The repetition of God's name is superior to all other forms of worship.

### IV

If one perform penance with body reversed at Banaras,

<sup>1</sup> Nāmdēv means that everything proceeded from God, whom he says in the following verse he has found.

and die at a place of pilgrimage ; if one burn one's body with fire, or strive to make it survive for a kalpa ;<sup>1</sup>

If one perform the horse sacrifice or offer secret presents<sup>2</sup> of gold, all that would not be equal to the name of God.

O hypocritical man, renounce deception ; practise it not ; Ever and ever take God's name.

Wert thou to go to the Ganges and the Godavari every twelfth year, bathe at Kedarnath,

And make offerings of thousands of cows at the Gomti ;<sup>3</sup>

Wert thou to perform millions of pilgrimages, freeze thy body in the Himalayas, all would not be equal to the name of God ;

Wert thou to offer horses, elephants, women with their couches, lands, and make such gifts continually to *Brahmans* ;

Wert thou to purify thy body and offer its weight in gold, all would not be equal to the name of God.

Look for the pure dignity of Nirvan, and be not *afterwards* angry with thyself, or attribute blame to the god of death.<sup>4</sup>

Nama representeth, drink the real nectareous elixir of my king Ram Chandar, the son of Jasarath Rai.<sup>5</sup>

#### MALI GAURA

The following glorification of Krishan was composed after Namdev had embraced his worship :—

<sup>1</sup> A *kalpa* is a day and night of Brahma, four billion three hundred and twenty million years.

<sup>2</sup> *Garbhdān*, gold concealed in fruit or similar articles such as were given to men in power in olden times to purchase their favour.

<sup>3</sup> This is the well-known river in Awadh (Oude) generally known as the Gūmti. It is so called not from its winding—*gūm*—stream, but because it gave water and contributed to pasturage for kine. There were several rivers of that name, one of which at one time flowed into the Indus.

<sup>4</sup> It will be your own and not the fault of the god of death if you are not saved, and you should not blame him.

<sup>5</sup> The preceding lines of this hymn and Bilāwal VI, given in Nāmdev's life, show that he worshipped the supreme God, here called Rām Chandar, as He is in other places Rām, Hari, &c. The words *Jasarath Rāi nand* appear to have been added as a stereotyped expression of that transitional age.

## I

Happy, happy that flute which Krishan played !  
 A very sweet unbeaten sound issueth from it.  
 Happy, happy that blanket which Krishan wore !  
 Happy, happy that ram and his fleece *it was made from*.  
 Hail, hail to thee, mother Devaki,  
 In whose house god, the lord of Lakshmi, *was born* !  
 Blest, blest the forest glades of Bindraban,  
 Where Nama's god Narayan sported,  
 Played his flute, herded his cows,  
 And was happy.

## II

God, my father, hail to thee, dark complexioned Vitthal  
 with the long hair !

Holding in thy hand the discus, thou didst come from  
 heaven and save the life of the great elephant ;

Thou didst save Draupadi when her clothes were being  
 torn off her in Duhsasan's court ;

Thou didst save Ahalya the wife of Gautam ;

How many hast Thou purified and saved !<sup>1</sup>

Thus the lowly Namdev without caste hath entered Thy  
 sanctuary.

God is in everything and Namdev has become  
 absorbed in Him. The following marks a stage in  
 Namdev's progress to divine unity.

## III

In every heart God speaketh, God speaketh ;

Doth any one speak independently of Him ?

There is the same earth in the elephant and the ant ;  
 vessels of many kinds<sup>2</sup> *are made from earth*.

In mobile and immobile things, in worms and moths, and  
 in every heart God is contained.

Think of the one God who is endless ; abandon all other  
 hope.

<sup>1</sup> Also translated—How many hast Thou saved by the touch of  
 Thy feet !

<sup>2</sup> That is, various bodies are fashioned from the same material.



Nama representeth ; I have become free from desires ;  
*and in this state* who is Lord and who is slave ? <sup>1</sup>

MARU

God has showered His favours on Namdev as He did on other saints.

When I entered the asylum of God the Bridegroom, I obtained the four stages of salvation and the four supernatural powers.

I have been saved, I have become famous through the four ages, and I have put the umbrella of praise and fame over my head.

Who hath not been saved by repeating *the name of* the Sovereign God ?

They *who listen* to the guru's instruction and associate with holy men are called saints.

On beholding the effulgence of *the guru*, who is conspicuous with his shell, discus, necklace, and sacrificial mark, Death becometh afraid.

Man then becometh fearless, and by the power of God thundereth forth that he hath escaped the pain of transmigration.

God gave king Ambarik <sup>2</sup> the gift of salvation, and aggrandized Babhikhan with sovereignty ;

The Lord gave the nine treasures to Sudama, and made Dhru immovable *in the north pole*, where he is fixed to the present day ;

God having assumed the body of Narsinh *the man-lion*, killed Harnakhas for the sake of his saint *Prahlad*.

Nama saith, Vishnu is in the power of the saints, and is till now standing at the door of Bali.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The Lord and the slave are blended in one. Nāmdev has obtained salvation.

<sup>2</sup> Ambarik was a king of Ajudhia famed for his piety. He was an ancestor of Rām Chandar.

<sup>4</sup> Bali, son of Prahlād, through his devotion and penance humbled the gods, and extended his authority over the three worlds. The gods appealed to Vishnu for protection, and he, under the disguise of a dwarf, restrained the energies of Bali, took heaven and earth from him,

## BHAIRO

Namdev enjoins his tongue under severest penalty to utter God's name.

## I

O my tongue, if thou utter not God's name,  
I will break thee into a hundred pieces.  
O tongue, dye thyself with God's name ;  
Meditating on God's name dye thyself with a good  
dye ;

False, O my tongue, are *all* other occupations.

The dignity of Nirvan *is only obtained* through the name  
of God.

Wert thou to worship countless millions of other  
*gods,*

It would not be equal to repeating God's name alone,

Namdev representeth, this do, *O my tongue, and say* ' O  
God, Thy forms are endless.'

A man may in other respects be perfect but he is  
lost if he repeat not God's name.

## II

God dwelleth near him

Who coveteth not another's wealth or another's wife.

I will not look at him

Who repeateth not God's name.

As a beast is that man

Whose heart is estranged from God.

Namdev representeth, a man without a nose

Doth not look well even with the other thirty-two marks  
of beauty.<sup>1</sup>

and left him the infernal regions. Though Vishnu gained this  
supreme victory, yet, as he was pleased with Bali's devotion, he agreed  
to stand at his door and wait upon him.

<sup>1</sup> These marks include not only perfection of limbs and features,  
but artificial ornaments and decorations by which beauty is supposed to  
be enhanced.

When Namdev gave up trade, and devoted himself exclusively to the worship of God and attendance on His saints, people began to slander him. The following is his apology :—

IV

I am a mad woman and God is my spouse ;  
 It is for Him I decorate myself elaborately.  
 Abuse me well, abuse me well, abuse me well, O people ;  
 My body and soul are for my beloved God.  
 I hold no idle discussion with any one ;  
 I sip with my tongue the elixir of God.  
 Now I know in my heart that such an arrangement hath  
 been made,  
 By which I shall meet God with banners and music.  
 Whether any one give me praise or blame,  
 Nama hath met God.<sup>1</sup>

Man ought to be satisfied with his lot ; he will  
 be saved by devotion.

V

Sometimes man is not satisfied even with milk, molasses,  
 and clarified butter ;  
 Sometimes he beggeth morsels from house to house ;  
 Sometimes he picketh up pulse-sweepings.  
 Remain as God hath placed thee, O brother—  
 The greatness of God cannot be described—  
 Sometimes man rideth on prancing steeds ;<sup>2</sup>  
 Sometimes he hath not shoes for his feet ;  
 Sometimes he putteth himself to sleep on a couch with  
 a clean coverlet ;  
 Sometimes he cannot get straw to *sleep upon*—  
 Saith Namdev, the Name alone saveth ;  
 He who hath found a spiritual guide shall be delivered.

<sup>1</sup> Srīrang, a name under which God is worshipped in parts of the south of India. The name Srīrangapatam (*Anglicé*, Seringapatam) is derived from this word, and means the town of Srīrang.

<sup>2</sup> Literally—he maketh his Turkistāni steed dance.

Namdev describes by familiar examples how dear God is to him.

## VII

As food is dear to the hungry,  
 As the thirsty need water,  
 As the fool is attached to his family,  
 So God is dear to Nama.  
 Nama's love is devoted to God,  
 And he hath easily severed himself from the world.  
 As a woman is smitten with a strange man,  
 As a greedy man loveth wealth,  
 As woman is dear to the lustful,  
 Such is Nama's love for God.  
 That is real love by which God attacheth man to Him,  
 And by which through the guru's favour duality<sup>1</sup> de-  
 parteth.

*Love for Him* who filleth *my heart* shall never be sundered ;  
 Nama hath applied his heart to the true Name.  
 As the love between a child and its mother,  
 So is my soul imbued with God.  
 Namdev representeth, I love God ;  
 He dwelleth in my heart.

Man should rather seek the guru's protection than devote himself to sinful pleasures.

## VIII

As a fool leaveth the wife of his home,  
 Hath intercourse with a strange woman, *and is ruined*.  
 As the parrot is pleased on seeing the simmal,<sup>2</sup>  
 But at last dieth clinging to it,  
 So the home of the sinner shall be in hell-fire ;  
 He shall continue to burn and never have respite.  
 He never goeth to see where God is worshipped,  
 He leaveth the right path and goeth the wrong one,

<sup>1</sup> *Dubidha* here means separation from God.

<sup>2</sup> The parrot is particularly pleased with the simmal-tree and its cotton pods, but when he pecks at it he cannot disengage his bill and thus perishes.



He forgetteth God and suffereth transmigration,  
 He rejecteth ambrosia and eateth a load of poison.  
 When a dancing-girl arriveth on the dancing-floor,  
 She putteth on *rich* dresses, adorneth herself,  
 Danceth to measure, and modulateth her voice,  
 While Death's noose is on her neck.  
 He on whose forehead such destiny hath been written,  
 Quickly entereth the protection of the guru.  
 Saith Namdev, this is my decision—  
 O saints, thus shall you obtain salvation.

The fate of Harnakhas who objected to his son  
 Prahlad's devotion.

IX

Sanda and Marka <sup>1</sup> went and complained to *Harnakhas*—  
 'Thy son *Prahlad* will not study and we are tired of  
*teaching him* ;

He singeth God's praises, beateth time with his hands,  
 and corrupteth all the other pupils ;

He repeateth the name of God ;

In his heart he remembereth God.'

The queen represented to her son—'The king hath  
 reduced the whole earth to subjection :

My son *Prahlad*, thou doest not his bidding ; he hath  
 some design on thee.'

A council of his enemies met and passed a resolution,  
 'We will lengthen his life.'<sup>2</sup>

*They terrified him by throwing him from a height, by putting him into water and fire, but God changed for him the properties of matter.*

Harnakhas enraged drew his sword, and threatened him  
 with death, saying, 'Show me who will save thee.'

*Prahlad replied*, 'God who weareth yellow clothes, the  
 Lord of the three worlds, is in the pillar.'

*Upon this* God tore Harnakhas with his nails, and rendered demigods and men happy.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> These two brothers were both preceptors of *Prahlād*.

<sup>2</sup> Ironical, meaning 'We will kill him.'

<sup>3</sup> Here the word *sanāth* would also mean that God reassumed his

Saith Namdev, I meditate on that God who bestoweth salvation.

### The advantages of a guru.

#### XI

When one hath a guru, he meeteth God ;  
 When one hath a guru, he is saved ;  
 When one hath a guru, he goeth to heaven ;  
 When one hath a guru, while he liveth he is dead—  
 True, true, true, true, true is the guru ;  
 False, false, false, false is all other service *than his*—  
 When one hath a guru, he inculcateth the Name ;  
 When one hath a guru, he runneth not in the ten directions ;  
 When one hath a guru, he is far removed from the five evil passions ;  
 When one hath a guru, he dieth not of grief ;  
 When one hath a guru, he obtaineth the ambrosial Word ;  
 When one hath a guru, he heareth the story of the Ineffable ;  
 When one hath a guru, his body *becometh* immortal ;  
 When one hath a guru, he uttereth the Name ;  
 When one hath a guru, he seeth the three worlds ;  
 When one hath a guru, he knoweth *how to reach* the exalted position ;  
 When one hath a guru, his head toucheth heaven ;  
 When one hath a guru, he is ever congratulated ;  
 When one hath a guru, he is ever estranged from the world ;  
 When one hath a guru, he abandoneth slander ;  
 When one hath a guru, he deemeth evil and good the same ;  
 When one hath a guru, *good destiny is written on* his forehead ;<sup>1</sup>  
 When one hath a guru, *evil passions* seduce not his body ;  
 When one hath a guru, the temple turneth *towards him* ;

authority over demigods and men, who had previously been subjects of Harnākhas.

<sup>1</sup> According to the Sikhs evil destiny may be altered by the kindness of the Guru, as a coin is renewed by restamping.

When one hath a guru, his hut is rebuilt for him ;  
 When one hath a guru, his bed cometh forth *from the river* ;<sup>1</sup>

When one hath a guru, he batheth in the sixty-eight places of pilgrimage ;

When one hath a guru, the quoit of Vishnu is impressed on his body ;

When one hath a guru, he performeth the twelve adorations ;<sup>2</sup>

When one hath a guru, all poisons become wholesome ;<sup>3</sup>

When one hath a guru, doubts are dispelled ;

When one hath a guru, he escapeth from Death ;

When one hath a guru, he crosseth over the terrible ocean ;

When one hath a guru, he suffereth not transmigration ;

When one hath a guru, he obtaineth the advantages of the eighteen *Purans* ;

When one hath a guru, he obtaineth the eighteen loads of *vegetables* ;

Without the guru, there is no *resting-place*—

Namdev hath entered the guru's protection.

Namdev once fell into a trance, and thought he was playing cymbals in God's honour. God is said to have appeared before him as a Qalandar, and taken his cymbals from him. Namdev on awaking composed the following in God's praise :—

## XII

Come God, the Qalandar

Wearing the dress of an Abdali.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The Emperor, on being satisfied of Nāmdev's innocence, presented him with a gilt bed. Nāmdev at first refused to take it, but when great pressure was employed, he took it and threw it into the Ganges. The Emperor thereupon asked the saint to restore it. He called upon the holy river to give it up, and the story goes that it did so with six other similar beds.

<sup>2</sup> There are twelve great lingams; possessing a guru is equal to them all.

<sup>3</sup> All pains are turned into pleasures.

<sup>4</sup> This word now generally means a Muhammadan devotee. It literally means—servant of God.

The firmament is the hat on Thy head, the seven nether regions Thy slippers ;

All animals with skins are Thy temples ; thus art Thou decked out, O God !

The fifty-six millions of *clouds* are Thy robes and the sixteen thousand *queens of Krishan* Thy waistbands ;

The eighteen loads of vegetables are Thy clubs, the whole world is Thy salver ;

Nama's body is Thy mosque, his heart Thy priest who tranquilly prayeth.

O Thou with and without form, Thou who art wedded to lady Lakshmi,

While I was worshipping Thou hadst my cymbals taken from me : to whom shall I complain ?

Nama's Lord is the Searcher of all hearts, and wandereth in every land.

#### BASANT

Man ought not to abandon God's service even though it be irksome.

#### I

If a servant run away when his master is in trouble,<sup>1</sup>

The servant shall not be long-lived, he *shall bring* shame on his father and mother's family.

I will not abandon Thy service, *O Lord*, even though men scoff at me ;

Thy lotus feet dwell in my heart.

As man accepteth death to secure wealth,

So the saints relinquish not God's name.

Pilgrimages to the Ganges, Gaya, and Godavari are worldly acts ;

If God be pleased, Nama shall be His worshipper.

Namdev's prayer when in danger of drowning in the stormy ocean of worldly love.

#### II

The waves of covetousness sound like a cataract, my body is drowning *therein*, O God.

<sup>1</sup> Also translated—Even if a master annoy his servant, and the latter flee away.



Float me over the ocean of the world, O God, float me over, Father Vitthal.

In *this* gale I cannot steer my boat, I cannot reach Thine opposite shore, O God.

Be compassionate and cause me to meet a true guru ; take me across, O God.

Nama saith, I do not even know how to swim ; give me Thine arm, give me Thine arm, O God.

Man slowly grows up. He then becomes the sport of the world and commits sin, but his soul can be washed pure by the guru.

### III

As an ant draggeth along a bit of cow-dung,

So this cart fashioned from dust and seed ]

At first moveth slowly ;

But afterwards *the world* driveth it with a rod.

My darling soul goeth to the wash-tank.<sup>1</sup>

The washerman <sup>2</sup> dyed with love washeth it *with the water of God's name* ;

My heart is fascinated with God's feet.

Saith Nama, Thou, O God, who art everywhere diffused,

Have compassion on Thy worshipper !

### SARANG

Man is intoxicated with worldly love but what he amasses will not go with him, wherefore he ought to prepare for hereafter.

### I

O man, why hast thou gone into a forest of evil passions ?

Thou hast partaken of the thieves' plant <sup>3</sup> and gone astray.

A fish abideth in water,

And taketh no notice of the deadly net ;

It swalloweth the bait to gratify its palate,

<sup>1</sup> The congregation of the saints.

<sup>2</sup> The guru.

<sup>3</sup> Dhatūra, bhang, &c., by which thags stupefy their victims. By it here spiritual ignorance is meant.

So man is bound by the love of gold and woman.  
 When the bees hoard up a great store of honey,  
 Man taketh the honey and throweth dirt on the bees.  
 The cow storeth up milk for her calf,  
 But the milkman tieth the calf up by the neck and milketh  
 the cow.

For wealth man maketh great endeavours ;  
 That wealth he taketh and burieth in the ground.  
 He amasseth a great deal, but the fool understandeth not  
 That his riches shall remain on the earth and his body  
 become dust.

He burneth with great lust, wrath, and avarice ;  
 He never joineth the company of holy men.  
 Saith Namdev, seek God's protection ;<sup>1</sup>  
 Become fearless and worship God.

God is contained in everything.

## II

Why layest Thou not a wager with me, O God, *that there is nothing but Thee* ?

The servant is known from his master, and the master  
 from his servant ; this is my game with Thee.

Thou art God and Thine own temple, Thou worshippingst  
 Thyself.

From water proceed waves, from waves water, though  
 both have different names in conversation.

Thou art the Singer, Thou art the Dancer, Thou art the  
 Trumpet-player—

Saith Namdev, Thou art my Lord ; Thy servant is im-  
 perfect ; Thou art perfect.

In the following God is supposed to address  
 Namdev :—

## III

‘ The man who worshipping none but Me is in Mine own  
 image ;

The sight of him even for a moment removeth man's

<sup>1</sup> *Tāchi ān* is also translated—forswear those things, but this  
 meaning would not be appropriate elsewhere.

three fevers,<sup>1</sup> and his touch extricateth man from the pit of family life.

A saint can release one bound by Me, but I cannot release one bound by a saint.

If a saint seize and bind Me at any time, I can say naught to him.

I am bound *by men's* merits ; I am the life of all things, but My slave is My life.<sup>2</sup>

O Namdev, My love shall shine over him whose heart hath such *faith*.<sup>3</sup>

MALAR

The extent and greatness of God's palace, in which the demigods and all created things are servants.

I

Serve God who is unknowable and stainless.

Give me, O God, the gift of service *for which* saints beg.

God's palace hath pavilions on every side ; in heaven is His gorgeous dwelling and mansion ;

He filleth equally the seven regions of the world.

In His palace dwelleth the *ever* youthful Lakshmi ;

The moon and sun are His lamps, the wretched mountebank Death, who levieth a tax on all, is His judge—

Such a Monarch is God.

In His mansion Brahma with the four faces who created the whole world is the fashioning potter ;<sup>3</sup>

In His mansion enthusiast<sup>4</sup> Shiv, the world's teacher, preacheth pure divine knowledge ;

At His gate are the mace-bearers Evil and Good, and the accountants Chitr and Gupt ;

Dharmraj the destroyer is His porter—

Such a Monarch is God.

In His mansion are the heralds, the heavenly dancers, the rikhis, and the poor minstrels who melodiously sing ;

<sup>1</sup> *Ādhi*, mental pain ; *viādhi*, bodily pain ; *upādhi*, pain from external causes. A boil would be *viādhi*, a fall *upādhi*.

<sup>2</sup> Is very dear to Me.

<sup>3</sup> In allusion to Brahma's rôle as the creator.

<sup>4</sup> Filled with religious enthusiasm.

All the Shastars are His actors ;<sup>1</sup> His theatre is stupendous ; kings sweetly sing His praises ;

The winds are His waving chauris ;

His handmaiden is Maya who hath vanquished the world ;

His fire-place is the blind pit of *hell fire*,—

Such a Monarch is the Lord of the three worlds.

In His mansion the tortoise is a bed ; Vasuki<sup>2</sup> with its thousand hoods the cords to bind it ;

His flower-girl is the eighteen loads of vegetables ; His water-carrier the ninety-six millions of clouds ;

The Ganges is the perspiration of His feet,

The seven seas His water-stands,

All living things His vessels—

Such a Monarch is the Lord of the three worlds—

At His mansion wait Arjan, Dhru, Prahlad, Ambarik,

Narad, Nejai,<sup>3</sup> the Sidhs, the Budhas, the heralds, and the heavenly dancers who extol Him and play *before Him*.

In God's mansion are so many living beings

Within all of whom He is diffused.

Namdev representeth, seek God's protection,

Whose standard all His saints *bear*.

#### KANRA

God compared to reflection in a mirror.

God the Searcher of hearts,

Like a body reflected in a mirror,

Dwelleth in every heart ; *nothing* produceth an effect or impression on Him.

He is free from all entanglements and devoid of caste.

When one looketh at one's own face in the water, *the water can produce no impression on it*,

So *nothing can produce an impression on Vitthal*, Nama's Lord.

<sup>1</sup> In allusion to the various and different rites prescribed by the Shāstars.

<sup>2</sup> A serpent frequently identified with Sheshnāg.

<sup>3</sup> A holy Rikhi, of whom, otherwise, nothing is known.



PRABHATI

Everything is unreal ; God alone is real.

I

Only the heart knoweth its own state ; *either keep thy secret to thyself*, or tell it to a man of understanding.

Since I repeat the name of God, the Searcher of hearts, why should I be afraid ?

God, the Lord of the earth, hath penetrated me.

My God is diffused in every place.

Shops are only phantoms, shopkeepers<sup>1</sup> are only phantoms, cities are only phantoms.

The different grades of men who inhabit *the earth* are phantoms, and the world wandereth *in error*.<sup>2</sup>

When the heart is imbued with the guru's instruction, duality is easily effaced.

All things are subject to the Commander's order ; He is fearless and regardeth all alike.

He who knoweth and worshippeth the Supreme Being, *uttereth* words of divine knowledge.

Nama saith, I have obtained the Life of the world in my heart ; He is invisible and wonderful.

God communicates to man the perfume of holiness and changes him to gold.

II

God was in the beginning before the ages and in every age : His end is not known.

God is contained in everything uninterruptedly ; thus is His form described.

The *unbeaten* strain resoundeth for him who repeateth God's name—

Happy is my God—

<sup>1</sup> *Pasāri*. Literally—druggists. The word here means men generally, because they make a display as Oriental druggists do of their wares.

<sup>2</sup> This and the preceding line are also translated—

To honour God is my shop, to honour God is my city, to honour God is my world ;

To honour God is my residence ; others wander in different ways.

The sandal-tree by its perfume is pleasant *to the other trees* of the forest ;

Through God who was before all things and who perfumeth like sandal, common wood becometh sandal.<sup>1</sup>

Thou, *O God*, art as the philosopher's stone ; I am as the iron ; in Thine association I have become gold.

Thou art compassionate, Thou art the jewel and the ruby. Nama hath been absorbed in the True One.

Man cannot hope to obtain bliss until he has learnt to know God who is within him.

### III

The inscrutable Being invented a play—

God is concealed in every heart,

No one knoweth the nature of the soul's light ;<sup>2</sup>

What we ourselves have done Thou knowest.

As an earthen vessel is produced from clay,

So Vitthal created the world.

The soul's entanglements depend on its acts ;

It is itself *responsible* for what it hath done.

Namdev representeth, the soul obtaineth the result of its thoughts ;

The soul which always remaineth fixed on the Inscrutable One, becometh immortal.<sup>3</sup>

## TRILOCHAN

TRILOCHAN, a name which literally means three-eyed, that is, seer of the present, past, and future, was a celebrated saint of the Vaisya caste. His birth is said to have taken place in the year A. D. 1267.<sup>4</sup> He

<sup>1</sup> Men become holy by devotion and pious association.

<sup>2</sup> Since it comes from God and has not been made by man.

<sup>3</sup> Shall no longer be subject to transmigration.

<sup>4</sup> The dates of birth of Trilochan and several other Bhagats have been given to the author by Sādhu Jānkībar Saran of Ajudhia.

either lived at or visited Pandharpur in the Sholapur district of the Bombay Presidency, and was a contemporary of Namdev, who mentioned or addressed him in his hymns. Inquiries at Pandharpur and the neighbouring city of Barsi have, however, failed to furnish any information regarding Trilochan. The following legend passes for history among his admirers. He had a perfect faith in and love for saints, but they visited him in inconveniently large numbers, and there were only he and his wife to attend and wait on them. He thought that they were not served as he could have wished, so he resolved on engaging a servant if he could find one who was accustomed to minister to holy men. He continued to search for such an attendant, but not finding one became sad at heart. It is said that God was not pleased at the sorrow of his saint, and sent him a candidate for service. Trilochan asked the candidate who he was, whence he had come, and whether he had parents and a house and home. The man replied that he had no parents or home. He had merely come to be engaged as a servant. He could wait on the saints of God without assistance from others, as his life had been spent in such service. He gave his name as Antarjami, which interpreted means Searcher of hearts. Trilochan was highly pleased and ordered his wife to engage him and cheerfully supply all his wants. She was cautioned to consider his pleasure as her first duty.

Antarjami performed menial services for the saints, such as cooking, drawing water, washing their feet, shampooing and bathing them, in such a manner that Trilochan's house became famous for its hospitality; and a large crowd of saints began to live with him and consume his substance. Thirteen months passed in this way, until one day Trilochan's wife went to visit a female neighbour. The latter inquired why she was so dirty and looked so miserable. She replied that her lord had taken into his employ a

servant who required so much attention that she had to spend all her days grinding corn and cooking for him. This was reported to Antanjami and he promptly disappeared.

When the time came to wait on the saints, Antanjami could not be found. Trilochan became very much grieved, and, rebuking his wife, told her that it was through her indiscretion Antanjami had left their service. When Trilochan's grief had lasted for three days it is said that he was comforted by divine interposition. He consequently applied himself to the praise and contemplation of the one true God. His sorrow was then dispelled.

The following hymns of Trilochan are found in the Granth Sahib :—

## SRI RAG

Trilochan admonishes mortals.

The heart feeleth great worldly love, O mortal, through which man forgetteth old age and the fear of death.

O fool, thou art pleased on beholding thy family, like a thief on espying his neighbour's house.

When the powerful myrmidons of Death come with a rush,

I cannot withstand them.

May some friend come and speak to me!<sup>1</sup>

Come to me, my God, throw Thine arms around me!

Come to me, my God, and rescue me!

In various pleasures and royal state, O mortal, hast thou forgotten *God*, and deemest thyself the only immortal one in this world.

Deceived by mammon thou hast not thought *of God*, and hast lost thy life, O heedless man.

Mortal, thou must tread a difficult and terrible path where neither sun nor moon hath entrance.

When man hath abandoned the world, he forgetteth his worldly love.

<sup>1</sup> That is, give me spiritual consolation.



To-day it hath become clear to mine understanding that Dharmraj will keep his eye on man.

There his very powerful *myrmidons* will rub men between their hands, and none may withstand them.

If any one give me instruction, *let it be this that* God is contained in every place.<sup>1</sup>

O God, saith Trilochan, Thou knowest everything.

#### GUJARI

A Hermit, a Sanyasi, a Brahmin called Jai Chand, a Jogi, and a Kapria held a religious discussion in which each maintained the superiority of his own sect. They came in the heat of their arguments to Trilochan, and he, knowing that they were all hypocrites, addressed them each in turn as follows :—

*To the Hermit.*—Thou hast not cleansed thy heart from filth, although thou wearest the dress of a hermit.

*To the Sanyasi.*—In the lotus of thy heart thou hast not recognized God ; why hast thou become a Sanyasi ?

*To the Brahmin.*—Thou hast gone astray in error, O Jai Chand,

And not recognized God the Primal Joy.

*To the Jogi.*—Eating in every house thou hast fattened thy body ; *thou wearest* a patched coat and beggar's earrings for gain.

Thou hast rubbed on thyself the ashes of the cremation-ground, *but, being* without a spiritual guide, thou hast not found the Real Thing.<sup>2</sup>

Why mutter *spells* ? Why practise austerities ? Why churn water ?

Remember *God* the Dweller at ease, who hath created the eighty-four lakhs of existences.

*To the Kapria.*—O Kapria, why carriest thou a water-pot ? Why wanderest thou to the sixty-eight *places of pilgrimage* ?

Saith Trilochan, hear, O mortal, having no corn why layest thou a threshing-floor ?

<sup>1</sup> *Wan trin*, literally—in the woods and glades.

<sup>2</sup> God.

Last thoughts determine man's future state.

At the last moment, he who thinketh upon his wealth and dieth in that thought,

Shall be born again and again as a serpent.

O my friend, forget not God's name.

At the last moment, he who thinketh of a woman and dieth in that thought,

Shall be born again and again as a prostitute.

At the last moment, he who thinketh upon a boy<sup>1</sup> and dieth in that thought,

Shall be born again and again as a hog.

At the last moment he who thinketh of a mansion and dieth in that thought,

Shall be born again and again as a sprite.

At the last moment he who thinketh upon God and dieth in that thought,

Saith Trilochan, shall obtain salvation, and God shall dwell in his heart.

#### DHANASARI

Trilochan, engaged in his devotions, neglected his worldly calling, and this led to his straitened domestic circumstances. Thereupon his wife became discontented and upbraided God. The following is Trilochan's remonstrance. He endeavoured to console her by telling her that her distress was the result of her sins.

Why slander God, O erring and ignorant woman ?

Thy woe and weal are according to thine acts.<sup>2</sup>

Though *the moon* is attached to Shiv's forehead, and *daily* batheth in the Ganges ;

Though *Krishan the avatar* of Vishnu became incarnate in the *moon's* family ;

Yet the stain contracted on account of his misdeeds is ineffaceable from his head ;

Arun, the charioteer, whose lord is *the sun*, the lamp of

<sup>1</sup> *Larke*. This phrase is also translated—He who thinketh upon his children. The idea apparently is that man ought to think of nothing but God in his last moments.

<sup>2</sup> When such is the case, it is no use to rail at God in adversity.

the earth, whose brother was Garur, the king of birds, *was born* without feet on account of his sins ;

*Shiv*, the remover of many sins, the lord of the three worlds, wandered to many places of pilgrimage, but never reached the end of them :

The act of *cutting off Brahma's* head was never effaced from his person.

Although ambrosia, the moon, the all-yielding cow, Lakhshmi, the miraculous tree, the steed with seven faces, and the physician arose *from the ocean*, the lord of rivers,

Yet on account of its deed the brackishness of the ocean departeth not ;

Although Hanuman who burnt the fortress of Lanka and uprooted the park of Rawan, took the wound-healing plant to Ram Chandar and made him happy,

Yet, on account of his act of theft the curse *that he should never have more than* a loin-cloth was not effaced from his person.

The result of past acts is never effaced, O wife of my house ;

Wherefore repeat for me the name of God ;

Trilochan repeateth God's name.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The following are the allusions in the preceding hymn :—

The *Sursari* is the Ganges, so called because it is *suron ki sari*, the river of demigods or divine heroes. It is said to flow from *Shiv's* head.

Krishan belonged to the Chandarbans, or family of the moon. Rām Chandar, on the other hand, belonged to the Sūrajbars, or family of the sun.

The moon fell in love with the wife of Brihaspati, the spiritual guide of the gods, and took her away. The dark spot in the moon is said to be the stain resulting from this act. In Sanskrit and cognate literature the moon is masculine.

Arun was son of Vinata by Kashyap. Vinata prematurely hatched an egg, and the offspring was born without thighs, hence he is called Anuru, thighless, or Vipād, footless. He cursed his mother, and prayed that, for having brought him forth before the due time, she should be a slave to her rival, Kadru. At his mother's earnest entreaties, however, he modified the curse, and said that her next son would deliver her from bondage. Arun, in later Hindu mythology, appears to be the same as the dawn and the charioteer of the sun.

Garur, or Garuda, Arun's younger brother, was chief of the feathered race, and an implacable foe of serpents. In a contest between his

## PARMANAND

PARMANAND resided at Barsi, north of Pandharpur. His era and history are not known. It is said that he had the same love and affection for God as the milkmaids had for Krishan. In his riper years he used to sing the praises of God with the zest of a boy of twelve or fourteen years of age, and he thus largely contributed to the magnification of God's name. The beauty and deeds of Krishan's external and internal body were ever present to him, so it is no wonder that he sang the graces, the splendour, the loveliness, and the pastoral and sylvan sports of that great king with all the enthusiasm of earnest faith and devotion.

Parmanand used to be so absorbed in the love and contemplation of God that tears, it is said, flowed continually from his eyes, and times without number he experienced an alteration and stoppage of his voice during his paroxysms of ecstasy. He

mother and her rival, the latter was successful, and, in accordance with conditions previously agreed on, made Vinata her slave. Garur brought nectar from heaven to purchase her freedom. Vinata was released. The nectar was taken back by Indar, but recovered by Garur. Garur is represented as the vehicle of Vishnu and as having a white face, an aquiline nose, red wings, and a golden body.

Shiv cut off Brahma's head, and it would never leave his hand till at last it fell from it at the pilgrimage of Kapālmochan.

The Rikhi Agast once invited the ocean to a banquet. It failed to answer the invitation, whereupon Agast became angry, took the ocean in his hand and drank it off. He afterwards voided it as urine, and hence its brackishness.

Rām's brother Lakshman was wounded, and Hanumān, on the advice of the physician Sukhen, took the *bisalya* plant to heal the wound.

Hanumān, the monkey-god, once plundered a holy man, leaving him only a loin-cloth. The holy man cursed him and said: 'Only a loin-cloth shall remain with thee also. Thou shalt never be able to put on other clothes.'



used to make seven hundred protestations to God daily, often on the muddy road. A merchant once offered him a silken cloth to protect his knees. He declined the offer and told him to give it to a more needy person, as he himself would be satisfied with an old cloth instead. This the merchant granted him.

Parmanand defended the utterance of God's name as a devotional exercise by saying that prayers are often not felt, because while repeating them men's minds are apt to wander ; but the continual utterance of God's name must ever result in heartfelt devotion.

In his hymns Parmanand called himself Sarang, by which he meant that he longed for God as the sarang or chatrik longs for its yearly raindrops.

Parmanand's writings are believed to excessively increase men's love for God. It is said to be impossible for one to read them without contemplating God or bearing an image of Him in the mind. A list of Parmanand's works is given in the Asht Chhap or the *Eight Marks* of the followers of Vishnu.

The following hymn of Parmanand's composition is found in the Granth Sahib.

#### SARANG

O man, what hast thou done by hearing the Purans ?

Thou hast performed no steady worship, and not given alms to the hungry.

Lust hast thou not forgotten, wrath hast thou not forgotten, covetousness hath not left thee ;

Slander hath not left thy lips, and fruitless hath been all thy devotion.

O sinful man, by highway robbery and house-breaking hast thou filled thy belly.

Thou hast committed the folly from which on thy departure to the next world infamy will result.

The desire for the destruction of life did not leave thy heart, and thou didst not cherish mercy for living things.

Parmanand, thou hast not in the company of holy men made current God's pure word.<sup>1</sup>

## SADHNA

SADHNA is believed to have been born in Sehwan in Sind and to have been a butcher by trade. He was a contemporary of Namdev. He embraced a religious life by listening to the instructions of holy men. Sadhna never killed animals himself, but purchased those killed by others and then retailed their flesh. He wiped out the sins of previous births and became purified like fine gold which resists the touchstone. His idol was the salagram or ammonite stone worshipped by Hindus. With this he weighed out meat to his customers. However much or little they required, they received the weight of the salagram.

A Sadhu, or holy man, on seeing the use to which the salagram was applied, thought it ought no longer to remain with a butcher, and resolved to take possession of it. Sadhna gave it up without hesitation. After some time, however, the Sadhu took back the salagram to Sadhna, and told him that, though he had bathed it in the five am-

<sup>1</sup> The first duty inculcated in this hymn is, it will be noted, almsgiving. Lust, wrath, covetousness, and slander are to be avoided. Highway robbery and house-breaking, which still prevail in India, are duly reprobated. The life of no living thing is to be taken. This doctrine is accepted by countless Hindus. It has descended to them from the earliest ages. The hymn concludes by showing the value of good example. The good name suggested as an object is not the good name of this world, but the good name which is equivalent to the good will of heaven.

brocias,<sup>1</sup> worshipped it with sandal, sweet basil, and so forth, his worship was unacceptable. 'The sala-gram is pleased with thee,' said the Sadhu, 'and I have sinned by taking it.' By this time, however, Sadhna's thoughts took a different turn. He became wrapped up in the love of God, abandoned everything he possessed, and bent his steps towards the forest to enjoy the uninterrupted worship of God.

On the way he saw some of his relations at a distance. He concealed himself and avoided them by taking another route lest any of them should put pressure on him to return. On arriving in the evening at a village, he went into the house of a married man and asked for something to eat. The lady of the house on seeing Sadhna young and handsome fell in love with him. She prepared exquisite food for his repast and induced him to stay. At night she proposed to elope with him. Sadhna spurned her, and said he would not do such a thing even though she were to cut his throat for refusing. Understanding by this that, if her husband's throat were cut, Sadhna would be ready to accede to her wishes, she forthwith went and killed her husband. On returning to Sadhna she told him what she had done, and repeated her immoral proposal. Sadhna replied, 'O unworthy woman, thou hast lost thy reason ; how can I agree to what thou proposest ?' In her despair she raised loud cries and invented a false accusation against him : 'I believed this person to be a holy man, and accordingly entertained him. He hath now killed my husband, and made improper overtures to me.' Sadhna was arrested and taken before a magistrate. When asked what he had to say, he, with the meekness and unwillingness to throw blame on others, which have characterized so many Hindu saints, pleaded

<sup>1</sup> The *Panch amrit*, or five nectars of the Hindus, are curds, clarified butter, honey, Ganges water, and milk.

guilty to the charge. He thought to himself, ' Since God hath placed me in this position, no one will accept my denial.' He then composed the following hymn :—

Even though Thou, O God, consign me to hell, I shall not dispute it or turn away from it.

Even though Thou bestow heaven on me, I shall not rejoice or praise it.

If Thou reject me, I cannot constrain Thee ; if Thou accept me, I shall not be puffed up with excessive joy.

He by whom Thou standest shoulder to shoulder is dyed with Thee.

Let him whom Thou orderest cheerfully burn his body.

My mind desireth not death, yet Thou mayest, if it please Thee, put me in the fire.

What the Beloved desireth ought to be the heart's desire also.

The judge sentenced Sadhna to have his hands cut off. The punishment was duly carried out, and Sadhna was then discharged. He set out without a frown on his forehead notwithstanding his barbarous mutilation.

There is a tradition, which, however, is not found in the *Bhagat Mal*, that the woman who had brought the false accusation against Sadhna of having killed her husband with the object of abducting her, burned herself on her husband's funeral pyre. On seeing this Sadhna said, ' No one knoweth the way of a woman ; she killeth her husband and becometh a Sati.' However this expression originated, it has passed into a proverb.

Sadhna's devotions proved so successful that, it is said, new hands then sprouted from his body, and he was released from all pain of future birth. ' So efficacious,' says the author of the *Bhagat Mal*, ' is the love of God.' In the *Mahabharat* it is stated that, even were a man to study the four Veds, it would not avail him unless he loved God. And



God said, 'Even though a man be the lowest social outcast, yet if he be a saint of Mine, he is dear to Me and worthy of worship.'

There is a legend to the effect that Sadhna became the object of further persecution. A king, who was probably incensed against him on account of his religious opinions, ordered him to procure meat for him at an unusual hour of night. Sadhna was unable to do so, and the king thereupon ordered that he should be put to death by being built alive into a wall. While the wall was closing round him, Sadhna is said to have composed the following hymn in the Bilawal measure :—

On account of a king's daughter a man assumed the disguise of Vishnu,

For love of her and for his own object; but his honour was saved.

What merit hast Thou, O Guru of the world, if my sins be not erased ?

What availeth it to enter the asylum of the lion, if he allow the jackal<sup>1</sup> to clutch me ?

For want of a drop of rain the chatrik suffereth agony ;

When its life is gone, even were an ocean at hand, it would be of no avail.

Now that my life is weary and abideth no longer, how shall I be patient ?

When a man is drowned, even if a boat be obtained, say whom shall you put into it ?

I am nothing, I am nothing, and I have nothing,

At this conjuncture Thy slave, Sadhna, prayeth Thee to protect his honour.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The lion here is God, the jackal is the king who sentenced Sadhna to death.

<sup>2</sup> The beginning of this hymn alludes to a carpenter's son who, on hearing that a king's daughter desired to marry Vishnu, decked himself out with Vishnu's four arms, club, lotus, discus, and shell, rode on Vishnu's garur, and thus gained the lady's affection. A hostile king was subsequently making war on her father, whereupon she declared she kept Vishnu with her and He would save her people. The carpenter's son

Sadhna's tomb is at Sarhind in the Panjab, but the sadhu in charge of it can give no information regarding him.

## BENI

BENI briefly traces the progress of man's spiritual degeneration from the time of birth.

Owing to the great difficulty of his writings it is believed that he is of comparatively ancient date. Unfortunately no account of him is accessible.

## SRIRAG

O man, when thou wast in the pit of the womb and didst meditate and fix thine earnest attention on God ;<sup>1</sup>

Not proud of the dignity of thy mortal body, thou wast day and night free from *the pride which is* ignorance.

Recall the travail and great suffering of those days ; now thou hast too much extended thy thoughts *to worldly things*.

felt alarmed on the approach of the hostile army to the capital, and prayed to Vishnu to save him. Vishnu heard his prayers, caused the defeat of the hostile king, and thus saved the country and its people, including the lover of the king's daughter.

Several gyānis analyse the hymn as follows : In the first two lines Sadhna addresses God, 'Thou hast saved him, why not me ?' God is supposed to reply, 'This form of death was recorded in thy destiny.' Sadhna then repeated the third and fourth lines. God then said that He would grant him salvation after death. Sadhna replied with the fifth and sixth lines. God then tells him to be of good cheer, after which Sadhna replied with the seventh and eighth lines. The ninth line is frequently paraphrased—I can do nothing for myself, I have no relation and no one to assist me.

Sadhna founded a sect which does not appear to be numerous now, and which is confined to persons of the trade of butcher. The particular tenets of the Sadhnāpanthis are nowhere stated, but it is probable they simply consist in worshipping Sadhna as an incarnation of Vishnu.

<sup>1</sup> *Urdh* in the Granth Sāhib often means God. It may, however, be also translated—with body reversed.

When thou didst leave the womb and enter this perishable world, thou forgottest God.

Thou shalt afterwards repent, O fool ; through what mental perversity hath superstition attached to thee ?

Remember God ; otherwise thou shalt go to the abode of Death ; stray not in other worship.

A child is anxious for play and sweets ; by degrees its worldly love increaseth.

Under the pretext of its being a sacrifice,<sup>1</sup> man tasteth meat as if it were ambrosia, though it is a poison ; then the five evil passions appear and torture him.<sup>2</sup>

He abandoneth devotion, penance, self-restraint, and good works, and in his heart he worshippeth not God's name.

His lust overfloweth, blackness attacheth to his heart, and he embraceth the strange woman.

In the ardour of youth he stareth at another's wife, and distinguisheth not good from evil.

In the intoxication of lust and *the other* great sins he goeth astray, and distinguisheth not vice from virtue.

Beholding his children and his wealth, he is proud and forgetteth God in his heart.

He weigheth in his heart the wealth of some one who is dead, then ruineth his life by women and banquets.

When his hair groweth grey—greyer than the jasmine—and his voice becometh feeble ;<sup>3</sup>

When his eyes water, and his intellect and strength depart, then his desires are in a whirl.<sup>4</sup>

His mind *is defiled* by evil passions, and therefore his body withereth away like the lotus in the rainy season.

He who renounceth God's name in this perishable world shall afterwards repent.

Beholding his near relations he muttereth *something*, and is proud of them, but they heed him not.

<sup>1</sup> *Medh* here means the animal killed in sacrifice.

<sup>2</sup> It must be remembered that this was written by a Vaishnav to whom all meat was forbidden.

<sup>3</sup> Literally—as if it proceeded from the seventh nether region.

<sup>4</sup> Literally—the churn of desires is in his heart.

He desireth the distinction of long life, *though* his eyes see not.<sup>1</sup>

The fire of *his body* is spent, the bird of his soul hath fled, and *his corpse* is disagreeable whether in the house or the courtyard.

Saith Beni, hear me, O saints ; who hath obtained salvation after death ? <sup>2</sup>

Divine instruction is communicated under the allegory of hathjog, the most difficult and painful form of a Jogi's practice.

#### RAMKALI

Unite the breath of the ira, pingla, and sukhmana together in one place ; <sup>3</sup>

There is the Beni <sup>4</sup> and Pryag where the three rivers meet ; let the soul lave therein.

O saints, there is the pure God.

A few understand this when they go to the guru ;

There *in the brain* the Pure One is.

What are the signs of God's abode ?

There is played the unbeaten music of the Word.<sup>5</sup>

There nor moon, nor sun, nor wind, nor water is worshipped.

He whose conscience is awakened by the guru's instruction knoweth this.

Through him divine knowledge is produced, evil inclinations depart,

And ambrosial juice trickleth from the brain.

He who knoweth the secret of this science,<sup>6</sup>

Shall meet the Primal Divine Guru.

<sup>1</sup> Also translated—His body wasteth away ; on seeing somebody he speaketh ; he is proud, but knoweth nothing.

<sup>2</sup> That is, unless man have done good works in life there is no means of his salvation.

<sup>3</sup> That is, the brain.

<sup>4</sup> At Priyāg there is or was a temple called Beni Mādhav.

<sup>5</sup> Not the bells, cymbals, or shells of Hindu worship.

<sup>6</sup> *Kala*, literally—contrivances.



The tenth gate is the abode of the inaccessible and unequalled Supreme Being.

Over the body and on the body is a chamber,<sup>1</sup> and within the chamber is the Treasure.

He who watcheth over this shall never fall asleep ;

The three qualities and the three worlds shall vanish for him in contemplation ;

He shall hold the Source <sup>2</sup> of all spells in his heart,

And turning back his mind *from the world*, fix it on heaven ;

He shall be wakeful and not utter a lie,

And shall keep the five organs of perception in subjection ;

He shall treasure the guru's instruction in his heart,

And devote his soul and body to God's love ;

He shall meditate on the leaves and branches of his body,<sup>3</sup>

And not lose his life in gambling ; <sup>4</sup>

He shall tie up the sphincter ani,

Turn his breath towards his back, and raise it to the brain.

When he restraineth his breath difficult of restraint,<sup>5</sup> nectar trickleth forth,

And he converseth with the Lord of the world.

In the *tenth* gate is the light of a four-faced lamp <sup>6</sup> *to behold all things* ;

There are endless petals of the lotus,<sup>7</sup> and its cup is in the centre ;

God dwelleth there with all His power.

Let man string the precious jewel of God's name within him—

He hath a lotus in his brain and gems <sup>8</sup> around it ;

<sup>1</sup> The brain.

<sup>2</sup> That is, God.

<sup>3</sup> Explained by the gyānis to mean the veins and muscles of the body. It is to the upper and lower limbs the word branches is applied in Hindu anatomy.—Dr. Hoernle.

<sup>4</sup> That is, in vice.

<sup>5</sup> Literally—when he has endured unendurable things.

<sup>6</sup> A lamp with four wicks to give a bright light. Divine knowledge is meant.

<sup>7</sup> The mystics suppose that the brain contains a lotus flower, within which God dwells.

<sup>8</sup> The leaves of the lotus.

In the centre is the Spotless One, the Lord of the three worlds ;

The five species of musical instruments are clearly heard ;

Chauris *appear* to wave and a shell to reverberate like thunder—

The pious by divine knowledge trample on their evil passions.<sup>1</sup>

Beni beggeth Thy name, *O Lord, since the practice of Jog is profitless.*

#### PRABHATI

The following was addressed to a hypocritical Brahman :—

Thou *rubbest* sandal on thy body, and *puttest* leaves on thy forehead,<sup>2</sup>

But thou hast a murderous knife in thy heart.

Thou lookest on people like a thag, and watchest them like a crane *looking for fish.*

The life of the Vaishnav when he seeth thee escapeth through his mouth.<sup>3</sup>

Thou bowest *daily* to the beautiful *idol* of Vishnu for a long time ;

With the evil eye art thou affected, and at night thou quarrellest ;<sup>4</sup>

Thou ever bathest thy body ;

Thou hast two dhotis,<sup>5</sup> *thou ostensibly performest* thy religious duties, and livest on milk alone,

But in thy heart thou hast a knife to stab with.

It is thy custom to plunder the property of others.

<sup>1</sup> *Daint*, literally—demons.

<sup>2</sup> To appear to have renounced the world.

<sup>3</sup> The Vaishnav abstains from meat, and dies on seeing thee bent on deeds of blood. The verse is also translated—Thou lookest like a Vaishnav whose soul hath escaped from his body.

<sup>4</sup> Over the division of the offerings. Possibly, however, *bādan* (quarrel) is for *bāman* (woman) which would rhyme with *chirāman* in the preceding line. If *bāman* be read, the translation will be—Thou lookest severely on women *by day*, but by night thou lovest them.

<sup>5</sup> So as to have a change after bathing.

Thou adorest a stone, and *in the worship of Kali* makest a circle for Ganesh.<sup>1</sup>

Thou watchest at night *so that men may think* thou hast entered on God's service ;

With thy feet dost thou dance, but thy heart meditateth evil—

O sinner, thy dancing is wicked—

Thou sittest on a deer-skin, and carriest a rosary of sweet basil ;

Thou puttest a showy tilak on thy forehead ;

In thy heart is falsehood, though thou wearest a necklace<sup>2</sup> on thy neck.

O sinner, thou repeatest not God's name.

All that man's worship is vain, and he is blind

Who hath not recognized the Supreme God.

Saith Beni, meditate *on God* by the guru's instruction ;

Without a true guru the way is not found.

## RAMANAND

A SHORT account of Ramanuj appears to be necessary to explain the doctrines of Ramanand, and the progress of Hindu religious reform in India. Swami Ramanuj<sup>3</sup> flourished in the eleventh century of the Christian era. He was born in the village of Bhutnagari, also called Perumbhudur, south-east of Kanchipur, the modern Kanjeveram, in the

<sup>1</sup> According to the *Tantar Shāstar*, there must be four circles for Kālī's attendant divinities, Ganesh, Kshetarpāl, Bhairav, and Yogini.

<sup>2</sup> Rudrākhan, the Sanskrit *rudrāksh*. A necklace made of the berries of the eleocarpus. This is generally worn by the worshippers of Shiv. It is the followers of Vishnu who carry rosaries of sweet basil.

<sup>3</sup> The author is indebted to Mr. L. Rice of Bangalore for some valuable notes on the life of Rāmānuj.

Madras Presidency, in the year A.D. 1017 during the reign of Betawardhan, King of Dwar Samudra in the Maisur (Mysore) state. The date of his birth is attested by the Sanskrit chronogram *dhirlabdha*, a word which yields the date 939 of the Saka era, and means that men received patience or consolation at his birth. Ramanuj's father was Keshav Jajjwa, a Brahman said to be of the illustrious race of Harit, the spiritual and literary king of the Rikhis. His mother was called Kantimati. For a long time she was childless. Her husband prayed to heaven for a son when, it is said, a god appeared to him and told him his desire should be granted. To effect this, it is related that Sheshnag, the wise serpent, which according to the Hindus supports the earth, became incarnate as Ramanuj.

On the mother's side also Ramanuj belonged to an intellectual family, for it was his mother's brother Yadav Acharya,<sup>1</sup> who was Ramanuj's first preceptor and taught him the principles of the Hindu religion as expounded in the Simritis. Ramanuj became an apt pupil, and at a very early age mastered the Veds and the Shastars. While pursuing his studies he delighted to sit under a tamarind tree near Perumbhudur, which is still worshipped by his followers.

Ramanuj propounded new opinions with reference to the relation between the Creator and his creatures. He refuted the theories of the famous Shankar Acharya who was a Vedantist, and he began to inculcate the superiority of the worship of Vishnu to that of Shiv, the principal object of worship in southern India.

Ramanuj exorcised an evil spirit, of which the daughter of the king of Kanchipur had become possessed. The king was well pleased and gave

<sup>1</sup> Some followers of Rāmānuj deny that Yādav Achārya was his uncle.



him munificent remuneration. Finding the king in a mood to listen to his teaching, he preached to him the advantages of the Vaishnav doctrines. His superior intellectual attainments and his success in everything to which he turned his attention excited the jealousy of his preceptor, who formed a plot to take him on a pilgrimage to Banaras, and secretly drown him in the Ganges. Ramanuj was saved from this fate by the timely information received from his aunt's son.<sup>1</sup>

Ramanuj for a considerable time worshipped an idol called Bardraj, the tutelary deity of Kanchipur. Desirous to extend his theological studies, and thoroughly distrustful of his uncle, he went to Sri Rang Nath, the modern Srirangam at the parting of the rivers Kavari and Kolarun, near Trichinopoly, to visit Yamun Acharya, the great representative of the Sri sect, and obtain initiation from him and adoption as his disciple. Unfortunately Yamun Acharya had died before the arrival of Ramanuj. The latter then put himself under the tutelage of Mahapuran, Yamun Acharya's disciple and successor. He subsequently became the disciple of Goshtipuran, who sent him back eighteen times before he was satisfied of his fitness for initiation.

Nabhaji, writing from a Vaishnav standpoint, enumerates four great sects of Hindus, the Sri, the Shiv, the Brahma, and the Sankadik. The members of the Sri sect worship Vishnu under the form of his energy or consort Lakshmi. Indeed, it is said that Vishnu himself taught the proper form of his worship to Lakshmi, and she handed it down in a direct line to Ramanuj.

Ramanuj continued his studies with ardour at Sri Rang Nath, and there composed his commentaries on the Sutras of Vyas and other Vedic works.

<sup>1</sup> Nābhāji's *Bhagat Māl* and also Mahārāja Raghurāj Sinh's *Bhagat Māl*. Some believe the lady whom Rāmānuj cured was the daughter of Dwārsamudar.

When past fifty years of age he left his family and devoted himself to the salvation of his fellow men. Mahapuran had communicated to him the spell by which God's protection might be obtained, and told him that whoever heard it should be saved from the pain of transmigration. At the same time he informed Ramanuj that he was never to disclose the secret. Ramanuj pondered on the prohibition, and came to the conclusion that it was on every account proper to divulge to men the secret of salvation, even though he were to suffer eternal punishment for the disclosure. He accordingly went from place to place repeating with a loud voice the spell of human deliverance. He made pilgrimages to Triputi, Jagannath, and Banaras, and having successfully preached the Vaishnav doctrines at these holy places erected buildings for worship at them all. From Banaras he proceeded to Badrinath in the Himalayas, where he did homage to Vishnu under his dual form of Nar Narayan. He is said to have made converts by thousands and tens of thousands.

In the *Prapann Amrit*, a Sanskrit work devoted to Ramanuj and his doctrines, it is stated that in the month of Poh in the year 1012 of the Salavahana era, corresponding to 1090 of the Christian era, he dedicated an idol to God under the name of Narayan at a place called Yadavachala.<sup>1</sup>

The chroniclers disclose the extent to which religious zeal and its allies, religious bigotry and persecution, even then prevailed in India. The Chola king Karikala, called Krimi Kantha on account of some affection of the throat from which he suffered, was a bigoted worshipper of Shiv, and held the doctrines of the Sri sect in devout abhorrence. He engaged in controversy with Mahapuran, Ramanuj's religious guide, and Kruresh, a disciple of Ramanuj. The monarch on being vanquished in

<sup>1</sup> *Prapann Amrit*, Bombay edition.

argument resorted to physical force for revenge, and put out the eyes of his antagonists. Mahapurāṇa died in a few days, but Kruśh survived and subsequently rendered Ramanuj invaluable service in the dissemination of his doctrines.

Ramanuj himself, in order to escape from the fury of Krimi Kantha, took shelter in the court of Bitta or Vitala Deva, the Jain monarch of Dwar Samudra in the Maisur state, who reigned from A.D. 1104 to 1141.<sup>1</sup> After a controversy with Ramanuj the king changed his faith and sought the protection of God in his teachings. Filled with new zeal he changed his name also to Vishnu Vardhana and set to work to convert his numerous subjects, who are stated to have been all of the Jain religion. Most of them were converted, but some fled, and the rest the monarch piously put to the sword. In A.D. 1117 the king erected the Belur temple in commemoration of his conversion to Vaishnavism by Ramanuj.

Ramanuj fearing for his own safety in his native country and pleased with the holy zeal, friendship, and protection of the Maisur king, resided at his capital for twelve years, during which time he induced him to erect a temple to Krishan at Mailkot. Here Ramanuj continued to preach his doctrines, and made numerous converts among the Brahmans, whom he withdrew from their allegiance to Shiv.

Ramanuj's religious teachings began to be adopted at Purushotampuri, the modern Jagannath, then as now one of the greatest strongholds of the Hindu religion. His rules for daily life, however, were of a very exclusive character, and such as could hardly

<sup>1</sup> Bitta Deva was king of the Hoysalas who lived on the west of the present Maisūr state. Bitta Deva's dynasty ruled Maisūr from the eleventh to the fourteenth century. Their capital was Dwārsamudar, now Halebid, in the Belur district. The Cholas and their king lived to the east of the Hoysalas. The Hoysala kings were Jains up to the time of Bitta Deva.—Rice's *Mysore*.





have been expected from a man who fearlessly disclosed to the world the secrets of salvation. He enjoined the utmost attention to cleanliness in cooking and eating, an injunction which must be commended on sanitary grounds, but he made regulations concerning dress, salutation, and sacrificial marks of too strict a character for general observance. For instance, his followers cooked for themselves, and ate in the greatest privacy after bathing. On one point in particular he laid the greatest stress: If the sight or shadow of any person fell upon the food of a follower of his, it was to be immediately rejected. He believed that purity of thought could only be attained by eating food not seen by others. Nabhaji states that the strict culinary rules of Ramanuj were not made for caste purposes, but for the glory of God and purity of worship.

Such teaching naturally met with opposition. It can easily be gathered that Jagannath became too dangerous a place for Ramanuj to permanently reside in, and he escaped at night to pursue his missionary career in other lands. He is said to have had ten thousand followers, seventy-four of whom were specially devoted to their teacher. These seventy-four, however, each put a different interpretation on his doctrines, and accordingly established as many sects of their own. Ramanuj died at Sriranganath at the age of one hundred and twenty years. The chronogram *dharmonashta* or the destruction of religion, gives the date of his death as 1059 of the Shaka era, corresponding to A.D. 1137.

The mantra or words of initiation of the sect consists of eight letters, and is communicated in a secret whisper by the teacher to his disciple. The proclamation of the mantra was made by Ramanuj from the loftiest gopura, known as the white gopura, or ornamental gateway of the temple at Srirangam. The motto of members of their order is 'Ramanuj-



assya daso asmi' I am a slave of Ramanuj. The head is slightly inclined and the hands are joined and applied to the forehead for the purposes of salutation. The sacrificial marks of the sect are several. On the forehead there are two vertical streaks made with a calcareous clay called gopichandan. Within them is a vertical red streak made of turmeric and lime. The white streaks are connected over the nose by a transverse streak which admits of several varieties. The usual marks on the forehead are as follow;— , to denote that body, tongue, and mind should be kept under subjection. On the breast and upper arms Ramanujis make white patches in which they enclose red streaks. The several marks represent the shell, quoit, club, and lotus carried in the four hands of Vishnu, and the central streak of red represents his consort or energy Lakshmi. It is piously believed that persons, no matter of what caste, who apply these marks to their foreheads are after their departure from this life not molested by Death's ministers. The sect besides venerate the salagram stone and the sweet basil flower as indispensable adjuncts of worship.

The followers of Ramanuj believe that Vishnu is the supreme Being, that he existed before all worlds, and was the Creator of all things. Creation originated in his desire to multiply himself and was formed from his material essence. This essence, however manifested, is pervaded by a portion of his vitality which again is distinct from his spiritual essence, as God the spirit and matter are all distinct. Like the propounders of other religious systems, Ramanuj found himself in a difficulty between pantheism and anthropomorphism. Vishnu pervades all creation. Vishnu and the universe are one, but at the same time Vishnu is not devoid of form, and he is endowed with all good qualities. Vishnu has manifested himself to men in several human and other incarnations. He is present in

objects of worship, and may be adored by the purification of temples and idols, by the presentation of flowers and perfumes, by counting rosaries and repeating his name and that of his energy or consort Lakshmi, and finally by the practice of Jog. The reward of such devotion is release from all transmigration throughout eternity.

Several temples were erected in Ramanuj's honour, the principal of which are at Jadari, Galata, Ahobal, and Rewasa. In the famous fort of Srirangapatam, also, a temple sacred to Ramanuj is pointed out to visitors.

Ramanuj wrote several works, the principal of which are the *Sri Ramanuj Bhashya*, the *Gita Bhashya*, the *Vedaratha Sangraha*, the *Vedanta dipa*, the *Vedanta Sar*, and the *Dharm Sanhita*.<sup>1</sup>

RAMANAND, a Gaur Brahman, was born at Mailkot, where Ramanuj had set up an idol of Vishnu and induced the Brahmans to renounce their devotion to Shiv. Very little is known of Ramanand's life. Only a page and a half is devoted to it in Nabhaji's *Bhagat Mal*, where he is compared to Ram, and made an incarnation of God come down from heaven to save the world.

The Ramanandis make it a special point to keep all details of their sect and its founder a profound secret. All the works that we have been able to obtain relating to Ramanand have been for the most part devoted to his praise. We give here such details of his life as have been gleaned from accessible sources.

Nabhaji makes Ramanand the fourth in spiritual

<sup>1</sup> Besides the *Prapann Amrit*, the principal authorities for the life of Rāmānuj are the *Bhagat Māl* (Hindi), the *Divya Charitar* (Kannarese), the *Bharat Khanda cha aravāchhīn kosh* (Marathi), and the *Kabi Charitar* (Gujrāti).

For a further account of Rāmānuj's doctrines and followers see Sir Monier Williams's *Brāhmanism and Hinduism*.

descent from Ramanuj. Allowing a third of a century as an average period of incumbency for each religious teacher, Ramanand must have flourished in the end of the fourteenth and the first half of the fifteenth century. This corresponds too with another reckoning which may be employed as a chronological test. The great religious reformer Kabir, of whom we shall presently have much to say, was according to all documentary and traditional evidence a disciple of Ramanand. Now the followers of Kabir say that the year A. D. 1908 is the 510th of his era. His birth therefore, according to them, took place in the year A. D. 1398, a date which may be unhesitatingly accepted. We are thus able to fix Ramanand's approximate epoch.

Ramanand like Ramanuj originally imbibed the Hindu doctrines enunciated in the Simritis, in which he had been instructed by a hermit. He subsequently adopted the reformed principles of Ramanuj and became a prominent member of the Sri sect. It is related that Ramanand, while still a worshipper according to the Simritis, was one day gathering flowers in a garden when he saw Swami Raghwanand, a follower of Ramanuj. Raghwanand asked him if he knew anything of his own state, but, before he had time to answer, told him that he had reached the end of his life, and exhorted him to seek the protection of God at the last hour. Ramanand went and informed his hermit tutor of the message he had received. The hermit and his pupil proceeded to Raghwanand and besought his divine intercession. The great Swami took compassion on Ramanand, and by his skill in the arduous practice of Jog suspended at the critical moment Ramanand's life breath in the tenth gate of his body. The time fixed by destiny for Ramanand's death having thus passed, Raghwanand bestowed on him the coveted boon of a protracted life.

Ramanand served the Swami for some time, and



then went on a pilgrimage to Badrikashram, the modern Badri Narain in the Himalayas, and other places. In the course of his wanderings he visited Banaras, and lived at the ghat called Panch Ganga, where his sandals were preserved at the time of the composition of Nabhaji's *Bhagat Mal*.

It is certain that Ramanand came in contact at Banaras with learned Musalmans, for by that time there had been several conquests of India under the flag of the Prophet of Makka. It is natural to suppose that there should have been held at the ancient sacred city of the Hindus heated controversies between Mullas and Brahmans, and that the better informed classes of Hindus, who had already shown a predilection for monotheism, should have formed a just conception of the divine unity. We shall afterwards see how some of the followers of Ramanand at Banaras became fervent monotheists, and at the same time ridiculed the priestcraft of the Mullas and the Brahmans.

Being far from members of his own religious persuasion, Ramanand was now free to form his own ideas and speculations on religion, and he laid aside among other previous articles of belief several of the cumbrous social and caste observances of the Sri sect. When he returned after long absence to Raghwanand, his co-religionists and those who had previously lived with him interrogated him as to his observance of caste rules since his departure from them. It was found that his theological belief had altered in some respects, and that he had relaxed the severe culinary rules of Ramanuj.

It is an ordinary practice of Hindu priests when they lay food before an idol to draw a screen over both the idol and the food. When sufficient time according to human ideas is allowed the idol for its consumption, the screen is withdrawn. The followers of Ramanuj observe the same practice, but have added to it a stern injunction that, if any



one but the person cooking see the idol's food, it must be immediately rejected. The followers of Ramanuj consider attention to such matters one of the most important elements of divine worship.

Ramanand did not adopt this view. Like another great Teacher he could not understand what concern culinary rules had with the worship of God;<sup>1</sup> and he must have freely given vent to his feelings, though his expressions have not been preserved. His sect promptly expelled him, but his religious guide Raghwanand appears to have felt some sympathy with him, for he authorized him to found a sect of his own, which he accordingly did. The theological tenets of the new faith corresponded to some extent with those of Ramanuj, except that Sita and Ram instead of Lakshmi and Narayan became special objects of Ramanand's worship, and the culinary and kindred rules of the Ramanujis were generously relaxed.

Ramanand then applied himself to prove from the Shastars that the observance of caste rules was unnecessary for any one who sought the protection of God and embraced his service. He laid it down as a rule that all persons of any caste who accepted the tenets and principles of his sect, might eat and drink together irrespective of birth. All men who serve God in the same way are brothers and of the same social position. Contrary to the practice of Ramanuj, who had enforced a discipline too strict for ordinary mortals, Ramanand threw his spiritual door wide open, admitted disciples of all castes, and boldly announced that gyan, or knowledge of God, emancipated man from all social bondage.

It is written in Nabhaji's *Bhagat Mal* that even a low caste man who loves God is superior to a Brahman who, although irreproachable in his acts, possesses no love for the Creator. An instance of

<sup>1</sup> 'Not that which goeth into the mouth defileth a man; but that which cometh out of the mouth, this defileth a man.'

this is cited. At the great feast given by Yudhishtar to commemorate the victory of the Pandavs over the Kauravs, the festal bell would not ring spontaneously at the appointed time. Krishan, who attended the banquet, inquired if any person had failed to receive his share of the viands. He was informed that food had not been served to Valmik because he was a Chandala, and, as a huntsman, destroyer of life. Krishan then ordered that Valmik should be seated in the midst of the assemblage, and that Draupadi, the fractional wife<sup>1</sup> of Yudhishtar, should feed him with her own hands. This she accordingly did, and the festal bell pealed forth struck by no earthly hands.

Ramanand was distinguished for his kindness to others and his love of God. He pointed out the way of the Lord to men of the four castes and the four conditions of life.<sup>2</sup> He deemed forms of adoration superfluous, and held that the supreme reward of devotion was to be obtained by incessantly uttering God's name. He called his disciples the Liberated, when he allowed them and they accepted a liberal interpretation of the Hindu social rules sanctioned by religion. At the same time he vehemently opposed atheists and those who boasted that they existed independently of God. He vanquished in argument the Jains, the Budhists, and the followers of the left way,<sup>3</sup> whose devotions were not addressed to the supreme Lord of the world.

<sup>1</sup> At that time polyandry was in force. Draupadi was wife of the whole five Pāndav brothers, one of whom was Yudhishtar.

<sup>2</sup> Brāhmans, Kshatris, and Vaisyas ought, according to ancient Hindu writings, to be, first, *Brahmachāris*, practising celibacy and devoting their lives to study and religious exercises; secondly, *grihasthis*, or married men leading secular lives; thirdly, *bāṇparasthis*, or anchorets, when their wives might accompany them and they might live on forest fruit, tubers, and roots; and fourthly, *sanyāsīs*, completely renouncing the world and subsisting altogether on alms.

<sup>3</sup> Vāmis or Vāmāchāris. For some account of them see Professor H. H. Wilson's *Essays on the Religion of the Hindus*, Vol. I.





FOLLOWERS OF RAMANUJ AND RAMANAND



Ramanand, having forsaken the cares of the world, gave himself up to *vairag* or renunciation of all worldly things, and thus became the first Bairagi. He had four disciples, from each of whom arose four sects composed of Nagas, who are purely ascetic and practise seclusion, and Samayogis, who marry and lead domestic lives. Both orders may eat together. They mostly belong to the Sudar class, but some wear the triple cord of the twice-born Hindus, and style themselves Gaur Brahmans who had their origin in the north of India.

It is said that Ramanand at Ganga Sagar—at the mouth of the Hughli branch of the Ganges—discovered a temple sacred to Kapila, an incarnation of Vishnu and author of the Sāṅkhya Shastars. A fair is annually held there at the time of the winter solstice.

The disciples of Ramanand were, according to Nabhaji, Anantanand, Sureshwaranand, Sukhanand, Bhawanand, Pipa, Sain, Dhanna, Ravdas, Kabir, and others. Ramanand died at Banaras at an advanced age.

Most of the present followers of Ramanand appear to have completely fallen away from his teaching, and observe caste rules with the utmost strictness. As far as their tenets are concerned, they appear to have become hopelessly confused with the Ramanujis, and to differ only in their sectarial marks and their preference for Sita and Ram to Lakshmi and Narayan as objects of worship.

The following is the hymn of Ramanand found in the Granth Sahib. An invitation had been given him to attend a religious service of Vishnu, to which he replied :—

#### BASANT

Whither shall I go, Sir ? I am happy at home.

My heart will not go with me ; it hath become a cripple.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Compare the use of the word *mancus* by Horace.

One day I did have an inclination to go ;  
 I ground sandal, took distilled aloe wood and many  
 perfumes,  
 And was proceeding to worship God in a temple,  
 When my spiritual guide showed me God in my heart.  
 Wherever I go *I find only* water or stones.<sup>1</sup>  
 But Thou, O God, art equally contained in everything.  
 The Veds and the Purans all have I seen and searched.  
 Go thou thither, if *God* be not here.  
 O true guru, I am a sacrifice unto thee  
 Who hast cut away all my perplexities and doubts.  
 Ramanand's Lord is the all-pervading God ;  
 The guru's word cutteth away millions of sins.

## DHANNA

DHANNA, generally known as Dhanna Jat, is said to have been born in the year A.D. 1415. He lived in the village of Dhuan in Tank territory, about twenty miles from the Deoli cantonments in Rajputana. A religious bent was given to his genius from his earliest years. A Brahman went to his parents' house to worship. On seeing the ceremonials, Dhanna asked for an idol so that he too might worship on his own account in imitation of the Brahman. The Brahman at first put him off with excuses, but, when Dhanna further importuned, he handed him a small black stone for his youthful devotion. Dhanna took it up, applied it to his eyes and head, and began to worship it in imitation of the Brahman. The ceremony observed was this :— Dhanna first bathed himself, then bathed the stone, and put on it a tilak or patch made from the mud

<sup>1</sup> Rivers of pilgrimage or idols.

<sup>2</sup> For some local inquiries made regarding Dhanna we are indebted to Colonel E. R. Penrose, Cantonment Magistrate of Deoli.

of a neighbouring tank. He had no sweet basil dear to gods and idols, but he offered green leaves instead, and then performed the customary devotional homage and prostration.<sup>1</sup>

When Dhanna's mother brought him bread he put it in front of the idol, and shutting his eyes sat down hard by. He waited long in hope that the idol would eat, but, on finding that it would not, became sad and distressed. He repeatedly clasped his hands in supplication, and, when that form of inducement proved unavailing, began to ply the idol with boyish flatteries. At last, when all failed, he threw the bread into the tank, by which he meant to clearly show the idol that if it did not eat it, he would not eat it himself. Some days passed in this way until Dhanna was well-nigh dead from weakness produced by thirst and hunger. At last the Brahman, anxious to confer a blessing on the youthful saint, appeared to him and urged him to satisfy his appetite. Dhanna did so and revived to pursue his devotions with even greater fervour than before.

The Brahman again paid Dhanna a visit, and on seeing his progress towards spiritual perfection prostrated himself before him and shed tears of love. By Dhanna's contemplation, worship, and repetition of the Name, God was gladdened, and the Brahman, through Dhanna's devotion, obtained, it was said, the object of his desires both in this world and the next.

Dhanna was supernaturally directed to go to Banaras and receive the spell of initiation from Ramanand. He accordingly did so. Ramanand on seeing his purity of heart and devotion, recognized him as a great saint and apostle, and duly initiated him as a disciple. In due time Rama-

<sup>1</sup> Before adoration the Hindus perform a ceremony called *prān pratishtha*, which consists, as they believe, in infusing life into the idol. In this the idolatry of the Hindus appears to differ from that of other races.

nand, having enjoined the service of the saints on him as a special duty, dismissed him with every token of love and respect, and Dhanna on reaching his home duly followed his spiritual guide's injunctions.

One day, as Dhanna was taking wheat to sow, he met some holy men who urged their necessities. Accordingly, he bestowed his seed-wheat on them. God, on seeing Dhanna's charity to his saints, said, 'He who casteth corn in the ground expecteth a return several times greater. Now Dhanna putteth corn into the mouths of My saints, so I must give him a thousandfold return.' Dhanna's field accordingly flourished so much better than the fields of his neighbours that it became the subject of general congratulation. Dhanna thought the congratulations were merely jeers and jests, until one day he paid a visit to his field. Then he found that what people had been saying was really true. He became absorbed in the love of God, and redoubled his devotion to Him and His saints. His land is still called *Dhanne Bhagat ka khet*, or Saint Dhanna's field. It is said that the black stone of his youthful worship was subsequently embedded in one of the walls of his temple.

Nabhaji concludes his account of Dhanna with the following invocation :—'O God Indar, how prudent and wise art thou who madest thy thunderbolt out of the bones of Dadhich, king of the Rikhis! Why hast thou not lifted up and taken away this wretched heart of mine which is millions of times harder than adamant, since it is not in the slightest degree softened on reading the story of Dhanna and hearing of God's kindness, love, and affection for His saints?'

Though Dhanna began life as an idolater, it is clear from the following hymn that he became in riper years a worshipper of the one God, and renounced all superstitious practices.



## ASA

In Gobind, Gobind, Gobind was Namdev's heart absorbed;  
 A calico-printer worth half a dām became worth a lakh.  
 Abandoning weaving and stretching thread, Kabir devoted  
 his love to God's feet ;

Though a weaver of low family he obtained untold virtues.  
 Rav Das who used to remove dead cattle, abandoned  
 worldly affairs,

Became distinguished, and in the company of the saints  
 obtained a sight of God.

Sain, barber and village drudge,<sup>1</sup> well known in every  
 house,

In whose heart the Supreme God dwelt, is numbered  
 among the saints.

Having heard all this I, a Jat, applied myself to God's  
 service ;

I have met God in person <sup>2</sup> and great is the good fortune  
 of Dhanna.<sup>3</sup>

The following hymns of Dhanna afford abundant  
 additional evidence that he by further study and  
 meditation embraced a purer form of worship than  
 that of his early youth. After a confessedly sinful  
 life Dhanna met the guru, who united him with  
 God

Wandering and roaming many births have passed away ;  
 my body, mind, and fortune <sup>4</sup> remain not constant.

Attached to and stained with the sins of covetousness and  
 lust, I have forgotten God, the diamond.

The fruit of sin is sweet to the demented mind ; it  
 knoweth not excellent meditation.

My love, turning in a different direction from virtue,  
 increaseth, and I again weave the web of birth and death.

<sup>1</sup> *Bulkāria*, from *butti*, forced labour.

<sup>2</sup> *Partakh*, the Latin *praesens*.

<sup>3</sup> In the Granth Sāhib this hymn is headed Mahala V, under which  
 the compositions of Guru Arjan are included, but there appears no  
 doubt that it was Dhanna's composition.

<sup>4</sup> *Dhan*, literally—wealth. It is very likely this word is an expletive.

I did not know the way of *recognizing* Him who dwelleth in the heart ;<sup>1</sup> I burned *in the fire of worldly love* and fell into Death's noose.

I collected so many fruits of sin and filled my heart with them, that I forgot God the Supreme Being.

When the guru caused the wealth of divine knowledge to enter me, I meditated on God, and accepted in my heart that He was One.

I have embraced the love and service of God and known comfort ; I am satiated and satisfied, and have obtained salvation.

He in whose heart God's light which filleth creation is contained, recognizeth God who cannot be deceived.

Dhanna hath obtained God<sup>2</sup> as his wealth ;<sup>3</sup> meeting with saints he hath become absorbed *in Him*.

God is the universal Preserver.

O my heart, why thinkest thou not of the God of mercy ? Why ignorest thou not all besides ?

Wert thou to run through the universe and the continents of the earth, *it would not avail thee* ; *only* what the Creator doeth cometh to pass.

He who made the body with its ten gates in the water of its mother's womb,

Nourisheth it and preserveth it in its fiery *home* ; such a Lord is ours.

The female tortoise *liveth* in the water ; its young *remain* on land ; they have no *mother's* wings *to shelter them*, and no milk *to drink*,

*Yet* God, the All-pervading, the Primal Joy, the Delightful *feedeth them* ; understand this in thy heart.

A worm is embedded in a stone, and there is no exit for it : Saith Dhanna, God filleth it ; O my soul, fear not.

Dhanna in order to maintain himself while en-

<sup>1</sup> Also translated—The manner of knowing God did not enter my heart.

<sup>2</sup> *Dharnidhar*, literally—the Sustainer of the earth.

<sup>3</sup> *Dhan*, the saint puns on the similarity of the word to his own name.

gaged in his devotions prays for the means of subsistence.

## DHANASARI

O God, I Thine afflicted *servant come to Thee* :—

Thou arrangeest the affairs of those who perform Thy service.

Dal, flour,<sup>1</sup> and ghi I beg of Thee

So shall my heart be ever happy.

Shoes and good clothes,

The seven sorts of corn,<sup>2</sup> I beg of Thee.

Milch cows and buffaloes I beg ;

A good Turkistani mare,

And a good wife,

The slave Dhanna beggeth of Thee.<sup>3</sup>

## PIPA

PIPA, born in the year A.D. 1425, was king of a state called Gagaraungarh. He possessed every spiritual excellence and conferred happiness and saintship on the human race.

<sup>1</sup> By *sīdha*, literally, uncooked food given to *fakirs*, is generally meant flour. Some read *sīndha*, which means rock salt.

<sup>2</sup> *Anāj sat sika* is the same as *satnāja*, 'a mixture of seven kinds of grain bestowed on a caste of people called Dakaunt on certain occasions, for the benefit of a person who is supposed to be under the evil influence of some planet, the grain being equal in weight to the body of the person.'—*The Ludhiāna Panjābi Dictionary*.

*Anāj sat sika* is also translated—corn grown on a field ploughed seven times, called in Panjābi *sāt siān lāniān*.

<sup>3</sup> As asking God for worldly favours is deemed inconsistent with the saintly character, the *gyānis* have exercised their ingenuity in finding one or more fanciful meanings for almost every substantive in the above hymn. For instance, *dāl* is made the subjection of the passions, *sīdha*, or flour, is rectitude, *ghi* is God's love, &c., &c. They who choose may adopt such interpretations. It must be remembered, however, that Dhanna was a husbandman, and for the sake of his calling and livelihood, to say nothing of his devotions, generally needed what he prayed for.

Pipa had been at first a worshipper of Durga, the consort of Shiv. Some holy men came to his capital, and he with his usual generosity and devotion ministered to all their wants. They then prepared food, offered it to God, and prayed that the king might become a saint. At night he had a vision in which a holy man, who took an interest in his welfare, appeared to him and said, 'How foolish thou art who turnest away from God and yet askest for pardon !' From that moment he desired nothing but the service of God. All the things of this world appeared to him to have no reality.

It is said that the goddess subsequently appeared to him. Pipa prostrated himself before her, and asked her how he could serve God. She told him to go and take Ramanand as his spiritual guide. After this highly disinterested advice the goddess disappeared. Pipa manifested such a passionate desire to see Ramanand that his friends apprehended he would lose his reason. At last he went to Banaras, where he had heard Ramanand resided. The great swami on hearing of Pipa's arrival expressed his surprise and sent him a message, 'My house is a place for faqirs. What business have kings here ?'

On Ramanand's refusal to receive him Pipa returned home, and bestowed his wealth on the poor. He again appeared before Ramanand, and said he had now become a faqir. Ramanand in order to test his sincerity told him to throw himself into a well. Without further reflection Pipa proceeded to do so, but Ramanand's disciples restrained him. They brought him back to Ramanand who, on being satisfied of his humility, forthwith made him a disciple and bestowed saintship on him. He then gave him permission to return to his own country, and continue to serve saints. Ramanand promised to go in company with other saints to visit him after a year of probation. Pipa departed, served holy



men, and worshipped God with increased fervour. After a year he wrote to Ramanand and reminded him of his promise to sanctify Gagaraungarh with a visit.

Ramanand set out with his forty chosen disciples, including Rav Das and the renowned Kabir. Pipa, having taken a palki for his guru, met the party outside the city. He prostrated himself before Ramanand and each of the disciples, and bestowed on the poor a large amount of money and the remnant of his property as a thanksgiving on that joyful occasion. He took the whole company to his palace, and bestowed such service on them that he quickly received the great spiritual reward of salvation during life.

After some time Ramanand conceived a desire to visit the country of Dwaraka on the western coast of Kathiawar. Pipa on hearing this became distressed at losing the companionship of his holy guide. Ramanand, on seeing the king's heartfelt love, said he could make his choice either to remain where he was or become a mendicant of his order and accompany him. Upon this Pipa abdicated his sovereignty and joined Ramanand and his party.

His queens prepared to share his poverty and his pilgrimage to Dwaraka. Pipa tried to dissuade them by pointing out the hardships of travel and sojourn in forests and solitude, but they would not be convinced. He then told them to take off their jewels and regal attire, and put on patched clothes, and they might thus accompany him if they pleased. The mention of the detrimental alteration of costume was more efficacious than any expostulation. All his queens save one immediately returned home.

The youngest, whose name was Sita, the best beloved of her husband, doffed the becoming attire of her graceful youth, and put on, as her husband had suggested, the coarse blanket of a mendicant.

Ramanand, Pipa, and Sita duly arrived in Dwaraka. Ramanand merely desired to see the temples there,

and, this being done, declared his intention of returning to Banaras. But Pipa wished to settle in Dwaraka, and obtained Ramanand's permission to do so. He and his consort abode there in the society of holy men and made great progress towards spiritual perfection.

When the sanctity of Pipa and his faithful consort became known, a great crowd assembled to do them homage. Wearied with the attentions they received from the people, Sita pointed out to her spouse that in order to save themselves from inconvenience and preserve their humility, it would be expedient for them to go to a strange country. They accordingly departed for other places of pilgrimage. When they had proceeded six stages, they encountered Afghan troops. The soldiers finding Sita fair to look upon appropriated her for themselves. In this difficulty she remembered God, and with fervent prayer supplicated His assistance. He rescued her from the Afghans, and restored her rejoicing to her husband. Pipa asked her if she would not even then go home, seeing that troubles arose on every side on her account. She replied, 'Great king, what trouble hath caused any interruption to thy devotion or hath been removed by any contrivance of thine? It was all the work of God. Thou and I have proof and perfect assurance of this. To admonish me now, notwithstanding all that hath occurred, is not in accordance with the devotion of a husband or a saint.' Pipa was pleased with her constancy, they became reconciled, altered their route, and continued their pilgrimage.

Pipa and his consort visited a holy man whose name was Chidhar. He and his wife, though highly pleased to see them, had nothing wherewithal to show them hospitality. In this plight Chidhar's wife's petticoat was sold to provide food for the guests. It was the only article of dress she possessed, and she had then to conceal herself in her room.

When the food was cooked and the guests sat down to dinner, Pipa requested Chidhar to bring his wife to join them. Chidhar bade them take their dinner, and his wife would eat their leavings. Upon this Pipa told Sita to go and fetch her. Sita went and found her hiding in her room. On inquiring the cause, Chidhar's wife said it was not by wearing clothes heavenly bliss was obtained, but the first and most proper duty of all was to contemplate God and serve His saints. Sita divined what had occurred, and arrived at the conclusion that her own devotion and service were as nothing in comparison with what she had just witnessed. Half the clothes she wore she gave to Chidhar's wife, and brought her forth from her hiding-place. They then all dined together.

Pipa and Sita then took leave of Chidhar and his wife, and after great hardships and privations arrived at the city of Toda near Tank, on the north-western frontier of India. One day, on going to bathe, Pipa found an earthen vessel full of gold coins, but did not touch them. He mentioned the matter at night to his wife, and she said it was better not to go to the same bathing-place again. Some thieves who had overheard their conversation went thither, and found a venomous serpent coiled up in the vessel. They said to themselves that the newly-arrived faqir had designed to kill them by speaking of gold coin instead of a serpent in the vessel. They then decided that they would have the faqir himself bitten by the serpent. They accordingly dug out the vessel, took it with its contents and threw it into Pipa's house. But the original contents had not changed for the holy man. He found it still filled with gold coins as before. Pipa, believing this treasure to have been obtained by divine favour, spent all the money within three days in rejoicings in honour of God, and in feeding and serving His saints.



Sur Sen, king of that country, hearing Pipa's name and devotion went to see him, and falling at his feet prayed him to instruct him and make him a holy man. Pipa remonstrated with him and even attempted to dissuade him from adopting the life of a hermit. However, on seeing him determined, Pipa told him to relinquish all he possessed. The king immediately obeyed this order, and placed his wealth at the disposal of the saint. After this trial Pipa gave him the spell of initiation and made him his disciple. Sur Sen's queen went veiled to Pipa to remonstrate against separation from her lord. Pipa restored her to Sur Sen and assured him that he could lead a religious life even in the married state, and added that it was unnecessary for women to veil themselves in the presence of holy men—probably the first effort in modern times in India to abolish the tyranny of the *parda*.

In time an unfortunate difference arose between Sur Sen and Pipa which was rendered more acute by intrigues of the court Brahmans; and Sur Sen threw off his spiritual allegiance to his royal guest. Pipa upon this reflected that it was the guru who frees men from sin and its consequences, and when a man throws off his allegiance to his guru, what hope is there for him? He feared that the king would lose both this world and the next, so he resolved to save him. He accordingly proceeded to the king's palace and caused himself to be announced. The king sent word that he was busy with his devotions and could not see the visitor. Upon this Pipa said the king was a great fool, for, while pretending to be performing his devotions, he was thinking of obtaining new foot-wear for himself. When these words were repeated to Sur Sen he, knowing that Pipa had divined his thoughts, at once went to him and throwing himself at his feet, said, 'I am unworthy and faithless, I did not know thy greatness. Be merciful and pardon me. I am



extremely ashamed of all the suspicions and erroneous ideas I had formed regarding thee.' Pipa replied, 'O king, remember thy faith and love on the day thou becamest my disciple. According to all rules thy love for God and his guru ought to have increased. Instead of that thou hast turned thy back on them, and prepared thyself for hell. For the future consider the saints of God as His image and serve them. In this way shalt thou easily obtain the advantages of both worlds.' Pipa gave the king other instructions of similar character, which sank deep into his heart. He then returned to his old allegiance to Pipa, and began anew his religious life and his repetition of God's name.

Pipa on more occasions than can be related showed a marked deference to the wishes of others. Once some holy men took a fancy to a dish of curds which they had seen with a milkwoman, and asked Pipa to procure it for them. He caused the holy men to be served with curds daily, and cheerfully remunerated the milkwoman.

There was a Brahman friend of Pipa who was a worshipper of Durga. Pipa prepared a religious feast in the Brahman's house, partook of the food himself, and induced the Brahman also to do so. Through the intercession of Pipa it is related that Durga manifested herself to the Brahman. His heart became purified and he began to worship God instead of an idol.

A handsome woman who sold oil used to go about saying, 'Buy my oil! buy my oil!' Pipa said it would be more becoming to her lips to utter God's name. The woman became angry, and replied that it was only usual to utter God's name when anybody died. On arriving at home she found her husband dead. She became a believer, fell at Pipa's feet, and promised to utter with all her family the name of God. Upon this it is said Pipa restored her husband to life.

Pipa procured a female buffalo to supply milk to his holy guests. The buffalo was stolen. Pipa took the buffalo's calf and followed the thieves, telling them to take the calf also, as otherwise the buffalo would be displeased and not give milk.<sup>1</sup> The thieves repented and restored the stolen animal to her owner.

Pipa on another occasion was taking home some money and a cart laden with wheat. Highway robbers stole the cart with its burden. Pipa offered them his money also, telling them that they would require it to purchase utensils with which to cook the wheat. These robbers also repented and restored Pipa his cart.

Somebody killed a cow and was expelled from his caste for a crime so heinous in the eyes of the Hindus. Pipa by inducing him to utter God's name and prepare a feast in God's honour converted him from a sinner to a saint. His tribesmen, however, still refused to allow him to return to his brotherhood. Upon this Pipa proved the glory of God's name from the Veds and the Shastars, and stated that whoever even once uttered it should be pardoned the mortal sins of hundreds of thousands of births. Consequently how could the sin of cow-killing remain attached to a man who uttered God's name hundreds and thousands of times? Everybody admitted the justice of this argument, and the cow-killer was restored to his caste and public favour.

A saint called Sri Rang invited Pipa by letter to visit him. Pipa accepted the invitation. On his arrival he found Sri Rang engaged in idolatrous worship. He was putting on the idol's neck a garland of flowers, but it became entangled in the idol's diadem. At that moment he was informed of Pipa's arrival. He replied that he was occupied with divine service, and when it was completed he would go to receive his guest. Pipa replied, 'What

<sup>1</sup> The Indian buffalo and cow will not give milk if separated from their calves.

sort of service is he performing? He cannot put on a garland of flowers.' On hearing this Sri Rang ran to meet him. They embraced each other, and Pipa remained with his new friend for several days. Sri Rang was greatly edified on witnessing Sita's love and devotion, and applied himself with great fervour to imitate her example.

Once on the occasion of a famine Pipa distributed such a quantity of eatables and drinkables that it appeared as if there had been no famine, and everybody's sufferings were relieved.

The author of the *Bhagat Mal* states that there are numberless similar anecdotes of Pipa which transcend all conjecture and conception. There is therefore, the writer states, no difference between God and His saints, since the glory of Pipa might be attributed to God. The Marathi chronicler sums up the character of Pipa by saying that he was brave, liberal, learned, religious, self-restrained, and watchful.

The following hymn of Pipa, intended to show that it is internal not external worship which is advantageous, is found in the Granth Sahib.

#### DHANASARI

In the body is God, the body is the temple of God, in the body are pilgrims and travellers ;

In the body are incense, lamps, sacrificial food ; in the body are offerings of leaves.<sup>1</sup>

I have searched many regions, and it is only in the body I have found the nine treasures.

There is no coming and no going for me since I have appealed to God.

What is in the universe is found in the body : whoever searcheth for it shall find it there.

Pipa representeth, *God* is the Primal Essence ; when there is a true guru he will show him.

<sup>1</sup> Made to the manes of Hindus. Men can do homage in God's temple, the body, while they are alive, but when the soul separates from it, no pilgrimages or adorations can be made.

## SAIN

SAIN was a disciple of Ramanand and consequently lived in the end of the fourteenth and the beginning of the fifteenth century of the Christian era. He was a barber at the court of Raja Ram, king of Rewa, then called Bandhavgarh. The tendency of the age was towards devotion and religious composition, and Sain found leisure in the midst of his duties to study the hymns of Ramanand, shape his life on the principles inculcated in them, and successfully imitate their spirit and devotional fervour.

The accomplishments and duties of an Indian court barber at the time of Sain were and are still of a miscellaneous character. He is something of a surgeon and ordinarily a marriage or match-maker, he oils the king's body, shampoos his limbs, pares his nails, shaves his face and head, if he be a Hindu, and clips his moustache, if he be a Musalman; amuses him with gossip and tales; often plays the rebeck and sings his own compositions, which deftly combine flattery of his master with social satire or pleasantry.<sup>1</sup>

God is said by the Hindu chronicler to have cherished Sain as a cow her calf. He frequented the society of holy men and was very happy in their company. He performed for them all menial offices, for he believed that serving saints was equivalent to serving God Himself.

The *Bhagat Mal* contains a legend which at once

<sup>1</sup> Beaumarchais was censured by contemporary writers for the diversity of accomplishments of the hero of his great comedy—'Figaro le barbier, beau diseur, mauvais poète, hardi musicien, grand fringueur de guitare, et jadis valet de chambre du comte, établi dans Séville, y faisant avec succès des barbes, des romances, et des mariages, y maniant également le fer du phlébotome et le piston.'



illustrates Sain's devotion to saints and the estimation in which he was held for his piety. When going one day to perform his usual ministrations for king Raja Ram, he met some holy men on the way. He thought it was his first duty to attend to them. He took them with him, and began to render them the customary services. With the greatest mental satisfaction to himself he gave them consecrated and secular food to relieve their souls and bodies. In thus acting Sain disregarded his duty to the king and braved his displeasure.

The legend states that a holy man, by God's favour, in order to avert the king's wrath and save Sain from punishment, assumed his appearance, and having gone and performed the customary duties for the king, took his departure. Soon after Sain arrived and began to apologize for his delay. The king said, 'Thou hast only just gone after the usual services to me; why apologize?' Sain replied, 'I have not been here. Perhaps thy Majesty sayest so to excuse my absence.' The Raja then knew that a special providence had intervened and performed for him the usual tonsorial duties. He was at once converted, fell at Sain's feet, worshipped him as his guru, and thus sought an asylum in God. It had at any rate at the time of the composition of the *Bhagat Māl* become an established custom that the successive kings of the house of Bandhavgarh should always be disciples of the descendants of Sain. They are now said to be followers of Kabir.<sup>1</sup>

The following hymn of Sain in the Dhanasari measure is found in the Granth Sahib :—

Having made an oblation of incense, lamps, and clarified butter,

I go to offer them to Thee, O God.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The *Bhagat Māl* of Mahārāja Raghurāj Sinh of Rewa. He stated that he was the tenth in descent from the Rāja at whose court Sain lived.

<sup>2</sup> Kawalāpati, literally—Lord of Lakshmi.

Hail to Thee, O God, hail !

Ever hail to Thee, O Sovereign God !

*Thy name* is the best lamp, *meditation thereon* the purest wick ;

Thou alone art the Bright One, O God.

It is the saints of God who feel divine pleasure ;

They describe Thee as all-pervading and the Supreme Joy.<sup>1</sup>

Thou, of fascinating form, O God, float us over the ocean of terror.

Sain saith, worship the Supreme Joy.<sup>2</sup>

## KABIR

THERE was a certain Brahman in Banaras, who remained continually in attendance on Ramanand. The Brahman had a daughter, a virgin widow, who desired to behold the object of her father's reverence and attentions. Her father took her one day to see the holy man. She was allowed to prostrate herself before him and touch his feet with her forehead. He in ignorance of her status prayed that she might be blest with a son. When her father replied that she was a widow, Ramanand said that his words could not be recalled and she should have a son ; but no one should see any signs of her pregnancy, and no stigma should attach to her reputation. Her son should reform religion and save the world. She consequently conceived, and in due time a son was born to her on Monday, the day of the full moon, in the month of Jeth, 1455, of the Vikramaditya era, corresponding to A.D. 1398.<sup>3</sup> She exposed

<sup>1</sup> This and the preceding line are also translated—

It is Rāmānand who knoweth devotion to God ;

It is he who can describe the Perfect Primal Joy.

<sup>2</sup> This hymn is included in the Ārati, a divine service of the Sikhs when lamps are lit in the evening.

<sup>3</sup> For many of the details in this account of Kabīr the author is

her child on a lake called Lahar Talao, a short distance from Banaras. He was found by a Musalman weaver, called Ali—who from living beside the water (nir) was popularly known by the name of Niru—when he was taking home his wife from her parents' house.

He saw the boy lying in the lake, it is said, on a blossoming water-lily. The child had obviously been abandoned by an unmarried woman. Niru hastened to inform his wife Nima. They had no son of their own, and it was in their power to adopt him. Nima represented the gossip that would result, and the danger to their reputation and that of the whole tribe. On looking into the child's face, however, her determination gave way. He was fair to look on, and did not scream like other children, but on the contrary looked bright and cheerful. They took him up and bore him home.

The Lahar Talao is a lake about a mile and a quarter long, and an eighth of a mile broad. At the time of the author's visit in December, it was, except for some rushes here and there, covered with a russet weed on which aquatic birds alighted and sported. On the margin of the lake is a small temple sacred to Kabir. It is kept by some monks, who pride themselves on their knowledge of Sanskrit literature. Hard by is the tomb of Niru, Kabir's foster-father.

After the discovery of the child a Qazi was in due time called to give him a name. The Quran was opened, and a lot was cast. The word Kabir, which means great in the Arabic language, was the first that presented itself. This name was accord-

indebted to the work *Kabir Kasauti* of the late Lahina Singh of Panjor in the Patiāla State, the *Kabir Manshūr* of Sādhu Paramānand (Hindi), the *Kavi Charitar* (Gujrāti), the *Bharat Khanda cha Aravachin Kosh* and the Bhakta Vijay of Mahipati (Marathi). The author also acknowledges assistance from inquiries made by Mr. G. H. Radice, of the Indian Civil Service.

ingly given to the child. When Kabir arrived at an age to understand the nature of the doubts cast on his birth he composed the following :—

I have just come from God.

Mammon hath led the world astray ; it hath not found the secret *of my birth*.

I was not born, nor did I dwell in a womb ; I have appeared a child as I am.

A weaver found me near his hut in a lake at Banaras.

I was not in heaven, or in earth, or in any country ; my divine knowledge is endless.

The spirit which is manifested in His own world is my name.

I have no bones, no blood, no skin ; I have been manifested by the Word.

I am beyond all body and endless, a superior being whom men call the immortal Kabir.<sup>1</sup>

It would appear that, though the boy was adopted by Musalmans, he was subjected to Hindu influences from his earliest years. Banaras was and is the stronghold of Hinduism, and even its Muhammadan inhabitants are often strongly tinged with the ancient religion of India.

Moreover, it is said that Gosain Ashtanand, a Hindu saint of the period, said to have been a disciple of Ramanand, saw the child at the time of his exposure in the tank ; and it is most probable that he subsequently followed his fate and gave him religious instruction as opportunities offered.

At a very early age Kabir's religious education was far advanced. While playing with his companions he used to repeat the name Ram or Hari, Hindu names of God. Musalmans said the child was an infidel. Kabir retorted that an infidel was he—

1. Who struck any person without just cause,
2. Who wore a religious garb to deceive the world,

<sup>1</sup> This is somewhat in imitation of the expressions attributed to Krishan, in the Bhagavad Gīta.



3. Who drank wine,
4. Who stole,
5. Who committed suicide,
6. Who smoked tobacco,
7. Who committed highway robbery,
8. Who took life.

These became Kabir's commandments.

One day he put on the frontal mark and the sacrificial thread of the Hindus. A Brahman called Mukand remonstrated, and said that Kabir, having been brought up a Muhammadan, and following, moreover, the trade of his foster-father, had no concern with Hinduism, and was not entitled to wear its distinguishing badge or symbols. Kabir replied with the following hymn :—

In my house is thread, I am continually weaving, while only one sacrificial thread is on thy neck.

Thou readest only the Veds and the Gayatri, while God is in my heart.

On my tongue dwelleth God, in mine eyes dwelleth God, and in my heart dwelleth God.<sup>1</sup>

When thou art examined, O mad Mukand, at Death's door, what shalt thou say ?

I am the cow, thou the herdsman, lord of the earth, and guardian of man at every birth.<sup>2</sup>

Thou hast not taken me beyond the river to graze ;<sup>3</sup> what sort of master have I ?

Thou art a Brahman, I am a Banaras weaver, understand my instruction.

Thou beggest from lords and kings, while I meditate on God ; *which of us is better* ?<sup>4</sup>

As Kabir grew up, his devotion, spiritual power,

<sup>1</sup> In this verse in the original Kabir gives three different Sanskrit names of God.

<sup>2</sup> This is said ironically. The name Mukand is also applied to God.

<sup>3</sup> Where the pasturage was good. That is, though bearing the name Mukand, thou art unable to save me.

<sup>4</sup> Āsa.

and miracles became famous. He deemed everything blasphemy which was opposed to the worship of God. He considered the practice of jog, alms, fasting, and the feeding of Brahmans not only useless, but improper, without the repetition of God's name and love for Him. In reality the special tenor of the Shastars is, according to Nabhaji's *Bhagat Mal*, that all the above-mentioned religious works are ciphers, and the name of God is, as it were, a numeral. The practice of jog, feeding Brahmans, &c., are useless without the numeral of God's name. The meaning of the author of the *Bhagat Mal* is, that all religious works should be performed for the acquisition of devotion and love of God, and not for objects of a temporal character.

Kabir has written works which all religious denominations can accept, and which, if perused without bigotry, are advantageous for the salvation of all persons. Kabir was so steadfast in his utterance of God's name, that in comparison with it he deemed worthless the rules of caste and the Hindu and Muhammadan religious observances.

From Kabir's boyhood his mind was filled with intuitive knowledge, and his reasoning faculties were so acute that he vanquished the most learned men of his age, both Hindu and Musalman, in theological and ethical discussions. The Brahmans and the Mullas contrived many expedients to silence him, but all their efforts were baffled. At last they decided that they would call him a *nigura*, or person without a spiritual guide, and consequently an infidel, with the dubious moral character which that word in the estimation of the vulgar connotes, and that they would thus humble and shame him. Having heard of the Brahman's resolution and of Ramanand's fame Kabir sought him out and became his disciple.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> There is a story in Nābhāji's *Bhagat Māl* purporting to describe the manner in which Kabir became Rāmānand's disciple, but as it is derogatory to the character of both saints, it is omitted here.

When Kabir's foster-parents found they could not restrain his Hindu proclivities, they determined to circumcise him. Upon this he uttered the following hymn :—

Whence have come the Hindus and Musalmans ? Who hath put them on their different ways ? <sup>1</sup>

Having thought and reflected in thy heart, answer this—who shall obtain heaven and who hell ?

O Qazi, what expoudest thou ?

Such readers and students as thou have failed ; none of them hath obtained knowledge.

Thou practisest circumcision for love of woman : <sup>2</sup> I shall never believe in it, O brother.

If God had desired to make me a Musalman, I should have been born circumcised.

If a man become a Musalman by circumcision, what is to be done to a woman ? <sup>3</sup>

Thou putttest not away thy wife who is half thy body ; wherefore thou remainest a Hindu.

Give up thy books, O foolish man, and worship God ; thou practisest gross oppression.

Kabir hath laid hold of the prop of God ; the Musalmans have totally failed. <sup>4</sup>

When Kabir's mother found that his attention was directed to the worship of the God of the Hindus in opposition to the God of Islam, she raised loud complaints. Kabir paid no attention to her, but employed himself as usual in the repetition and remembrance of God's name.

Kabir continued to follow his trade, but at the same time received and served holy men and mendi-

<sup>1</sup> Who invented their different religions ?

<sup>2</sup> The Musalmāns tell a fanciful story regarding the origin of circumcision by Abraham. He had two wives, and one exacted a promise from him that he would not approach the other under pain of death. He broke his promise, but his favourite wife, subduing her rage, expressed herself satisfied with his circumcision instead of the decapitation which had been stipulated.

<sup>3</sup> As being uncircumcised, she is not a Musalmān.

<sup>4</sup> Āsa.

cants. At this his mother was greatly distressed, and uttered the complaints versified in the first part of the following hymn :—

Thou art always rising early and bringing fresh <sup>1</sup> utensils ; thy life hath gone in plastering *cooking squares* ;

Thou payest no attention to thy weaving ; thou art engrossed in the pleasure of saying ‘ God, God ’.

Who in our family hath ever uttered the name of Ram ? <sup>2</sup>

Since this worthless <sup>3</sup> son of ours began to wear a rosary, we have had no peace.

Hear, wife of my eldest brother-in-law ; hear, wife of my youngest brother-in-law ; <sup>4</sup> a wonderful thing hath occurred !

This boy hath ruined our weaving business ; <sup>5</sup> why is he not dead ?

Kabir replied as follows :—

The one God is the Lord of all happiness ; the guru hath granted me His name.

He preserved the honour of the saint <sup>6</sup> Prahlād, and destroyed Harnakhas with *Narsinh’s* nails.

Prahlād abandoned the gods <sup>7</sup> and ancestors <sup>8</sup> of his house, and embraced the instruction of his guru Narad.

Saith Kabir, God is the destroyer of all sin ; He saveth His saints. <sup>9</sup>

In Banaras, among opulent Hindus, sun-dried vessels are replaced daily. It is believed that the

<sup>1</sup> *Korī*, also translated weaver.

<sup>2</sup> Kabir’s mother was a Musalmān, and it certainly was not usual among her people to utter the Hindu word for God.

<sup>3</sup> *Nipūte*. Literally—a man without sons, who has no one to toil for, and is therefore lazy. The word is a common one of abuse in the mouths of some Indian women.

<sup>4</sup> Kabir’s mother sought to get all her female relations on her side.

<sup>5</sup> Literally—our seven threads, probably with reference to the seven colours.

<sup>6</sup> *Sant* in the original.

<sup>7</sup> Called Sanda and Marka, descendants of Brahma.

<sup>8</sup> It is usual for the Hindus to worship ancestors. The clause is also translated—Prahlaḍ rejected his tutor’s and his father’s advice.

<sup>9</sup> Bilāwal.



night renders them impure. Kabir was anxious to attract holy men, and followed the popular custom of daily renewing his cooking vessels and smearing his cooking places. The above hymn was written in Kabir's youth.

One day he was selling a piece of cloth in the market-place. He asked five double paise for it, but no one would give him more than three. A broker came up, and, seeing that Kabir was undervaluing his cloth, began to assist him in its sale. The broker asked intending purchasers twelve double paise. They, forming an idea of the value of the cloth from the price put upon it by the seller, offered seven double paise, and at this sum a bargain was struck. Upon this Kabir uttered the following couplet :—

If I speak the truth, you beat me down ; the world is pleased with falsehood.

A sheet worth five double paise is sold for seven.

Kabir kept his mind continually fixed on God, and worked sufficiently to maintain himself and his family. Another day, as he was standing in the market-place selling cloth, a faqir came and begged for wherewithal to cover his nakedness. Kabir offered him half the cloth he had for sale. The faqir replied that that was not enough. Upon this Kabir gave him the whole. Kabir then reflected that his mother and family were waiting for the price of the cloth, and how could he return to them with empty hands ? He therefore decided to conceal himself and not return home. His people became very anxious regarding him.

Meantime God put it into the heart of a corn-merchant to take ox-loads of food of every description to Kabir's house, so that his family might not suffer during his absence. Kabir's mother strenuously resented the offering, and said, ' My son will not take even a single grain of corn from any one. Who art thou who throwest such a quantity of provisions at

my door ? ' The merchant, however, heeded her not, but leaving all the provisions took his departure. Two or three men then went in quest of Kabir, and brought him home. When he saw the unexpected supplies and heard the circumstances, he knew it was all due to the kindness of God, and became highly pleased and grateful to the Giver. He then sent for some saints and distributed what he had received among them.

When the Brahmans of Banaras heard that Kabir had given hundreds of *mans* of corn to holy men, but not even one grain to themselves, they went in a body to his house and thus addressed him : ' Weaver, thou hast become very proud of thy wealth, since, without any intimation to us, thou hast distributed provisions among low caste faqirs and Sudars. Leave this city at once, and take up thy residence elsewhere.' Kabir asked why he should leave the city. Had he broken into any one's house or committed highway robbery, that they sought to exile him ? The Brahmans replied that, since he had served and done honour to faqirs instead of themselves, it was an offence sufficient to merit expulsion from the city. ' Say no more,' they continued, ' it is better for thee either to make us an offering or depart hence.' Kabir replied that his house was all he had, and they could take possession of it. Thus saying, he escaped from them, and again concealed himself in a distant forest.<sup>1</sup>

Upon this some admirers of Kabir's sanctity, and sympathizers with his troubles, distributed among the Brahmans such an amount of money and provisions that the name and praises of Kabir resounded throughout the whole city, and the Brahmans were highly delighted and gratified on finding their stomachs filled to repletion. After that, a holy man sought out Kabir, and asked him why he spent his days in the forest. ' Why goest thou not to thine

<sup>1</sup> *Kabir Kasauti.*

own house? Whoever goeth to thy door obtaineth money and provisions, and shall there be nothing for thee?' Kabir then went home, and, finding ample supplies for his family, was grateful for God's mercy and love. When the report of such good fortune and God's bounty was noised abroad, people went in great numbers to the saint. Finding his meditations interrupted by his visitors, he resorted to a singular expedient to blacken his own character and keep them at a distance.<sup>1</sup> Pious people were scandalized, and said that, though Kabir had been a perfect saint, he must now be deemed a wicked man unfit for the association of the virtuous.

While Kabir's desire for seclusion was thus fully attained, and people ceased to throng round him in numbers, ignorant people uttered reproaches and satirized him. Kabir went in strange guise to the king's court, and sat down in the midst of the assembly. The king and his courtiers, seeing his strange behaviour, treated him despitefully and ordered him out of their presence. The king, however, on reflection was ashamed of his hasty order and want of consideration for such a saint, notwithstanding the strange guise he had adopted. The king then began to consider how his own sins could be pardoned. He put an axe on his shoulder and a bundle of firewood on his head, went bare-footed with his queen into Kabir's presence, and fell down with great humility and modesty at the saint's feet. Kabir pardoned his discourtesy, and showed him the way of devotion to God.

The bigoted emperor Sikandar Khan Lodi, son of Bahlol Lodi, visited Banaras in Sambat 1545, the year he ascended the throne. Owing to the dampness of the locality he contracted a severe fever and ague. Kabir's enemies suggested that he should be called to cure the emperor. Their object was that

<sup>1</sup> In Nābhāji's *Bhagat Māl* it is stated that Kabir pretended to be drunk and went round the city with his arm round a courtesan's neck.

Kabir should fail in his efforts, and then be punished by the despot. To the dismay of his enemies, however, Kabir is said to have cured the monarch by simply presenting himself.

The Musalmans, headed by Shaikh Taqi and the unbelieving Brahmans, subsequently appeared before the emperor to make a complaint against Kabir. They represented that he had so led people astray all over the city, that those who paid heed to what he said, remained neither Hindus nor Musalmans. The emperor summoned Kabir. When he appeared, the courtiers told him to salute and make obeisance to the monarch in the usual manner of subjects. Kabir replied that he was not accustomed to courts, and did not know how to make prostrations, nor had he any business with the emperor. He but knew the name of God, who was the Support of his soul, and only Sovereign of the world. The emperor became enraged on hearing this, and forgetting his former obligation to Kabir, loaded him with chains and had him thrown into the river. It is related that Kabir, who had previously cut off the chains of sin, easily swam to shore leaving his chains behind him. Unbelievers attributed this miracle to magic, so setting some wood on fire they threw the saint into it. By God's favour the fire was completely extinguished, and Kabir's body emerged from it more handsome than before. When these means of destruction failed, a furious elephant was let loose on him. The elephant, however, not only did not approach Kabir, but fled on seeing him. Kabir composed the following on the occasion :—

They tied my arms and threw me like a ball ;

They beat an infuriated elephant on the head that he  
might trample on me,

But he trumpeted and fled, saying,

' I am a sacrifice to that shape *which appeared.*'



Saith Kabir, 'O my God, Thou art my strength'—  
 The Qazi ordered, 'Drive on the elephant,  
 O driver, or I will make mince-meat of thee ;  
 Drive on the elephant, wound him.'  
 The elephant did not move, but kept his attention on  
 God,  
 And God took possession of his heart.  
 Men asked, 'What crime hath the saint committed,  
 That you have made a ball of him and thrown him to  
 the elephant ?'  
 The elephant lifting up the ball bowed to it ;  
 Even then the infatuated Qazi could not comprehend.  
 Three times he tried to kill me but failed ;  
 Even then his hard heart would not be satisfied.  
 Saith Kabir, O God, Thou art my protector ;  
 Thy servant's soul is in the fourth state.<sup>1</sup>

When Kabir had successfully escaped from these ordeals, another charge was invented against him, namely, that he had been guilty of the blasphemy of calling himself God. This was deposed to by several witnesses, and the emperor was induced to give it credence. He again summoned Kabir. On Kabir's arrival the emperor caused a cow to be slaughtered and ordered Kabir to reanimate her. Kabir stroked her with his hand, and then made a noise with his lips as if driving her, upon which, it is related, the cow stood up, and all her wounds and injuries were healed.

When the emperor saw the power of Kabir's devotion, it is said he fell at his feet, and thus addressed him : 'I am thy servant and slave. Pardon my offences that I may be saved from God's wrath. Ask what thou desirest—money, lands, and other things—and I will present them to thee ; and do thou in return bestow such kindness on my poor circumstances that I may be happy in this world and the next.' Kabir replied that he had no concern

<sup>1</sup> The *turīya pad* in which deliverance is obtained. Gaund.

with anything but the name of God. Gold and lands were all useless to him. Saying this he went home.

The saints of God were all overjoyed at his safety, but the Brahmans irritated at their failure began to contrive further means of annoyance. They dressed up several persons as holy men, and sent them to various dignitaries to invite them on behalf of Kabir to a banquet on a certain date. Guests came in crowds at the appointed time. Kabir on discovering the trick that had been played, and knowing that on account of his poverty he was unequal to the entertainment of such a multitude, again fled, this time with the approbation of the saint Rav Das, to a neighbouring forest for concealment.

But God did not wish that His saint should be made a laughing-stock. He sent in the guise of Kabir a holy man who performed the duties of host with such grace and dignity as was impossible for any ordinary mortal. As each party of visitors arrived, the holy man met them at the door, and performed for them all the rites of hospitality. He provided them with suitable apartments, washed their feet, and performed all necessary services. When all the guests had fared to their hearts' content, and the holy man obtained leisure from attendance on them, he sat down with each group and conversed with its members on sacred subjects. In this way the festival was prolonged for several days. After that he went to Kabir, and gave him a full account of the entertainment. Kabir then went home overjoyed with God's love and kindness to him and composed the following slok :—

Kabir, I did not do this, nor will I do it again, nor am I physically able to do it ;

How do I know what God may have done ? *Yet* it was all Kabir.

To this Kabir in his thankfulness to God added the following hymn :—

Endless salvation awaiteth him  
 Who hath such a master as God, O brother.  
 Say, now that my trust is in Thee, O God,  
 What obligation am I under to any one else ?

Why should God who beareth the load of the three worlds  
 not cherish me ?

Saith Kabir, I have obtained one piece of knowledge by  
 reflection—

If a mother will poison her child, who can restrain  
 her ? <sup>1</sup>

It is said that the entertainment took place on  
 the spot where since has been built the Chaura  
 Kabir, a temple dedicated to Kabir, in which his  
 writings are said to be preserved.

There was a renowned Brahman disputant, called  
 Pandit Sarva Jit, who at his mother's advice went  
 to Banaras with several ox-loads of books. He had  
 heard of Kabir's fame and proceeded to visit him.  
 On arriving at the Lahar Talao, he met Niru's  
 daughter drawing water, and requested her to show  
 him Kabir's place of residence. She said that it was  
 on a lofty place, with a road so narrow that not  
 even an ant could pass, much less the oxen he had  
 brought with him. By her answer he felt sure that  
 she knew where Kabir lived. He took a lota of  
 water from her, and requested her to place it in  
 front of Kabir. She did so, upon which Kabir put  
 a needle into it and told her to carry the vessel back  
 to Sarva Jit. There is a proverb that truth is found  
 at the bottom of a well. By the needle Kabir meant  
 that truth was small, exquisitely polished, and under-  
 lay much unsubstantial matter.

The Brahmans of Banaras on hearing of Sarva  
 Jit's arrival went to Ramanand, and informed him  
 that a Pandit had come with whom nobody could  
 cope. Ramanand was so little impressed with the  
 Pandit's great learning, that he told them to go out

<sup>1</sup> That is, I cannot compel God to cherish me. Gauri.

into the street and bring in the first person they met ; and he undertook that he would vanquish Sarva Jit in argument. The Brahmans went forth into the street. Kabir happened to be the first they met, and they took him to Ramanand. Ramanand declared Kabir invincible, and the Brahmans accordingly put him forward as their spiritual champion. Sarva Jit on seeing him inquired his caste, whereupon Kabir answered that he was a weaver. The haughty Pandit turned up his nose and asked what a weaver was. Kabir replied as follows :—

No one knoweth the secret of the Weaver ;  
 God hath woven the warp of the whole world.  
 If thou listen to the Veds and Purans,  
 Thou shalt hear, ' I have stretched the warp so long ;  
 I have made the earth and firmament My workshop ;  
 I have set the moon and sun in alternate motion ;  
 Working My legs I did one work '<sup>1</sup>—with such a Weaver  
 my heart is pleased.

The weaver hath looked into his own heart and there recognized God.

Saith Kabir, ' I have broken up my workshop,  
 And the weaver hath blended his thread '<sup>2</sup> with the thread  
 of God.<sup>3</sup>

Sarva Jit admitted himself defeated, and begged Kabir to make him a disciple. Kabir modestly referred him to his guru Ramanand, who gave him the customary initiation.

Tata and Jiwa, two Brahman brothers who lived in retirement on the bank of the river Narbada, doubting the spiritual perfection of their guru, planted a shoot of the Indian fig-tree near their dwelling, and vowed that, if it germinated when

<sup>1</sup> God is represented as the speaker. He made the world as a weaver makes a piece of cloth, and He also made the alternations of day and night.

<sup>2</sup> The weaver has obtained deliverance, blended his light with the light of God.

<sup>3</sup> Āsa.



irrigated with the water in which a holy visitor had washed his feet, they would transfer their spiritual allegiance to such a visitor. Several reputed saints made pilgrimages to the locality, but it was only on Kabir's arrival that the desired result was attained. Upon this Tata and Jiwa had no difficulty in believing in Kabir's superhuman power.

A young woman of beautiful and bewitching form was sent by Kabir's enemies to test his virtue, but she displayed all her attractions and fascinations in vain. God's image was so firmly seated in Kabir's heart, that the charming damsel's wiles produced no effect on him. She therefore departed crestfallen and helpless. God was pleased on beholding the continence and devotion of Kabir, and appeared to him in a vision. He placed His hand on Kabir's head and invited him to go bodily to heaven. Kabir, knowing that he had obtained complete deliverance, prepared himself to accept God's invitation ; but, to show his contempt for Hindu superstitions, and to emphasize the power of devotion to God, he performed a very unusual act before his departure to the celestial realms.

Kabir usually lived, until the last year of his life, at Banaras, the sacred city of Shiv, where alone, in the estimation of many Hindus, deliverance may be obtained. There is a town called Magahar beyond the Ganges, about eighty-five miles to the east of Ajudhia, and fifteen miles to the west of Gorakhpur, in which, according to Brahmanical belief, those who die have no hope of ultimate beatitude. Kabir's biographer says that they who believe in the religious exercises prescribed in the Shastars, migrate into the bodies of donkeys if they die in Magahar; while for those who are fortunate enough to perform the real worship of God, every country and every place is equal to thousands of cities like the Hindu Banaras. Nay, such is the power of devotion, that God's devotees who die in Magahar go to heaven.

Kabir, on arriving in Magahar, took possession of a saint's cell he found on the margin of the river Ami. The river was then dry, but water has flowed in it ever since the day Kabir hallowed it with his presence.

Kabir composed the following hymn at Magahar :—

I am as a fish out of water,  
Because in a former life I performed no penance.  
Now say, O God, what shall be my condition.  
People tell me I had little sense to leave Banaras,  
That I wasted all my life in that city of Shiv ;<sup>1</sup>  
And now when about to die, I have removed to Magahar.  
For many years I did penance at Banaras,  
But, now that death is at hand, I have come to dwell in

Magahar—

I consider Magahar as good as Banaras—

How shall he of scant devotion be saved ?

Saith Kabir, my guru *Ramanand*,<sup>2</sup> Ganesh, Shiv,<sup>3</sup> and all men know,

That Kabir when dying uttered God's holy name.<sup>4</sup>

And also the following :—

Thou art my great mountain ; O Lord, I have sought Thy shelter.

Thou shakest not, nor do I fall ; Thou hast sheltered me, O God ;

Now and then and forever more *there is but* Thou.

By Thy favour I am ever happy.

Relying on Thee I have dwelt in Magahar ; Thou hast quenched the fever of my body.

I first obtained a sight of Thee in Banaras, and afterwards I went to live at Magahar.

<sup>1</sup> Banāras, where the worship of Shiv specially prevails.

<sup>2</sup> Some understand Brihaspati, the teacher of the gods.

<sup>3</sup> Ganesh, it is said, endeavours to bring every one to die in Banāras who has ever visited that place of Hindu pilgrimage. Shiv is said to whisper his *tārak mantar* or farewell spell, 'Rām, Rām,' (God, God) into the dying man's ears. The idea is that Shiv is also a worshipper of Rām and recommends his friends to that god's protection.

<sup>4</sup> Gauri.

As Banaras so is Magahar ; I deem them both the same.

I a poor man have obtained this wealth on account of which the proud *pandits* are bursting to death *with envy*.

He who is proud suffereth that torture ; there is none to deliver him therefrom.

In this life he crieth bitterly under the torture, and *after death* he shall be burnt in a frightful hell.

What is hell and what heaven, the wretched places ? The saints have rejected them both.<sup>1</sup>

Through the favour of the guru I pay no regard to any one ;

I have claimed God's throne and met Him.

God and Kabir have become one ; no one can distinguish between them.<sup>2</sup>

After Kabir's death a quarrel arose between the Hindus and Muhammadans for the disposal of his body. Vir Sinh Baghela, the King of Banaras, wished to cremate it, while Bijli Khan, the Nawab of Gorakhpur, desired to bury it. They fought over the matter until a voice come from heaven and separated the combatants. When the quarrel was adjusted, it was found that there was no corpse to dispose of. Fragrant flowers were found in its place. The Musalmans, however, made a grave, and the Hindus erected a shrine in friendly proximity, as if each party were in possession of Kabir's sacred remains.

Kabir lived to such a great age—one hundred and nineteen years, five months, and twenty-seven days—that there are several fabulous accounts of his duration of life. Indeed some of his followers believe that he is still in existence. The following mnemonic lines, however, which are amply authenticated, show that Kabir went the way of all mortals :—

Pandrahi sau pachhatar bikhe kiya Magahar ko gaun ;  
Magsar sudi ekadashi rali paun men paun.

Kabir went to Magahar in the Sambat year 1575 (A.D. 1518).

<sup>1</sup> Kabir desired absorption in God, and not heaven where he should be again subject to transmigration.

<sup>2</sup> Rāmkali.

On the eleventh day of the bright half of the month of Maghar his spirit blended with the spirit of the world.<sup>1</sup>

Nabhaji wrote on the circumstance :—

Trusting to his devotion Kabir relinquished his body in Magahar,

And now rejoiceth in the lap of the Immortal.

The Dadupanthis, or followers of the saint Dadu, also corroborate the fact of Kabir's death at the time above stated and in the town of Magahar.

It is said that Kabir after some days rose from the dead, and appeared to a disciple called Ratan in Mathura, and gave him divine instruction. Kabir then and there met Dharm Das, whom he had previously appointed his successor, and made him more completely acquainted with the principles of his religion. He laid down forty-two articles which he called the pillars of faith, and having fully explained them to his disciples finally departed to his eternal home.

Besides Kabir's compositions, preserved in the Granth Sahib, there is a long list of works attributed to him, the most famous of which is the *Kabir Bijak*. Many of his verses are repeated by wandering faqirs.

On the subject of caste Kabir wrote :—

The courageous man who effaceth caste and pride shall prove a saint;

On the subject of idolatry he said :—

If God be found by worshipping a stone, I will worship a mountain ;

<sup>1</sup> Professor H. H. Wilson has given different mnemonic verses, which allow Kabir a fabulous age (*Religion of the Hindus*, Vol. I, pp. 71-2). In the *Bharat Khanda cha travachin Kosh*, the date of Kabir's death is given as the Saka year 1370, A.D. 1448, that is, twenty-one years before Guru Nānak's birth. If the date given in the text be accepted, Guru Nānak was forty-nine years of age when Kabir died.



Better than that stone is a hand-mill which grindeth corn for the world to eat.

Many similar verses in the mouths of the populace in upper India, and indeed all Kabir's compositions, show him to have been a daring and original thinker. It must be mentioned, however, that his writings are frequently of a mystical character, and much concentration of thought and knowledge of the spiritual and social condition of his age are necessary for their elucidation. The author has accepted the interpretation of Kabir's hymns from the gyanis of the Panjab, but possibly the saint's followers in other parts of India may differ on some details.

Kabir held the doctrine of *ahinsa* or the non-destruction of life, which extended even to that of flowers. The Sikh Gurus, on the contrary, allowed, and even encouraged, the use of animal flesh as food.

The visitor to Kabir's temple in Banaras is shown what purports to be his picture. Dharm Das<sup>1</sup> and Surat Gopal, another of his disciples, are represented kneeling at his feet in an attitude of supplication, while his son Kamal, who, the Kabirpanthis believe, was a child re-animated by him, is fanning him. The visitor may also see a picture of Kabir and Rav Das, a friend and fellow disciple and townsman of his. Rav Das is represented as a very attenuated old man, naked except for a red cloth round his middle, wearing a rosary in two folds round his neck, and beads on his wrists and arms. The saintly royal lady, Jhali, queen of Chitaur, richly dressed, is offering him food on a platter.

<sup>1</sup> It is this man who compiled Kabir's writings, it is said, in Sambat 1521 (A.D. 1464) when Kabir was sixty-six years of age.

## KABIR'S HYMNS

SRI RA

Without God's assistance men are lost in worldly love.

## I

The mother thinketh that her son is growing big,  
*But* this she thinketh not, that day by day his life is decreasing.

She calleth him her own and fondleth him excessively,  
 while the god of death looketh on and laugheth.

So much hast Thou, *O God*, illuded the world ;

How can it ever know Thee since mammon hath bewitched it ? <sup>1</sup>

Saith Kabir, abandon the pleasure of sin, *for* in such companionship thou must assuredly die.

O mortal, repeat the name of the Lord, put aside mention of others, so shalt thou pass over the terrible ocean *of this world*.

If it please God, man feeleth divine love,

The error of superstition departeth from within him,

Divine knowledge is spontaneously produced, intelligence awakened,

And by the favour of the guru the heart is touched by God's love.

In such companionship there is no death ;

Obey the Master's order and thou shalt meet Him.

The following was addressed to a Jogi who offered wine to Kabir.

## II

Hear a wonderful thing, O Pandit, I cannot now describe *Maya*,

Who hath bewitched demigods, men, celestial heralds, and musicians, and girdled the three worlds.

<sup>1</sup> It is explained that this passage does not cast blame on God, because it is men's acts which really lead them astray.

The sovereign God's lyre playeth without being struck ;<sup>1</sup>  
And he on whom He looketh *with favour* loveth its sound.

I have made my brain a furnace, the breath of my left  
and right nostrils *two stills*, and *my heart* the golden vat,

Into which a very pure stream hath trickled ; I have  
distilled the sweetest essence ;<sup>2</sup>

And—what is without parallel—I have made *suspension*  
of my breath my wine-cup.

Say is there any Jogi in the three worlds who would be  
satisfied *and not long for more*.<sup>3</sup>

Such knowledge of the Supreme Being hath manifested  
itself ; saith Kabir, I am imbued with it.

All the rest of the world is led astray in error, but my mind  
is intoxicated with God's elixir.

## GAURI

Devotion is the water which has quenched Kabir's  
burning thirst for God.

## I

I have been on fire, and have now found the *name* of God as  
water to *extinguish it* :

The *name* of God is the water which hath cooled my burn-  
ing body.

Men go to the forest to chasten their hearts,

But without God they cannot find such water *as will do so*.

The water of God's *name* hath saved His burning slave

From the fire which hath consumed demigods and men.

In the terrible ocean there is an ocean of happiness ;<sup>4</sup>

I continue to drink, but the water is not exhausted.

Saith Kabir, worship God.

God's *name* is the water which hath extinguished my  
thirst.

<sup>1</sup> God gladdens man's heart by divine knowledge without any perceptible interference with him.

<sup>2</sup> God's name.

<sup>3</sup> The line is also translated—He is a unique Jogi in the three worlds who hath tasted such essence. Is there any king *equal to him* ?

<sup>4</sup> The terrible ocean is very bitter—within it is found the sweet water of God's name.

Yet Kabir's thirst for God increases.

## II

O God, thirst for the water of *Thy name* departeth not from me ;

Nay for that water my ardour rageth the more.

Thou art the ocean, I am a fish therein ;

I dwell in the water, I perish without it.

Thou art the cage, I am Thy parrot ;

What can the cat Death do to me ?

Thou art a tree, I am the bird thereon ;

Unfortunate is he who seeth Thee not.

Thou art the True Guru, I am Thy novice.

Saith Kabir, meet me, O God, at the last moment.

A thief when hotly pressed sought refuge in Kabir's house. It would have been foreign to Kabir's character to refuse shelter to any one who sought it. Moreover he did not know the character of his guest, and accordingly gave him the usual permission to remain in his house. It happened that Kabir's daughter was then on a visit to him, and when he entertained the thief at the same time, the circumstance led to much unfavourable comment. Kabir addressed the following hymn to his detractors :—

## III

Since I recognized *both the thief and my son-in-law* as one,  
Why are people distressed at it ?

If I am dishonoured and have lost my honour,

Let no one follow in my footsteps.

If I am bad the badness is confined to myself ;

I have no partnership or connexion with any of you.

You know nothing about honour or dishonour ;

But you shall know when your gilding is laid bare.<sup>1</sup>

Saith Kabir, that is honour which is acceptable to God ;

Forsaking all else worship only Him.

<sup>1</sup> Also translated—

My honour or dishonour bringeth no shame on you.

You shall know who is in the right when all gilding is cast off.



A satire on the ritualistic practices of the Hindus.

## IV

If union with God be obtained by going about naked,  
All the deer <sup>1</sup> of the forest shall be saved.

What mattereth it whether man goeth naked or weareth  
a deerskin,

If he recognize not God in his heart ?

If perfection be obtained by shaving the head,

Why should not sheep obtain salvation ?

If, O brethren, the continent man is saved,

Why should not a eunuch obtain the supreme reward ?

Saith Kabir, hear, O my brethren,

Who hath obtained salvation without God's name ?

## V

They who bathe in the evening and the morning,  
Are like frogs in the water.

When men have no love for God's name,

They shall all go to the god of death.

They who love their persons and deck themselves out in  
various guises,

Feel not mercy even in their dreams.

Many leading *religious* men call them quadrupeds,

*And say* that only holy men shall obtain happiness in this  
ocean of trouble.

Saith Kabir, why perform so many ceremonies ?

Forsaking all other essences quaff the great essence *of*  
*God's name*.

God 'prefers before all temples the upright heart  
and pure'.

## VI

What availeth devotion, what penance, what fasting and  
worship

To him in whose heart there is worldly love ?

O man, apply thy heart to God ;

Thou shalt not obtain Him by artifice.

<sup>1</sup> *Mirg* also means beasts generally.

Put away covetousness and the example of others ;  
Lay aside lust, wrath, and pride.

By the religious practices of *the superstitious* boasting is increased ;

They join together and worship a stone.

Saith Kabir, by devotion I have obtained *the Lord* ;

By becoming simple *in heart* I have met God.

The name Brahman should only be applied to a holy man.

## VII

While dwelling in the womb man hath not family or caste ;

All men have sprung from the seed of Brahm.

Say, O Pandit, since when hast thou been a Brahman ;

Waste not thy life in calling thyself a Brahman.

If thou art a Brahman born of a Brahmani mother,

Why hast thou not come by some other way ? <sup>1</sup>

How art thou a Brahman ? How am I Sudar ?

How am I of blood and you of milk ? <sup>2</sup>

Saith Kabir, only he who meditateth on God

Is a Brahman in my estimation.

‘ All are men condemned alike to groan.’

## VIII

Man can never sleep comfortably in *spiritual* ignorance ;

The rich and the poor both weep alike.

When *man's* tongue no *longer* uttereth God's name,

He shall continue to bewail birth and death.

When life departeth, say whose shall be man's wealth

Which appeareth like the shadow of a tree ? <sup>3</sup>

As the life of a musical instrument is contained in itself,

How can any one know the secrets of the dead ? <sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> That is, why wert thou born of woman ? The Brāhmans are supposed to have issued from Brahma's mouth.

<sup>2</sup> Among the Hindus blood is considered impure, and milk pure.

<sup>3</sup> Man's wealth shall pass away with his life like the shadow of a tree.

<sup>4</sup> The life or sound of a musical instrument is contained within it. If the string breaks, no life or sound remains, and no one can tell

As the swan *presideth over* the lake, so doth Death over the body.

Drink God's elixir, O Kabir.

Without purification of the heart pilgrimages are of no avail.

## IX

The Lord of light having created the races of *men* infused light into them,

Which sometimes produceth glass ornaments, and sometimes pearls.<sup>1</sup>

What abode is that which is called secure,

Where fear is dispelled, and one abideth without fear ?

The heart is not satisfied with pilgrimages to the banks of *sacred streams* ;

Man remaineth entangled with good and bad acts.

Demerits and merits are both the same ;<sup>2</sup>

In thine own heart is God, the philosopher's stone ; abandon *the hope of obtaining* merits from any one else.

O Kabir, chide not the name of Him who is without qualities ;

Enjoy thyself in intercourse with that Lord.

Kabir desires not heaven but absorption in God.

## X

The men who have no *correct notion* of the Supreme Being, Think of entering heaven by mere words.

whither it has gone. When human life fails, the soul departs, and no mortal knows its destination.

<sup>1</sup> Good and bad fruit spring from human acts, which again proceed from the light or understanding that God has given. The first verse of this hymn is also translated :—

There is a species of animal for every spark of light, and a spark of light for every species of animal.

<sup>2</sup> Good acts are compared to gold, bad acts to iron fetters ; but both good and bad acts retard man's progress towards absorption in God. These two lines are also translated :—

They are entangled in *religious* ceremonies good and bad,

And their acts whether bad or good have the same result.

That is, they commit sins of various descriptions at places of pilgrimage, and their pilgrimages are therefore of no avail.

I know not where heaven is ;  
 Everybody saith he longeth to go there,  
 But there is no satisfaction in *such* conversation—  
 The heart is *only* satisfied when pride departeth.  
 As long as man desireth to go to heaven,  
 So long *shall he find* no dwelling at *God's* feet.  
 Saith Kabir, to whom shall I tell this,  
 That heaven is in the company of the saints ?

The body is perishable.

## XI

Man is born and groweth up, and when he hath grown up  
 he dieth ;

We see that the world passeth away *in this wise*.  
 Diest thou not of shame talking of thy house ?  
 At the last moment nothing is thine.  
 With great efforts the body is cherished,  
 But after death it is burned in the fire.  
 The limbs to which thou appliest ground aloe-wood,  
 sandal, and fragrant soap,  
 Shall all be burned with wood.  
 Saith Kabir, hear me, O virtuous man,<sup>1</sup>  
 While the whole world looketh on thy body shall be  
 consumed.

Since all must die, why mourn ? There is no death  
 for the holy.

## XII

When another dieth why mournest thou ?  
 Do so, if thou art to live thyself.  
 I shall not die like the rest of the world ;  
 I have now met Him who reanimateth.  
 The body is perfumed with sandal ;  
 In such pleasures the Primal Joy is forgotten.  
 There is one well and five water-carriers ;

<sup>1</sup> Spoken ironically.



Even when the well rope <sup>1</sup> is broken, the silly beings still draw water.<sup>2</sup>

Saith Kabir, *I have gained one piece of wisdom by reflection—*

There is no more a well or water-carriers for me.<sup>3</sup>

Kabir's transmigration.

### XIII

I was in immobile and mobile creatures, in worms and in moths ;

I passed through many births of various kinds.

In this way I occupied many bodies,

But when, O God, I assumed *human* birth,

I was a Jogi, a Jati, a penitent, a Brahmachari,

Sometimes a king, an emperor, and sometimes a beggar.

The apostates shall die, but the saints shall all live,

And drink the elixir of God with their tongues.

Saith Kabir, O God, have mercy on us ;

We have grown weary ; make us now whole !

Deadly sins veiled under allegories.

### XIV

Kabir hath beheld such wonderful things—

Water churned by mistake for cream ; <sup>4</sup>

A donkey grazing on a green crop,<sup>5</sup>

Which on rising every morning killeth itself laughing and braying ;

A mad buffalo which could not be guided,<sup>6</sup>

Gambolling as it grazed and falling into hell ;

<sup>1</sup> Here the well is the body ; the well-rope, life ; the five water-carriers the five evil passions. Others understand the well to mean the world, and translate this line as follows :—

When the well-rope (sensual desire) is broken, the water-carriers (the five organs of perception) grow weary of doing evil.

<sup>2</sup> Even when life is drawing to a close the evil passions are still active.

<sup>3</sup> Since Kabir has obtained salvation during life.

<sup>4</sup> Stones are worshipped instead of God.

<sup>5</sup> Men in power extorting money from the poor.

<sup>6</sup> The perverse who listen not to the advice of their spiritual guides.

A sheep ever sucking its lamb's milk.<sup>1</sup>

Saith Kabir, *such* sport hath been shown.

By repeating God's *name* my understanding hath become enlightened :

Saith Kabir, I have obtained understanding from the guru.<sup>2</sup>

(Hymn No. XV is in Kabir's Life).<sup>3</sup>

The body is false, God alone is true.

#### XVI

The limbs *anointed with* ground aloe-wood, sandal, and fragrant soap,

Shall be burnt with wood.

What is there to be proud of in this body and in wealth?

Both shall remain on earth and not go *with the soul* to the other world.

They who sleep at night and work by day,

Who utter not God's name for a moment,

Who eat betel, and stretch out their hands *for more*,

Shall at the hour of death be firmly bound as thieves.

If under the guru's instruction thou joyfully sing the praises of God,

And utter the name of Him who filleth all creation, thou shalt be happy.

He in whose heart God mercifully establisheth His name,

Giveth the odour and perfume of God a place in *his heart*.

Saith Kabir, think, O blind man,

God is true, all worldly occupations are false.

The blissful peace of the holy.

#### XVII

Instead of death it is God who hath come for me ;

Sorrow hath been removed and I have found a refuge in happiness.

<sup>1</sup> Women who sell their daughters and live on the proceeds.

<sup>2</sup> The fifth Guru is said to have composed a portion of this hymn.

<sup>3</sup> Hymns missing from this collection will be found either in the Life of Kabir or that of Guru Nānak.

Mine enemies have turned into friends ;  
The minds of the infidels have altered and become well-disposed towards me.

I have now obtained all comfort,  
And peace hath come over me since I have known God.

My body suffered millions of ills ;  
They have now been converted into permanent happiness and composure.

When man knoweth himself,  
He shall not suffer from illness or the three fevers.  
My mind hath now returned to the Eternal ;  
When in life I was dead,<sup>1</sup> it was then I knew God.  
Saith Kabir, I have now entered happiness and rest ;  
I have no fear myself, and I inspire no fear in others.<sup>2</sup>

It is said that Krishan Das Bairagi asked Kabir :—

### XVIII

When the body dieth, to what abode shall the *pious man's* soul go ?

Kabir—It shall unite with Him who is beyond expression and indestructible :

He who knoweth God understandeth this,  
As the dumb man when pleased with sugar *must keep his pleasure to himself*.

Such divine knowledge *only* God Himself expoundeth.  
O man, arrest thy breath at the junction of the nostrils ;  
Appoint such a guru as shall render another unnecessary ;  
Utter such a word as shall render another unnecessary ;  
Embrace such divine knowledge as shall render any more unnecessary ;

So die that thou shalt not have to die again ;  
Turn back the Ganges and unite it with the Jamna ;<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> When I abandoned pride.

<sup>2</sup> I do not threaten men with spiritual tortures for themselves or their deceased relatives if I do not receive money for my ministrations.

<sup>3</sup> Unite the breath of the left and right nostrils, as the Jogis do.

*And think that thou art bathing without water at their confluence.*<sup>1</sup>

*Be it thy duty* to look on all men as equal ;

Reflect upon the Real Thing ; what *else is there* to reflect on ?

Water, fire, wind, earth, and the firmament—

If thou abide like these,<sup>2</sup> thou shalt be near God.

Saith Kabir, meditate on the Stainless One,

And go to that place whence there shall be no returning.

How Kabir found God.

### XIX

God cannot be obtained *even by offering* one's weight in gold ;

But I have purchased Him with my soul ;

And now that I recognize Him as mine own,

My mind is naturally at ease.

Brahma, however much he talketh, hath not found God's limit ;

But by my devotion God came to me as I sat at home.

Saith Kabir, I have cast off my wavering disposition ;

It is only in God's service I am now a sleeping partner.

The holy cannot die for they are saved by divine knowledge.

### XX

That death which terrifieth the whole world,

The guru's instruction hath set before me in a clear light.

Now how shall I die although my mind accepteth death ?

It is they who know not God who are always dying.

Everybody talketh of dying,

It is they who die in divine knowledge who are immortal.

Saith Kabir, my mind is happy ;

Doubt is dispelled, and supreme happiness abideth.

<sup>1</sup> Make the breath of both nostrils meet in the brain, and thus obtain exaltation of spirit without bathing at the confluence of the Ganges and Jamna, as so many pilgrims do.

<sup>2</sup> If thou adopt their properties, and remain sinless like them.



Kabir's body is burning all over to meet God :  
it is useless to try to heal any particular part of it.

## XXI

There is no *special* part of *my body* to which I may apply  
*healing* ointment ;

I have examined my body but found no *such* place.

He who feeleth pain knoweth it ;

The service of God is a barbed arrow ;

I consider all women <sup>1</sup> to be alike ;

Who knoweth which shall be dear to the Bridegroom ?

Saith Kabir, the Husband, forsaking all other *women*,

Shall meet her on whose forehead *such* lot *hath been*  
*written*.

It was believed that widows who immolated  
themselves on their husbands' pyres obtained salva-  
tion. Kabir traverses this belief.

## XXIII

How can a woman without chastity be a sati ?

O pandit, see and consider this in thy heart.

*If a woman* have no love *for her husband*, how can *her*  
*husband's* love for her increase ?

As long as there is *worldly* love, there can be no *divine* love.

He who in his heart believeth mammon to be real,

Shall not even in his dreams meet God.

Kabir calleth her a happy wife,

Who giveth up to God her body, soul, wealth, and house-  
hold.

Devotion to God is the only dispeller of the deadly  
sins.

## XXIV

The whole world is subject to the deadly sins ;

The deadly sins have ruined *whole* families.

O man, where hast thou wrecked and sunk thy boat ?

Having broken with God thou hast joined the deadly sins,

In whose fire demigods and men burn.

<sup>1</sup> That is, all human beings.

Water <sup>1</sup> is near, but, O beasts, why not drink it, *removing*  
its scum ? <sup>2</sup>

By contemplation water *fit for drinking* issueth forth ;  
That water alone is pure, saith Kabir.

Only the holy who meditate on God are useful  
in the world.

## XXV

Why was not the mother of the family barren,<sup>3</sup>

Whose sons meditate not on divine knowledge ?

Why did not the wicked man who hath performed no  
service for God,

Die at his birth ?

Many <sup>4</sup> miscarriages have occurred—how is it he escaped ?

He liveth, *it is true*, but like a raven in the world.

Saith Kabir, they who are beautiful and shapely,

Shall become hunchbacked and deformed without God's  
name.

Kabir's devotion to the saints.

## XXVI

I am ever a sacrifice

To those who repeat the Master's name.

He is pure who singeth the praises of the pure God ;

He is my brother and dear to my heart.

I am the dust of the lotus feet

Of those whose hearts are filled with God.

My caste, *it is true*, is *that of* weaver, but my heart is  
resigned ;

Kabir very tranquilly repeateth God's praises.

Kabir thus addressed a Jogi who advised him to  
drink wine to concentrate his thoughts.

## XXVII

I collected much molasses,<sup>5</sup> and turned my body into  
firewood ;

<sup>1</sup> Divine knowledge

<sup>2</sup> Man's evil passions which conceal the water of divine knowledge.

<sup>3</sup> *Vidhwa*. Literally—a widow not allowed to marry.

<sup>4</sup> In the original *much much*, as in Spanish.

<sup>5</sup> From which spirits are made.

*Then wine* trickled from the roof of the house of pleasure <sup>1</sup>  
by means of the furnace of my heart.

Describe him as intoxicated *with the wine* of divine love  
Who drinketh the sweetness of God's name and meditateth  
on divine knowledge.

Since the server <sup>2</sup> of the wine of divine love met me and  
gave it to me,

My days and nights are passing away intoxicated with  
pleasure.

I carefully applied my thoughts to the Pure One,  
And then, saith Kabir, I obtained Him the Fearless.

A Jogi maintained that deliverance could not be  
obtained without chastening the heart, and that the  
heart could not be chastened without the practice of  
Jog. Kabir criticizes the statement.

## XXVIII

*Without devotion* the qualities of the heart cling to the  
heart.

Who secureth perfection by *merely* chastening his heart ? <sup>3</sup>

What holy man *hath succeeded* in chastening his heart ?

Say who hath saved any one by *merely* chastening his  
heart.

Every one thinketh in his heart that he is *going to chasten it*,  
But the heart is not chastened without devotion.

Saith Kabir, let him who knoweth this secret,

Worship in his heart God, the Lord of the three worlds.

The following was addressed to an atheist who  
maintained the theory of spontaneous creation.

## XXIX

Who was the painter who painted

The stars which appear in the sky ? <sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The brain.

<sup>2</sup> *Kalālīn*, corresponding to the European barmaid. Even in  
India in former times the distiller or publican used to employ a woman  
to serve wine to his customers. She probably here means Rāmānand,  
Kabir's guru.

<sup>3</sup> Man must also repeat God's name.

<sup>4</sup> According to the Muhammadan conception of the heavens, the  
sky is a fixed vault on which the stars are painted.

Say, O pandit, to what is the sky attached ? <sup>1</sup>  
 Fortunate is the wise man who knoweth this.  
 The sun and moon diffuse light ;  
 God hath extended Himself in everything.  
 Saith Kabir, he shall know this,  
 In whose heart is God, and in whose mouth is God.  
 The evil wrought by the Simritis.

## XXX

O my brethren, the Simriti is the daughter of the Veds ;  
 She hath brought a chain and a rope *for men*,  
 And hath of herself imprisoned them in her capital ; <sup>2</sup>  
 She hath flung the noose of worldly love, and discharged  
 the arrow of death ;

*The former* cannot be cut, and the latter cannot be broken.  
 The *Simriti* hath become a serpent, eaten the world,  
 And plundered the whole universe before my very eyes ;  
*But*, saith Kabir, I have escaped *from her* by uttering God's  
*name*.

The following was addressed to an admirer who  
 had offered Kabir a horse.

## XXXI

Let me put a bit and bridle *on my steed*,<sup>3</sup>  
 And abandoning all else course him in heaven.<sup>4</sup>  
 Let me make self-reflection my saddle,  
 And put my foot in the stirrup of divine love.  
 Come, *my steed*, let me drive thee to heaven ;  
 If thou jib, I will strike thee with the whip of love.  
 Saith Kabir, they are good riders  
 Who keep themselves aloof from the Veds and the books  
*of the Musalmans*.

The following was written after witnessing a  
 cremation :—

## XXXII

I have seen fire applied to the mouth  
 Which used to eat the five nectars.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> What supports the sky ?

<sup>2</sup> Probably Banāras is meant.

<sup>3</sup> The mind.

<sup>4</sup> The brain.

<sup>5</sup> These are *bhakshya*, what is masticated by the front teeth, the



Remove, O God, my one misery  
 Of abiding in the womb and being burned in its fire.  
 The body is destroyed in various ways and manners—  
 Some burn it, and some bury it in the earth.  
 Saith Kabir, 'O God, show me Thy feet ;  
 Afterwards why not send death ? <sup>1</sup>

Kabir was engaged in his devotions when a hostile neighbour took the opportunity to set his house on fire. Kabir heard of it and returning home succeeded in extinguishing the flames. It is said that the hostile neighbour's house took fire from Kabir's, and was totally consumed. The following hymn was composed on the occasion :—

## XXXIII

God Himself is the fire, Himself the wind ;  
 When the Master setteth fire *to the house*, who can save it ?  
 What if even my body burn when I am repeating God's name ?

My mind was absorbed in God's name ;  
 Whose house burneth, and who suffereth loss ? <sup>2</sup>  
 God playeth like an acrobat.  
 Saith Kabir, utter two letters ; <sup>3</sup>  
 As sure as I have a Master, He will save me.

Kabir thinks he has not performed sufficient worship.

## XXXIV

I have not applied my mind to the science of union with God or contemplation of Him ;  
 Without hate of the world I shall not escape from mammon.  
 How shall I live

back teeth, and the tongue ; *bhojya*, what is masticated by the back teeth and the tongue ; *lehiya*, what is licked or sipped by the tongue alone ; *peya*, what is drunk ; and *choshya*, what is sucked.

Another list of the five nectars is—milk, cream, clarified butter, honey, and sugar.

<sup>1</sup> Kabir does not fear death provided he has first seen God's feet.

<sup>2</sup> All property belongs to God.

<sup>3</sup> *R* and *m* which with a long vowel make Rām, God.

If I have not God's name as my support ?  
 Saith Kabir, I have searched in heaven,  
 And have seen none equal to God.

The following was written on seeing ravens sitting  
 on a skull and feeding on its contents :—

## XXXV

Ravens were cleaning their beaks on the skull  
 On which a turban had been *once* very daintily bound.  
 Why be proud of this body and of wealth ?  
 Why dost thou not hold fast God's name ?  
 Saith Kabir, hear, O my man,  
 This shall be thy condition at last.

Kabir discourses on the soul.

## GAURI ASHTAPADI

## XXXVI

Man prayeth for temporal happiness, but sorrow cometh  
 to meet him.

It pleaseth me not to pray for such happiness *as shall  
 bring sorrow.*

Man still intent on sin hopeth for happiness ;

How shall he find his dwelling in the Supreme God ?

The happiness which even Shiv and Brahma would dread,  
 I supposed to be real.

Even the four sons of Brahma, the muni Narad, and  
 Sheshnag,

Never found their minds *stable* in their bodies *until they  
 had given up hopes of such happiness.*

O my brethren, let any one inquire into *the condition of  
 the soul.*

When it escapeth from the body, where shall it be ?

By the favour of the guru, Jaidev and Namdev

Discovered that, by love and devotion to God,

The soul shall not suffer transmigration.

He whose doubts are dispelled knoweth the truth—

This soul hath no shape or outline ;

By God's order it was created, and by understanding God's order it shall be absorbed in Him.

If any one understand the secret of the soul,

It shall *only* obtain divine happiness when absorbed in God.

There is but one Soul <sup>1</sup> which occupieth all bodies.

Kabir worshippeth that Soul.

God's name is the tree of life.

### XXXVII

Of those who watch day and night *to utter* the one Name.

How many have become perfect by the love they bore to God !

Sidhs and their disciples and all the munis have grown weary *in their efforts without God's name* :

The one Name like the tree of life saveth *mankind*.

They who are regenerated by God shall never alter.

Saith Kabir, I have recognized God's name.

The worship of the one God inculcated.

### GAURI AND SORATH

### XXXVIII

O shameless man, art thou not ashamed ?

Why dost thou forsake God, and go to some one else ? <sup>2</sup>

It becometh not him whose God is the Most High

To go to a strange temple.

That Lord pervadeth *all space*,

Is ever present, and never distant.

Say, O man, what is there not in His palace

At whose feet Lakshmi taketh refuge ?

Every one speaketh of Him :

He is ommipotent, our own Lord, and our Benefactor.

Saith Kabir, that man is perfect in the world,

In whose heart no other than God abideth.

<sup>1</sup> The Soul of the world.

<sup>2</sup> To worship idols.

They who are absorbed in God feel not joy or sorrow for relations.

## XXXIX

Who hath a son ? who hath a father ?  
 Who dieth ? who inflicteth pain ?  
 God is the Illusionist who hath illuded the world.<sup>1</sup>  
 If separated from God how shall I survive, my mother ?  
 Who hath a husband ? who hath a wife ? reflect on this truth in thy heart.

Saith Kabir, I have become reconciled with the Illusionist ;  
 The illusion vanished when I recognized Him.

Kabir's satisfaction on feeling that he had obtained salvation.

## XL

The sovereign God hath now become my helper ;  
 Having cut away birth and death I have obtained the supreme state.

God hath united me with the guild of the saints,  
 And freed me from the five deadly sins.  
 The ambrosial name I repeat with my tongue ;  
 God hath made me His unbought <sup>2</sup> slave.  
 The True Guru did me a favour  
 By rescuing me from the ocean of the world.  
 I have begun to love God's lotus feet,  
 And God ever and ever dwelleth in my heart.  
 The sparks of the fire of worldly love have become extinguished,

And my mind hath obtained resignation by the support of the Name.

In sea and land the Lord God is fully contained ;  
 Wherever I look, there is the Searcher of hearts.  
 It is He Himself who implanteth His service *in my heart* ;  
 God is obtained, my brethren, according to primal destiny.

<sup>1</sup> Kabir believed with the Vedantists that everything was illusion. As all things emanated from God, it is He who continues the illusion, hence Kabir familiarly compares Him to an illusionist or actor.

<sup>2</sup> As such I shall serve Him all the better.



The man to whom He showeth favour succeedeth in his affairs.

Kabir's Lord is the Cherisher of the poor.

The following was a remonstrance to a Brahman who had found impurity and caste defilement in almost everything.

## XLI

There is impurity in water, there is impurity in land, there is impurity in whatever is born.

There is impurity in birth, and again in death ;

God's subjects are ruined by this impurity.<sup>1</sup>

O pandit, tell me who is pure ;

Explain to me such knowledge *as thou hast on the subject*, my friend.

There is impurity in the eyes, there is impurity in the tongue, there is impurity in the ears ;

Standing or sitting there is impurity, impurity entereth the kitchen.

Every one knoweth how to be caught *in impurity*, but few how to escape from it.

Saith Kabir, no impurity attacheth to those who meditate on God in their hearts.

God is greater than any creature, and His saint than any place of pilgrimage.

## XLII

Decide one controversy, O Ramanand,

If thou *desire* any service from thy slave.

Is this soul or He to whom it is attached the greater ?

Is God or he who knoweth God the greater ?

Is Brahma or He who created him the greater ?

Are the Veds or the source whence they came the greater ?

Is the pilgrimage or God's saint the greater ?

Saith Kabir, I have been unhappy *on this subject*.

<sup>1</sup> When there is impurity in everything according to the Brāhmans, they must be very well remunerated to purify men.

The effects of the influx of divine knowledge.  
Kabir likens his mind to a hut.

### XLIII

Lo ! my brethren, a storm of divine knowledge hath come ;

The screens of doubt have all been blown away, and even the ropes of mammon have not been left ;

The two props of indecision<sup>1</sup> have been thrown down, and the beam<sup>2</sup> of worldly love hath been broken ;

The thatched roof of avarice hath fallen to the ground, and the vessel of evil inclinations hath burst.

Saith Kabir, thy slave, O Lord, hath become saturated by the rain<sup>3</sup> which fell after the storm.

And when *next* he saw the sun appear,<sup>4</sup> his mind was illumined.

The following was addressed to a Brahman.  
Kabir did not desire his followers to associate with infidels.

### XLIV

What shall one say to such people

As neither hear God's praises nor sing His attributes,

But who knock down the heavens by their boasting ?

They whom God hath excluded from His service should always be feared.

They who give not a handful of water *to the thirsty*

Slander him<sup>5</sup> who brought down the Ganges.

Sitting or standing crooked are their ways ;

They have ruined themselves and ruined others :

They know nothing save evil converse ;

They obey not even Brahma's bidding ;

They have gone astray themselves and are leading others astray.

<sup>1</sup> Whether man inclines to God or the world.

<sup>2</sup> On which the rafters rested.

<sup>3</sup> Internal peace or happiness.

<sup>4</sup> When he saw God after the attainment of divine knowledge.

<sup>5</sup> Bhagīrath.

They set fire to their houses and sleep in them ; <sup>1</sup>

They laugh at others, though they have only one eye themselves ;

Kabir is ashamed on beholding them.

A lecture against the shraddhs and idolatry of the Hindus.

#### XLV

Nobody obeyeth his parents when alive, yet he giveth them feasts when dead ;

Say how shall the poor parents obtain what the ravens and the dogs have eaten.

Let some one explain to me what kushal <sup>2</sup> means ;

The world dieth talking of kushal ; however shall kushal be obtained ?

Men make goddesses and gods of clay, and offer them living sacrifices—

*As your lifeless gods*, so your deceased, who ask not for what they want themselves.

You kill living things, and you worship lifeless things ; at the last moment great *shall be your suffering*.

You know not the worth of God's name, and you shall be drowned *in the sea* of terror.

You waver and know not the supreme God, *wherefore* you worship gods and goddesses.

Saith Kabir, you have not thought of the Unknowable, and have become entangled in the deadly sins.

The holy obtain their great reward.

#### XLVI

If while living thou be dead, while dead return to life *by means of divine knowledge*, and thus become absorbed in God ;

If thou abide pure amid impurity, thou shalt not again fall into the terrible ocean *of the world*.

<sup>1</sup> They commit sin, and feel no compunction or repentance.

<sup>2</sup> A feeling of satisfaction after repletion.

My God, such milk should be churned—<sup>1</sup>

Keep thy mind steadfast under the guru's instruction ;  
in this way shalt thou quaff nectar.<sup>2</sup>

The guru's arrow hath pierced this adamantine age, and  
let in the light of God's word.

The doubt *which I felt, through* the power of ignorance  
*whether this world was a snake or a rope*, is at an end ; I have  
a permanent abode in God's house.

The guru without putting an arrow on his bow hath  
pierced this world, my brethren.

In all directions the kite<sup>3</sup> fluttereth in the wind, but its  
string is fixed in the love of God.

My perturbed mind is absorbed in God ; duality and evil  
inclinations depart.

Saith Kabir, I have seen the Fearless One by fixing my  
attention on His name.

Rather than practise Jog search for God through  
the guru.

## XLVII

When I turned my thoughts towards God, I restrained my  
mind and my senses<sup>4</sup>, and my attention became lovingly  
fixed on Him.

O Bairagi, search for Him who neither cometh nor goeth,  
who neither dieth nor is born.

My soul turning away from sin is absorbed in the  
*universal Soul* ;

By the favour of the guru I have *now* obtained a different  
understanding ; otherwise I should become estranged from  
God.

What was near<sup>5</sup> hath become distant, what was distant<sup>6</sup>  
hath become near for him who accepteth God as He is.

<sup>1</sup> Such good actions should be performed as shall ensure man  
against being born again.

<sup>2</sup> That is, obtain the great boon of unswerving faith.

<sup>3</sup> The mind.

<sup>4</sup> *Chakr khat* is here understood to be the mind and the five senses,  
not the six mystical divisions of the body.

<sup>5</sup> The deadly sins are meant.

<sup>6</sup> God.



As sharbat made from sugar—only he who drinketh it knoweth *its flavour*.

O Thou devoid of qualities, is there any discriminating person to whom I may speak of Thee ?

Saith Kabir, only he who applieth the spiritual fuse seeth the blast.

Heaven described by negatives.

#### XLVIII

There (*with God*) is no rainy season, no ocean, no sunshine, no shade ; there is no creation and no destruction ;

No life, no death ; nor are sorrow and joy felt ; nor is there either retirement or contemplation—

A description of celestial rest would be impossible and peculiar to itself—

There nothing is weighed in the balance, and nothing is exhausted ; there is nothing light, nothing heavy.

There are no nether or upper regions, neither night nor day ;

There is no water, wind, or fire ; the True Guru is there contained.

Inaccessible and inapprehensible, He dwelleth uninterruptedly in everything ;

He is found by the favour of the guru.

Saith Kabir, I am a sacrifice to my guru ; may I remain attached to his society !

Human life under the allegory of an ox and his burden.

#### XLIX

With merits and demerits an ox is purchased ;<sup>1</sup> life appeareth as the capital ;<sup>2</sup>

In this way a herd is purchased ;<sup>3</sup> covetousness which filleth man's heart is as a sack *on the ox's back*.

So *potent* a master is my God

<sup>1</sup> The soul enters a human body.

<sup>2</sup> To earn further merits or demerits.

<sup>3</sup> The mass of mankind are born.

Who made the whole world dealers.<sup>1</sup>

Lust and wrath are both tax-gatherers ;<sup>2</sup> the whims of the mind are highway robbers.

The herd, which spring from the five elements, pay the tax,<sup>3</sup> and are saved.

Saith Kabir, hear, O saints, this is now the state of things—

One ox<sup>4</sup> hath grown weary of travelling the steep road, and dropping his sack, proceedeth on his journey.<sup>5</sup>

The world under the allegory of a well, human life under that of a well-robe.

## L

A woman hath four days in her father's house ; she must *then* go to her father-in-law's —

The blind, the stupid, and the silly know not this—

The bride with her *sarhi* round her is ready to go ;

The guests arrive ; her husband hath come to take her home.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Who gave every one life as his capital.

<sup>2</sup> They subject the soul to punishment.

<sup>3</sup> Are punished by the god of death.

<sup>4</sup> Kabir himself, who obtained salvation while alive.

<sup>5</sup> The following is an alternative translation of this very difficult hymn. A friend of Kabir suggested to him to speculate in bullocks. They could at the time be purchased cheap, and Kabir could afterwards sell them at a profit, and thus provide himself with funds for the entertainment of holy men. Kabir replied :—

Men have purchased the bullocks of *their bodies* with bad and good acts, the breath *of life* is their capital.

Desires are packed in the sack of the heart, and thus are the *good and evil produced by which* oxen are purchased.

Our God is such a head of the firm that He hath made the whole world His traders.

Both lust and wrath become tax-gatherers, and mental vagaries highway robbers.

The man who associateth with the elect who know God, payeth the tax and his ox crosseth over.

Saith Kabir, hear O ye saints, it hath now come to this with me,

That in scaling the pass *of divine knowledge* one ox *at least* hath cast away his sack *of desires* and proceeded on *his journey*.

<sup>6</sup> In the East, as still among the peasant classes in Ireland, women are allowed to remain sometime after marriage with their parents.

Who is that we see letting down the rope into the well ?

When the rope breaketh by the weight of the water-pot,  
the water-drawer departeth.

If the Lord be compassionate and show mercy, *woman*  
shall settle her affairs ;

She is known as a happy wife who pondereth on the  
guru's instructions.

All men bound by their acts transmigrate ; attentively  
consider this.

Why blame woman ? what can the poor creature do ?

Without hope she departeth ; she hath not the firmness  
*of faith* in her heart.

Cling to the feet of God, and flee to His asylum, O Kabir.

It is the truly pious and not the Jogis or Hindu  
sectaries who shall be saved.

## LI

The Jogi says that jog and nothing else is good and  
sweet ;

They who shave their bodies, and the Ekshabdis, say  
that they *alone* have obtained perfection.

Without God thou art lost in error, O blind one ;

They to whom I go to release myself, are themselves  
bound by many toils.

*You call yourselves* pandits, virtuous, brave, generous,  
and assert that you alone are great ;

It is only when *this pride of yours* is forgotten that you  
shall be absorbed in Him from whom you sprang.

Only he understandeth whom Thou, O God, causest to  
understand ; how can man obtain permanence without  
understanding ?

When the true guru is found, darkness is dispelled ; in  
this way the gem<sup>1</sup> is obtained.

Lay aside the sins of thy left hand and thy right ;<sup>2</sup> take  
firm hold of God's feet.

Then comes the *mukalāwa* or 'hauling home'. The meaning here is  
that Death takes away his victim.

<sup>1</sup> God's name.

<sup>2</sup> Thy besetting sins.

Saith Kabir, if a dumb man eat molasses, what can he say if questioned ? <sup>1</sup>

The following was composed by Kabir on the death of a Jogi :—

## LII

Where there was something there is nothing; *thy body* of five elements is no more.

What availeth thee now the suspension of thy breath in the left and right nostrils and their junction ?

The string <sup>2</sup> is broken, thy brain destroyed ; whither hath thy speech gone ?

I feel this anxiety night and day ; who will explain and ease my mind ?

Thy body is no longer in the world ; thy creative *mind* is no more.

The Joiner dwelleth ever separate *from the world* ; say who else hath this *power* ?

If *I try* to join the *elements of the body*, I cannot join them ; if *I try* to separate them, they will not be separated until they perish.

Who hath a master ? who hath a servant ? who waiteth on any one else ? <sup>3</sup>

Saith Kabir, my attention is directed to that place where *God* dwelleth night and day ;

His secret He Himself fully knoweth ; He is ever imperishable.

Kabir was advised to become a Jogi ; the following was his reply :—

## LIII

Meditation and remembrance of *God* are my two earrings, independence of the world my patched coat ;

Dwelling in a silent cave my devotional posture, the abandonment of worldly desires my sect.

<sup>1</sup> He cannot describe his sensations. In the same way a man who has obtained God will be silent with pleasure.

<sup>2</sup> Thy life has departed.

<sup>3</sup> The meaning apparently is, that there are no earthly masters or servants, and that man should only acknowledge God as his Master.



My king,<sup>1</sup> I am a Jogi without temporal love ; I repine not at death and separation.

In the regions of the universe *I find* my horn ; the whole world, which I hold as ashes, is my wallet ;

Riddance of the three qualities and release from the world are my contemplative attitude.

I have made my heart and breath the two gourds *of my lyre*, and unbroken attention on God its frame.

The strings are strong and break not ; the lyre playeth spontaneously ;

On hearing it the perfect are enraptured, and I no longer feel the swaying of worldly love.

Saith Kabir, the soul which hath played in this way shall not be born again.

The body under the allegory of a full piece of cloth.

#### LIV

Reason went to the soul to order *a body* to be woven—

Let a full piece of nine yards, ten yards, and twenty-one yards be woven.<sup>2</sup>

Let there be sixty threads, nine joinings, and seventy-two cross threads<sup>3</sup> added ;

The weaver<sup>4</sup> then cometh, leaving his last abode.

Is not *the body* measured by yards, weighed by weight, and starched by two and a half sers of flour ?<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Applied respectfully to the Jogi.

<sup>2</sup> A full piece of cloth generally measures forty yards. The nine yards mean the nine apertures of the body ; the ten yards, the ten organs of action and perception ; and the twenty-one yards, the five subtle elements, the five gross elements, the ten breaths of the body, and the mind. The twenty-one yards may also be the twenty-one vertebrae of some Indian anatomists. The whole forty make up the body which, in weaver's parlance, is compared to a full piece of cloth.

<sup>3</sup> The sixty threads are supposed to be sixty blood-vessels, though Indian anatomists count one hundred and seventy-five blood-vessels altogether. The nine sections are the four pieces of the legs, the four of the arms, and the head ; and the seventy-two cross threads are seventy-two chambers of the body according to the Jogis.

<sup>4</sup> The soul leaves its last abode, and takes possession of a new body.

<sup>5</sup> One *ser* of the present standard ; as much as a man can eat daily is said to be applied as starch to the tissues of his body.

If the body obtain not starch quickly, it will quarrel and destroy its abode.<sup>1</sup>

*O man*, how many days are there for thee to sit *idly*? When shalt thou, who art adverse to the Lord, again have the present opportunity?

The vessels<sup>2</sup> and the wetted bobbins shall fall to pieces, and the weaver depart in anger;

Thread cometh not out of an empty bobbin,<sup>3</sup> and *the cloth* will not remain wound around the beam.

O wretched man, abide in the world, but renounce display—Kabir *giveth thee this* advice.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> And then the soul and body shall separate.

<sup>2</sup> *Kunda* is an earthen pan which holds water to wet the thread. The thread, when wetted, is put into the bobbins. Here, *kunda* is understood to mean worldly possessions.

<sup>3</sup> No breath issueth from the throat after death.

<sup>4</sup> The following is an alternative translation of this most difficult hymn. Some pandits spoke contemptuously of Kabir's social position and said it was gross impudence on the part of a weaver to dare mention God's name. Kabir replied, that every one must be a weaver in a mystical sense in order to gain salvation. The pandits inquired how all men could become weavers. Kabir explained:—

The weaver's wife (reason) went to her spouse (the mind) to have a piece woven,

But the weaver was always leaving his home.

*Kabir was then asked how he could compare the body to a piece of cloth. He replied:—*

It consisteth of nine yards, ten yards, and twenty-one yards.

Sixty threads of the warp, nine joinings, sixty-two cross threads.

Is not the body measured by yards, weighed by weight, and starched by two and a half sers of flour?

If the body obtain not starch quickly, its spouse (the mind) will quarrel.

When shall such an opportunity come again? The days of life soon end and the soul departeth.

Thou must leave thy pans and thy wet bobbins, and the soul will depart in anger.

Thread issueth not from the empty bobbin, and the cloth will not remain wound round the beam.

*Saith the mind to reason*, O wretched one, leave off this wrangling, abide with me here; Kabir hath given this explanation.

The light of God has an affinity for the light of man.

## LV

Can one light which is absorbed in another be separated from it ?

May that man burst and die in whose heart the name of God springeth not up !

Dark and beautiful God, my soul is attached to Thee.

When a holy man is found, supernatural perfection is obtained ; this is both union with God and worldly enjoyment.

When two, *the guru and the disciple*, meet by means of God's name, the *disciple's* business is accomplished.<sup>1</sup>

People think this is a song ; it is a meditation on God,  
Like the instruction given to men at Banaras when they are on the point of death.

He who attentively heareth or singeth God's name,  
Saith Kabir, shall certainly obtain the supreme state at last.

Salvation can only be obtained by true devotion.

## LVI

However great man's exertions *without God's name*, he shall be drowned in the terrible ocean and not cross over.

Thou hast practised thy religious duties and great austerities, yet pride consumeth thy soul.

Why hast thou forgotten the Lord who is the Giver of life and food ?

Human birth is a priceless diamond or ruby ; thou hast lost it for a kauri.

Not having thought of God in thy heart, thou sufferest from the thirst of covetousness and the hunger of error ;

The intoxication of pride deceiveth those who keep not the word of the guru in their hearts.

Sinful are they who are led away by pleasure, who are

<sup>1</sup> Also translated—(a) When both meet, this work is accomplished, namely, an alliance with Him whose name is God. (b) Both blessings result from meeting God or obtaining His name.

tempted by sensual delights, and who enjoy the savour of wine.

They who by destiny keep the company of the saints, float over like iron attached to timber.

Through error I have wandered among human and lower births ; I am now weary and overspent with travail.

Saith Kabir, on meeting the guru *I have felt* great joy, and my love and devotion have saved me.

The deceits of the world.

## LVII

Like the semblance of a female elephant, O foolish man, the Lord of the world made this play.<sup>1</sup>

The elephant *impelled* by the sweets of love is captured, O foolish man, and his head hath to endure the goad.

Flee from evil passions, attach thyself to God ; heed this *advice*, O foolish man.

Why dost thou not, O foolish man, fearlessly worship God, and take possession of His ship ? <sup>2</sup>

The monkey stretcheth out his hand, O foolish man, and taketh a handful of corn ; <sup>3</sup>

He is anxious to escape, O foolish man, but he shall be made to dance at the door of every house.

As the parrot is caught by a trap,<sup>4</sup> O foolish man, so is man by worldly occupations.<sup>5</sup>

As the *fleeting* dye of the safflower, O foolish man, so hath this world been shown.

<sup>1</sup> The play of the world. A likeness of a female elephant is made out of cardboard to catch wild elephants. They are allured by the likeness to the verge of a pit into which they fall and are secured.

<sup>2</sup> To float thee over the terrible ocean of the world.

<sup>3</sup> Monkeys are caught by putting dry grain into a vessel and partially burying it in the earth. The monkey puts in his hand, and fills it with grain. He is then caught, not having wit enough to open his fingers and let go his grasp. So, too, if man would abandon his vices, he would be saved.

<sup>4</sup> The *nalni* is a contrivance made of bamboo put over water. When the parrot perches on it, it revolves, and the bird's body is below it and immediately over the water. The parrot clings to the nalni so as to avoid falling into the water, and is thus caught.

<sup>5</sup> Literally—this is Māya's doing.



There are many places for ablutions, O foolish man, and many gods to worship.

Saith Kabir, thou shalt not be saved by *means of these*, O foolish man ; thou shalt be saved by the worship of God.

A raja offered temporal wealth to Kabir. The following was his reply—

## LVIII

Lay up for yourselves the wealth of God's name, which fire will not burn, which hot winds will not dry up,

And which thieves will not approach ; that wealth shall never depart.

My wealth is God, the Supporter of the earth ; He is the real wealth.

The pleasure obtained from the service of God is not to be found in regal state :

Shiv and the four sons of Brahma in their search for this wealth abandoned the world.

He in whose heart is God and on whose tongue is God, falleth not into Death's noose.

The guru's private wealth of divine knowledge and devotion is like water to the thirsty, like a prop to the fickle mind ;

The minds of those on whom He bestoweth it, conceive good resolutions, and their doubts, entanglements, and fears depart.

Saith Kabir, O you who are intoxicated with wealth, reflect in your hearts and understand this.

In your mansions are hundreds of thousands and millions of horses and elephants ; in mine is the one God.

The love of worldly things leads men to damnation.

## LIX

A monkey through greed will not let go the pulse in his hand.

Man is responsible for acts done through greed.

Without devotion to God human life passeth in vain.

Without association with the saints and worship of God,  
truth nowhere abideth.

As the flowers of the desert bloom, and no one enjoyeth  
their odour,

So men wander *idly* in many births, and Death destroyeth  
them again and again.

God hath given wealth, youth, sons, and women *fair* to  
view ;

By these man, prompted by the senses, becometh arrested  
and entangled.

The body is a house of grass, life's end the fire which  
assaileth it on every side.

Saith Kabir, to cross over the terrible ocean I have taken  
the shelter of the true guru.

A brief account of the process of procreation.

## LX

There is dirty water and white earth ;

From this earth a puppet is made.

I am nothing and I have nothing ;

My body, my wealth, all that is dear *to me* is Thine, O  
God—

Into this earth breath is infused,

And forcibly setteth the false contrivance in motion.

Such and such a person may have accumulated five lakhs  
*of treasure*,

But at last his pitcher bursteth.<sup>1</sup>

Saith Kabir, the sole foundation thou hast laid

Shall be destroyed in a moment, O thou proud one.

By devotion to God through the guru Kabir has  
obtained salvation.

## LXI

O my soul, repeat God's name

As did Dhru and Prahlad *of old*.

O Thou compassionate to the poor, my reliance is on  
Thee.

<sup>1</sup> The body dies.

I have *therefore* embarked all my family on the guru's raft.

If it please God He will have His order obeyed,  
And cause this raft to float over.

By the favour of the guru such knowledge hath filled me  
That all my transmigration is at an end.

Saith Kabir, worship God ;

In this world and the next, everywhere, it is He alone  
who knoweth.<sup>1</sup>

The soul having obtained a human body has  
obtained its last chance of salvation.

## LXII

When *man* leaveth the womb and cometh into the world,  
As soon as the air toucheth him, he forgetteth his Master—  
O my soul, sing God's praises !

When thou didst penance reversed in the womb,  
Thou didst escape its fire.

Having wandered through the eighty-four lakhs of  
existences,

If thou stumble now, thou shalt find nor house nor home.  
Saith Kabir, worship God

Who is not seen coming or going, and who knoweth all  
things.

Think not of heaven or hell, of prosperity or  
adversity ; leave everything to God.

## LXIII

Long not for a dwelling in heaven, and fear not to dwell in  
hell ;

What will be, will be ; O my soul, hope not at all.

Sing the praises of God from whom the supreme reward is  
obtained.

What is devotion, what penance and austerities, what  
fasting and ablutions,

Unless thou know the way to love and serve God ?

<sup>1</sup> The verse is also translated—I deem this world and the next all  
the same.

Be not glad at the sight of prosperity and grieve not at the sight of adversity ;

As is prosperity so is adversity ; what God proposeth shall be accomplished.

Saith Kabir, through the saints I now know in my heart

That the worshipper in whose heart God dwelleth, *performeth* the best worship.

Commit not sin for the sake of thy relations or others and mourn not for them.

#### LXIV

O my soul, thou hast no *helper* ; drag not the weight of *others' sins* behind thee.

As a bird percheth on a tree, such is the world.<sup>1</sup>

I have drunk the elixir of God

By which other elixirs are forgotten.

Since we are not permanent ourselves, why should we mourn the death of others ?

Whatever is born perisheth ; why should we be sorry and weep for that ?

When man becometh attached to holy men, he drinketh *God's elixir*, and is devoted to Him from whom he hath sprung.

Saith Kabir, I have thought of God in my heart ; resigning the world remember Him.

Kabir longs for God as a loving wife for her absent spouse.

#### LXV

Woman with her eyes filled *with tears* and heaving sighs awaiteth *her lord* ;

Her heart is not happy ; she retraceth not her steps in the hope of seeing him.

Why fliest thou not away, O black raven,<sup>2</sup> so that I may quickly meet my beloved ?

<sup>1</sup> Temporary or transitory.

<sup>2</sup> If a raven come to a woman's casement when her husband is absent, she says 'Fly away, O raven.' If it fly away in obedience to her order, it is an omen that her husband will soon return. Here the word raven is understood to mean man's evil passions.



Saith Kabir, perform God's service to obtain the dignity of eternal life ;

The name of God is the one support ; repeat it with thy tongue.

There are many excellences in the body ; God resides within it and Kabir is delighted to behold Him.

## LXVI

There are many shrubs of sweet basil ; near and within them is the village of Barsana.<sup>1</sup>

The milkmaid *Radha* on seeing *Krishan's* beauty became enamoured : 'Leave me not ; go not hither and thither.

'My heart is attached to thy feet ; O holder of the bow, very fortunate is she who meeteth thee.'

Enchanting is Bindraban where the fascinating *Krishan* grazed his kine.

Since thou art my Lord, O holder of the bow, Kabir (*great*) is my name.

Vain is the devotion of anchorets and idolaters.

## LXVII

How many wear the bark of trees as clothes, but what availeth it to dwell in the forest ?

What availeth it to man to offer incense *to idols* ? What to drench his body with ablutions ?

O my soul, I know that thou shalt depart ;

O silly one, think of thy fall.<sup>2</sup>

Wheresoever I look, I see none but those who are entangled in worldly love ;

Men of divine knowledge and meditation, great preachers are all *engrossed* in this world's affairs.

Saith Kabir, without the name of the one God this world is blinded *by* mammon.

<sup>1</sup> In the neighbourhood of Mathura and Bindraban. The original has *Banāras*, but the word does not suit the context. *Bana ras gāon* is also read—In the midst of them is made an excellent village.

<sup>2</sup> *Abigat* means descent, but the word may also here mean God, from the Sanskrit *avyakt*, imperceptible, transcendental.

Fearlessly worship God.

### LXVIII

O man, victim of mammon, abandon doubt, come forth and dance.<sup>1</sup>

Doth a hero dread the conflict of the battle-field, doth a sati collect utensils *when she is about to die*?

Cease to waver, O foolish man;

Now that thou hast taken the red lead<sup>2</sup> in thy hand, burn and die, and obtain perfection.

The world is ruined by being absorbed in lust, wrath, and mammon.

Saith Kabir, forsake not the sovereign God who is the highest of all the high.

Kabir places himself altogether in God's power.

### LXIX

Thy commands are acceptable to men; I consider not their propriety.

Thou art the river, Thou art the pilot, from Thee is salvation.

O man, embrace the service of God,

Whether He be angry with thee or love thee.

Thy name, O God, is my support, as a woman rejoiceth on *beholding* her son.<sup>3</sup>

Saith Kabir, I am the slave of Thy house, preserve me or destroy me.

A homily against the worship of Krishan.

### LXX

Nand<sup>4</sup> became very weary wandering through the wombs of the eighty-four lakhs of existences;

<sup>1</sup> Scorn the opinion of the world.

<sup>2</sup> It was the custom for a sati on the pyre to take some vermilion paint (*sindūr*) in her hand, make a tilak on her forehead with it, then apply it to the foreheads of the bystanders and sprinkle it on them. After this ceremony she might not change her mind and must die. The *sindūr* is generally carried in the rind of a coco-nut and is employed at marriages. Its use at the concretion of widows was emblematic of a second marriage to which death is likened.

<sup>3</sup> Also translated—As a flower bloometh in the water.

<sup>4</sup> The adoptive father of Krishan.

Through his devotion *Krishan* became incarnate ; great was the poor man's good fortune.

You who say that *God* was the son of Nand, whose son was Nand ?

When the earth and the firmament and the ten quarters of the world were not, then where was this Nand ?

He whose name is the Bright One falleth not into trouble, and undergoeth not birth.

Kabir's Master is such a Lord as hath neither father nor mother.

Kabir hails slander to preserve his humility and lead him to God.

## LXXI

Slander, slander me, ye people, slander !

Slander is right pleasing to *God's* servant.

Slander is my father, slander my mother ; <sup>1</sup>

If I am slandered and store in my heart

The wealth of God's name, I shall go to heaven.

If I am slandered my heart becometh pure,

The slanderer washeth my clothes for me.<sup>2</sup>

He who slandereth me is my friend ;

My heart goeth out to the slanderer ;

He is the slanderer who preventeth my being slandered.

The slanderer desireth *long life for me* ;

I bear love and affection to *him who* slandereth me ;

Slander effecteth my salvation.

To God's servant, Kabir, slander is the best thing ;

The slanderer is lost, I am saved.

Kabir feels that he has parted with egoism and become absorbed in God.

## LXXII

O sovereign God, Thou art very fearless ; Thou art a raft to save the world, O God.

When I was proud, Thou *wert* not *in me* ; now that Thou art *in me* I am not proud.

<sup>1</sup> Is dear to me as my father and mother.

<sup>2</sup> That is, he takes my impurity on himself.

Now Thou and I have become one ; seeing that we are both one, my mind is satisfied.

When there is *worldly* wisdom, how can there be *spiritual* strength ?

Now I have *spiritual* wisdom, but no bodily strength.

Saith Kabir, God hath taken away my *worldly* wisdom, and instead of it I have obtained perfection.

The human body under the allegory of a house.

### LXXIII

The Creator made the six mystical chambers<sup>1</sup> into a house, and in it He put a peerless thing ;<sup>2</sup>

Without delay He made *divine knowledge* its key, *spiritual ignorance* its lock, and life its watchman.

Now, my brother, let thy mind remain awake ;

Through carelessness thou hast lost thy *human* life ; thy house is being robbed by thieves.<sup>3</sup>

Thy five *senses* stand as sentinels at the gate, but they cannot be trusted.

Carefully think of God, and thou shalt obtain the light of divine knowledge.

If woman go astray through only heeding the body of nine apertures, she shall not obtain the peerless thing—God's name.

Saith Kabir, thieves may plunder the body of nine apertures ; *God's* spirit dwelleth in the tenth.

Kabir obtained perfection and complete faith on meeting the guru.

### LXXIV

O mother, I know none beside *God* ;

My soul dwelleth in that *God* whose praises Shiv and the sons of Brahma sing.

<sup>1</sup> The six mystical chambers of the body are—*Mulādhara*, the parts about the pubis ; *Swadhshthānam*, or umbilical region ; *Manipūram*, or pit of the stomach or epigastrium ; *Anāhatam*, the root of the nose ; *Visuddham*, the hollow between the frontal sinuses ; and *Ajnyākhyam*, the fontenelle or union of the coronal and sagittal sutures.

<sup>2</sup> The soul.

<sup>3</sup> Thy evil passions.



On meeting the guru enlightenment and divine knowledge entered my heart, and I meditated on God in my brain ;

The disease of the deadly sins, fear, and worldly entanglements fled away, and my soul knew happiness in itself.

Imbued with devotion I know and obey the one *God*, and think of none beside.

Having abandoned the pride of my heart, my soul is perfumed with the perfume of sandal.

God dwelleth in him who hath sung and meditated on His praises.

Very fortunate are they in whose heart *He* dwelleth, and distinguished is the destiny recorded on their foreheads.

I have destroyed Maya,<sup>1</sup> divine knowledge is kindled in my heart, and I have become absorbed in the one God.

Saith Kabir, on meeting the guru I have felt great comfort ; my mind hath ceased to wander and is happy.

### KABIR'S ACROSTIC

#### I

Everything connected with the three worlds is contained in the fifty-two letters ;

These letters shall perish, but He who is beyond letters is not in them.

#### 2

Where there is speech, there letters are used ;

Where there is no speech there no mind abideth.

God is contained both where there is speech and where there is not ;

Nobody appeareth like unto Him.<sup>2</sup>

#### 3

If I obtain God, what shall I say ? and if I say anything, what kindness *do I show God*,

<sup>1</sup> *Shakti Shiv*. Literally—the energy of Shiv ; but Shiv may also be a separate word, meaning bliss or happiness, and the next clause of the verse would then be translated—happiness was being kindled in my heart, and God naturally appeared to me.

<sup>2</sup> Also translated—No one knows Him as He is.

Who is diffused through the three worlds *as well as* in the *tiny* seed of the banyan-tree ? <sup>1</sup>

## 4

*For him* who hath obtained God, and knoweth to some extent God's secret, the difference *between God and himself* hath disappeared.

God's secret penetrated my heart when it turned away *from the world*; and I have obtained Him who is Indestructible and Impenetrable.

## 5

The Musalmans accept the Tariqat ; the Hindus the Veds and Purans ; *but for me the books of both religions are useless.*

A man ought to study divine knowledge to some extent to instruct his heart.

## 6

I know the one God who was in the beginning ;  
I do not believe in what can be written and erased.  
Whoever beholdeth the one God,  
*Becometh as God*, and shall not pass away.

## 7

K. When the rays of *divine knowledge* fall on the lotus of *the heart*,

It closeth not even at the rising of the moon ; <sup>2</sup>  
And if *man* obtain the sweetness of that flower,  
He would grow mute in describing it, *yea*, to whom  
could he explain it ?

## 8

KH. My mind hath entered *God's* cave ; <sup>3</sup>

It leaveth it not to wander in every direction.  
He who, knowing the Master, practiseth resignation,  
Shall become imperishable, and obtain the imperishable  
dignity.

<sup>1</sup> Also translated—He whose expansion the three worlds are, is contained in the tiny seed of the banyan-tree.

<sup>2</sup> Once a man has obtained divine knowledge he is not again subject to spiritual ignorance.

<sup>3</sup> Has become attached to God.

## 9

- G. They who understand the guru's instruction,  
 Lend their ears to nothing else.  
 He who graspeth the Ungraspable,<sup>1</sup> and having grasped  
 Him keepeth Him in his brain,  
 Shall abide *wealthless as* a bird, and wander nowhere.

## 10

- GH. God's dwelling is in every heart ;  
 Even though the heart break, *God* is never *thereby*  
 diminished.  
 When man findeth a way *to God* in his heart,  
 Why should he leave that way and follow a difficult  
 one ?

## 11

- NG. Grasp the love *of God*, dismiss doubts.  
 Even though thou *see no way to God*, flee not away ;  
 this is the highest cleverness.

## 12

- CH. *God* painted the great picture of the world ;  
 Dismiss the picture, and think of the Painter.  
 This painted picture is an *abode* of strife ;  
 Dismiss the picture, and keep thy mind on the Painter.

## 13

- CHH. God the Lord of the umbrella is near ;  
 Why dost thou not abandon desires and be happy ?  
 O man, I admonish thee every moment ;  
 Why dost thou leave God and entangle thyself *with the*  
*world* ?

## 14

- J. If a man burn his body alive,  
 And efface his youth, he shall find the *right* way.  
 When man burneth the wealth of this and the next  
 world,<sup>2</sup>  
 He shall then proceed and obtain *God's* bright light.

<sup>1</sup> God.

<sup>2</sup> When man only thinks of God, and not of rewards in this or the next world.

15

JH. Thou art entangled *with the world*, and knowest not how to disentangle thyself ;  
 Thou shrinkest back, and art not accepted of *God*.  
 Why talk nonsense trying to convince others ?  
 Since thou stirrest up controversy, controversy thou shalt have.

16

NY. Since *God* dwelleth near thee in thy heart, why leave Him and go far *to find Him* ? <sup>1</sup>  
 Him for whom thou searchest the world, thou shalt find near thee.

17

T. The difficult way *to God* is in man's heart.  
 Why open not the doors of thine *understanding*, and repair to His court ?  
 There shalt thou behold the Immovable One, and thou shalt not move elsewhere.  
 Thou shalt remain attached *to God*, and thy heart shall be glad.

18

TH. Keep the world, which is a deceitful mirage, at a distance—  
 I have with difficulty rendered my mind patient—  
 The cheat which cheated and devoured the whole world  
 I have myself cheated, and my mind is now at ease.

19

D. When the fear *of God* is produced, *all other* fears depart ;  
 All other fears are absorbed in that fear.  
 If man reject the fear *of God*, then he hath fear *of man* ;  
 When he no longer feareth man, the fears of his heart flee away.

20

DH. Search for God near thee ; why *search* elsewhere ?  
 While searching for Him elsewhere life departeth.  
 When I ascended the mountain to search for Him, and returned *home disappointed*,

<sup>1</sup> Why lead the life of an anchorite in the forest.



I found Him in the fortress<sup>1</sup> which He Himself had made.

## 21

N. The life of him is accounted happy

Who, though surrounded in the battle-field, standeth fast like a man,<sup>2</sup>

Who doth not quail or retreat,<sup>3</sup>

But killeth the opposing chief, upon which his army fleeth away.<sup>4</sup>

## 22

T. The world is unfordable ; it cannot be forded.

My soul is absorbed in the Lord of the three worlds.

If *the Lord* of the three worlds enter into my heart,

My soul shall blend with Him, and I shall find the True One.

## 23

TH. The Unfathomable cannot be fathomed.

God is unfathomable ; this *body* shall not abide for ever.

Though man's span of life be brief, he beginneth *to build* many a mansion<sup>5</sup>—

*But* can mansions be supported without pillars ?

## 24

D. Everything we see is perishable ;

Meditate on Him who is Unseen.

When thou appliest the key of *divine knowledge* to the tenth gate,

Thou shalt then behold the merciful One.

## 25

DH. Everything is settled when the soul *blendeth* with God

Who dwelleth in earth and heaven.

When the soul leaving earth goeth to heaven,

The soul and God shall meet and happiness be obtained.

<sup>1</sup> My body.

<sup>2</sup> Happy are they who are victorious over their evil passions.

<sup>3</sup> The *gyānis* generally translate capitulate.

<sup>4</sup> When the heart is subdued, the evil passions flee away.

<sup>5</sup> Man's ambition is too great for the brief span of his life.

26

- N. Man's nights and days pass away waiting for *God* ;  
 His eyes grow blood-shot by such waiting.  
 When man findeth God after long waiting,  
 He who waiteth is blended with Him who is waited for.

27

- P. The Boundless One hath no bounds ;  
 I am gladdened with the Supreme Light ;  
 I have controlled the five senses,  
 And relinquished *all idea* of demerits and merits.

28

- PH. Fruit is produced without the blossom ;<sup>1</sup>  
 If any one looked at a section <sup>2</sup> of that fruit,  
 And reflected on it, he would not contract duality.  
 That section of fruit shall destroy all bodies.<sup>3</sup>

29

- B. Blend drop with drop,<sup>4</sup>  
 When drop *is blended with* drop, both cannot be separated.  
 Let man, becoming *God's* servant, embrace His service,  
 And He becoming a friend will take care of His servant.

30

- BH. Remove the difference between thyself and God, and  
 thou shalt be united *with Him* ;  
 Then shall thy fear be shattered, and thou shalt gain  
 confidence.  
 Him whom I thought without me I *now* find within me :  
 When I found this secret, I recognized the Lord of the  
 world.

<sup>1</sup> If God pleases, divine knowledge may be obtained without effort.

<sup>2</sup> *Phānk*, a natural division of fruit as seen, for instance, in the orange.

<sup>3</sup> Shall remove all transmigration. It is believed that bodies are made for the soul, but, when the soul is absorbed in God, bodies will of course not be necessary for it.

<sup>4</sup> Blend thy soul with God.

## 31

M. He who graspeth the First Principle,<sup>1</sup> shall be happy at heart ;

He who is in this secret knoweth his own mind.

Let no one delay to attach his heart *to God* ;

He who obtaineth the True One shall be immersed *in delight*.

## 32

M. Man's business is with his heart ; he who chasteneth it obtaineth perfection.

Kabir communeth with his heart, ' I have found nothing like thee, O my heart ! '

## 33

This heart is power ; this mind is God ;<sup>2</sup>

This heart is the life of the five elements *of the body*.

If man restrain his heart and remain in a state of exaltation,<sup>3</sup>

He can tell the secrets of the three worlds.

## 34

Y. If thou know anything, destroy thine evil propensities and conquer the citadel of the body ;

Thou who art surrounded *by foes* in battle and fleest not away, shalt be called a hero.

## 35

R. He knoweth the real pleasure, who spurneth the pleasures *of this world* ;

Having spurned the pleasures of the world he recognizeth the Real Pleasure ;

When he abandoneth the former, he obtaineth the latter ;

And when he quaffeth the latter, the former please him not.

<sup>1</sup> God.

<sup>2</sup> Even Shiv and his consort are not superior to the human intellect which decides on the worship of one God.

<sup>3</sup> *Unman*. The gyānis generally translate this word—to turn away from the world and direct one's thoughts to God.

36

- L. O man, so apply thy heart to God,  
 That thou mayest not go elsewhere, but obtain the  
 primal True One.  
 If thou heartily love Him,  
 Thou shalt obtain Him, and, obtaining Him, become  
 absorbed in His feet.

37

- W. Every moment remember God ;  
 Remember God and defeat shall not come to thee.  
 I am a sacrifice to those who sing the praises of the sons  
 of God <sup>1</sup>;  
 He who meeteth God shall obtain all truth.

38

- W. Know God ; by knowing Him thou shalt become *as* He.  
 When the soul and God are blended, no one can dis-  
 tinguish them.

39

- S. Carefully strive to know Him ;  
 Restrain every thought which allureth the heart.  
 When love for God springeth up, there is mental happi-  
 ness,  
 And the Lord of the three worlds will fill thy heart.

40

- KH. He who searcheth,  
 He who searcheth for God shall not return.  
 He who searcheth and knoweth God by meditation,  
 Shall cross over the terrible ocean without delay.

41

- SH. She who dispelleth *all* doubts of her spouse's affection  
 for her,  
 Shall adorn his bed.  
 She resigneth a little comfort and obtaineth the highest  
 gratification.  
 Then is she *justly* styled a wife and he a husband.

<sup>1</sup> *Bishantana*, an equivalent of the Persian *ahl-i-khuda*—sons of God, saints.



42

H. *God* existeth, but the *spiritually ignorant* know not of His existence.

From the moment man *knoweth that God* existeth his heart is satisfied.

God certainly doth exist, if any one could see Him ;

But in that case God alone would exist, and man exist not at all.

43

Everybody goeth about saying, ' I will take this, and I will take that.'

They therefore feel great sorrow *when they are disappointed*.

He who fixeth his attention on God,

Shall obtain all happiness and his sorrows shall depart.

44

KSH. How many have pined away and perished !

But, despite such destruction, man will not even now think of *God*.

If any one *even* now know that the world *is fleeting* and restrain his heart,

He shall obtain an abiding place with Him from whom he is separated.

45

The *Pandits* have in another way joined the fifty-two letters,

But they cannot recognize one letter.<sup>1</sup>

Kabir uttereth the word of the True One—

He is a pandit who abideth without fear—

To *join letters* <sup>2</sup> is the business of the Pandits ;

To meditate on God *is the business* of the holy man.

Saith Kabir, man will understand *which to do*

According to his intelligence.

<sup>1</sup> They cannot recognize the Imperishable One (*Akshar*), a play on the Sanskrit word.

<sup>2</sup> To write essays and theological disquisitions.

Kabir's calendar is arranged according to lunar days. The lunar month has thirty days. Fifteen of them are called *shudi*, the light half, and the other fifteen *wadi*, the dark half of the month. In this composition, however, sixteen days are counted.

## KABIR'S LUNAR DAYS

### I

There are fifteen lunar days and seven week days.

Saith Kabir, they have no limits.<sup>1</sup>

The Strivers and Sidhs who know their secrets,  
Are creators and gods themselves.

### II

On the day when there is no moon remove worldly desires ;  
Remember God the Searcher of hearts,  
So shalt thou *even* in life obtain the gate of salvation,  
And the real word of the Fearless One, which is the essence  
of everything.

He who loveth God's lotus feet,  
And is night and day watchful in His praises, becometh  
pure in heart by the favour of the saints.

### I

On the first day *of the moon* meditate on the Beloved ;  
He who cannot be lessened, and who hath no equal,  
sporteth in the heart.

He who is absorbed in the primal God,  
Shall never suffer the pain of death.

### 2

On the second day know that there are two parts of the  
body,

Maya and God,<sup>2</sup> who are contained in everything.

God doth not increase or diminish ;

He is unknowable, spotless, and changeless.

<sup>1</sup> Literally—they have no hither and thither sides; a metaphor from the banks of a river. The meaning is that time has no limits.

<sup>2</sup> Matter and spirit.

## 3

On the third day let man apply his mind to God *in the three states of waking, dreaming, and sleeping*.<sup>1</sup>

Thus shall he obtain the Root of Joy and the Supreme Delight.

In the company of the saints ariseth the faith in man  
That *God's* light is ever within and without him.

## 4

On the fourth day restrain thy fickle mind ;  
Never associate with lust and anger.  
God is all in all in sea and land ;  
He repeateth His own praises.<sup>2</sup>

## 5

On the fifth day *know that* the world was extended from the five elements,

And that the pursuit of gold and women form its occupation.

Whoever quaffeth the nectar of *God's* love,  
Shall not again feel the pains of old age and death.

## 6

On the sixth day the mind and the senses run in six directions ;

The *mind* will not be restrained without the love of *God*.  
Efface duality and hold fast endurance ;  
Endure not the torture of *absurd* religious ceremonies.

## 7

On the seventh day know that the Word is true,  
And the Supreme Spirit will hold thee accepted ;  
So shall thy doubts and troubles be effaced,  
And thou shalt obtain happiness in the celestial sea.

<sup>1</sup> Also translated—Let man bring together the *ira*, *pingla*, and *sukhmana*.

<sup>2</sup> Contained as He is in man.

## 8

On the eighth day know that the body is made of eight ingredients.

In it is the Unknowable, the King of great treasures.

The guru who is versed in divine knowledge discloseth the secret

How man may turn away *from the world*, and remain *absorbed in* the Infrangible and the Indivisible.<sup>1</sup>

## 9

On the ninth day keep watch over the nine gates,  
And restrain thy flowing desires ;  
Forget all covetousness and worldly love,  
And thou shalt eat the immortal fruit and live through all ages.

## 10

On the tenth day joy prevaieth in the ten directions ;<sup>2</sup>  
Doubts are dispelled and God is found.  
God is light, the essence *of all things*, incomparable,  
Pure without a stain ; *where He dwelleth* is neither shade nor sunshine.

## 11

On the eleventh day, if man run in one direction,<sup>3</sup>  
He shall not again suffer the pain of birth ;  
His heart shall become cool and pure,  
And God, *whom men* say is distant, he shall find near.

## 12

On the twelfth day let twelve suns<sup>4</sup> arise for thee,  
And day and night trumpets shall play spontaneous music.

<sup>1</sup> Also translated—

When a man meeteth a guru the latter discloseth to him the secret of divine knowledge,

And man turneth away from the world and remaineth absorbed in the Infrangible and Indivisible.

<sup>2</sup> A Hindi idiom for everywhere.

<sup>3</sup> Towards God.

<sup>4</sup> The Hindus believe that every month has a sun of its own. On the last day the twelve suns shall shine together and burn the world. The twelve suns of the text mean the bright lights of divine knowledge.



Thou shalt behold the Father of the three worlds ;  
 A miracle shall be wrought *for thee*, and from man thou  
 shalt become God.

## 13

On the thirteenth day they who repeat *the name* of the  
 Inaccessible escape *transmigration* ;  
 Know that God is equally diffused below and above.  
 God is neither low nor high, in Him is neither honour nor  
 dishonour ;  
 He is equally contained in all things.

## 14

On the fourteenth day *remember that God* filleth the  
 fourteen worlds,  
 And that He dwelleth in every hair of man's body.  
 Meditate on truth and patience,  
 And recite the legend of divine knowledge.

## 15

On the day of the full moon the moon is full in the heavens  
 And there is gentle light *diffused* from its beams.<sup>1</sup>  
 God is firmly fixed in the beginning, the middle, and the  
 end *of all things*.  
 Kabir is absorbed in the ocean of happiness.

## KABIR'S WEEK DAYS

Sing God's praises all the days *of the week* :  
 On meeting the guru thou shalt obtain God's secret.

## I

On Sunday begin *God's* service,  
 Restrain the desires in the temple of thy body.  
 Let man day and night keep *his attention* on the Infrangible  
 One,  
 And the lute shall tranquilly play spontaneous music.

<sup>1</sup> Also translated—divisions. The Hindus divide the moon into sixteen sections. During the full moon the whole sixteen sections are seen. *Solah kala sampūran*—It is complete in its sixteen divisions. The same expression is applied to men of eminent virtue and goodness.

## 2

On Monday nectar trickleth from the moon ;<sup>1</sup>  
 When tasted, it is a speedy antidote to all poison ;  
 He who drinketh it shall become intoxicated.  
 Let thy mouth remain closed *to idle converse*.<sup>2</sup>

## 3

On Tuesday learn what thou really art ;  
 Know how to guard against thine evil passions.<sup>3</sup>  
 Leave not the God who is in thine own home<sup>4</sup> to wander  
*abroad* ;  
 If thou do, He will be exceeding wroth.

## 4

On Wednesday let man enlighten his understanding,  
 So that God's dwelling may be in the lotus of his heart.  
 Let him, on meeting his guru, consider both his soul and  
 God as the same,  
 And set erect the inverted lotus of his heart.<sup>5</sup>

## 5

On Thursday let him throw his evil passions into the  
 river,  
 And consider the three gods *of the Hindus* the same.<sup>6</sup>  
 Why doth he not day and night wash away his sins  
 At the junction where the three rivers<sup>7</sup> meet ?

## 6

On Friday by the practice of endurance man shall attain  
 his object.

<sup>1</sup> That is, from the guru.

<sup>2</sup> Literally—let the door of thy speech be locked up.

<sup>3</sup> Literally—know the way of the five thieves, that is, the way by which they approach. <sup>4</sup> Heart.

<sup>5</sup> Inverted owing to its devotion to the world.

<sup>6</sup> Being, as the great God's creatures, equally impotent for good or evil.

<sup>7</sup> The ira, pingla, and sukhmana, i. e. by the practice of Jog.

By struggling with himself daily,  
And carefully restraining all his five senses,  
He shall never fall into duality.

## 7

On Saturday if man keep strong within him  
The wick of God's light which shineth in his heart,  
He shall be illumined without and within,  
And all his sins shall be erased.

## 8

Know that as long as man hath duality in his heart,  
He shall not attain God's court.  
Let him love the omnipresent God,  
And then, saith Kabir, his heart shall be pure.

## ASA

The first three lines of the following were addressed by Kabir to his guru Ramanand. The remainder of the hymn contains Ramanand's replies and instruction.

## I

Touching my guru's feet I bow and ask him why the soul was made,

Why man was born and why he shall perish—tell and explain to me.

O divine one, show mercy to me and put me in the way of escaping from worldly entanglements and the fear of *transmigration*.

The pain of transmigration resulteth from deeds done, and happiness cometh when the soul is released from it.

Man bursteth not the entanglements of worldly love, and *therefore* is not absorbed in God.

He knoweth nothing of the rank of nirvan, and so his fears are not dispelled.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Also translated—He is not without fear and hath erred.

The soul is not born, though men think it is ; it is free from birth and death.<sup>1</sup>

When the idea of birth and death<sup>2</sup> departeth from man's mind, he shall for ever be absorbed in God.

As the reflection of *an object* in a vessel of water blendeth with the object when the vessel is broken,

So, saith Kabir, through virtue doubts flee away, and the soul is absorbed in God.<sup>3</sup>

The following is a satire on the Brahmans of Banaras :—

## II

They wear loin-cloths three and a half yards long and sacrificial threads of three strands ;

They carry rosaries on their necks and glittering *brass* utensils in their hands ;

They should not be called saints of God, *but* cheats of Banaras—

Such saints are not pleasing to me—

They gulp down trees with their branches ;

They scrub their vessels, and put them on fires whose wood hath been washed ;<sup>4</sup>

They dig up the earth, make two fire-places,<sup>5</sup> and eat up men whole !

Those sinners ever wander in evil deeds, yet they call themselves Aparas.

Ever and ever they wander about in their pride and ruin all their families.

Man is attached to what *God* hath attached him, and his acts correspond.

<sup>1</sup> This line is also translated—The guru's words make no impression on him, he thinketh his own ideas best, he hath no love for God and no hate for Maya.

<sup>2</sup> Literally—the rising and the setting of the sun. This phrase is also translated—when the feeling of joy and sorrow is dispelled.

<sup>3</sup> Kabir means that the soul is the reflection of God, and blends with Him when the vessel of the body is broken.

<sup>4</sup> So that impurities in the wood may not remain.

<sup>5</sup> One for their bread and another for their lentils. Some strict Hindus suppose that a fireplace once used is unclean.



Saith Kabir, he who meeteth the true guru shall not be born again.

Thanksgiving to God the father.

### III

The Father gave me *this* consolation—  
He *made* me a comfortable bed and put ambrosia into my mouth.

Why should I forget that Father ?  
When I go to the next world I shall not lose my game.<sup>1</sup>  
My mother<sup>2</sup> is dead, and I am quite happy.  
I do not put on a beggar's coat ; I feel not the frost.  
I am a sacrifice to that Father who begot me,  
Who put an end to my companionship with the five  
*deadly sins*,

Who enabled me to subdue, and trample on them.  
When I remember God, my soul and body are happy.  
My Father is the great Lord of the earth.

To that Father how shall I go ?

When I met the true guru, he showed me the way—  
The Father of the world then became dear to my mind ;  
I am Thy son, Thou art my Father ;  
We both live in the same place.

Saith Kabir, *God's* slave knoweth the one *God* ;  
By the guru's favour I know everything.

The central idea of the following is the worship of Maya. She is represented in a hideous and repulsive guise, her nose having been cut off for her infidelity. The first two lines of the hymn describe Tantric ceremonies.

### IV

Into one vessel they put a slaughtered cock, and another they fill with liquor.

Five Jogis sit round, and the noseless queen in the midst.  
The bell of the noseless one resoundeth in both worlds ;  
But some discriminating person cut off thy *nose*, *O Maya*.

<sup>1</sup> If I remember God.

<sup>2</sup> Māya, or worldly love.

The noseless one hath her dwelling everywhere ; she killeth every one and looketh out for more.

‘ I am,’ saith she, ‘ the sister and niece of all ;<sup>1</sup> I am the handmaiden of him who weddeth me.<sup>2</sup>

My husband is very wise and calleth himself a saint.<sup>3</sup>

He standeth continually over me ; no one else cometh near me.’

It was I, saith Kabir, who cut off her nose and her ears, and assaulted and expelled her,

*Because*, though dear to the three worlds, she was an enemy of the saints.

All must die at last ; God’s name is their only salvation.

## V

Jogis, celibates, penitents, anchorets, they who wander on many pilgrimages,

They who pluck out and shave their hair, they who practise silence, and they who wear matted locks, must all die at last ;

Wherefore worship God.

What can the Jamna do for those whose tongues love God’s name ?<sup>4</sup>

They who know the Shastars, the Veds, astrology, and various languages,

Who know written and spoken incantations, and all medical science, must die at last.

They who enjoy empires, umbrellas, thrones, many beautiful women,

Betel, camphor, and highly fragrant sandal, must die at last.

The Veds, Purans, and Simritis I have all searched, but there is no salvation anywhere *in them*.

Saith Kabir, so repeat God’s name that transmigration may be at an end.

<sup>1</sup> Every one treats me well and cherishes me.

<sup>2</sup> I serve him who controls me.

<sup>3</sup> It is only the saint who can control her.

<sup>4</sup> The river *Jamna* is a place of pilgrimage. It is supposed that death cannot molest those who bathe in it.

Kabir was asked whether the world was real or unreal. The following hymn was his reply. His meaning is that the world is unreal like the impossibilities mentioned.

## VI

Can an elephant be a rebeck-player, or an ox a drummer ?  
can a raven play the cymbals ?

Can an ass put on a dancer's skirt and dance ? Can  
a buffalo perform worship ?

Can Raja Ram<sup>1</sup> cook cakes of ice ?

Can any man in his senses eat them ?

Can a lion seated in his den prepare betel ? Can a mammoth rat serve it when made up ?

Can a mouse sing a song of rejoicing from house to house ?  
Can a tortoise blow a shell ?

Can a barren woman's son go to wed, and build a mansion  
in the sky ?

Can he marry a fair and beautiful virgin ? Can the hare  
and the lion sing their eulogies ?

Saith Kabir, hear, O saints, hath an ant eaten a mountain ?

Can the tortoise say, 'I want fire' ? Can the gnat proclaim God's word ?<sup>2</sup>

The following was addressed to a Jogi who maintained the superiority of his sect and the advantages of its external accessories.

## VII

I have one wallet which containeth seventy-two *chambers*  
and one door.<sup>3</sup>

In the whole world he *alone* is a Jogi

Who craveth *for God* in the earth containing nine regions.<sup>4</sup>

That Jogi shall obtain the nine treasures

<sup>1</sup> An eminent confectioner of Kabir's time.

<sup>2</sup> Some begin with 'The son of a barren woman went to wed' and make the animals mentioned the marriage procession, putting the whole in narrative form.

<sup>3</sup> The seventy-two chambers of the body and the brain or tenth gate.

<sup>4</sup> In the body containing nine gates.

Who lifteth his soul from below to heaven,  
 Who maketh divine knowledge his patched coat, meditation his needle,

Who twisteth the thread of the Word and putteth it therein,

Who maketh the five elements his deer-skin *jacket*, and walketh in the way of his guru,

Who maketh mercy his fire-shovel, his body his fire-wood, and applieth to it the light of knowledge,<sup>1</sup>

Who loveth God within his heart, and ever sitteth in the attitude of contemplation.

All the Jogi's craft consisteth in the name of God, to whom belong the body and soul.

Saith Kabir, if *God* be merciful, He will give man a true mark.<sup>2</sup>

Trust to God alone and not to thy relations.

## IX

As long as the oil and the wick<sup>3</sup> are in the lamp, everything is visible ;

When the oil is spent, and the wick goeth out, the chamber is dark.

O madman, *when thy lamp is out*, no one will keep thee even for a ghari,

Therefore repeat the name of God.

Who hath a mother ? who hath a father ? what man hath a wife ?

When the vessel bursteth,<sup>4</sup> no one asketh about thee ; it is all ' Take him out ! Take him out ! '

Thy mother sitteth and weepeth on the threshold, thy brother taketh away thy bier.

Thy wife openeth the plaits of her hair and weepeth ; the soul departeth alone.

Saith Kabir, hear, ye saints, regarding this terrible ocean.

The slave man suffereth torture, and the lord of death retireth not from him, O God.

<sup>1</sup> The power of knowing the reality of things seen.

<sup>2</sup> Mark him off for salvation.

<sup>3</sup> The oil and wick mean life and breath.

<sup>4</sup> When thou diest.



The body under the allegory of a churn from which salvation is obtained through the Word.

## X

Sanak and Sanand, *sons of Brahma*, never found *God's* limits.

*Nor did* Brahma himself *though* he spent his life reading the Veds.

Churn God's churn,<sup>1</sup> my brethren.

Gently churn it that the butter may not be lost.<sup>2</sup>

Make thy body the churn, thy heart the churning-staff ;

Into the churn *put* the Word *instead of milk* ;

Make hearty meditation on God thy churning.

Pour the guru's favour into it as thy cold water.

Saith Kabir, he on whom the King looketh with favour,

And who clingeth to His name, shall gain the shore.

When the deadly sins are subdued man arrives at a knowledge of the one God and obtains salvation.

## XI

When the wick *of pride* is dry and the oil *of worldly love* is spent ;

When the drum *of boasting* is not heard, and the mind<sup>3</sup> is fast asleep,

When the fire *of avarice* is out, and the smoke *of desires* no longer issueth,

*Then shall man know* that one God is everywhere contained, and that there is no second.

When the strings are broken, the rebeck no longer playeth,<sup>4</sup>—

Man hath ruined his affairs by error—

When man obtaineth understanding he shall forget

Preaching, ranting, arguing, and intoning.

Saith Kabir, the highest dignity shall not be far from those

Who crush their deadly sins.

<sup>1</sup> Meditate upon divine knowledge.

<sup>2</sup> Rapid churning is believed to spoil butter.

<sup>3</sup> *Nat*, literally—the acrobat.

<sup>4</sup> When desires are at an end, man obtains deliverance.

If Kabir commits sin he hopes that God will pardon him as a mother pardons her child, when he prays for forgiveness.

## XII

A mother beareth not in mind  
All the faults her son committeth.  
O God, I am Thy child ;  
Why destroyest Thou not my demerits ? <sup>1</sup>  
If a son in great anger rush at *his mother*,  
Even then she beareth it not in mind.  
Since I have fallen into the prison of anxiety,  
How shall I be saved without *God's* name ?  
*O God*, ever cleanse my mind and body,  
And Kabir will tranquilly sing Thy praises.

## XIII

My pilgrimage is to the bank of the Gomti,  
Where dwelleth the yellow-robed priest.<sup>3</sup>  
Bravo ! bravo ! how sweetly he singeth  
God's name delighteth my soul ;  
Narad and Saraswati wait on him,  
And near him sits lady Lakshmi as his handmaiden.  
With my rosary on my neck and God on my tongue  
I repeat His thousand names and salute Him.  
Saith Kabir, I sing God's praises,  
And instruct both Hindus and Musalmans.

Kabir deprecated the destruction of life in any form for idol worship.

## XIV

Thou cuttest leaves, O flower-girl ; in every leaf there is life.

The stone for which thou gatherest the leaves is lifeless.  
Thou art in error, O flower-girl, in this ;  
The true Guru is a living God.

<sup>1</sup> Why dost Thou not pardon my sins ?

<sup>2</sup> This apparently is not the river which flows by Lakhnau (Lucknow).  
<sup>3</sup> Krishan.

Brahma is in the leaves, Vishnu in the branches, and Shiv in the flowers.

Thou destroyest three gods in our presence ; whom dost thou worship ?

The *sculptor* carving the stone turned it into an idol ; and, *in doing so*, put his foot upon its breast.

If it were a real God, it would have destroyed him.

Men cook rice, dal, lapasi, pancakes, kasar ;<sup>1</sup>

The Brahman feasters feast on these things, and put ashes into the idol's mouth.

The flower-girl is in error, and leadeth the world astray, but I go not astray.

Saith Kabir, God hath mercifully preserved me from error.

The stages of man.

### XV

Twelve years pass away in childhood ; man performeth no penance even to the age of twenty ;

Until thirty he worshippeth not God ; he repenteth when old age cometh upon him.

His life hath passed in talking about his property ;

His arms strong as the sea have dried up.

He with his own hands constructeth a fence for a tank that hath dried up and a hedge for a reaped field.

When the thief cometh, he quickly taketh what the fool hath preserved as his own.

When the feet, head, and hands begin to totter,

And water floweth copiously from the eyes ;

When words come indistinctly from the tongue,

Dost thou then, sir, hope to perform religious *works* ?

If God be merciful and thou love Him, thou shalt obtain His name as thy profit.

By the favour of the guru thou shalt obtain the wealth of God,<sup>2</sup>

Which shall go with thee as thou departest.

Saith Kabir, hear, O ye good people, ye shall not take other wealth with you ;

<sup>1</sup> *Lāpasi* and *kāsār* are both made from clarified butter, flour, and sugar, but the former is made liquid by the addition of water. They are both Oriental puddings.

<sup>2</sup> God's name.

When the Supreme God's summons cometh, ye shall depart leaving your wealth and homes.

The inequality of life due to man's own acts and not to God's caprice.

## XVI

To one man God hath given silks and satins and a niwar bed,<sup>1</sup>

Others have not even a ragged coat or straw in their houses *to lie on*.

Indulge not in envy and bickering, O my soul,

Do good deeds and gain *their reward*.

Out of the same earth the potter mouldeth *vessels*, but painteth different designs on them ;

Into one vessel is put strings of pearls, and into another *filth*.

God gave the miser wealth to keep, *but* the blockhead calleth it his own.

When Death's mace toucheth his head, it shall be decided in a moment *whose wealth it is*.

God's slave is the highest saint ; he obeyeth God's order and obtaineth happiness.

He accepteth as true what pleaseth God, and God's will he treasureth in his heart.

Saith Kabir, hear, O good people, *to call things* one's own is untrue ;

*Death*, breaking the cage, taketh away the bird ;<sup>2</sup> its wires and strings<sup>3</sup> are then relaxed.

The following is a remonstrance to a Qazi who desired that Kabir should perform the usual Muhammadan fasts and ceremonies :—

## XVII

I am God's poor slave, royal state is pleasing to thee ;

The Supreme God, the Lord of religions, never ordained tyranny.

<sup>1</sup> A niwār bed is one whose bottom is of broad cotton tape instead of the grass rope used by the poorer classes.

<sup>2</sup> That is, the soul.

<sup>3</sup> Also translated—The cups for the bird's food and water, that is, man leaves his possessions including his food and drink behind him.



O Qazi, nothing is done by *mere* talk ;

It is not by fasting and repeating prayers and the creed  
that one goeth to heaven.

The inner veil of the temple of Makka is in man's heart,  
if *the truth* be known.

Just decisions should be thy prayers, knowledge of God,  
the inscrutable One, thy creed,

The subjugation of thine evil passions the spreading of the  
prayer-carpet ; then shouldst thou know what religion is.

Recognize thy Master and fear Him in thy heart ; despise  
and destroy thy mental pride.<sup>1</sup>

As thou deemest thyself so deem others, then shalt thou  
become a partner in heaven.

Matter is one but hath assumed divers shapes ; in the  
midst of all recognize God.

Saith Kabir, thou hast abandoned heaven and attached  
thyself to hell.

The following was composed on the occasion of  
Kabir's visit to the house of a Jogi friend whom he  
found dead :—

### XVIII

Not a drop now trickleth from the citadel of thy brain—  
where is the music that filled it ?

The great saint hath departed with *the name of* the supreme  
Brahm, the supreme God.

O father, whither hath departed the soul which dwelt  
with thy body,

Which revelled in divine knowledge, expounded, and  
preached ?

Whither hath the player gone who played the drum of  
*thy body* ? <sup>2</sup>

Thy tales, thy words, thy divine instruction, are no *longer*  
heard ; all thy vital energy hath been drawn away.

Thine ears have become deaf, the vigour of thine organs  
hath declined ;

Thy feet have failed, thy hands are relaxed, no word  
issueth from thy lips ;

<sup>1</sup> Also translated—Despise thy lust and pride.

<sup>2</sup> Where is now the life of thy body ?

The five enemies,<sup>1</sup> robbers all, which wander according to their own will have grown weary ;

The elephant,<sup>2</sup> thy mind, hath grown weary ; the heart which beat by the force of *thy soul*, the wire-puller, hath grown weary ;

Thou art dead ; the ten *breaths* which kept thee together have escaped ; thou hast left thy friends and relations.

Saith Kabir, he who meditateth on God bursteth his bonds even while alive.

Mammon under the guise of a serpent.

### XIX

Nothing is potent against the serpent

Which deceived Brahma, Vishnu, and Shiv.

The serpent having completely subdued *the world* hath entered pure water.<sup>3</sup>

By the guru's favour I have seen her *coming* who hath stung the three worlds, *and guarded myself against her*.

O my brethren, why call out 'Serpent, serpent' ?

He who knoweth the True One hath destroyed the serpent ;

No one else is free *from her attack*.<sup>4</sup>

When the serpent is vanquished what can Death do to *man* ?

This serpent is God's creature ;

She is weak, what can she do ?

As long, however, as she abideth *with man*, *his soul* shall abide in bodies ;<sup>5</sup>

By the favour of the guru Kabir hath easily escaped from her.

'Throw not pearls before swine.'

### XX

What *avaieth it* to read the Simritis to a dog ?

What to sing God's praises to an infidel ?

<sup>1</sup> The five evil passions.

<sup>2</sup> The mind is likened to an elephant for it heedlessly pursues pleasures as the male elephant the female.

<sup>3</sup> Has found access even to the holy.

<sup>4</sup> Also translated—There is no other creature so vile as she.

<sup>5</sup> He shall suffer transmigration.

Continue to repeat God's name ;  
 Speak not to the infidel even by mistake.

What availeth it to give a raven *valuable* camphor to eat ? <sup>1</sup>

What to give milk to a viper ? <sup>2</sup>

Discrimination and understanding are obtained in the company of the saints.

By the touch of the philosopher's stone iron becometh gold.

The dog of an infidel acteth in everything as he is caused to act ;

His acts are in accordance with his original destiny.

Wert thou to take nectar and water the nim-tree with it,  
 Saith Kabir, its natural *bitter* qualities would not depart.

Worldly greatness secures not salvation.

## XXI

There is no trace of Rawan or his line,  
 Though Ceylon was his fortress and the ocean its moat.

What shall I pray for ? nothing remaineth stable ;

While I look on, the world passeth away.

Though Rawan had a lakh of sons and a lakh and a quarter of grandsons,

Yet at last he had neither lamp nor wick in his house.

The sun and moon used to heat his kitchen,<sup>3</sup> the fire to wash his clothes.<sup>4</sup>

He who through the guru's instruction putteth God's name *in his heart*,

Shall remain permanent and be released from transmigration.<sup>5</sup>

Saith Kabir, hear, O ye people,<sup>6</sup>

Without the name of God there is no salvation.

<sup>1</sup> He will still rejoice in filth.

<sup>2</sup> It will only become the more venomous after nourishment.

<sup>3</sup> That is, to cook his food.

<sup>4</sup> So potent was he over the heavenly bodies and the elements, that he subjugated them to his private purposes.

<sup>5</sup> Literally—and go nowhere.

<sup>6</sup> Loi. This word means people, but it was also the name of Kabir's wife.

A mystical hymn with its interpretation.

## XXII

Hear these wonderful things, my brethren—

First a son <sup>1</sup> *was born*, and afterwards his mother ; <sup>2</sup>

The guru <sup>3</sup> worshipped his disciple's <sup>4</sup> feet ;

I have seen a lion <sup>5</sup> herding kine ; <sup>6</sup>

A fish <sup>7</sup> out of water give birth upon a tree ; <sup>8</sup>

I have seen a cat <sup>9</sup> taking away a dog ; <sup>10</sup>

The branches *of a tree* <sup>11</sup> below, its roots <sup>12</sup> above ;

And its trunk bearing fruit <sup>13</sup> and blossom ; <sup>14</sup>

A buffalo <sup>15</sup> on horseback going to graze a horse ; <sup>16</sup>

An ox <sup>17</sup> on his way *while* his burden <sup>18</sup> arrived at home  
*before him.*

Saith Kabir, he who understandeth this hymn,

Shall know everything on repeating God's *name*.

The soul's toil to obtain a human body shall all  
be lost if God be not remembered.

## XXIII

God maketh the body from seed and placeth it in the pit  
of fire ;

For ten months He keepeth it in the mother's womb ;  
worldly love attacheth to it on emerging.

O mortal, why attaching thyself to covetousness lovest  
thou the jewel of thy life ?

In former births thou didst not sow the seed in this  
world :

From childhood thou hast grown to old age ; what was  
to be hath been.

<sup>1</sup> Purity.

<sup>2</sup> Maya.

<sup>3</sup> Soul.

<sup>4</sup> Heart or mind.

<sup>5</sup> Conscience.

<sup>6</sup> The organs of action and perception.

<sup>7</sup> Understanding.

<sup>8</sup> To the company of the saints.

<sup>9</sup> Contentment.

<sup>10</sup> Greed.

<sup>11</sup> Worldly-desires.

<sup>12</sup> Meditation on God.

<sup>13</sup> Salvation.

<sup>14</sup> Worship.

<sup>15</sup> Endurance.

<sup>16</sup> Fickleness.

<sup>17</sup> Laziness.

<sup>18</sup> Good works.



When Death cometh and catcheth thee by the top-lock,<sup>1</sup>  
why then weep ?

Thou hopest for *longer* life, while he waiteth for thy *last*  
breath—

The world is a game, O Kabir, carefully throw the dice.<sup>2</sup>

Kabir was invited to a marriage feast. He said his own marriage was being celebrated, and he could not go elsewhere. The following is a description of it.

## XXIV

I turned my body into a dyer's vat and then dyed my heart therein ;<sup>3</sup> the five virtues<sup>4</sup> I made my marriage guests ;

With God I made my marriage circumambulations,<sup>5</sup> my soul being dyed with His *love*.

Sing, sing, ye brideswomen, the marriage song :

The sovereign God hath come to my house as my husband.

I made the bridal pavilion<sup>6</sup> in the lotus of my heart, and divine knowledge the recitation<sup>7</sup> of my lineage ;

I obtained God as my bridegroom ; so great hath been my good fortune.

Demigods, men, saints, and the thirty-three karors of gods in their chariots came as spectators

Saith Kabir, the one God, the divine Male, hath wed and taken me with Him.

<sup>1</sup> A lock of hair left unshaven on the top of a Hindu's head.

<sup>2</sup> Also translated—Make recollection of God thy throw of the dice.

<sup>3</sup> Kabir represents himself as a bride and God the bridegroom. It is usual on occasions of marriage for people to have their clothes dyed.

<sup>4</sup> The word *panchon* is also translated the elect.

<sup>5</sup> The Hindu bridegroom and bride circumambulate fire, in some places seven times and in other places four times, on the occasion of a marriage.

<sup>6</sup> Four posts are erected to denote the mind, understanding, thought, and pride. The posts support a cloth covering, beneath which the very youthful Indian brides and bridegrooms are married.

<sup>7</sup> *Uchār* now called *gotrāchār*, a panegyric on the families of the bride and bridegroom intoned by the ministering Brāhmins. The word is also translated—the repetition of the Vedic sloks for marriage.

In the following again Kabir represents himself as a wedded woman :—

## XXV

I am plagued by my mother-in-law,<sup>1</sup> beloved by my father-in-law ;<sup>2</sup> I dread the *very* name of my husband's eldest brother.<sup>3</sup>

O my friends and companions, my husband's sister<sup>4</sup> hath seized me, and I burn by separation from my husband's youngest brother.<sup>5</sup>

My mind hath become insane since I have forgotten God ; how can I abide ?

I behold not with mine eyes Him who enjoyeth me on the couch ; to whom shall I tell my sorrow ?

My step-father quarrelleth *with me* ; my mother is ever intoxicated ;<sup>6</sup>

As long as I remained with my elder brother<sup>7</sup> I was dear to my Spouse.

Saith Kabir, I have lost my life struggling with the five evil passions—

Deceitful Maya hath led captive the whole world, *but* I have obtained immunity by repeating God's name.

Mammon a thieving courtesan.

## XXVII

Worldly life is like a dream,

*But*, believing the world to be real, I attached myself to it, and abandoned the Supreme Treasure.

O father, I made love to the *courtesan* mammon,

And she stole from me the jewel of divine knowledge.

With its eyes open the moth becometh entangled ; the insect regardeth not the flame ;

<sup>1</sup> Māya.

<sup>2</sup> God.

<sup>3</sup> The god of death.

<sup>4</sup> Evil thought.

<sup>5</sup> Discrimination.

<sup>6</sup> Step-father here means the body, and the mother is selfishness. *Bāp sāvaka* is also translated—my former heart, that is, when I was unregenerate.

<sup>7</sup> God's love. Some understand contentment ; others, divine knowledge.

So, stupid *man* attached to gold and women heedeth not Death's noose.

Reflect, abandon sin ; and God will save thee.

Saith Kabir, such is the Life of the world ; He hath no equal.

Kabir has found God and put an end to his transmigration.

## XXVIII

Though I have assumed many shapes, this is my last.<sup>1</sup>

The strings and wires of the musical instrument are all worn out ; I am now in the power of God's name ;

I shall not have again to dance *to the tune of birth and death* ;

Nor shall my heart accompany on the drum.<sup>2</sup>

I have taken and destroyed my bodily lust and anger ; the pitcher of avarice hath burst ;

Lust's raiment hath grown old, and all my doubts are dispelled.

I recognize one God in all creatures ; vain wranglings *on this subject* are at an end.

Saith Kabir, when God was gracious unto me, I obtained Him, the Perfect One.

The following was addressed to a Qazi :—

## XXIX

Thou fastest to appease God, yet thou destroyest life to please thy palate.<sup>3</sup>

Thou regardest not others as thou dost thyself ; why pratest thou ?

O Qazi, thy one God is in thee, but thou beholdest Him not by thought and reflection.

Mad on religion, thou heedest not, wherefore thy life is of no account.

<sup>1</sup> I have had many births, but I shall not be born again.

<sup>2</sup> At a *nāch*, or Oriental dance, the performers are the musicians, the female singers and dancers, and the drummers.

<sup>3</sup> On the first day after the lent of Ramzān, the Muhammadans offer a sacrifice to God. Here Kabir hints that the sacrifice is made to please their palates, not to please God.

Thy books tell thee that God is true, and that He is neither male nor female ;

Thou gainest nothing by thy reading and study, O mad-man, since thou regardest Him not at heart :

God is concealed in every heart ; reflect on this in thy mind.

Kabir loudly proclaimeth—there is the same God for the Hindu as for the Muhammadan.

God becomes not propitious by the mere wearing of religious garbs.

## XXX

I decorated myself to meet my *Spouse*,  
But God the Life and Lord of the world met me not.

God is my husband, I am his wife ;

He is big ; I am little.

The wife and her husband dwell together, but to cohabit is difficult.

Blessed the woman who is pleasing to her husband ;

Saith Kabir, she shall not be born again.

God under the allegory of a diamond.

## XXXI

When the soul meeteth God,<sup>1</sup> the *once* fickle mind is easily absorbed in Him.

This diamond God filleth everything with light ; I have found this by the instruction of the true guru—

The praise of God were an endless story—

When a man becometh perfect he recognizeth the Diamond.

Saith Kabir, I have seen such a Diamond as filleth the world with its light ;

The concealed Diamond became manifest ; when I met the guru he showed it to me.

In the following allegory Kabir refers to his early

<sup>1</sup> Literally—when a diamond pierceth a diamond. There are several interpretations of this line.



understanding as his first wife and to his conversion as his second wife :—

## XXXII

My first wife was ugly, of low caste, and bad character, evil both in her father's house and mine.

My present wife is handsome, sensible, of good character ; I naturally took her to my heart.

It turned out well that my first wife departed ;

May she whom I have now taken live for ever !

Saith Kabir, when the young wife came I ceased to cohabit with the old one ;

The young wife is with me now, the elder hath taken another husband.

Kabir's mother addresses him in the first four lines of the following hymn. Kabir was married to Dhania. The holy men who frequented the house called her Ramjania, or worshipper of God. But the name is also applied to courtesans dedicated to idols, and it was consequently offensive to Kabir's mother. She also complains that Kabir had devoted himself to religion and neglected his business :—

## XXXIII

My daughter-in-law was called Dhania ;

They have *now* given her the name of Ramjania.

These shaven fellows have ruined my family ;

They have set my son uttering the name of God.

Saith Kabir, hear, O my mother,

These shaven men have done away with my caste.<sup>1</sup>

The following is a lecture against the veiling of women. It was addressed to the second wife of Kamal, Kabir's son :—

## XXXIV

Stay, stay, my daughter-in-law, veil not thy face ;

At the last moment it will not avail thee the eighth of a paisa.

<sup>1</sup> That is, I am no longer known as a weaver, but a worshipper of God.

She who preceded thee used to veil her face ;  
 Follow not thou in her footsteps.  
 The only advantage of veiling thy face is  
 That for five or ten days *people will say* a good daughter-  
 in-law hath come.

Thy veil will *only* be real  
 If thou sing God's praises and skip and dance *in His*  
*service.*

Saith Kabir, O daughter-in-law, thou shalt be victorious <sup>1</sup>  
 When thou passest thy life in singing God's praises.

Kabir's wife Loi refused to prepare a meal for  
 a holy visitor, upon which Kabir manifested his  
 displeasure. The following hymn except the last  
 two lines is Loi's pleading for forgiveness :—

## XXXV

Better would it be *to be cut in twain* with the saw than  
 that thou shouldst turn thy back on me.

Hear my entreaty and embrace me ;  
 I am a sacrifice unto thee ; turn thy face towards me, my  
 beloved.

Why killest thou me by turning thy back on me ?  
 Even though thou cut my body I will not turn it away  
*from thee ;* <sup>2</sup>

My body may perish, but I will not cease to love thee.  
 There hath been no quarrel between thee and me ;  
 Thou art the same good husband and I the same wife  
*as before.*

Saith Kabir, hear, O Loi,  
 I shall believe in thee no longer.

The following was Kabir's reply to a Brahman  
 who had advised him to bathe in the sacred rivers  
 of the Hindus.

## XXXVII

He who is foul within will not go to heaven by bathing  
 at a place of pilgrimage :

<sup>1</sup> Thou shalt obtain salvation.

<sup>2</sup> Also translated—I will not wince.

Nothing is gained by pleasing men ;<sup>1</sup> God is not a simpleton.

Worship the Lord, the only God ;  
Serving the guru is the true ablution.

If salvation be obtained by bathing in water, the frogs which are continually bathing *will obtain it* ;

*But* as the frogs so the pilgrims ; they shall be born again and again.

If a hardened sinner die in Banaras, he cannot escape hell.

If a saint of God die in Haramba,<sup>2</sup> he saveth a whole multitude.

Where there is neither day nor night, Veds nor Shastars, there dwelleth the Formless One.

Saith Kabir, meditate on Him, ye foolish denizens of the world.

#### GUJARI

The following was addressed to a Brahman who Kabir supposed would be turned into an ox for his idleness and gluttony. The Hindus believe that they who live on others' wealth without any exertion on their own parts will become oxen, in which condition they will have to labour and suffer for their idleness in human lives.

#### I

With four legs, two horns, and a dumb mouth, how wilt thou sing *God's* praises ?

Standing or lying down the stick will fall on thee ; then where wilt thou hide thy head ?

Without God thou shalt become somebody<sup>3</sup> else's bullock ;

Thy nose shall be torn, thy shoulders maimed, and thou shalt eat worthless straw ;

All day shalt thou wander in the forest, but even then thy belly shall not be satisfied.

<sup>1</sup> That is, by deferring to custom.

<sup>2</sup> Previously called Magahar.

<sup>3</sup> Thou shalt be lent to somebody who will treat thee badly, and not as he would treat his own.

Thou didst not listen to the advice of holy men, and thou shalt suffer for thine omissions.

Overwhelmed with great superstition thou shalt endure hardship, and wander in many births.

Thou hast lost thy precious life by forgetting God ; when wilt thou *again* have such an opportunity ?

Thou shalt turn and revolve like an oilman's bullock <sup>1</sup> round his press, and restless shalt thou pass the night.

Saith Kabir, for not having repeated God's name thou shalt smite thy head and repent.

Kabir's mother was distressed at his conduct in relinquishing his trade and adopting a religious life. The following is a conversation between the mother and son on the subject.

## II

Kabir's mother sobbeth and weepeth—

O God, how shall these children live ? <sup>2</sup>

Kabir hath given up all his weaving,

And hath inscribed God's name on his body.

*Kabir replieth—*

While the thread was passing through the bobbin

I forgot my Beloved God.<sup>3</sup>

My understanding is mean, my caste is that of weaver ;

I have gained the name of God as my profit.

Saith Kabir, hear, O my mother,

The one God will provide for us and them.

## SORATH

All are lost without devotion.

## I

The Hindus kill themselves worshipping idols, the Musal-  
mans make prostrations ;

The former are burned, the latter buried ; but neither  
sect knoweth anything of Thee, *O God*.

<sup>1</sup> Also translated—Like a monkey after red seeds.

<sup>2</sup> How shall Kabir's children be maintained ?

<sup>3</sup> Kabir means that even that was too long a time for him to abstain from repeating God's name, and so he gave up weaving.



O my soul, the world is stark blind ;

On all sides Death's noose is thrown, *but men see it not.*

Poets kill themselves reciting verses ; the Kaparis kill themselves going to Kedarnath ;

Jogis kill themselves wearing matted hair ; but they know nothing of Thee, *O God.*

Kings kill themselves amassing wealth and burying masses of gold ;

Pandits kill themselves reading the Veds, and women in gazing on their beauty—

Without the name of God all these are lost ; think and ponder upon this, O man.

Without the name of God who hath obtained salvation ? Kabir giveth his admonition.

The body is frail, yet it attaches itself to worldly things which desert it.

## II

When the body is burnt, it becometh ashes ; when it is not burnt, a host of worms eat it up.

A soft clay vessel *will break* when water is put into it—such is the nature of the body.

Why, O brother, goest thou about puffing and blowing thyself out ?

How hast thou forgotten the ten months thou didst remain inverted in the womb ?

As the bee collecteth honey with great zest, so the fool collecteth wealth.

When a man is dead, they say ' Take him away ! take him away !

' Why allow a ghost to remain ? '

His wedded wife accompanieth him to the door, and after that his male friends.

All the *other* members of his family go as far as the cremation-ground ; the soul departeth alone.

Saith Kabir, hear, O mortals, they who have entangled themselves with the deceitful world,

Are seized by Death, and *fall into* the pit like the parrot deceived by the trap.

None may escape physical death, but it brings salvation to the holy.

## III

Man hearing all the instructions of the Veds and the Purans, desireth to perform religious ceremonies *to overcome death*.

Death hath seized all people, *even* the wise ; the pandits too depart without hope.

O man, thou hast not succeeded in thy sole object <sup>1</sup>

Since thou hast not worshipped the supreme God.

Men have gone to the forests, practised jog, performed austerities, and lived on the tubers and roots they picked up.

The Nadis,<sup>2</sup> the readers of the Veds, the Ekshabdis, and the Monis<sup>3</sup> are all enrolled in Death's register.

Loving service<sup>4</sup> entereth not into *man's* heart ; he pampereth his body and giveth it *to Death* ;

He hypocritically *singeth* hymns, but what can he obtain from God ?

Death hath fallen on the whole world ; in his *register* the sceptical theologian is recorded.

Saith Kabir, they who know *God's* love and devotion to God are pure.<sup>5</sup>

The holy are completely saturated with God.

## IV

With both mine eyes I look,

*But* I behold nothing save God ;

Mine eyes gaze affectionately *on Him* ;

There is now no other subject mentioned.

My doubts have departed, my fear hath fled

Since I applied my mind to God's name :

When the Actor beateth the drum,

<sup>1</sup> To save thyself in this human birth.

<sup>2</sup> Jogis who go about playing a small pipe.

<sup>3</sup> Men vowed to perpetual silence.

<sup>4</sup> Service such as that performed by Nārad, the famous rikhi.

<sup>5</sup> The Persian word *khulās*, freed or delivered, was here originally written, but the tenth Guru altered its spelling to the Arabic *khālīs*, pure.

Everybody cometh to *see* the show,<sup>1</sup>  
 When the Actor collecteth the stage properties,<sup>2</sup>  
 He abideth alone in His happiness.  
 Doubts are not dispelled by the use of words ;  
 Everybody continueth to talk.  
 God filleth the heart of him  
 To whom through the guru's instruction He hath revealed  
 Himself.

When the guru bestoweth even a little kindness,  
 Bodies and minds are all absorbed in God.  
 Saith Kabir, I am dyed with the dye of God,  
 And have found the munificent Life of the world.

Man under the allegory of a milkmaid is won by  
 the guru from neglect of God.

## V

*The words of the sacred texts are as seas of milk :*  
 For that ocean let the guru be the churning-staff.  
 Be thou the churner of that milk ;  
 Why shouldst thou be despoiled of thy butter ?  
 O damsel, why makest thou not God thy husband ?  
 He is the life of the world and the support of the soul.  
 The strait collar<sup>3</sup> is on thy neck and chains on thy feet ;  
 God hath sent thee wandering from birth to birth.  
 Thou heedest not even yet, O damsel ;  
 Thou art the wretched victim of Death.  
 It is God who acteth and causeth men to act ;  
 What power hath the poor handmaiden ?  
 The damsel whom God awaketh  
 Attendeth to the duties He assigneth her.  
 O damsel, where hast thou obtained that wisdom  
 By which thou hast erased the line of doubt ?  
 Kabir feeleth great delight,  
 And by his guru's favour his mind is happy.

<sup>1</sup> When God creates the world, men appear.

<sup>2</sup> When God draws the world within Himself.

<sup>3</sup> Connected by a chain with the feet and hindering the recumbent posture.

In reply to an inquiry Kabir describes the happiness he obtained from humility and devotion.

## VI

When He without whom one cannot live  
Is found, man's toil is productive.  
Men call it a good thing to live for ever,  
But there is no life without death.<sup>1</sup>

Where divine knowledge is discussed what more remaineth  
to be said ? <sup>2</sup>

As we look on, the things of *this world* pass away ;  
As men rub and mix saffron and sandal, so *man's soul*  
*is blended with God,*

And thus seeth the world without *bodily* eyes.<sup>3</sup>

*Abandonment of the world* as a father hath begotten *divine*  
*knowledge* as a son.

*Though* placed in an unsubstantial city,<sup>4</sup>

I a beggar have found the Giver.

He hath given me so *much* that I cannot eat it ;

I cannot leave off eating <sup>5</sup> or finish it ;

And I have ceased to go to strangers.

The elect who know life to be death,

Have obtained a mountain of happiness.

Kabir hath obtained that wealth,

And effaced his pride on meeting God.

The lamp of holiness, not the Veds and Purans,  
lights up man's heart.

## VII

What availeth reading, what studying,

What hearing the Veds and Purans ?

What avail reading and listening

If divine knowledge be not obtained ?

<sup>1</sup> Without effacing oneself.

<sup>2</sup> Also translated—*If man efface himself not*, what use discussing divine knowledge ?

<sup>3</sup> Also translated—Men grind and mix saffron and sandal and *waste them by applying them to idols* ;

The world appeareth to have no eyes.

<sup>4</sup> The body.

<sup>5</sup> So dear is God's name to me.



Thou repeatest not the name of God, O ignorant man ;  
 Every moment of what thinkest thou ?  
 A lamp <sup>1</sup> is required in this darkness  
 To find the One Incomprehensible Thing.<sup>2</sup>  
 The lamp hath lit up my heart,  
 And I have found the Incomprehensible Thing.  
 Saith Kabir, I now recognize Him ;  
 And when I recognize Him my mind is happy.  
 People do not believe that my mind is happy ;  
 But even if they do not, of what consequence is it ?

The following was addressed to a hypocritical  
 Brahman who advised Kabir to bathe at Hindu  
 places of pilgrimage.

## VIII

In thy heart is deception, in thy mouth religion ;  
 False man, why churnest thou water ?  
 What advantage is it to bathe the body  
 If there be filth in the heart ?  
 If the gourd be washed at the sixty-eight places of pilgrimage,  
 Even then its bitterness will not depart.  
 Thus saith Kabir deliberately—  
 Cause me to cross over the terrible ocean, O God.

Men should not practise deceit for the advantage  
 of relations.

## IX

With great deceit man acquireth other men's wealth,  
 And taketh it and lavisheth it on his son and wife.  
 O my man, practise not deception even by mistake ;  
 At the last moment it is thine own soul that shall have  
 to render an account.  
 Every moment the body wasteth away and old age  
 warneth thee ;  
 Then no one will pour water into thy hands,  
 Saith Kabir, thou shalt have no *friend* then ;  
 Why not repeat God's name in thy heart betimes ?

<sup>1</sup> Divine knowledge.

<sup>2</sup> God.

The guru has shown man how to protect himself from ferocious animals, to which the evil passions are compared.

## X

O saints, my wandering mind hath obtained rest.  
 I reckon that I have obtained my deserts.  
 The guru hath shown me the passage  
 Through which wild animals surreptitiously enter.  
 I have closed the gates thereof,  
 And spontaneous music playeth for me.  
 The pitcher of my heart was filled with the water *of sin* ;  
 When I upturned it, the water was spilled.<sup>1</sup>  
 Saith Kabir, the man *of God* knoweth this,  
 And knowing it, his mind is happy.

Kabir once felt hungry and rebelled against God.

## XI

A hungry man cannot perform service ;  
 Take back this rosary of Thine.  
 I *only* ask for the dust of the saints' feet,  
 Since I owe not any man.<sup>2</sup>  
 O God, how shall I fare if I am shamed before Thee ?  
 If Thou give me not *of Thine own accord*, I will beg for it.  
 I beg for two sers of flour,  
 A quarter of a ser of clarified butter and salt ;  
 I beg for half a ser of dal  
 Which will feed me twice a day.  
 I beg for a bed with four legs to it,  
 A pillow and a mattress ;  
 I beg for a quilt over me,  
 And then thy slave will cheerfully serve Thee.  
 I have never been covetous ;  
 Thy name alone becometh me.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> This metaphor has often occurred. The hearts of men generally are said to be inverted. The holy have theirs erect.

<sup>2</sup> I am not under an obligation to any one.

<sup>3</sup> That is, I only ask for these things that I may be able to repeat Thy name.

Saith Kabir, my soul is happy ;  
 And when my soul is happy, then I recognize God.  
 The gods of the Hindus are ignorant of the Creator.

## DHANASARI

## I

Beings like Brahma's *four* sons, Shiv,  
 And Sheshnag know not Thy secret.  
 Through association with the saints God dwelleth in the heart.

Beings like Hanuman and Garuda,  
 Indar and Brahma, know not, O God, Thine attributes.  
 The four Veds, the Simritis, and the Purans,  
 Vishnu, and Lakshmi know them not.  
 Saith Kabir, he who toucheth God's feet and seeketh His shelter,  
 Shall not wander *in transmigration*.

Life gradually draws to a close : man should practise devotion betimes.

## II

Pahars are made up of gharis, days of pahars ; life draweth to a close ; the body pineth away ;  
 Death wandereth about like a poacher *in quest of game* :  
 say what shall man do *to escape* ?

The *last* day approacheth ;  
 Mother, father, brother, son, wife—say whose are they ? <sup>1</sup>  
 As long as the light of *life* remaineth in man's body, the brute knoweth not himself.

He is anxious to obtain a long life, but he seeth not *Death who is at hand*.<sup>2</sup>

Saith Kabir, hear, O mortal dismiss thy mental doubts ;  
 Repeat only the one Name, O mortal, and seek the asylum of the one *God*.

<sup>1</sup> Literally—does any one belong to any one ?

<sup>2</sup> Also translated—He is anxious to live longer though his eyes see not.

Salvation depends on the state of man's heart  
not on the place of his death.

## III

What is strange to him who knoweth something of the  
love and service of God ?

As water when blended with water separateth not again,  
so the weaver<sup>1</sup> hath blended with God.

O men of God, I am out of my senses—

If Kabir leave his body at Banaras, what obligation is  
he under to God ?<sup>2</sup>

Saith Kabir, hear, O people, let no one make a mistake ;

What *difference is there between* Banaras and the barren  
Magahar, if God be in the heart ?

Kabir requires nothing but God's name.

## IV

It is through insufficient devotion men go

To the heavens of Indra and Shiv and are born again.

What shall I pray for ? nothing is stable.

Keep God's name in thy heart ;

Fame, power, wealth, and greatness

Help no one at the last moment.

Say who hath derived any happiness

From son, wife, or wealth.

Saith Kabir, nothing else availeth me ;

The name of God is *sufficient* wealth for my heart.

Remember and love God.

## V

Remember God, remember God, remember God, my  
brethren !

Without remembering God's name the majority of men  
shall be lost.

Wife, son, body, house, and wealth confer happiness ;

<sup>1</sup> *Julāho*. There is a pun on this word. It means a weaver, and  
elsewhere it is applied to the soul.

<sup>2</sup> Because all people who die at Banāras must be saved, according  
to Hindu belief.



*But* none of these shall be thine when the time of death arriveth.

Ajamal, the elephant, and the courtesan committed sinful acts ;

Yet they were saved by repeating God's name.

*My brethren*, you have wandered in the wombs of pigs and dogs, and yet you are not ashamed.

Why forsake the ambrosia of God's name and eat poison ?

Abandon doubt regarding acts which are prescribed as well as those which are forbidden, and take God's name.

The slave Kabir saith, by the favour of the guru love God.

## SUHI

Kabir calls on a worldly man to render an account of his life.

## I

Having been born what hast thou done ?

Thou hast never repeated God's name.

Thou wilt not repeat His name ; of what thinkest thou ?

What *preparation* art thou making for death, O luckless one ?

Though through woe and weal thou hast brought up thy family,

At the time of death thou shalt bear thy troubles alone.

When Death seizeth thee by the neck, thou shalt utter loud cries.

Saith Kabir, why did I not remember *God* before ?

The condition of one who fears God.

## II

My woman's *heart* palpitateth and trembleth ;

I know not how my Spouse will treat me.

The night hath passed away ; let not the days also pass.<sup>1</sup>

The *black* flies have gone ; the *white* cranes have now taken their place.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> That is, my youth has passed, let not my old age also pass in vain

<sup>2</sup> My dark hair has changed to grey.

As water will not remain in a frail vessel,<sup>1</sup>  
 So the soul departeth when the body hath faded.  
 I adorn myself like a young virgin,  
 But how can I enjoy dalliance without my Spouse ?  
 My arm is pained from driving away the crows.  
 Saith Kabir, this tale is at an end.<sup>2</sup>

A dialogue between the soul and the messengers of Death. He who feels God's love needs have no apprehension.

### III

Thy stewardship being ended, thou must give thine account,

When the cruel messengers of Death come to take thee.

*They will ask thee* what thou hast earned, and where thou hast squandered it ;

*They will say to thee*, ' Come quickly, thou art summoned to court ;

' The warrant of God's court hath come for thee.'

Thou shalt implore them, *and say*, '*I have to collect* some outstandings in the village,

' And I shall adjust my accounts to-night ;

' I will also pay you something for your expenses ;<sup>3</sup>

' At dawn we shall pray at an inn *on the road* '.<sup>4</sup>

Blest, blest is he and fortunate is his lot,

Who feeleth God's love by association with the saints.

That man shall ever be happy in this world and the next ;

He hath won the priceless *prize* of human birth.

He who while awake *to the world* is asleep *to God*<sup>5</sup> hath lost that birth ;

The property and wealth he hath accumulated shall become another's.

Saith Kabir, that man hath gone astray,

<sup>1</sup> A vessel made of clay not hardened by fire.

<sup>2</sup> That is, life is at an end.

<sup>3</sup> As a bribe to the messengers of Death to allow the soul time to answer the warrant.

<sup>4</sup> That is, give me time to-day, and we shall be well on our journey early to-morrow morning.

<sup>5</sup> Also translated—He who after being awakened falleth asleep.

Who forgetting the Bridegroom hath mixed himself up with *things of clay*.

When avarice only departs with life and there is no thought of God, human birth is in vain.

## IV

The eyes grow weary of seeing, the ears grow weary of hearing, *this* fair body groweth weary.

When old age urgeth thee, all thy senses grow weary; *the desire for* wealth alone wearieth not.

O foolish man, thou hast not obtained divine knowledge and meditation ;

Thou hast lost thy *human* birth in vain.

O mortal, serve God as long as there is breath in thy body ;

Even though thy body perish, let not thy love for Him perish ; dwell thou at His feet.

He in whose heart God hath implanted His Word hath ceased to thirst.

Let the comprehension of God's will be thy game of chaupar, and the conquest of thy heart the throwing of the dice.

They who know and worship God shall not perish.

Saith Kabir, they who know how to throw such dice shall never lose their game.

Kabir has triumphed over his evil passions, his senses, and death itself.

## V

There are five kings of one fortress ; the whole five ask for revenue <sup>1</sup>—

I have not tilled land belonging to any of them ; it would be hard on me to pay *a tax* for nothing.

O God's people, the village accountant <sup>2</sup> continually worried me,

<sup>1</sup> *Hāla* from *hal*, a plough—so much revenue levied on every plough. The five evil passions claim their shares.

<sup>2</sup> Here meant for death.

But I raised my arms aloft, complained to my guru, and he saved me.

Nine surveyors<sup>1</sup> and ten judges<sup>2</sup> go on *tour*, and will not allow the agriculturists<sup>3</sup> to live ;

They measure not with a full tape, and they take many bribes.

The one Being who is contained in the seventy-two chambers of the body hath written off my account ;

I have searched Dharmraj's office, *and find* I owe him not an atom.

Let no one revile the saints ; the saints and God are one.

Saith Kabir, I have obtained that Guru whose name is Bibeko.<sup>4</sup>

Death triumphs over all except God's sincere worshippers.

#### BILAWAL

##### I

This world is like a show ; none may remain here ;

Proceed the straight way, otherwise thou shalt be severely buffeted.

Children, the old, and the young, O my brethren, shall all be taken away by Death.

God hath made poor man like a mouse ; Death like a cat eateth him up ;

He payeth no regard to rich or poor ;

He destroyeth kings equally with their subjects—so mighty is Death !

They who please God *become* His worshippers, and theirs is a special case ;

They neither come nor go ;<sup>5</sup> they never die ; God is with them.

Know in your hearts that by forsaking son, wife, wealth, and property *which are perishable*,

<sup>1</sup> The nine gates of the body.

<sup>2</sup> The organs of action and perception.

<sup>3</sup> Virtues or good qualities.

<sup>4</sup> *Bibeko*, God who makes one (*ek*) out of two (*bib*), who joins the soul of man with Himself.

<sup>5</sup> They do not suffer transmigration.



Saith Kabir, you shall meet the Lord ; hear this, O ye saints.

Kabir is frenzied with devotion.

## II

I am not skilled in book knowledge, nor do I understand controversy ;

I have grown mad reciting and hearing God's praises.

O father, I am mad ; the whole world is sane ; I am mad ;

I am ruined ; let not others be ruined *likewise* ;

I have not grown mad of mine own will ; God hath made me mad—

The true guru hath dispelled my doubts—

I am ruined, and have lost my intellect ;

Let nobody be led astray in doubts like mine.

He who knoweth not himself is mad ;

When one knoweth himself he knoweth the one God.

He who is not intoxicated *with divine love* in this human birth shall never be so.

Saith Kabir, I am dyed with the dye of God.<sup>1</sup>

Kabir's self-abasement.

## III

Though man leave his home for the forest region and gather tubers to live on,

His sinful and evil mind even then abandoneth not misdeeds.

How shall I be saved ? how cross over the great terrible ocean ?

Preserve me, preserve me, O God ; I Thy slave *have come to* Thine asylum.

The desire to gratify my evil passions forsaketh me not ;

Though I make many efforts to guard myself against them, I am entangled in them again and again.

My life hath passed—youth and old age—no good have I done ;

<sup>1</sup> I am imbued with God's love.

This priceless human life attached itself to a kauri and became like it.

Saith Kabir, O my God, Thou art contained in everything ;

There is none so merciful as Thou, none so sinful as I.

The superiority of God's saint.

## V

There is no king equal to God ;

All the kings of this world are only for four days, they make false display.<sup>1</sup>

Why should the slave of Him who overshadoweth the three worlds waver ?<sup>2</sup>

Who can lay hands on him when one cannot even speak with due respect before him ?

O thoughtless and foolish mind of mine, think *upon God*, and the unbeaten music of ecstasy shall play for thee.

Saith Kabir, all my doubts and uncertainties are at an end ; *God* hath favoured me as He did Dhru and Prahlad.

Kabir depreciates himself.

## VI

Preserve me, O God, though I have offended Thee.

I have not practised humility, the duties of my religion, repetition of Thy name, or worship ; I am proud, I *wear* my turban on the side of my head.

Believing this body immortal I have pampered the frail and perishable vessel ;

I have forgotten Him who made and favoured me, and I have attached myself to strangers.

I am Thy house-breaker and not Thy saint ; I fall at Thy feet for protection—

Saith Kabir, hear this supplication ; send me not intelligence of death.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Also translated—They make a false claim to greatness.

<sup>2</sup> That is, allow his mind to wander from God.

<sup>3</sup> Holy men are not led off in triumph by Death ; they become insensibly blended with God.

An appeal to God.

VII

O God, I stand wearied at Thy court ;  
Who but Thee careth for me ? open Thy door and show  
Thyself unto me.

Thou art my wealth, O Master ; Thou art generous ;  
Thou art lavish ; I hear with mine ears Thy great praise.

Of whom shall I beg ? I see every one poor ; from Thee  
alone I obtain salvation.

Thou didst confer endless favour on Jaidev, Namdev, and  
the Brahman Sudama.

Saith Kabir, Thou art all powerful, Thou art generous,  
Thou bestowest the four blessings without delay.

The following was addressed to a Jogi :—

VIII

Thou dependest on a club, earrings, and patched coat ;  
In error thou wanderest in a *Jogi's* garb.

Put away thy devotional attitudes and thy suspension  
of breath ;

Abandon deception, and ever worship God, O fool.

*The wealth* thou beggest for, the three worlds have en-  
joyed.<sup>1</sup>

Saith Kabir, God is the *only* Jogi in the world.<sup>2</sup>

Kabir mourns his lukewarmness and condemns  
all worldly things.

IX

O Sovereign of the world, Lord of the earth, mammon  
hath caused me to forget Thy feet.

Even a little affection for Thee is not felt by Thy slave ;  
what shall Thy poor slave do ?

Curse on *this* body, curse on *this* wealth, curse on *these*  
worldly things, a double curse on this perishable intellect  
and understanding !

O *man*, firmly restrain this worldly love ; if thou subju-  
gate it, thou shalt be saved.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> That is, it is the leavings of the three worlds.

<sup>2</sup> Also translated—He who is united with God is the real Jogi.

<sup>3</sup> Also translated—Thou shalt be released from thine entanglements.

What availeth agriculture ? what commerce ? false is worldly pride.

Saith Kabir, *they who practise such things* are ultimately ruined, and death cometh to them at last.

The soul's dependence is on God, not on the perishable body.

## X

The body is a lake in which a peerless lotus<sup>1</sup> bloometh ;  
The Supreme Being who hath neither outline nor form,  
the Primal Light, *is within it*.

O my soul, worship *that* God, abandon doubt ; God is the life of the world.

The *soul* is not seen either coming or going, as *is the body*.  
Where the *body* is born, there it perisheth<sup>2</sup> like the leaves of the water lily.

They who knowing the world to be transitory abandon it, are happy in the contemplation of God.

Saith Kabir, worship God in thy heart.

During life Kabir was absorbed in God as the sound of a bronze vessel is absorbed in it when broken.

## XI

Since my attention is fixed on God, I no longer suspect that I shall suffer transmigration ;<sup>3</sup>

Even in life I am absorbed in the Infinite ; the guru's instruction hath awakened me.

The sound which is produced from bronze blendeth again with it ;

When the bronze is broken, O Pandit, where will the sound be ?

At the union of the three breaths<sup>4</sup> *in the brain* I have seen Him who is awake in every heart,

<sup>1</sup> The heart.

<sup>2</sup> That is, the body is resolved into the elements whence it sprang.

<sup>3</sup> Literally—my doubts regarding birth and death have departed.

<sup>4</sup> Of the left and right nostrils and their junction. *Trikuti sandhi* also includes *gyāta*, the knower ; *gyān*, the means of knowledge ; and *geya*, the subject of knowledge. Devout men endeavour to unite all three.



And now such understanding hath entered my heart that  
I have abandoned *the world*.

When I knew myself, my light was blended with *God's*  
light—

Saith Kabir, I now know *God* and my mind is satisfied.

The holy man will not waver but be everywhere  
happy.

## XII

O God, why should that man waver in whose heart abide  
Thy lotus feet ?

Believe that all happiness and the nine treasures are his  
who tranquilly repeateth *God's* praises.

When God openeth the hard knot,<sup>1</sup> man shall be wise  
enough to behold Him in everything.

He who ever avoideth worldly love and weigheth his  
heart in the scale of *meditation*,

Shall be happy wherever he goeth, O Lord, and worldly  
love shall not sway him.

Saith Kabir, my heart is happy since it hath been absorbed  
in *God's* love.

An inquirer asked Kabir with whom one should  
converse. The following was his reply :—

## GAUND

### I

When thou meetest a saint, have some conversation with  
him ;

When thou meetest a man who is not a saint, remain  
silent.

*Kabir was asked again—*

O father, if I speak what shall I speak about ?

For instance, 'Continue to repeat *God's* name.'

They who talk to saints confer advantage on others ;

They who talk to fools talk in vain.

<sup>1</sup> The distance between God and the soul.

By incessant talking *with them* sin increaseth ;  
 If I speak not to them, what harm can the wretches  
 do me ? <sup>1</sup>

Saith Kabir, an empty vessel soundeth ;  
 When it is full it never giveth forth a sound.

Man's dead body is much more worthless than  
 that of a beast, and consequently an object of con-  
 tempt.

## II

When a man dieth he is of no use ;  
 When a beast dieth he is of ten uses.  
 What do I know regarding my fate ;  
 What do I know, O sir ?  
*Man's* bones burn like a heap of fire-wood ;  
 His hair burneth like a bundle of grass.  
 Saith Kabir, man only awaketh  
 When the club of Death toucheth his head.

God is everywhere, even in the acts which attach  
 to the soul.

## III

God abideth in the heaven above, in the earth beneath,  
 and in every direction.

The Supreme Being is ever the root of joy ; the body  
 may perish, but God shall not.

I am anxious to *know*

Whence the soul cometh and whither it goeth.

Five elements combined form the body ; out of what  
 were the elements formed ?

Thou sayest that the soul is bound by its acts ; who  
 gave life to the acts ?

The body is contained in God, God in the body ; He is  
 uninterruptedly in all things.

Saith Kabir, I will not abandon God's name, come  
 what may.

<sup>1</sup> Also translated—If I talk not *to saints*, how can I practise dis-  
 crimination ?

The soul described by negatives.

## V

*Somebody asked Kabir :—*

What is that whose limit hath never been found,  
Which dwelleth within the temple of the body ?

*Kabir replied—*It is neither man nor demigod ;

It is not a Jati or a *worshipper of Shiv* ;

It is not a Jogi or an Audhut ;

It hath no mother, nor is it any one's son ;

It is not a householder or an anchoret ;

It is not a king or a beggar ;

It hath neither a body nor a drop of blood ;

It is not a Brahman or a Khatri ;

It is not an ascetic or a shaikh ;

It is not born, nor is it observed to die ;

Whoever weepeth for its death

Shall lose his honour.<sup>1</sup>

By the favour of the guru, I have found the steep way ;

Birth and death have both been erased for me.

Saith Kabir, this *soul* is a part of God,

As ink cannot be erased from paper.<sup>2</sup>

Kabir's wife thus addressed him on the neglect  
of his trade and his attentions to saints.

## VI

Thy threads are broken, thy size is at an end,

Thy reeds shine over the door,

Thy poor brush hath gone to pieces—

May death light on this shaven fellow's head !

This shaven fellow hath lost all his property.

I am persecuted by those *fakirs* coming and going.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Shall only excite contempt.

<sup>2</sup> Also translated—His praise cannot be erased from paper ; that  
is, His praise is continually written and shall be permanent.

<sup>3</sup> This and the two preceding lines are also translated—

Death hath lighted on these shaven fellows' heads.

They have caused us to lose all our property.

There is no end to their coming or going.

Kabir now never speaketh of his beam or his shuttle ;  
 His mind is only concerned with the name of God.  
 His daughter and sons have nothing to eat ;  
 Men with shaven heads are crammed night and day ;  
 One or two are in the house, and one or two on the way.  
 We have only a pallet *on the ground* ; they get a bed to  
*sleep on.*

They rub their heads *with satisfaction* and *carry* books in  
 their waist-bands ;

We get parched pulse, they bread *to eat.*

The shaven-heads and my shaven-headed *husband* have  
 become all one.

*Kabir replieth*—These shaven-heads are the support of  
 the drowning.

Hear, O blind misguided Loi,

Kabir hath taken the protection of these shaven-heads.

When man dies, mammon, who is described,  
 weeps not for him.

## VII

When the husband dieth, his wife weepeth not.<sup>1</sup>

She findeth another protector ;

And when that protector also dieth,

Hell awaiteth him *though* he have enjoyed pleasures here.

One woman <sup>2</sup> alone is dear to the world ;

She is the wife of all sentient beings.

With a necklace on her neck she looketh beautiful ;

She pleaseth the world, but is *hateful* as poison to the  
 holy.

Adorning herself she either sitteth like an abandoned  
 woman,

Or the wretch wandereth about accursed of the saints.

When the saints flee from her, she pursueth them ;

But, by the favour of the guru, she feareth punishment.

She is the body and soul of the infidel ;

Her dreadful witch's eye falleth on me.

<sup>1</sup> When man dieth, his wealth does not weep for him.

<sup>2</sup> Māya, wealth. She never becomes a widow, hence the title  
*suhāgan.*



When the merciful holy guru met me,  
 I became well acquainted with her secrets.<sup>1</sup>  
 Saith Kabir, I have now turned her out,  
 And she hath attached herself to the skirt of the world.

A further description of mammon.

## VIII

The guest cometh and departeth hungry  
 From the house which hath no wealth.  
 The guest loseth patience,  
 And the host is blamed because he hath not means *to*  
*entertain him.*

Hail to the woman who hath turned the heads  
 Of very holy men and penitents high and low !  
 She is a miser's daughter ;  
 Rejecting God's worshippers she sleepeth with everybody.  
*At last* standing at the saints' door,  
*She saith*, ' I have sought your protection, save me !'  
 The woman is very beautiful ;  
 Her ornaments tinkle on her feet ;  
 As long as man is alive she attacheth herself to him ;  
 When he dieth she quickly departeth without waiting for  
 her shoes.

The woman hath conquered the three worlds ;  
 She hath made the eighteen Purans and the places of  
 pilgrimage love her ;  
 She hath pierced *the hearts* of Brahma, Vishnu, and Shiv,  
 And infatuated great kings and sovereigns.  
 There are no bounds to the woman ;  
 She is in collusion with the five evil passions.  
 Where the vessels of the five evil passions burst,  
 Saith Kabir, I was delivered thence by the favour of the  
 guru.

Without a guru man must fall and perish.

## IX

If the rafters be taken from a house, the roof will fall ;  
 So without *God's* name how can man be saved ?

<sup>1</sup> And was thus the better able to guard against her.

As water will not remain without a vessel,  
 So without a religious guide man shall go to hell.  
 Burn him who thinketh not on God,  
*But* whose mind is ever absorbed in the field of his body.  
 As without a ploughman land cannot be tilled,  
 As without a thread jewels cannot be strung,  
 And as without a loop clothes cannot be fastened,  
 So without a holy guide man shall go to hell.  
 As a child cannot be born without a father and mother,  
 As clothes cannot be washed without water,  
 As one cannot ride without an equipage,  
 As without music there cannot be dancing,  
 So without a guru *man cannot reach God's court.*  
 As the bad woman leaving her husband looketh for another, *thus eager should man be to obtain a guru.*  
 Saith Kabir, do one thing—  
 Become holy and thou shalt not die again.

The following hymn was a reply to some one who had addressed vile abuse to Kabir and called him a pander, a dancer, a street-walker, and a thief :—

## X

Is he a pander <sup>1</sup> who chasteneth his heart ?  
 He who chasteneth his heart shall escape from death.  
 The pander who thoroughly chasteneth his heart, and  
 applieth to it the touch-stone *of love*,  
 Shall obtain complete deliverance.  
 Whom do you call a pander, O people ?  
 In everything that is spoken discrimination *should be used.*  
 Is he a dancer who danceth with his mind,  
 Who is not satisfied with falsehood, who is pleased with  
 truth,  
 And who beateth time *with* his heart in the presence *of God* ?  
 God, whose mind is pure, preserveth such a dancer.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Kūtan* as a noun is a pander and as a verb to beat or chasten. There is a play on the word in the original. It was applied to Kabir, because when his daughter was visiting him, he allowed a strange man shelter in his house.

<sup>2</sup> Also translated—God steadieth the mind of such a dancer.

Is he a street-walker who sweepeth the market-place,<sup>1</sup>  
 And lighteth up the five wicks ?<sup>2</sup>  
 I accept as my guru that street-walker  
 Who embraceth the service of the lord of the nine continents.<sup>3</sup>

Is he a thief who is not envious,  
 Who uttereth God's name and curbeth his senses ?  
 Saith Kabir, blessings on my divine guru,  
 Who possesseth all such qualities and who is very handsome and clever.

The following is an encomium on the staff of life :—

# XI

Hail, O God, hail, O divine guru !  
 Hail to the corn by which the hearts of the hungry rejoice !  
 Hail to that saint who realizeth this !  
 He shall meet God.  
 Corn cometh from the Primal Being—  
 Repeat God's name with the relish of corn.  
 Praise His name, praise His corn ;  
 With water pleasant is its taste.  
 He who abstaineth from corn,<sup>4</sup>  
 Shall lose his *honour* in the three worlds.<sup>5</sup>  
 She<sup>6</sup> who abandoneth corn and practiseth hypocrisy,  
 Is neither a wife nor a widow.<sup>7</sup>  
 They who publicly boast that they live on milk,  
 Secretly eat a whole five sers of corn.  
 Without corn no one is happy ;  
 Abandon corn and you shall not meet God.  
 Saith Kabir, such is what I think ;  
 Blessings on that corn by which man loveth *his* God !

<sup>1</sup> That is, cleanses his heart.

<sup>2</sup> Illumines his five senses. This is also translated—Who admonisheth his five evil passions.

<sup>3</sup> Also translated—Who knoweth the nine forms of devotion to God.

<sup>4</sup> As some ascetics do.

<sup>5</sup> Because he practises hypocrisy.

<sup>6</sup> The feminine gender, as usual, for man in general.

<sup>7</sup> Is neither a worldly person nor an anchorite.

The following was addressed to a Jogi who endeavoured to induce Kabir to drink wine.

## RAMKALI

## I

Make thy body the vat, the guru's instruction thy molasses;  
Cut up avarice, lust, wrath, pride, and envy as thy kikar  
bark ; thus mix thy yeast.

Is there any saint, in whose heart composure and happiness dwell, to whom I may offer my devotion and penance as commission *for procuring me such wine* ?

I will give my soul and body for one drop of the wine which that vat produceth.

I have made the fourteen worlds my furnace, and heated it with the fire of divine knowledge ;<sup>1</sup>

I have sealed the still with the gentle sound of *God's name*, and plastered it with what yieldeth mental happiness.

Pilgrimage, fasting, daily religious ceremonies, purifications, and austerities at *eclipses* of the sun and moon I would pledge *for that wine*.

*Make* meditation thy cup, God's ambrosial name the pure juice, and drink that elixir ;

*From such a still* a very pure trickling stream ever issueth, and the soul is delighted therewith.

Saith Kabir, all other wines are insipid ; this is the true elixir.

On the same subject.

## II

Make divine knowledge thy molasses, meditation thy bassia flowers, and the fear of God in thy heart thy furnace :

The drinker who is absorbed in God by means of the breath of the sukhmana imbibeth *such wine*.

O Jogi, my mind is intoxicated—

When that wine ascendeth to the brain man relisheth no other ;<sup>2</sup> there is then light in the three worlds.

<sup>1</sup> I have taken the light of divine knowledge to guide me.

<sup>2</sup> Also translated—Those who are intoxicated with *celestial* wine never taste *earthly* wine.



Joining God and the soul I have prepared a furnace and drunk the excellent elixir ;

I have burnt lust and wrath as firewood, and escaped from worldliness.

The light of divine knowledge appeared to me when I met my true guru and obtained understanding.

The slave Kabir is intoxicated with that wine, and will never abstain therefrom.<sup>1</sup>

Kabir was likened to a Kotwal for his severity to the wicked, and to a dog for his barking. He accepted both imputations.

## IV

I honour the saints and I punish the wicked ; this is my court-house.<sup>2</sup>

I shampoo Thy feet, *O God*, day and night ; I turn my hair into a chauri and wave it over Thee.

I am the dog at Thy court ;

I bark in front of it<sup>3</sup> putting forward my snout.

In a former birth I was Thy servant ; *that position* I cannot now resign.

The gentle order of Thy court was branded on my forehead.<sup>4</sup>

They who bear such brand fight bravely in battle ; they who bear it not flee away.

He who is holy knoweth how to serve God, and God putteth him into His treasury.<sup>5</sup>

In the house *of the body* is the chamber *of the heart*, which *becometh* the most precious chamber of all *when filled* with meditation *on God*.

The guru hath granted *God's name*, the Real Thing, to Kabir, *saying*, ' Take it and guard it ' ;

Kabir hath offered it to the world, but only he who was so destined receiveth it—

<sup>1</sup> Also translated—that wine whose intoxication shall never subside.

<sup>2</sup> The Kotwāl in modern times is a police-officer, but in the time of Kabir the Kotwāl was a magistrate and police-officer combined.

<sup>3</sup> That is, I pray to Thee.

<sup>4</sup> That is, I was branded as Thy slave in a former birth.

<sup>5</sup> Because he is a genuine and not a counterfeit coin.

Abiding is the married state of her who hath found the immortal elixir.

The Brahman trusts not to God but to the Veds and the Gayatri, and hence he shall be lost.

## V

Why shouldst thou, O Brahman, forget Him from whose mouth the Veds and the Gayatri issued ?

Why shouldst not thou, O Pandit, utter the name of God, whose feet every one toucheth ?

O my Brahman, why not repeat God's name ?

If thou utter not His name, O Pandit, thou shalt be cast into hell.

Thou *callest* thyself exalted, yet thou eatest in the houses of the low, and fillest thy belly by the exaction of alms.<sup>1</sup>

On the fourteenth and fifteenth days of the half month thou devisest tales and beggest, but even with a lamp in thy hand thou shalt fall into the pit.

Thou art a Brahman, I am a weaver of Banaras ; how can I be a match for thee ?

By repeating the name of God I have been saved, while thou, O Pandit, shalt be lost by trusting to the Veds.

A mystic hymn in which God is represented under the allegory of a tree.

## VI

There is one tree ;<sup>2</sup> it hath endless branches and shoots ; its blossoms<sup>3</sup> and leaves<sup>4</sup> are filled with nectar.<sup>5</sup>

This *world* is a garden<sup>6</sup> of ambrosia ; God who is perfect hath created it.

The few holy men in whose hearts the light of God shineth, Know the story of my beloved sovereign God.

One bumble-bee<sup>7</sup> intoxicated with the juice of the flowers

<sup>1</sup> Literally— by obstinate acts, by threatening suicide, &c.

<sup>2</sup> God. <sup>3</sup> Saints.

<sup>4</sup> The rest of sentient beings. <sup>5</sup> God's name.

<sup>6</sup> In which the branches and shoots have been planted.

<sup>7</sup> The searcher for God.

hath fixed his mind within the twelve petals of the lotus of the heart ;

He then raising his breath to the lotus of sixteen petals in his brain gaineth the ecstatic fruit thereof.<sup>1</sup>

Another tree<sup>2</sup> was produced in the silent vacuum ; it dried up the waters of the earth ;<sup>3</sup>

Saith Kabir, I am a servant of those who have seen that tree.<sup>4</sup>

The following was addressed to a Jogi :—

## VII

Make silence thine earrings, mercy thy wallet, and meditation thy cup ;

Stitch thy body for thy patched coat, and make the Name thy support.

O Jogi, practise such Jog

That thou mayest while enjoying *the world* perform thy devotion, penance, and austerities under the guru's instruction.

Make the knowledge of *God* the ashes thou smearest on thy body,<sup>5</sup> and meditation thy horn ;

Abandoning the world, roam in the city of the body, and play thy heart as a kinguri ;

Plant the five virtues in thy heart so that thy contemplation may be undisturbed by the world.

Saith Kabir, hear, O saints, make honesty and mercy your garden.

<sup>1</sup> There is supposed to be a lotus with twelve petals in the heart. Kabir means that his mind as a bumble-bee has entered that lotus. There is also supposed to be another lotus in the brain which has sixteen petals, and to this again his mind ascends.

Others suppose that the numbers twelve and sixteen in the above lines mean the repetition of *Oam* similar numbers of times.

<sup>2</sup> This tree is divine knowledge which has its seat in the brain.

<sup>3</sup> It removed man's earthly desires.

<sup>4</sup> In this hymn tree is also said to mean the universe, the branches and shoots are the planets and stars, the flowers are the saints, the leaves the rest of sentient beings.

<sup>5</sup> Jogis smear ashes on their naked bodies as clothing or protection against the elements.

Kabir in a fit of introspection and self-abasement addressed himself.

## VIII

For what object wast thou born in the world, and what advantage hast thou gained from thy *human* birth?

Thou hast not applied thy mind even for a moment to God, the Fulfiller of desires, the Vessel to take thee across the terrible ocean.

O God, such sinners are we,

That we have never performed service for that Lord who gave us our souls and bodies.

*The passion* to possess others' wealth, children, and wives, and to slander and calumniate others hath not forsaken us.

We suffer transmigration again and again; this law is not broken.

I have not wandered even for a moment to where the conversation of the saints of God is held.

Libertines, thieves, panders, and drunkards—with them have I ever consorted.

My possessions are lust, wrath, covetousness, pride, and envy.

Mercy, honesty, and service to the guru *have not come to me even* in my dreams.

O God, compassionate to the poor, merciful, dear to the saints, Remover of fear,

Prayeth Kabir, preserve Thine afflicted slave, O God, and I will perform Thy service.

Remember God and do Him homage.

## IX

Remember in thy heart the Being,

By whose remembrance thou shalt obtain the gate of deliverance,

Go to heaven, and *return not to this* world.

Play the trumpets in the house of the Fearless One,

And the unbeaten strain shall ever fully resound for thee.

Without remembering Him deliverance can never be obtained.



Heartily bow before the Being,  
 By remembering whom none may refuse thee;  
 Who conferreth salvation by which great loads *of sin*  
 drop off,

And thy transmigration is at an end.

Remember Him through whom thou enjoyest thyself,  
 And an everburning<sup>1</sup> lamp shall be placed within  
 thee—

The lamp<sup>2</sup> which rendereth the world immortal,  
 And expelleth the poison of lust and wrath.

Twine and wear on thy neck the rosary

Of Him by remembering whom Thy salvation shall be  
 obtained.

Wear that rosary, doff it not,

And by the favour of the guru thou shalt be saved.

Remember the Beloved day and night,

And thou shalt have no regard for men ;

Thou shalt sleep at home in silken bed-clothes,

And thy heart shall be gladdened by a pleasant couch.

Ever remember God in thy heart and sing *His praises*.

By remembering Him thy troubles shall depart,

And Maya affect thee not.

From the true guru learn how to remember God ;

Remember Him ever day and night.

Standing or sitting, at every expiration and inspiration,

Waking or sleeping, enjoy the sweets of remembering

*Him ;*

By remembering God thou shalt be united with Him.<sup>3</sup>

Make the remembrance of God's name thy support ;

By remembering Him no weight of sin shall oppress  
 thee.

Neither wrought nor spoken incantations can prevail with  
 Him,<sup>4</sup>

Saith Kabir, who hath no limit.

<sup>1</sup> Literally—a lamp not fed with oil.

<sup>2</sup> Divine knowledge.

<sup>3</sup> Also translated—Thou shalt obtain good fortune.

<sup>4</sup> God is only moved by our remembering Him and repeating His name with devotion.

The condition of him who has put his passions under subjection.

## X

He who hath captivated the captivators,<sup>1</sup>  
Shall obtain deliverance, and the guru shall put out the fire of his passions.<sup>2</sup>

When I had thoroughly examined my heart,  
I made my ablutions within it.  
To dwell in God, the Lord of life, is the best thing ;  
There is then no death, or birth, or decay.  
Turning away from mammon I restrained my mind,  
And I entered the region of God.<sup>3</sup>  
I have pierced the serpent's way,<sup>4</sup>  
And assuredly met God.  
Worldly love and mammon no more affect me ;  
The sun hath restrained the moon.<sup>5</sup>  
When I completely stopped my breath,  
The lute played spontaneously.  
The preacher hath communicated this instruction ;  
The hearer hath heard and treasured it in his heart.  
He who acteth according to it shall be saved,  
Saith Kabir verily.

God is a luminous diamond whose light fills creation.

## XI

The moon and sun are both forms of light ,  
God the unequalled pervadeth their light.  
O wise man, meditate on God  
In whose light creation is contained.  
Beholding God, the Diamond, I prostrate myself before Him.

Saith Kabir, He is bright and *yet* invisible.

<sup>1</sup> He who has put his passions under subjection.

<sup>2</sup> These two lines are also translated—

They who are attached to worldly things fall into the net of Death,  
While they whose avarice the guru extinguisheth are delivered.

<sup>3</sup> *Gagan*—literally, the firmament—is a word applied by Jogis to the brain or tenth gate of the body where God dwells.

<sup>4</sup> A supposed passage for air through the spinal marrow to the brain.

<sup>5</sup> The brain retains the breath, and a state of exaltation supervenes.

Some Hindus asked Kabir to give them instruction, upon which he composed the following :—

## XII

O world, be alert and wakeful ; even while awake you are being robbed, my brethren.

Even while the Veds, who are alert sentinels, look on, Death will take you away.

The fool, the blockhead, and the pagan think that the nim is a mango, and the mango a nim ;<sup>1</sup>

That a ripe plantain-tree<sup>2</sup> is but a prickly bush, and that the fruit of the coco-nut<sup>3</sup> is like the ripe fruit of the simmal.

God is the sugar which hath been spilled in the dust ; it cannot be picked up by the elephant.

Saith Kabir, renounce family, caste, and lineage, become an ant, and thou canst pick up and eat *the sugar*.

A remonstrance to a Brahman for offering animal sacrifice to an idol.

## MARU

## I

O Pandit, what folly meditatest thou ?

Thou shalt be ruined with all thy family for not having repeated God's *name*, O luckless man.

What availeth thee to read the Veds and the Purans ? It is like loading a donkey with sandal *whose perfume he valueth not*.

Thou knowest not how *to repeat* God's name ; how shalt thou be saved ?

Thou takest life and deemest it religious ; tell me, my brother, what thou callest irreligious.

Thou makest thyself out an excellent muni ; whom callest thou a butcher ?

Mentally blind thou knowest not thyself ;<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> They think good evil and evil good. The fruit of the nim is bitter, of the mango sweet.

<sup>2</sup> God's name.

<sup>3</sup> Association with saints.

<sup>4</sup> That is, God who is in thee.

What shalt thou cause others to know ?

Thou sellest knowledge for money, thy life passeth in vain.

Narad and Vyas declare—and thou mayest go and ask Shukdev also—

Saith Kabir, *too*, by uttering the name of God ye shall be delivered ; otherwise ye shall perish, my brethren.

It is the condition of the heart, not man's garb or place of residence, which produces happiness.

## II

Unless you remove evil from your hearts, how shall you find *God* by dwelling in the forest ?

They who deem their own homes equal to the forest are perfect *among* men.

You shall obtain true happiness,

If you lovingly repeat *the name of the Life of the world*.

What avail *wearing* matted hair, smearing yourselves with ashes, and dwelling in caves ?

He who hath conquered his own heart hath conquered the world, because he is free from the deadly sins.

All people use eye-wash, but there is a difference in their blandishments.

The eyes to which the surma of divine knowledge is applied, are acceptable *to God*.

Saith Kabir, I now know *God* ; the guru hath explained divine knowledge *to me* ;

I have met God who dwelleth in the heart ; my mind shall now no more wander.

The following was addressed to a Jogi whom Kabir found begging and boasting that he had obtained all spiritual wealth and perfection :—

## III

What hath he who hath obtained spiritual wealth and supernatural power to do with any one ?

What shall I say regarding thy language ? I am much ashamed to speak to thee.

He who hath obtained God,



Wandereth not from door to door.

This false world greatly burneth *for wealth* in the hope of using it for a few days.

Whosoever drinketh God's water shall not be thirsty again ;

He who knoweth *God* by the favour of the guru abandoneth all worldly desires.

When the heart is withdrawn *from the world*, the True One appeareth everywhere.

The name of God saveth him who hath tasted its savour.

Saith Kabir, I have become gold, my doubts have fled, and I have crossed the ocean.

It was made a reproach to Kabir that he being a weaver dared preach to men of high caste. Upon this he preached equality of all men.

#### IV

As the bubbles of the river are accounted water and blend with the water of the ocean,

*So the man who looketh on all* with an equal eye, shall become pure and blend with the Infinite.

Why should I return *to this world* ?

Transmigration taketh place by God's order ; he who obeyeth it shall blend with Him.

When this fabric of five elements perisheth, my wandering shall be at an end.

Forswearing sects, I look on all as equal and meditate on the one Name.

I devote myself to and perform the duties which God assigned me.

If God bestow mercy on me, I shall be absorbed in Him under the instruction of my guru.

He who in life is in death, and who from death <sup>1</sup> returneth to life shall not be born again.

Saith Kabir, he who is permeated with the Name fixeth his love on God.

<sup>1</sup> Being dead toward God.

Kabir in a vision beheld God and rushed to embrace Him, but was repulsed. The following was composed on the occasion :—

## V

If Thou repulse me, then show me *the way* of deliverance ;  
One God in many forms, Thou art contained in every-  
thing ; why dost Thou now illude me ?

O God, whither dost Thou take me for salvation ?

I ask Thee where Thou wilt give me salvation and of  
what degree,<sup>1</sup> *seeing that* by Thy favour I have already  
obtained it ?

I called Thee my *future* saviour until I knew the reality ;<sup>2</sup>

I have now become pure in heart, saith Kabir, and my  
mind is happy.

Kabir is said to have uttered the following to  
a man whom he found committing an act of im-  
morality.

## VI

Rawan had to leave the golden fortress and strongholds  
which he had made—

O man, why actest thou as it pleaseth thyself ?

When Death cometh and catcheth thee by the hair, *only*  
God's name will save thee.

Death and life are the work of God ; this deceitful world  
is only an entanglement ;

Saith Kabir, they who have the elixir of God in their  
hearts shall ultimately be saved.

The body likened to a village, the soul to its  
headman, and the senses to its agriculturists.

## VII

The body is a village ; the soul placed therein is its  
headman ; five husbandmen dwell in it—

The senses—eyes, nose, ear, tongue, and touch—which  
obey not my orders.

<sup>1</sup> There are four degrees of salvation—*saloh*, heaven ; *samīp*, being  
near God ; *sarūp*, assuming God's form ; *sayuj*, being absorbed in God.

<sup>2</sup> That Thou hadst already saved me.

O father, I shall no longer dwell in this village ;  
The accountants called Chitr and Gupt ask for an account  
of every moment of mine,

So when Dharmraj calleth for my account, there will  
be a heavy balance against me.

The five husbandmen will then have all fled, and the  
bailiffs will arrest the soul.

Saith Kabir, hear, O holy men, settle your accounts on  
the field ;<sup>1</sup>

Pardon for this once thy slave, so that he may not *have*  
to return to this terrible ocean.

A Bairagi who had come from Dwaraka told  
Kabir he had seen God there, and he asked him to  
go there too, and he would also see God. Upon  
this the following colloquy occurred.

## VIII

O Bairagi, no one hath seen the Fearless One ;

Can the Fearless One be obtained without fearing Him ?

‘ Certainly not.’<sup>2</sup>

O Bairagi, if *man* were to see the Lord present, he would  
feel fear ;

He who obeyeth God’s order is without fear—‘ Certainly.’

O Bairagi, though all people are imbued with hypocrisy,  
Practise it not thou before God—‘ Certainly not.’

O Bairagi, *men* set not covetousness aside ;

Egoism hath destroyed the body—‘ Certainly.’

O Bairagi, the fire of care hath burnt the body,

But thou *shalt escape from it* if thou deaden thy feelings—  
‘ Certainly.’

Without a true guru there can be no contempt of the  
world, O Bairagi,

Even though everybody desire it—‘ Certainly.’

O Bairagi, if it be God’s will, thou shalt meet the true  
guru,

<sup>1</sup> That is, while alive. The metaphor is derived from the practice  
which prevailed before British rule of taking payments in kind.  
Creditors’ and debtors’ accounts were settled on the harvest field.

<sup>2</sup> *Wana hanbai*. In the Mālwa dialect *hanbai* means yes.

And shalt easily obtain God—‘Certainly.’

Saith Kabir, O Bairagi, *address* one prayer to God,  
To take thee over the terrible ocean—‘Certainly.’

Krishan was one day going to visit Duryodhan, but he heard that Duryodhan was then holding court. Krishan, in order to avoid the regal ceremonial and entertainments connected therewith, remained the night with Vidur. Next day when Krishan and Duryodhan met, the latter upbraided him in a friendly manner for not having gone straight to him. The following is Krishan’s reply :—

### IX

O king, who would go to thee ?

I have seen such affection on Vidur’s *part* that the poor man pleaseth me.

Beholding thine elephants, thou hast been lost in error and hast not recognized God.

I consider Vidur’s water as nectar in comparison with thy milk.

I got vegetables *without condiment*, but to me they were equal to *khir*, and the night passed in Vidur’s singing God’s praises.

Kabir’s God is joyous and happy, and payeth no attention to anybody’s caste.

### SLOKS

The following two sloks in the Rag Maru are attributed to Kabir. The battle referred to is perhaps intended to represent man’s struggle with his evil passions. These are the only lines in the Granth Sahib relating to war.

When the drums sound aloud, the conspicuous *warriors* fall wounded ; <sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Also translated—(a) Aim is taken, and wounds are inflicted ;  
(b) When the guru’s drum soundeth, the disciple, at whom it is aimed, is wounded.



The brave have entered the battle-field ; now is the time for combat.

---

Recognize him as a hero who fighteth for the love of his religion ;

He may die cut in pieces, but will never desert the battle-field.

The following was a sharp remonstrance addressed to some men of high rank.

### X

You have forgotten your religion, O madmen ; you have forgotten your religion.

You fill your bellies, you sleep like beasts, you have lost your human births ;

You have never associated with saints, but have adopted false occupations ;

You wander like dogs, pigs, and ravens ;

You deem yourselves great and others small ; <sup>1</sup>

I have seen you going to hell in thought, word, and deed.

The lustful, the wrathful, the deceitful, the dissemblers,<sup>2</sup> and the idlers,

Pass their time in doing evil and never remember God.

Saith Kabir, fools, blockheads, and pagans reflect not ;

They know not God's name ; how shall they be saved ?

Men should remember God and not be led astray by worldly pleasures.

### XI

Remember God *or* thou shalt repent it ;

O sinful soul, thou practisest avarice, but thou shalt depart to-day or to-morrow.

Through thine attachment to avarice and being led astray by mammon, thou hast wasted thy life.

Be not proud of thy wealth and youth ; they dissolve like paper.

<sup>1</sup> Literally—you deem yourselves vowels and others consonants.

<sup>2</sup> Literally—actors.

When Death cometh and seizeth thee by the hair and knocketh thee down, on that day shalt thou be powerless.

Thou hast not remembered God, or worshipped Him, or shown mercy to His creatures, therefore shalt thou be smitten on the mouth.

When Dharmraj asketh for thine account, what face shalt thou show him ?

Saith Kabir, hear, ye good men, ye shall be saved in the company of the holy.

The condition of him who has obtained salvation during life.

#### KEDARA

##### I

They who abandon praise as well as blame, who reject honour as well as dishonour,

Who consider iron and gold the same, are the image of God—  
Few, *O Lord*, are Thy servants !

They who abandon lust, wrath, covetousness, and worldly love behold God's feet.

What are called the qualities of impulse, ignorance, and goodness are all contained in Thy Maya.

Only they who understand the fourth degree, have obtained the supreme position ;

They never entertain love for pilgrimages, fasting, or for the religious ceremonies, purifications, and austerities of *the superstitious*.

By meditating on God, avarice, worldly love, and doubt depart ;

The darkness of the mansion in which the lamp of *divine knowledge* burneth is dispelled ;

*Its owner* abideth completely fearless, and his doubts have fled ; saith Kabir, I am his slave.<sup>1</sup>

The saint deals in holiness and is thus emancipated during life.

##### II

Some deal in bronze and copper, others in cloves and betel-nut ;

<sup>1</sup> Also translated—The slave Kabir saith.

The saints deal in God's name ; that is my merchandise.  
O dealers in the name of God,

The priceless diamond hath come to hand, and worldly thoughts have fled.

They whom the True One attached to truth, remain attached to it ; truth is their occupation.

They dispatched a load of the true thing, and it reached *God* the storekeeper.

God is Himself the gem, the jewel, and the precious stone ; He is Himself the jeweller ;

He is in every direction immovable ;

He setteth *everything* in motion ;

He is a permanent dealer.

*O man*, make thy heart the ox, meditation the road, fill thy sack with divine knowledge, and load it *on the ox* ;

Saith Kabir, hear, O saints, my goods have arrived at their destination.

The following was addressed to a Jogi who fortified himself for his austerities by potations of wine.

### III

O ignorant and stupid brawler,<sup>1</sup> reverse thy breath and direct it *to thy brain* ;

Then turn thy brain into a furnace, draw the nectareous stream, and thou shalt become *divinely* intoxicated.

O brother, call upon God for assistance.

O saints, ever drink this wine so difficult to obtain, and your thirst shall easily be quenched.

In the fear of God is love ; he who knoweth this shall obtain God's elixir, my brother.

Ambrosia is in every heart ; *God* giveth it to whomsoever He pleaseth.

There is one city ; <sup>2</sup> it hath nine gates ;

Restrain thy wandering *mind from issuing by them*.

After the exercise of the ira, pingla, and sukhmana, the tenth gate openeth and the mind becometh intoxicated.

<sup>1</sup> *Kalwār*—also translated as if written *kalāl*, a wine-seller, then a drunkard.

<sup>2</sup> The body.

When *the soul obtaineth* the fully fearless dignity, suffering is at an end, saith Kabir deliberately.

Turning from the way *of the world* I have obtained this wine, a cup of which causeth *divine* intoxication.

Religious instruction addressed to a dissolute fop.

## IV

Thou who art saturated with lust, wrath, and covetousness, knowest not the way of the One God.

Thine eyes are burst, thou seest nothing, thou art drowned *even* without water.

Why walkest thou so foppishly ?

Thou art a compound of bones, skin, and filth, and saturated with evil odour.

Thou repeatest not God's name ; in what doubts hast thou gone astray ? Death is not far from thee.

Whatever efforts thou makest to preserve thy body, shall it last when *thy term of* life is complete ?

Nothing resulteth from thine efforts ; what can any mortal do ?

If it be God's will, man shall meet a true guru and repeat the One name.

Thou livest in a house of sand and puffest out thy body, O simpleton.

Saith Kabir, they, however clever, who remember not God are lost.

The following was addressed to the same person.

## V

Crooked thy turban,<sup>1</sup> crooked thy gait,<sup>2</sup> thou beginnest to eat betel ;<sup>3</sup>

Thou hast naught to do with the love and service of God ; *thou sayest* ' I have business in court '.

Thou hast forgotten God in thy pride ;

Ever gazing on thy gold and thy very beautiful women thou deemest them permanent ;

<sup>1</sup> Thou wearest thy turban on the side of thy head like a fop.

<sup>2</sup> Thou walkest foppishly.

<sup>3</sup> So as to give a rosy colour to thy lips.



Thy life passeth away in covetousness, falsehood, sin,  
and great arrogance.

Saith Kabir, Death will attack thee at last, O fool.

Kabir reminds a worldly person of his death.

## VI

Having beaten thy drum for four days, thou shalt depart.  
With all thine earnings, thy ready money, and thy buried  
treasures, thou shalt take nothing with thee.

Thy dear wife will sit and weep in the portico ; thy  
mother *will go* as far as the gate with thee ;

All thy friends and relations will accompany thee to the  
burning-ground ; *but* thy soul shall depart alone.

Thou shalt not again behold thy sons, thy wealth, thy  
towns, and thy cities.

Saith Kabir, why remember not God ? thy life is passing  
in vain.

God's name is Kabir's sole property.

## BHAIRO

## I

The name of God is my wealth ;

I cannot tie it in a knot, or sell it for my livelihood.

The Name is my field, the Name is my garden ;

I Thy slave, *O God*, perform Thy service and *seek* Thy  
protection.

Thy name is my wealth, Thy name my capital ;

I know none but Thee.

Thy name is my kindred, Thy name my brethren,

Thy name my associates, who will assist me at the last  
moment.

Saith Kabir, I am a slave to him

Whom *God* keepeth in the world, but *who is* indifferent to it.

The following was addressed to a rich man who  
had offered Kabir money :—

## II

Naked thou camest and naked shalt thou depart ;

None shall remain—*not even* kings or rulers.

I have the sovereign God as my nine treasures ;  
 Thou hast the love of property, women, and wealth ;  
*But* they did not come with thee, nor shall they go with  
 thee.

What availeth thee to have elephants tied at thy gate ?  
 The fortress of Ceylon was made of gold,  
 But what did the fool Rawan take with him ?  
 Saith Kabir, meditate some good acts :  
 The gambler shall depart with empty hands.

God alone is pure.

### III

Impure is Brahma, impure is Indar ;  
 Impure is the sun and impure the moon.  
 This world is defiled with impurity ;  
 Pure is God alone who hath neither end nor limit.  
 Impure are the gods of the worlds ;  
 Impure are nights, days, and months *devoted to idolatry*.  
 Impure are pearls, impure are diamonds,  
 Impure are wind, fire, and water ;  
 Impure are Shiv, Shankar, and Mahesh ;<sup>1</sup>  
 Impure are Sidhs, Sadhiks, and *those who* wear religious  
 garbs ;  
 Impure are Jogis, and Jangams with their matted hair ;  
 Impure is the body with the soul—  
 Saith Kabir, only those who know God,  
 Are pure and acceptable.

The following was addressed to a hypocritical  
 Muhammadan priest who had advised Kabir to  
 make a pilgrimage to Makka.

### IV

Make thy mind thy Kaaba, thy body its enclosing temple,  
 Conscience<sup>2</sup> its prime teacher ;  
*Then*, O priest, call men to pray to that mosque  
 Which hath ten gates.

<sup>1</sup> Three names of Shiv. The Hindus say that there are eleven  
 Shivs.

<sup>2</sup> Literally—thy speaker.

Sacrifice<sup>1</sup> wrath, doubt, and malice ;  
 Make patience thine utterance of the five prayers.  
 The Hindus and the Musalmans have the same Lord ;  
 What can the Mulla, what can the Shaikh do *for man* ?  
 Saith Kabir, I have become mad ;  
 Stealing my mind away *from the world* I have become  
 blended with God.

Some one represented to Kabir that he was completely spoiled by his religious exercises. The following was his reply :—

## V

When a stream is lost in the Ganges,  
 It becometh as the Ganges itself ;  
 Kabir is similarly lost *in God* by invoking Him ;  
 I have become as the True One and need not go elsewhere.  
 The perfume of the sandal is communicated to other  
 trees ;

They then become as the sandal itself.  
 When the philosopher's stone is applied to copper,  
 It becometh gold ;  
 So Kabir having met the saints,  
 Hath become as God.

The following was addressed to some Brahmans who had attributed Kabir's contempt for their religious ceremonies to madness.

## VI

You *wear* tilaks on your foreheads, *carry* rosaries in your hands, and *put on* *sectarial* dresses :

People think that God is a plaything—  
 If I am mad, *O God*, I am still Thine.  
 How can people know my secret ? <sup>2</sup>  
 I gather no leaves <sup>3</sup> and I worship no idol ;

<sup>1</sup> *Mismil* a corruption of the Arabic *bismillāh*, in the name of God, an expression used by Musalmāns when slaughtering animals.

<sup>2</sup> That is, the cause of my madness.

<sup>3</sup> To offer to idols.

Without devotion to God *other* worship is fruitless.

I worship the True Guru, and ever and ever propitiate Him ;

For such service I shall obtain happiness in His court.

People say Kabir is mad,

But *only* God knoweth Kabir's secret.

Kabir renounces both the Hindu and the Muham-  
madan priests.

## VII

Turning away *from the world* I have forgotten both caste and lineage ;

My weaving is *now* in the infinite silence.<sup>1</sup>

I have now no quarrel *with any one* ;

I have given up both the Pandits and the Mullas.

I weave clothes and I wear them myself ;

Where *I see* no pride <sup>2</sup> there I sing God's *praises*.

What the Pandits and the Mullas prescribed for me,

I have received no *advantage* from, and have abandoned.

My heart being pure <sup>3</sup> I have seen the Lord ;

Kabir having searched and searched himself, hath found God within him.

Kabir when reproached with his poverty replied :—

## VIII

Nobody respecteth the poor man ;

He may make hundreds of thousands of efforts, but no one will heed him.

If a poor man go to a rich man,

The latter, though opposite him, will turn his back.

If a rich man go to a poor man,

The latter respecteth, *yea*, inviteth him ;

*Yet* the poor man and the rich man are brothers :—

God's design <sup>4</sup> cannot be set aside.

Saith Kabir, it is he who is poor,

In whose heart the Name abideth not.

<sup>1</sup> In the realms of God.      <sup>2</sup> That is, in the society of the saints.

<sup>3</sup> Also translated—being freed from the world.

<sup>4</sup> In making one poor and the other rich.



Worship God betimes.

## IX

When man serveth the guru and worshipping God,  
It is only then he really hath a human body.<sup>1</sup>

Even the demigods<sup>2</sup> long for this body ;

Therefore having obtained it,

Worship God ; forget Him not ;

That is the advantage of human birth.

Before the disease of old age hath come upon thee,

Before Death hath seized thy body,

Before thy voice hath grown weak,

O man, worship God.

If thou worship Him not now, when wilt thou, my brother ?

When the end cometh thou canst not do so.

Whatever thou doest, it is best to do now ;

*Otherwise* thou shalt not be saved, and shalt afterwards repent.

He is a worshipper whom God applieth to His worship ;

It is he who shall obtain the pure God.

The doors *of his understanding* shall open to him by meeting the guru,

And he shall not return again by the way of the womb.

This is thine opportunity, this thy time ;

Look into thy heart and reflect *on this*.

Saith Kabir, *O man*, whether thou win or lose,

I have many times called out to thee.

In the following Kabir appears to mean that God resides in the brain.

## X

The best knowledge abideth in the city of Shiv ;<sup>3</sup>

Having obtained it there, meditate *upon God*,<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> That is, it is only then his human birth is profitable.

<sup>2</sup> The demigods are proud, and do not praise God. They can only obtain deliverance by being born in human bodies.

<sup>3</sup> The brain or tenth gate.

<sup>4</sup> This and the preceding line are also translated—Men of the highest intellect raise their breath to the brain ;

Do thou meeting them contemplate God.

And thou shalt know this world and the next.  
 Why should I kill myself performing works of pride ?  
 My attention is fixed on the special place—*the brain* ;  
 The name of the Sovereign God is my divine knowledge.  
 He who hath closed his sphincter ani,<sup>1</sup>  
 Hath placed the moon above the sun.<sup>2</sup>  
 At the western gate the sun is hot ;<sup>3</sup>  
 The breath then riseth to the brain from the spine.  
 The western gate is closed by a rock ;<sup>4</sup>  
 There is a window<sup>5</sup> over that rock.  
 Over the window is the tenth gate—  
 Saith Kabir, *He who dwelleth there* hath neither end nor  
 limit.

Kabir gives his ideas of what a Mulla, a Qazi,  
 and a superior of Jogis ought to be.

# XI

He is a Mulla who struggleth with his heart,  
 Who by the instruction of the guru contendeth with Death,  
 And crusheth Death's pride.  
 Salutation ever to that Mulla !  
 God is present ; why describe Him as distant ?  
 If thou restrain *thy* pugnacity, thou shalt obtain the  
 Beautiful One.  
 He is a Qazi who pondereth on his body,  
 Who burneth it with divine fire,  
 And alloweth not his seed to drop even in his dreams—  
 For such a Qazi there is no old age or death—  
 He is an emperor<sup>6</sup> who *knoweth how* to draw up his two  
 breaths,<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup> So that all the breath of the body may go to the brain. This act is done mechanically by resting the anus on the heel.

<sup>2</sup> This verse is explained—He has set knowledge with its tiny light above universal ignorance.

<sup>3</sup> When the breath rises to the top of the spine.

<sup>4</sup> A piece of flesh which the Jogis suppose to be at the top of the spinal column.

<sup>5</sup> This is a second obstacle to the passage of the breath.

<sup>6</sup> Sultān—By this word is here meant a superior of Jogis.

<sup>7</sup> Who knows how to exercise the *ira* and *pingla*. Also translated—who shoots two arrows—knowledge and contempt of the world.

Who recalleth his mind when it goeth abroad, who collecteth the army *of breaths*<sup>1</sup> in his brain—

Such a one is an emperor, and hath an umbrella over his head.

The Jogis cry out 'Gorakh, Gorakh';

The Hindus repeat 'Ram, Ram';

The Musalmans have Khuda,

But Kabir's God is the All-pervading.

The following hymn, which is a homily against idolatry, is said to have been composed by the fifth Guru from a theme of Kabir.

## XII

Vain is his devotion,

Who saith a stone is God.

Idle shall be his labour

Who falleth at the feet of a stone.

My God always speaketh;<sup>2</sup>

He bestoweth gifts on all living things.

He who is blind knoweth not God who is within him;

He is led away by superstition, and entangleth others.

A stone speaketh not, nor bestoweth gifts;

Vain are the ceremonies *of idolaters* and fruitless their service.

Say what advantage can be gained

By anointing a corpse with sandal.

If any one roll a corpse in the dirt,

What harm can it do the corpse?

Saith Kabir, I proclaim with a loud voice—

Understand me, ye infidels and pagans;

The love of other *gods* hath destroyed many homes,

The saints of God are ever happy.

The universal influence of Maya and the means of counteracting it.

## XIII

The fishes in the water are led by Maya;<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The body is supposed to have ten breaths, all of which the Jogis believe they can collect in the brain.    <sup>2</sup> He is not silent like an idol.

<sup>3</sup> Their sense of taste, their palates.

The moths round the lamp are influenced by Maya ;  
 Through Maya the elephant feeleth lust ;  
 Creeping things and bumble-bees <sup>1</sup> perish through Maya—  
 My brethren, Maya is so bewitching  
 That she illudeth all living beings—  
 Birds and beasts are imbued with Maya ;  
 She causeth great hardship to the honey-bees ; <sup>2</sup>  
 Horses and camels are saturated with Maya ;  
 The eighty-four Sidhs are the sport of Maya ;  
 The six Jatis are the slaves of Maya ;  
 So are the nine Naths, the sun, and the moon ;  
 Penitents and the supreme Rikhis are lulled by Maya ;  
 In the power of Maya are Death and his five messengers ; <sup>3</sup>  
 Dogs and jackals are imbued with Maya ;  
 So are monkeys, leopards, lions,  
 Cats, sheep, and foxes ;  
 Trees and tubers are subject to Maya ;  
 The demigods are saturated with Maya ;  
 So are the ocean, the firmament, and the earth.  
 Saith Kabir, he who hath a belly *is subject* to Maya ;  
 But man shall be freed *from her influence* when he hath  
 found a saint.

Let man fix his attention on God and not on worldly things.

## XIV

As long as man speaketh of things as his own,  
 So long not one of his affairs shall prosper.  
 When he ceaseth to speak of things as his own,  
 Then God shall come and adjust his affairs.  
 To that end, O man, ponder on divine knowledge.  
 Why rememberest thou not God, the Destroyer of misery ?  
 As long as lions inhabit the forest,  
 So long shall the forest not flourish. <sup>4</sup>  
 When the jackal eateth the lion, <sup>5</sup>  
 The whole forest bursteth out in bloom.

<sup>1</sup> The lotus closes on them at night.

<sup>2</sup> In their anxiety to store honey.

<sup>3</sup> The five evil passions.

<sup>4</sup> The other animals of the forest will be unhappy.

<sup>5</sup> When divine knowledge destroys pride.



*They who think themselves victorious are lost : and they who think themselves defeated are saved ;*<sup>1</sup>

By the favour of the guru they cross over.

The slave Kabir admonisheth all men

To fix their attention on God alone.

A brief description of God's court to which Kabir craves admittance.

## XV

Who will introduce poor me to Him

Who hath seven thousand commanders,

A lakh and a quarter of prophets,

Eighty-eight karors of men called Shaikhs,

And fifty-six karors of servants to amuse Him ?

His court is afar off ; who can reach His private chamber ?

He hath thirty-three karors of play-houses ;

Eighty-four lakhs of beings wander *in them*.<sup>2</sup>

He showed some favour to father Adam,

And put him into paradise for a long time.

*The faces of those whose hearts are not right are pale, and their utterance is confounded ;*

They forsake their books and work evil.

They who attribute blame *to God* and are angry with Him,  
Shall obtain the fruit of their acts.

Thou art the giver, *O Lord* ; I ever beg of *Thee* :

If Thou refuse me, I am ruined.<sup>3</sup>

The slave Kabir is in Thy sanctuary.

Keep me, O Merciful One, near Thee.

Kabir desires not heaven but absorption in God.

## XVI

Everybody saith he is going thither ;<sup>4</sup>

I know not where heaven is.

They who know not the secrets of their own hearts

<sup>1</sup> This verse is also translated—They who are overcome by their evil passions are lost, and they who conquer them are saved.

<sup>2</sup> Also translated—wander as His jesters.

<sup>3</sup> The gyānis translate—A stain shall attach to Thee. The line is also translated—If I reply, I shall be at fault.

<sup>4</sup> To heaven.

Glibly talk of heaven.

As long as man desireth heaven,

He shall not dwell at God's feet.

I know not where heaven's gate is,

Nor its moat, nor its plastered fortress.

Saith Kabir, what *more* can I now say

Than that the society of saints is heaven ?

Kabir tells how he subdued his evil passions.

## XVII

How shall I subdue this beautiful fortress,<sup>1</sup> my brother,

Which hath double walls <sup>2</sup> and triple moats,<sup>3</sup>

Whose entrenchments are the five *subtle elements*, the twenty-five *categories*,<sup>4</sup> worldly love, pride, jealousy, and very powerful Maya ?

I who am poor cannot obtain strength to *take that fortress* ; what shall I do, O God ?

Lust is its folding doors, woe and weal its gate-keepers, demerits and merits its gates ;

Anger, which is very quarrelsome, its commander ; and the heart its rebel king.

The *defenders* had dainties for their coats of mail, egoism for their helmets, and evil understanding for the bows they drew ;

Covetousness, which dwelleth in *the quiver* of the heart, became their arrows ; thus the fortress was impregnable ;

But I made *divine* love the fuse, meditation the howitzer, and divine knowledge the shells ;

I gently lit the fuse with the fire of God's *name*, and captured *the fortress* with one shot.

I began to fight assisted by truth and contentment, and battered both its doors ;

<sup>1</sup> The body.

<sup>2</sup> The two walls are doubt and wrong-headedness.

<sup>3</sup> The three moats are the three qualities.

<sup>4</sup> The twenty-five categories of the Sāṅkhya philosophy. See Monier Williams's *Indian Wisdom* and the Introduction to Cockburn Thompson's *Bhagavat Gita*. An enumeration of the categories here would not assist the Sikh student.

By the favour of the congregation of the saints and of the guru I made its king a prisoner.

By dint of remembering God I, a coward, have cut the noose of Death.

The slave Kabir hath scaled the fortress, and secured an imperishable empire.

The following refers to another persecution of Kabir :—

## XVIII

The Ganges is a deity deep and profound ;  
 I, Kabir, was made to stand in it with chains on my feet.  
 My spirits fell not ; why should my body fear ?  
 My mind was absorbed in God's lotus feet ;  
 My chains were broken by the ripples of the Ganges,  
*And I found myself* seated on a deer-skin.  
 Saith Kabir, I had no friend or companion  
*But* God the Protector both by water and land.

God and His residence.

## ASHTAPADI

## I

God constructed an inaccessible fortress<sup>1</sup> for His residence,  
 Which He illumined with His light.  
 The lightning playeth and pleasure reigneth  
 Where the youthful<sup>2</sup> Lord God reposeth.

If the soul love God's name,

Man shall be released from old age and death, and his doubts shall flee away.

He whose mind loveth *to consider* whether a man's caste is high or low,

Chanteth the hymn of egoism.

The sound of the unbeaten music is heard  
 Where the Lord God reposeth.

He who fashioned continents and different countries,

The three worlds, the three *gods*, and the three qualities, .

<sup>1</sup> The tenth gate or brain.

<sup>2</sup> Some translate this the minute or invisible.

*Though styled* inaccessible and invisible, dwelleth within the heart.

None can find the limit or the secret of the Sustainer of the earth ;

He shineth in the plantain blossom and in the sunshine,  
And hath taken His dwelling in the pollen of the lotus.  
God's spell is within the twelve petals of the heart  
Where the holy Lord of Lakshmi reposeth.

The great *God* reacheth from the lower to the upper regions of the firmament ;

He illumineth the silent realm,

Where there is neither sun nor moon.

He was in the beginning ; He is without stain and happy.

Know that he pervadeth the body *as well as* the universe ;

He batheth in Mansarowar ;<sup>1</sup>

His pass-word is ' Soham ' ( I am He ) ;

He is not subject to merits or demerits,

*Nor concerned* with caste, with sunshine, or with shade ;

He is only found in the guru's asylum.

He who fixeth his attention on Him removeth it not,  
becometh released from transmigration,

And absorbed in the Infinite.

He who knoweth God in his heart

And repeateth His name, becometh as He.

Saith Kabir, that mortal shall be saved

Who fixeth in his heart *God's* light and spell.

God, God's servants, and God's court.

## II

Millions of suns shine for Him ;

He hath millions of Shivs and Kailases ;<sup>2</sup>

Millions of Durgas shampoo *His limbs* ;

Millions of Brahmas recite the Veds for Him—

If I beg, *let me beg* only of God ;

I have naught to do with any other god—

Millions of moons form His lamps ;

Thirty-three demigods cook His food ;

<sup>1</sup> In the lake of the heart.

<sup>2</sup> A peak in the Himālayas where the Ganges is supposed to rise.



The nine planets <sup>1</sup> *multiplied* millions of times stand *on duty* in his court ;

Millions of Dharmrajas are His porters ;

Millions of winds from the four cardinal points fan Him ;

Millions of Sheshnags lay His bed ;

Millions of oceans are His water-carriers ;

The eighteen million loads of *vegetables* are His hair ;

Millions of store-keepers fill His store-houses ;

Millions of Lakshmis decorate Him—

He removeth many millions of demerits and merits—

Millions of Indars wait on Him ;

The fifty-six millions of *clouds* are His messengers ;

He is celebrated and unrivalled in every land.

With His tresses loose and with terrible *aspect* He moveth—

God playeth in millions of ways—

There are millions of feasts at His court ;

Millions of celestial singers hail Him ;

Millions of sciences all describe His attributes,

But even then they cannot find His end.

In His hair are millions of Bawans,

And *Rams* who out-generalled Rawan's army,

And Krishans who humbled the pride of Duryodhan,

Greatly extolled by a thousand million Purans.

Millions of Cupids cannot compete with Him *in beauty*—

He stealeth away the inmost heart.

Saith Kabir, hear me, O God,

Grant me the fearless dignity, the gift I crave.

The following was written under the grateful influence of early spring in the north of India.

#### BASANT

##### I

The earth bloometh, the firmament rejoiceth ;

Every heart is gladdened by God's light.

The Lord God rejoiceth in endless ways ;

<sup>1</sup> These are—Sūraj, Chānd, Mangal, Budh, Brihaspati, Shukkar, Sanichar, Rāhū, and Ketū. The days of the week are named, in India, after the first seven.

Whithersoever I look, there is He contained.  
 The four Veds rejoice in worldliness ;  
 So do the Simritis with the books of the Musalmans.  
 Shiv practising Jog rejoiceth—  
 Kabir's Lord bloometh equally in all things.

Kabir accepts as saints Shukdev, Akrur, Hanuman, and Shiv, famous for their continence, and rejects the hypocritical Brahmans, Jogis, Sanyasis, and Penitents of his time.

## II

The Pandits grow proud reciting the Purans,  
 The Jogis in practising Jog,  
 The Sanyasis in saying there is no one like themselves ;  
 The Penitents even in their different penances  
 Are all intoxicated with pride ; none of them is awake.  
 The thieves<sup>1</sup> who rob houses are *already* with them.  
 Shukdev and Akrur<sup>2</sup> are awake ;  
 Hanuman with the tail is awake ;  
 Shiv is awake and worshipping *God's* feet ;  
 In this Kal age Namdev and Jaidev *are awake*.<sup>3</sup>  
 There are several forms of waking and sleeping :—  
 He who is awake under the guru's instruction is the best.  
 The most important duty of this body,  
 Saith Kabir, is to repeat God's name.

To obtain salvation without a guru would be impossible.

## III

Hath a wife ever given birth to her husband ?  
 Hath a boy ever dandled his father ?  
 Hath a woman without breasts ever suckled ?  
 See, O people, the peculiarity of this Kal age—  
 Hath a son ever taken his mother in marriage ?  
 Can a man without feet ever leap ?  
 Can a man without a mouth burst into laughter ?  
 Without sleep can man repose ?

<sup>1</sup> The evil passions.

<sup>2</sup> An uncle of Krishan.

<sup>3</sup> The persons mentioned did not allow worldly matters to interrupt their devotions.

Can one churn milk without a churn ?  
 Can a cow without an udder give milk ?  
*Can one accomplish* a long journey without a road ?  
 So the way cannot be found without a true guru,  
 Kabir saith, and admonisheth *all men*.

God saves his saints as He did Prahlad.

## IV

Prahlad was sent to school for instruction ;  
 He took several boys with him as his class-fellows.  
*He said to his teacher :—*‘ Why teach me worldly entanglements ?

‘ *Rather* write on my tablet *the name of God*.

‘ I will not, sir, abandon the name of God ;

‘ I have no concern with any other instruction.’

*His tutor's sons*, Sanda and Marka,<sup>1</sup> went and reported *the matter to Prahlad's father*.

He sent for Prahlad, *telling them* to run quickly to him ;  
*Then he addressed him :—*‘ Abandon the habit of repeating God's name ;

‘ I will let thee go at once if thou obey my words.’

*Prahlad replied*, ‘ Why dost thou continually annoy me ?

‘ I should be a sinner were I to abandon the one God

‘ Who made the water, the dry land, the hills, and the mountains.

‘ Throw me into the fire or kill me if it please thee.’

His father became angry and drawing his sword *said*,

‘ Show me that Preserver of thine.’

*Upon this* God expanding came forth from a pillar,  
 And killed Harnakhas by tearing him with His nails.

It was the Supreme Being, the God of gods, *who appeared*.

For the sake of His saint He became *incarnate* as the man-lion.

Saith Kabir, He whose limit cannot be seen

Saved Prahlad several times.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Brahmā's son was Bhrigu, Bhrigu's son was Shukkar, Shukkar's sons were Sanda and Marka.

<sup>2</sup> His life had been often in danger before from the bigotry and violence of his father, and the present occurrence was but the culmination of many acts of paternal cruelty.

Kabir prays to be protected from lust.

## V

Within this body and mind is the thief Cupid,  
Who hath stolen my jewel of divine knowledge.

I have no patron, O God, to whom I may make my complaint.

Whom hath *Cupid* not ruined ? Who am I *that I should escape* ?

O God, this terrible pain cannot be endured ;

What power hath my fickle mind *against Cupid* ?

Sanak Sanandan, *the sons of Brahma*, Shiv, Shukdev,  
Vishnu, Brahma, and others know *his power*.

The poets, the Jogis, the wearers of matted hair,  
Passed their lives guarding themselves against him.

Thou, O God, art unfathomable ; I cannot find Thy depth.

O God, Lord of the poor, to whom *else* may I tell my woes ?

Let the pain of birth and death subside, *and grant me continence*.

Kabir singeth the praises of the Ocean of happiness.

The body under the allegory of a merchant.

## VI

There is one head of the firm and five traders,<sup>1</sup>

Who take with them spurious *wares* on twenty-five oxen.<sup>2</sup>

There are ten bags<sup>3</sup> and nine poles<sup>4</sup> *to lift them* ;

*The body* is bound by seventy-two ropes.

I have nothing to do with that commerce

By which my capital is lessened, and my interest ever increased.

I have trafficked by joining the seven threads ;<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The head of the firm is man, the five traders the five senses.

<sup>2</sup> The spurious wares are worldly things.

<sup>3</sup> Generally understood to be the ten breaths of the body.

<sup>4</sup> The nine gates of the body.

<sup>5</sup> *Bairāg*, contempt of the world ; *bibek*, discrimination ; *khal sampat*, the six acquisitions ; *moksh ichha*, desire of deliverance ; *shrawan*,



I have joined with them *good* acts and *God's* love.  
 The three tax-gatherers<sup>1</sup> wrangle *for their share* ;  
 But I a trader put them aside and departed.  
 The capital of the five traders is lost, their trade is ruined,  
 And the oxen disperse in every direction.  
 Saith Kabir, O man, thy business shall prosper,  
 And thy doubts depart when thou art absorbed in God.

A Brahman had censured Kabir for not having paid due attention to caste rules in eating. The following was his reply :—

## VII

Thy mother was impure, thy father was also impure, and impure is the fruit they have borne.

The unlucky people came impure, they departed and died impure.

Tell me, O Pandit, what place is pure  
 Where I may sit and take my food.

My tongue is impure, what it saith is impure, the ears and eyes are all impure.

The impurity of the senses departeth not, O thou who art burning with Brahmanical wrath.

Fire is also impure, water is impure, and impure the place where thou sittest and cookest it.

With an impure ladle it is served up, and impure are those who sit and eat it.

Impure thy cow-dung, impure thy cooking-square, and impure the lines which mark it out.

Saith Kabir, that man is pure who hath obtained true knowledge.

hearing God's name ; *manan*, obeying God's will ; *nididhyāsan*, profound and continued meditation.

The six sampats or acquisitions are—*Sam*, restraint of the mind ; *dam*, restraint of the senses ; *uparati*, the preservation of the heart from love and hate ; *atiksha*, endurance of pain ; *shradha*, faith ; *samādhānta*, attention to the guru's instruction. Others, by the seven threads, understand the five organs of perception, the mind, and the understanding.

<sup>1</sup> The three qualities.

Kabir's wife had ground corn and gone out without collecting the flour. Kabir being left alone in the house paid more attention to his devotion than to his housekeeping. A dog came and began to lick the flour on the hand-mill. The following was addressed to the intruding animal :—

## VIII

Thy stride is like that of a cow ;  
 The hair over thy tail is shiny.  
 Search for and eat anything in this house ;  
 Go not to another's house,  
 Lick the hand-mill, eat the flour ;  
 Whither takest thou the towel <sup>1</sup> of the hand-mill ?  
 Thou gazest very intently on this safe ;  
 Take care that the stick fall not on thy back.<sup>2</sup>  
 Saith Kabir, thou hast fared well ;  
 Take care that no one throw a brick or a clod at thee.<sup>3</sup>

Kabir endeavours to recall man to a sense of his insignificance.

## SARANG

## I

Why, O man, art thou proud of a small matter ?  
 With a store of only ten *mans* of corn and four double *paise* in thy pocket thou swaggerest along.  
 Even if thou obtain greatness, yea, a hundred villages, and have an income of two lakhs of rupees,  
 Thy authority shall only last for four days like the green leaves of the forest.  
 No one hath brought wealth with him, and no one shall take it away.  
 Greater sovereigns than even Rawan departed in a moment ;  
 God's saints who worship Him and repeat His name *abide* for ever.

<sup>1</sup> A cloth to collect the flour as it falls from the hand-mill.

<sup>2</sup> That is, run away before my wife or my son returns ; you shall meet with a different reception from them.

<sup>3</sup> This hymn is also applied allegorically to man.

They to whom God is merciful meet the society of the saints.

Neither mother, father, wife, son, nor wealth shall go with thee at the last moment.

Saith Kabir, worship God, O fool, *or* thy life shall pass away in vain.

God's omnipotence.

## II

*O God*, I know not the measure of Thy regal authority ;  
I am the handmaiden of Thy saints.

They who go laughing return weeping, and they who go weeping return laughing ;

What is inhabited becometh deserted, and what is deserted becometh inhabited.

God turneth water into dry land, dry land He turneth into wells, and wells into mountains ;

He can raise man from earth to heaven, and when he hath ascended to heaven dash him down.

He can turn a beggar into a king, and a king into a beggar.

He can turn an idiot into a pandit, and a pandit into an idiot.

He can turn a woman into a man, and a man into a woman.

Saith Kabir, God is beloved of the saints ; I am a sacrifice unto Him.

Man should rely on God and practise humility.

## III

Without God what succour hath man ?

The love of parents, brethren, sons, and wife is all fleeting.

Construct a raft for the other world ; what reliance can be placed on wealth ?

What confidence can be reposed in this vessel, if it be chinked in the slightest ? <sup>1</sup>

Thou shalt obtain the fruit of all religion and good works if thou desire to become the dust of everybody's feet.

Saith Kabir, hear, O saints, the mind is like the flying bird of the forest.

<sup>1</sup> If it receive even the slightest external pressure.

Kabir's bliss in feeling that he is saved—

PRABHATI

I

My dread of transmigration is at an end  
 Since God displayed His love for me.  
 The light hath dawned, the darkness is dispelled ;  
 I have obtained the jewel God by meditation on Him.  
 When *He conferreth* happiness sorrow fleeth away ;  
 The jewel of my heart is absorbed in God's love.  
 Whatever occurreth is according to Thy will, *O God* ;  
 He who understandeth this shall be easily absorbed *in Thee*.

Saith Kabir, all my sins have been blotted out,  
 And my soul is absorbed in the Life of the world.

God is not confined as regards place to the mosque  
 or the temple, or as regards time to any month or  
 day.

II

If God dwell only in the mosque, to whom belongeth the  
 rest of the country ?

They who are called Hindus *say* that God dwelleth in an  
 idol : I see not the truth in either sect.

*O God*, whether Allah or Ram, I live by Thy name,  
*O Lord*, show kindness unto me.

Hari dwelleth in the south, Allah hath His place in the  
 west.

Search in thy heart, search in thy heart of hearts ; there  
 is His place and abode.

The Brahmans *yearly* perform twenty-four *fastings* on the  
 eleventh *day of the dark and light halves of the lunar month* ;  
 the Musalmans fast in the month of Ramzan.

The latter put aside eleven months of the year, *and say*  
 that the Treasure is in one alone.

What availeth the Hindus to bathe *at Jagannath* in  
 Urisa (Orissa), what *the Musalmans* to bow their heads in  
 a mosque ?

With deception in their hearts they repeat prayers ; what  
 availeth them to go on a pilgrimage to Makka ?



The men and women Thou hast created, *O God*, are all in Thy form.

Kabir is a child of Ram and Allah, and accepteth all gurus and pirs.

Saith Kabir, hear, O men and women, seek the sanctuary of the one God ;

O mortals, only repeat God's name, and then shall you be assuredly saved.

In Kabir's presence a Brahman and a Muhammadan priest were reviling each others' sacred books. The Muhammadan expatiated on the merits of sacrifice.

## IV

Say not that the Hindu and Musalman books are false ; false is he who reflecteth not on them.

If you say that the one God is in everything, then why kill fowls ?

O priest, say *is this* God's justice ?

Thy mental doubts forsake thee not ;

Thou seizest and bringest living things, and takest their lives, but thou *merely* killest *their bodies of* clay.

Their souls return to the Indestructible ; say what hast thou killed.

What avail thy purifications, thy rinsings of the mouth, and thy prostrations in the mosque ?

If thou pray with deception in thy heart, what availeth thee thy pilgrimage to Makka ?

Thou art impure ; thou knowest not the Pure One ; thou knowest not His secrets.

Saith Kabir, thou hast missed heaven, and art satisfied with hell.

Kabir offered to God the following oblation instead of incense, light, and the other accessories of Hindu worship.

## V

Hear <sup>1</sup> me, God of gods, Supreme Lord, primal and omnipresent, *I offer my* vespers unto Thee.

<sup>1</sup> *Sun*, also translated—as an epithet of God—without desires.

The Sidhs *even* in *deep* meditation have not discovered Thy limits, but they continue to cling to Thine asylum.

Accept this oblation,<sup>1</sup> O bright Spirit ; worship the True Guru, my brethren.

Brahma standeth and readeth the Veds, but the Unseen is seen not by him.<sup>2</sup>

With divine knowledge as mine oil and Thy name my wick I have made a lamp to illumine my body.

I have lit *the lamp* with the light of the Lord of the world ; he who knoweth *how to do this* knoweth the Omniscient.<sup>3</sup>

The unbeaten sounds of God who dwelleth with man, are my five musical instruments.

O Thou Formless and Undisturbed, Thy slave Kabir hath made Thee this oblation.<sup>4</sup>

## KABIR'S SLOKS

### I

Kabir, my rosary is my tongue, on which I repeat God's name ;

In every age it bringeth peace and comfort to all *God's* servants.

### II

Kabir, everybody laugheth at my caste ;

I am a sacrifice to this caste in which I repeat the Creator's name.

### III

Kabir, why waverest thou ? Why lettest thou thy mind vacillate ?

God is the Lord of all happiness ; quaff the essence of His name.

<sup>1</sup> Of flowers, incense, light, &c.

<sup>2</sup> That is, God does not heed him.

<sup>3</sup> Also translated—The wise man knoweth how to do this. If *sūjhe* were read for *būjhe* the two words would be translated—The Omniscient would become manifest.

<sup>4</sup> This hymn is included in the Ārati of the Sikhs.

## IV

Kabir, if golden earrings were to be made and rubies set in them,

They would appear like burnt reeds if God's name were not in the *wearer's* heart.<sup>1</sup>

## V

Kabir, there are few who while alive are dead;<sup>2</sup>

And who fearlessly sing God's praises ; whithersoever I look there is He *to save me*.

## VI

Kabir, on the day I am dead there shall be rejoicing after me ;<sup>3</sup>

I shall *then* have met my God, and my friends will worship Him *instead of weeping*.

## VII

Kabir, I am the worst of men ; except myself everybody is good ;

He who holdeth the same opinion is my friend.

## VIII

Kabir, *worldly love* came to me in various disguises,

*But* my guru preserved me ; *worldly love then* made me obeisance and *departed*.

## IX

Kabir, destroy that *Maya* whose death shall make thee happy ;

Every one shall *then* say it is well ; no one shall *deem it* ill.

## X

Kabir, when the nights are dark, thieves arise ;

They run about with nooses *for men* ; know that they are accursed of God.

<sup>1</sup> This is understood to be a satire on Indian bankers who generally wear large earrings.

<sup>2</sup> That is, who practise humility and efface their pride.

<sup>3</sup> Also translated—On the day my pride is dead there shall be rejoicing.

## XI

Kabir, the sandal-tree is good even though surrounded by the dhak-tree ;<sup>1</sup>

If the latter be near the sandal-tree, it will also become fragrant as sandal.

## XII

Kabir, the bamboo is drowned in its pride ;<sup>2</sup> may nobody be drowned so !

It may grow near the sandal, but it is never perfumed by it.<sup>3</sup>

## XIII

Kabir, man hath lost his faith through mammon, *but* mammon will not accompany him ;

He hath carelessly struck his foot with an axe by his own hand.

The following is said to have been written in reply to some one who had invited Kabir to attend a religious fair :—

## XIV

Kabir, wherever I wandered I saw spectacles everywhere ;

Without the saint who loveth God, *the world* is in my opinion a desert.

## XV

Kabir, the hut of the saints is comfortable ; the village of the false is a furnace.

May fire prey upon that mansion where the name of God is not !

## XVI

Kabir, why weep when a saint dieth, *since* he is merely going home ?

Weep *rather* for the poor infidel who is sold at every shop.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The *Butea Frondosa*.

<sup>2</sup> It holds its head high, yet it is hollow in the centre.

<sup>3</sup> They who are hardened in their pride are not improved by association with the humble.

<sup>4</sup> Who has to undergo transmigration.



## XVII

Kabir, the infidel is like a dinner of garlic ;  
 One may sit in the corner and eat it, *but its smell* becometh  
 manifest at last.

## XVIII

Kabir, the body <sup>1</sup> is a churn, the breath *of life* its churning-  
 staff ;

The saints eat the butter, the world drinketh the butter-  
 milk.

## XIX

Kabir, the body is the churn, the breath *of life* the stream  
 of iced water ; <sup>2</sup>

He who hath churned shall eat the *butter*, and so shall  
 his helpmates also.

## XX

Kabir, Maya is a thief who breaketh into and robbeth  
 the shop ; <sup>3</sup>

One man, Kabir, who hath chased her in every direction,<sup>4</sup>  
 she shall not rob.<sup>5</sup>

## XXI

Kabir, they who make many friends are not happy in  
 this world ;

But they who keep their minds fixed on the one God  
 ever enjoy happiness.

## XXII

Kabir, while the world feareth death, my heart is pleased  
 therewith ;

Since it is only by death supreme bliss is obtained.

## XXIII

Kabir, when thou obtainest the jewel of God's *name* keep  
 it to thyself,<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Māya* here means body, because it is the result of illusion.

<sup>2</sup> Put into the churn in India in the hot weather to assist the  
 churning process.

<sup>3</sup> Who breaks into the heart, and robs it of its virtues.

<sup>4</sup> Others translate—Kabir hath cut her up in twelve pieces.

<sup>5</sup> Kabir chased her to arrest her, but she ran in every direction,  
 literally, by twelve ways to avoid him, and so she cannot rob him.

<sup>6</sup> Literally—Open not the knots of thy dress in which it is tied.

*For there is no bazaar to sell it in, no connoisseur, no purchaser, no price for it.*

## XXIV

Kabir, love him who *hath made* God his master ;  
Learned men, kings, lords of the soil—of what avail is  
*love for them ?*

## XXV

Kabir, by loving the one God all other love departeth,  
Whether thou wearest long hair, or shavest thy head  
clean.<sup>1</sup>

## XXVI

Kabir, the world is a chamber of soot ; blind are they  
who enter it, *and they become defiled.*

I am a sacrifice to those who have entered it, and come  
forth *clean.*

## XXVII

Kabir, this body shall depart ; if possible detain <sup>2</sup> it :

They who had hundreds of thousands and millions departed  
barefooted.

## XXVIII

Kabir, this body shall depart ; put it on some road

On which it may either hold converse with saints, or  
sing God's praises.

## XXIX

Kabir, everybody dieth in his turn, but no one even  
knoweth how to die ;

When thou diest, so die that thou shalt not have to die  
again.<sup>3</sup>

## XXX

Kabir, it is difficult to obtain human birth ; it cometh  
not again and again ;

As the ripe fruit of the forest, when it falleth to the  
ground returneth not to the *parent*-branch.

<sup>1</sup> Some understand this line to mean—Whether thou adoptest a worldly or an ascetic life. Sanyāsis or hermits shave their heads.

<sup>2</sup> Let not thy human birth go in vain.

<sup>3</sup> That thou shalt have no more transmigration.

Somebody came to visit Kabir, and asked him if Kabir (*great*) was his name. The following, addressed to God, was his reply :—

## XXXI

It is Thou, *O God*, who art Kabir (*great*), and whose name is Kabir (*great*);

Man shall only obtain the jewel of the Lord when he despiseth his body.

## XXXII

Kabir, utter not idle complaints *against God*; nothing shall result from what thou sayest;

No one can set aside what the merciful One doeth.

## XXXIII

Kabir, nobody who is counterfeit can withstand God's touchstone;

Only he who in life is dead can bear its ordeal.

## XXXIV

Kabir, men wear gaudy robes, and eat betel leaves and betel nut;

But without the name of the one God they shall be bound and taken to the city of Death.

## XXXV

Kabir, my boat is old, and leaketh in a thousand chinks;  
*Boats* very lightly laden cross over, but those with *heavy* cargoes<sup>1</sup> founder.

## XXXVI

Kabir, *man's* bones burn like firewood, his hair burneth like grass;

Kabir is sad on seeing everybody burning.<sup>2</sup>

## XXXVII

Kabir, be not proud of thy bones wrapped up in skin;  
They who rode excellent horses, *and* under umbrellas, were at last buried in the earth.

<sup>1</sup> Of sin is meant.

<sup>2</sup> This was written after witnessing a cremation.

## XXXVIII

Kabir, be not proud on seeing thy lofty dwellings ;  
 To-day or to-morrow thou shalt lie *beneath* the earth, and  
 the grass shall grow over thee.

## XXXIX

Kabir, be not proud, let none laugh at the poor ;  
 Now thy bark is on the sea ; who knoweth what shall  
 happen.<sup>1</sup>

## XL

Kabir, be not proud on seeing thy beautiful body ;  
 Thou shalt leave it to-day or to-morrow as a serpent its  
 slough.

## XLI

Kabir, if thou must plunder, then plunder, but let thy  
 plunder be the name of God ;  
*Otherwise* thou shalt afterwards repent *when* life hath left  
 thy body.

## XLII

Kabir, few <sup>2</sup> have been born who have applied the fire  
 of *divine knowledge* to their bodies,  
 Who have burnt the five evil passions, and with *the same*  
*fervour* continued to love God.

## XLIII

Is there any one who will sell me his son ; any one who  
 will sell me his daughter ? <sup>3</sup>

*Is there any one* who will go into partnership with Kabir,  
 and deal in God's *name* with him ?

## XLIV

Kabir, I remind thee, O man—and entertain no doubt  
 on the subject—

<sup>1</sup> Thou mayest be brought low thyself, and men will laugh at thee.

<sup>2</sup> In the original, none, but this apparently is an exaggeration of religious enthusiasm.

<sup>3</sup> This slok is an allegory. By son Kabir meant soul, and by daughter body. Is there any one who will devote his soul and body to God's worship? Another explanation is the following—Is there any one who will give me his son—his heart—in exchange for my daughter, religious instruction.



Thou canst not exchange the pleasures thou hast already enjoyed for even a morsel of coarse sugar.<sup>1</sup>

## XLV

Kabir, I *first* thought that learning was good, *then* that the Jog *philosophy* was better than learning ;

But *now* I shall never forsake the service of God, even though men revile me for it.

## XLVI

Kabir, how can the wretched people who have no divine knowledge in their hearts, revile me ? <sup>2</sup>

Kabir having abandoned every occupation continueth to repeat God's name.

## XLVII

Kabir, the wanderer's skirt hath caught fire on all sides ; <sup>3</sup>

The tattered garment hath been burnt and reduced to charcoal, but the flame hath not touched the waist-string.<sup>4</sup>

## XLVIII

Kabir, the tattered garment hath been burnt and reduced to charcoal, the skull hath burst into atoms ;

The poor Jogi hath had his day, and dust only remaineth where he sat.

## XLIX

Kabir, man is like a fish in a little water ; the angler casteth in his net ;

Man shall not escape in this little pond ; he ought to think of returning to the Ocean.<sup>5</sup>

## L

Kabir, leave not the Ocean, though it be very brackish ; <sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The pleasures thou hast enjoyed are useless to thee now.

<sup>2</sup> That is, what care I for their reviling ?

<sup>3</sup> Death has attacked man's body.

<sup>4</sup> The soul.

<sup>5</sup> The little water and the little pond mean the world. The ocean is God from whom man emanated, and with whom he ought to seek refuge from the angler's net, that is, death.

<sup>6</sup> Forsake not God's service even though it be attended with hardship.

If thou search for shelter in every pond,<sup>1</sup> no one shall call thee good.

## LI

Kabir, they who had no guru were wafted away ; there was no one to stop them—

Practise meekness and humility,<sup>2</sup> come what may.

## LII

Kabir, the bitch of God's saints is good, but the mother of the infidel is bad ;

The former ever heareth the Lord's name and praises, the latter goeth to commit sin.

## LIII

Kabir, man is like a lean stag ; this world is a lake surrounded by verdure ;

There are hundreds of thousands of hunters and but one life—how long can it escape ?<sup>3</sup>

## LIV

Kabir, if thou make thine abode on the bank of the Ganges, thou mayest drink pure water ;

*But* thou shalt not obtain salvation without devotion to God ; the great departed have said this.<sup>4</sup>

## LV

Kabir, me whose mind is pure as Ganges water,  
God followeth and addresseth, ' Kabir ! Kabir ! ' <sup>5</sup>

## LVI

Kabir, turmeric is yellow and lime white ;

When both colours are blended, the beloved God is met.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> If thou have recourse to the gods and goddesses of the vulgar.

<sup>2</sup> Also translated—make humility thy religion.

<sup>3</sup> Man is like a hungry stag let loose on the grassy margin of a lake. He revels in the rich pasture afforded him, has no time for other reflection, and consequently becomes an easy prey to Death the hunter.

<sup>4</sup> Also translated—Saying this, Kabir departed from Banāras for Magahar.

<sup>5</sup> Also translated—Kabir, God followeth those whose minds are pure as Ganges water, and saith that they are superior to it.

<sup>6</sup> Turmeric and lime stand for men of different castes. Turmeric

## LVII

Kabir, turmeric then loseth its yellowness, and not a trace of *the whiteness* of lime remaineth ;

I am a sacrifice to that love by which tribe and caste and lineage are effaced.

## LVIII

Kabir, the door of salvation is narrow, *the breadth* of the tenth of a grain of mustard ;

The mind is *as large as an* elephant ;<sup>1</sup> how can it pass through ?

## LIX

Kabir, if I meet a true guru and he kindly favour me,

The door of salvation shall be *made* wide, and I can easily pass through.

Kabir's hut once fell, and people asked him to repair it ; the following was his reply :—

## LX

Kabir, I have no hut or shed ; I have no house or village ;

I have no caste or name that God should ask who this man is.

## LXI

Kabir, I desire to die, *but* when I die let it be at God's gate,

So that God may ask, ' Who is this lying at My door ? '

## LXII

Kabir, I did not do this, nor will I do it again, nor am I physically able to do it ;

How do I know what God may have done ? *Yet* it was all Kabir.<sup>2</sup>

means men of low castes, lime men of high castes. High caste men were originally fair in comparison with the brown aborigines of India. When turmeric and lime are blended, a red product used for sacrificial marks on the forehead results. When holy men of different castes meet, God is obtained by their association, and their castes disappear.

<sup>1</sup> Man is very proud.

<sup>2</sup> This slok has already been given in the life of Kabir.

## LXIII

Kabir, the skin of my body shall be shoes for his feet  
From whose mouth in his muttering dream issueth God's  
name.

## LXIV

Kabir, we are puppets of clay, but bear the name of  
men ;

Though guests for only four days, we occupy very great  
space.

## LXV

Kabir, I have converted myself into henna and thoroughly  
ground myself,

But, even so, God never inquired about me and never  
allowed me to touch His feet.

## LXVI

Kabir, the door from which no visitor is repelled  
How shall I leave, since such a door there is ?

## LXVII

Kabir, I was drowning, but the wave of good qualities  
quickly *washed me ashore* and saved me ;

When I saw the bark was rotten, I leapt from it at once.

## LXVIII

Kabir, the saint is not pleasing to the sinner ; the latter  
cannot bear the worship of God ;

The fly avoideth the sandal, and goeth where there is an  
evil odour.

## LXIX

Kabir, the physician is dead, the patient is dead, the  
whole world is dead in *spiritual* ignorance ;

One person alone, Kabir, for whom none shall weep is  
not dead.

## LXX

Kabir, man meditateth not on God ; such great sin  
attacheth to him :



The body is a wooden pot ; it cannot be put on the fire a second time.<sup>1</sup>

## LXXI

Kabir, it so happened to me that God did what was pleasing to my mind ;<sup>2</sup>

Why fear death when thou hast taken the red lead<sup>3</sup> in thy hand ?

## LXXII

Kabir, as one sucketh sugar-cane, so ought one to strive most earnestly<sup>4</sup> for virtue :

None calleth that man good who is without virtue.

## LXXIII

Kabir, *the body is like* an earthen pot filled with water ; it will burst to-day or to-morrow :

If thou remember not thy great *God*, thou shalt be plundered half-way.<sup>5</sup>

## LXXIV

Kabir, I am God's dog ; Moti<sup>6</sup> is my name ;

There is a string<sup>7</sup> on my neck ; where I am pulled there I go.

## LXXV

Kabir, why displayest thou to men thy wooden rosary ?

If thou remember not God in thy heart, what availeth this rosary ?

## LXXVI

Kabir, separation from God, like a serpent which yieldeth to no charm, dwelleth in the heart ;

<sup>1</sup> Human birth shall not be again obtained by those who meditate not on God.

<sup>2</sup> God admitted me to His service.

<sup>3</sup> That is, why fear death which is imminent and unavoidable ?

<sup>4</sup> Literally—to weep and die in one's efforts to obtain it.

<sup>5</sup> All the good works you have performed shall only help you half-way ; but, if you have meditated on God, you shall be saved.

<sup>6</sup> Moti—literally pearl—is a common Indian name for a favourite dog.

<sup>7</sup> God's love.

He who is separated from God shall not live, or if he do, he shall become insane.<sup>1</sup>

## LXXVII

Kabir, the philosopher's stone and sandal have one good property *in common* ;

By the touch of the former iron becometh the best *metal* ;<sup>2</sup>  
by the touch of the latter inodorous wood is *perfumed*.

## LXXVIII

Kabir, Death's club is bad ; it cannot be endured :

I have met a holy man<sup>3</sup> and he hath attached me to his skirt.

## LXXIX

Kabir, the physician, saith, 'I am the only good physician ; *all* medicines are in my power' :

This thing *life* is God's property, He taketh it when He pleaseth.

## LXXX

Kabir, take and beat thy drum for ten days ;<sup>4</sup>

*This world* is like the meeting on a river-boat of *persons* who shall never meet again.<sup>5</sup>

## LXXXI

Kabir, were I to make the seven oceans my ink, the trees of the forest my pens,

And the earth my paper, I should not *succeed* in writing God's praises.

## LXXXII

Kabir, what harm can my weaver caste do me since God dwelleth in my heart ?

God hath embraced Kabir, and released him from all his entanglements.

<sup>1</sup> The serpent shall sting him, and he shall either die or become insane.

<sup>2</sup> Gold.

<sup>3</sup> Rāmānand.

<sup>4</sup> Be happy while you may.

<sup>5</sup> Compare—

The world's a city full of straying streets,  
And death the market-place where each one meets.

## LXXXIII

Kabir, there are few willing to burn their own houses,<sup>1</sup>  
 Destroy their five children,<sup>2</sup> and concentrate their love  
 on God.

## LXXXIV

Kabir, there are few who will set fire to their own  
 bodies ;<sup>3</sup>

Fools understand not though Kabir continueth to shout  
 to them.

## LXXXV

Kabir, the sati mounted on the pyre crieth out 'Hear  
 my friends on this cremation-ground ;

As people have all departed, so do we at last.'

## LXXXVI

Kabir, the mind is a bird which flieth and flieth in every  
 direction ;

Man is rewarded according to the company he keepeth.

## LXXXVII

Kabir, the position thou wast seeking thou hast found ;  
 Thou hast changed into God whom thou thoughtest was  
 different.

## LXXXVIII

Kabir, I am dying of evil company like the plantain near  
 the wild caper ;

The latter waveth and the former is pierced *by its thorns*,  
 so avoid the apostate.

## LXXXIX

Kabir, men <sup>4</sup> affect to travel with the burden of other  
 men's sins on their heads ;

Why fear they not the burden *of their own*, since the road  
 in front *of them* is difficult to travel ?

<sup>1</sup> To mortify their flesh.

<sup>2</sup> The five evil passions as dear to men as their children.

<sup>3</sup> To subdue their concupiscence.

<sup>4</sup> The Brāhmans.

## XC

Kabir, a standing forest tree<sup>1</sup> which is burning calleth out—  
 ‘ May I not fall into the power of the smith <sup>2</sup> who would  
 burn me again *in his forge*.’<sup>3</sup>

One day Kabir was sitting on the bank of the Ganges. He saw a hunter who had shot a deer. The deer had two young ones in her womb. Both these died. The buck then came, and was also shot by the hunter. The latter went to pick up the animal and was mortally bitten by a snake. The hunter’s wife then came and died through grief, or because the snake bit her too. Thus died four males and two females.

## XCI

Kabir, on the death of one two died ; on the death of two, four ;

On the death of four, six died—four males and two females.<sup>4</sup>

## XCII

Kabir hath seen and searched the world, but found no *abiding* place anywhere :

Why doth he, who hath not thought of God’s name, lose himself in other *speculations* ?

## XCIII

Kabir, associate with the saint ; he will save thee at last ;  
 Associate not with the infidel ; his company will be thy ruin.

## XCIV

Kabir, knowing that God is everywhere diffused in the world,<sup>5</sup> I have remembered Him in this life ;

<sup>1</sup> The body.

<sup>2</sup> The god of death.

<sup>3</sup> That is, subject me to transmigration after the miseries of this life.

<sup>4</sup> This enigmatical couplet is thus explained—On the death of spiritual ignorance, superstition and attachment to worldly things die. When these two evils die, then die lust, anger, worldly love, and covetousness. When these four deadly sins die, then die birth and death (jointly called transmigration), joy, grief, hope, and desire. The first four are feminine, the last two are masculine.

<sup>5</sup> That is, not in the temple, or the mosque, or in any other place especially set apart for religious worship.



They who have thought not of God's name, have been born in vain.

## XCV

Kabir, hope in God ; all other hope is hopeless :

They who are bereft of God's name shall admit *its power* when they fall into hell.

## XCVI

Kabir hath made many disciples and followers, but hath not made God his friend :

He set out to meet God, but his heart failed him half-way.

## XCVII

Kabir, what shall poor man do if God assist him not ?

Whatever branch I put my foot on bendeth *beneath me*.

## XCVIII

Kabir, sand shall fall into the mouths of those *who practise* not what they preach to others ;

They watch others' property, while their own fields are being eaten up.

## XCIX

Kabir, associate with holy men even though thou eat only barley bran :

What will be, will be ; associate not with the apostate *even though he give thee better fare*.

## C.

Kabir, by association with the saints the love *of God* doubleth day by day :

The infidel is like a black blanket ; he becometh not white by washing.

## CI

Kabir, thou hast not shaved thy heart ; why shave thy hair ?

Man's sins are the work of his heart ; shaving the head is out of place.

## CII

Kabir, forsake not God ; if thy body and wealth must go, let them go.

They whose hearts are devoted to God's lotus feet, shall be absorbed in His name.

## CIII

Kabir, the strings of the instrument we play upon are all broken ;<sup>1</sup>

What can the poor instrument do when the player<sup>2</sup> hath departed ?

## CIV

Kabir, shave the mother of that guru from whom doubt departeth not ;

He is drowned himself in the four Veds and he drowneth his disciples therein.

## CV

Kabir, man concealeth all the sins he committeth ;

But at last they are all disclosed when Dharmraj maketh his inquiry.

## CVI

Kabir, ceasing to remember God thou hast reared a numerous family :

Thou continuest to practise thine avocations though thy brethren and relations are no more.<sup>3</sup>

## CVII

Kabir, the woman who ceasing to remember God goes to a wake at night<sup>4</sup> *to practise witchcraft*,

Shall be born again as a serpent, and eat her own offspring.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The body has grown old, and its limbs have become useless.

<sup>2</sup> Life.

<sup>3</sup> That is, thou wilt not take warning by the fate of others.

<sup>4</sup> After the cremation of a corpse and before the bones are collected strangers go to the burning-place at night, and practise incantations with the object of retaining the ghost of the departed so as to be serviceable to them in their worldly objects. When the relatives of the departed know of the ceremony, they do not allow it.

<sup>5</sup> It is supposed that a female snake draws a circle round her eggs and then breaks them herself. The young snakes which can go outside the circle are allowed to depart and live, but those not so able the mother is said to eat.

## CVIII

Kabir, the woman who ceasing to remember God fasteth in honour of Hoi,<sup>1</sup>

Shall be born again as a donkey and carry a weight of four mans.<sup>2</sup>

## CIX

Kabir, very great skill *is required* to utter God's *name* in the heart ;

If the *acrobat* who performeth on the high pole fall, he cannot survive.<sup>3</sup>

## CX

Kabir, blest is his mouth who uttereth God's *name* ;

His *whole* village shall be blest, *to say nothing of* the poor *creature* himself.

## CXI

Kabir, the family is fortunate in which a slave of God is born ;

The family in which a slave of God is not born shall be *fruitless* as the *dhak*-tree.

## CXII

Kabir *hath seen* hundreds of thousands of horses, elephants, and carriages, and banners wave as thick as clouds—

Begging, when the days pass in remembering God, is better than *all* this state.

## CXIII

Kabir, I have traversed the whole world with my drum on my shoulder ;

I have seen and carefully examined <sup>4</sup> everything, and *I find* no one hath a friend.

<sup>1</sup> Hoi is a representation of the goddess of small-pox. A festival is held by women in her honour in the month of Kārtik, eight days before the Diwāli. Unmarried women make clay images of her with the object of obtaining their desires. These images are thrown into water after the Diwāli. In the Panjāb Hoi is known as Sānjhi.

<sup>2</sup> At that time the man (maund) only weighed thirty-five pounds avoirdupois. At present it weighs eighty pounds.

<sup>3</sup> If man, having once entered the path of devotion deflect from it, he shall find no abiding place.

<sup>4</sup> *Thok bajāna* is to clink a vessel with the middle finger to test its soundness.

## CXIV

Kabir, pearls were scattered on the road ; a blind man came that way *and saw them not* ;

Without the light of the Lord of the world everybody like the blind man passeth the pearls by.

It is said that Kamal, Kabir's son, met a rich leper who was going in despair to drown himself in the Ganges. Kamal begged him to desist and promised to cure him. Kamal took up some Ganges water in the palm of his hand, breathed on it, repeated the name of God, and then threw the water on the leper. The latter was instantaneously cured. He rewarded Kamal with a large gift of money. In the following couplet Kabir censures his son for having accepted it :—

## CXV

Kabir's family was ruined when his son Kamal was born ;  
Ceasing to remember God he brought home wealth.

## CXVI

Kabir, go to meet a holy man but take no one with thee ;<sup>1</sup>  
Do not go back ; go on, come what may.

## CXVII

Bind not thyself, O Kabir, with the rope<sup>2</sup> by which the world is bound ;

As salt is lost in flour, so shall this gold-like body *disappear*.

## CXVIII

Kabir, the soul shall fly away and the body be buried ;  
man knoweth not *when his time shall come* ;<sup>3</sup>

Yet even now he will not let covetousness escape from his eyes.

<sup>1</sup> That is, do not wait for a companion. It may also mean—take not with you a companion who may want you to change your mind, and turn back on the way.

<sup>2</sup> Worldly love.

<sup>3</sup> Also translated—He expresses his wishes to his relations by signs.



## CXIX

Kabir, may I behold Thee, *O God*, with mine eyes, hear  
Thy name with mine ears,

Utter Thy name with my tongue, and put Thy lotus  
feet within my heart !

## CXX

Kabir hath escaped from heaven and hell by the favour  
of the true guru ;

I bask for ever and ever <sup>1</sup> in the joy of God's lotus feet.

## CXXI

Kabir, say how can I guess the joy of God's lotus feet ;  
Their beauty cannot be described ; it can only be realized  
when seen.

## CXXII

Kabir, even if I see them, to whom shall I describe them ?  
no one would be satisfied *with my words* ;

God is His own parallel ; I dwell in the delight of singing  
His praises.

## CXXIII

Kabir, the kulang pecketh *its food* and at the same time  
remembereth *its young* ; it pecketh, and pecketh, and  
pecketh and remembereth *its young* ;

As its young are dear to the kulang, so is worldly love to  
the mind.

## CXXIV

Kabir, the sky is overcast with clouds ; lakes and tanks  
are filled with rain-water ;

*Yet* what shall be the condition of those who *choose* to  
remain thirsty as the chatrik ? <sup>2</sup>

## CXXV

Kabir, the sheldrake which at night is separated from  
her mate, meeteth him in the morning ;

*But* the man who is separated from God meeteth Him  
again neither in the morning nor in the evening.

<sup>1</sup> Literally—in the beginning and the end.

<sup>2</sup> Those who accept not the teaching of holy men which is as  
plentiful as rain.

## CXXVI

Kabir, O shell, remain in the ocean ; if thou leave it,  
Thou shalt have to scream at sunrise at every temple.<sup>1</sup>

## CXXVII

Kabir, what dost thou, O man, by sleeping ? arise and  
weep through fear *of hell and its* torments :

How can he whose dwelling is in the grave sleep in peace ? <sup>2</sup>

## CXXVIII

Kabir, what dost thou by sleeping ? why not arise and  
repeat God's *name* ?

One day thou shalt sleep stretched out at full length  
*in the grave.*

## CXXIX

Kabir, what dost thou by sleeping ? awake, arise ;  
Attach thyself to Him from whom thou art separated.

## CXXX

Kabir, leave not the way of holy men, walk on their  
road ;

Purify thyself by the sight of them, and repeat God's  
name on meeting them.

## CXXXI

Kabir, associate not with the infidel ; flee far away *from*  
*him* ;

If thou touch a black pot, some filth shall attach to thee.

## CXXXII

Kabir, thou hast not thought of God, and old age hath  
come upon thee ;

When the door of thy house is on fire, what can be taken  
out and saved ?

<sup>1</sup> That is, O man, remain absorbed in the contemplation of God,  
otherwise thou shalt have to undergo many births. At Hindu temples  
it is a custom to blow shells in the morning to summon worshippers.

<sup>2</sup> Unless we have repented before death.

## CXXXIII

Kabir, the work which the Creator did was accomplished *once for all*.

There is no God *but Him*, the one Creator.

## CXXXIV

Kabir, when the fruit *trees* begin to bear fruit, and the mango beginneth to ripen,

The fruit reacheth its owner if meantime the crows<sup>1</sup> have not eaten it.

## CXXXV

Kabir, men purchase and worship an idol, and obstinately go on pilgrimages ;

Like actors they imitate one another, but they only err and lose their way.

## CXXXVI

Kabir, men have turned a stone into God ; everybody worshippeth it ;

They who abide in this belief are drowned in the sable stream.

## CXXXVII

Kabir, books<sup>2</sup> form a prison, the doors of which are the writing thereon :

Stones<sup>3</sup> have drowned the world ; pandits have pillaged the road.

## CXXXVIII

Kabir, do now the work of to-morrow ; and if thou do it now, do it at once ;

Nothing can be done hereafter when Death standeth over thy head.

<sup>1</sup> If the evil passions of men do not mar their good works, they shall reach God. *Kānb* is also an insect which destroys fruit. The meaning of the slok is—Man may perform penance and many acts of worship, but all will be unavailing if there be a flaw in his devotion, if his heart be not right.

<sup>2</sup> The writings in which idolatry and pilgrimages are prescribed.

<sup>3</sup> Idol worship.

## CXXXIX

Kabir, I have seen such and such a person polished like wax ; <sup>1</sup>

He appeareth quick and very virtuous, but he is without understanding and unholy.

## CXL

Kabir, Death will not disgrace mine understanding <sup>2</sup>

Since I have repeated the name of the Cherisher who created him.

## CXLI

Kabir, *God* is as musk ; all His saints are as the bumble-bees *around it* :

The more Kabir's service, the more God dwelleth *in his heart*.

## CXLII

Kabir, man falleth into the clutches of family ; God is left in the background :

Dharmraj's myrmidons fall on man in the midst of his pomp.

## CXLIII

Kabir, better than an infidel is a pig <sup>3</sup> which keepeth the village clean ;

When the poor infidel dieth, nobody will mention him.

## CXLIV

Kabir, men have amassed hundreds of thousands and millions, kauri by kauri ;

But when departing they get nothing ; *even* their waist-cloths are taken from them.

## CXLV

Kabir, were one to be a follower of Vishnu and wear a beautiful <sup>4</sup> necklace, what would it avail him ?

<sup>1</sup> Bracelets made of white wax are worn by women. They are showy but unsubstantial.

<sup>2</sup> That is, he will do as I request him.

<sup>3</sup> He is the village scavenger, and is remembered when the poor infidel is forgotten.

<sup>4</sup> Also translated—four necklaces as some followers of Vishnu wear.

He may be externally gold twelve times purified, but within he is only stuffed with wax.

## CXLVI

Kabir, become the broken stones of the road ; lay aside thine intellectual pride ;

If such a servant there be, he shall meet God.

## CXLVII

Kabir, *but* what would it avail to be the broken stones ? they would hurt the traveller's feet ;

O God, Thy servant should be as the dust of the earth.<sup>1</sup>

## CXLVIII

Kabir, *but* what would it avail to be dust which flieth and falleth on men's bodies ?

The servant of God ought to be like water which *cleanseth* all the limbs.<sup>2</sup>

## CXLIX

Kabir, *but* what would it avail to be water ? it becometh cold or hot *according to the season* ;

Every servant of God ought to be *perfect* like God Himself.

## CL

Flags wave on the tops of lofty mansions *full* of gold and of women—

Better than all are the bread of alms<sup>3</sup> and singing God's praises in the company of His saints.

## CLI

Kabir, the wilderness where God is worshipped is better than a city ;

The place without the beloved God is in my opinion as the city of Death.

<sup>1</sup> Which is soft, and hurts not the traveller's feet.

<sup>2</sup> When soiled by the dust.

<sup>3</sup> *Madhūkari*. This word is derived from the Sanskrit *madhūkar*, the bee which extracts honey from every flower.



## CLII

At the ferry of Sahajsun where the Ganges and the Jamna meet,<sup>1</sup>

Kabir hath built a hut where saints and men *of God* seek the way.

## CLIII

Kabir, were man to continue to the end *loving God*<sup>2</sup> as he was born,

Millions of precious stones, to say nothing of one poor diamond, would not be equal to him.

## CLIV

Kabir, I have seen a strange thing—a diamond was sold in a shop ;

In the absence of a purchaser *who knew its worth*, it went for a kauri.<sup>3</sup>

## CLV

Kabir, where there is divine knowledge there is virtue ; where there is falsehood there is sin ;

Where there is covetousness there is death ; where there is forgiveness there is *God Himself*.

## CLVI

Kabir, what availeth it to abandon worldly love if pride be not *also* abandoned ?

Munis and their spiritual superiors perished by pride ; their pride ate them all up.

## CLVII

Kabir, a true guru met me and shot one word at me ;

When it struck me I fell to the earth ; there was a hole made in my heart.

<sup>1</sup> The gyānis generally translate this—In the sukhmana where the breath of the left and right nostrils meet.

<sup>2</sup> The belief is that the foetus in the womb prays to God, but when a child is born and brought into contact with the world, his devotion fails.

<sup>3</sup> Divine grace so priceless was spurned by the common herd, and only valued at a kauri.

## CLVIII

Kabir, what can the true guru do if his disciples be at fault ?

Not one *word* of his impresseth the *spiritually* blind : it is like blowing into a bamboo.

## CLIX

Kabir, the lady of a monarch who possesseth horses, elephants, and carriages in abundance,

Is not equal to the female water-carrier of a saint of God.

## CLX

*Q.* O Kabir, why revilest thou the king's lady ? Why honourest thou God's handmaiden ?

*A.* The former parteth her hair with evil intentions ; the latter remembereth God's name.

## CLXI

Kabir, I propped myself up with *God's name*, and steadied myself ; the true guru gave me courage :

I purchased large diamonds on the bank of lake Mansarowar.

## CLXII

Kabir, God is the diamond, God's servant the jeweller who hath taken *the gem* and set up a shop *for it* ;

As soon as an assayer is found, the price of the diamond shall be *ascertained*.

## CLXIII

Kabir, as thou rememberest God when occasion requireth, so remember Him always ;

Make thine abode in the immortal city ; God will restore the wealth thou hast lost.

## CLXIV

Kabir, for worship two beings are necessary ; one the saint, and the other God—

God who bestoweth salvation, and the saint who causeth us to repeat His name.

## CLXV

Kabir, crowds followed the pandits by the way they went ;  
The one road to God by which Kabir hath been ascending  
is difficult.

## CLXVI

Kabir, man acteth out of regard for his family and thus  
dieth from worldly troubles ;

Who hath family pride when he is placed on the cremation-  
ground ?

## CLXVII

Kabir, O wretched people, ye shall be ruined through  
your great regard for *the opinion of* others ;

Know that the fate of your neighbours shall also be yours.

## CLXVIII

Kabir, good is the meal of alms made of different kinds<sup>1</sup>  
of corn ;

I have no claim on any one *for it* ; great is the country  
and great its government.<sup>2</sup>

## CLXIX

Kabir, heart-burning ariseth from claims ; he who hath  
no claim is without anxiety ;

He who hath no claim deemeth Indar poor in *comparison*  
*with himself*.

## CLXX

Kabir, the lake is filled to the brim, yet few can drink  
the water ;<sup>3</sup>

With great good fortune hast thou found it ; drink it  
in handfuls, Kabir.

<sup>1</sup> And thus affording variety.

<sup>2</sup> That is, the world is wide, and great is the empire of the holy. The words *dāwa kāhū ko nahīn* are also translated—To which no one hath a claim.

<sup>3</sup> The saints are filled with holiness, yet few accept instruction from them. The verse is also translated—The lake is full, but there is a dike in front owing to which few can drink the water. The dike means worldly love, which hinders men from having recourse to the guru.

## CLXXI

Kabir, as the stars pass away in the morning, so doth this body pass away ;

But the two letters of God's name pass not away ; Kabir holdeth them fast.

## CLXXII

Kabir, the house of wood is on fire on all sides ;<sup>1</sup>

The pandits perish in the fire while the illiterate escape.

## CLXXIII

Kabir, dispel doubts, leave the books of *the pandits* ;

Having searched the Sanskrit books fix thy thoughts on God's feet.

## CLXXIV

Kabir, saints abandon not their saintship, even though they meet millions who are not saints :

Even though sandal be entwined with serpents, it loseth not its coolness.<sup>2</sup>

## CLXXV

Kabir, the mind becometh cool when it hath obtained the knowledge of God :

The fire which burneth the world is as water to God's servant.<sup>3</sup>

## CLXXVI

This world is the Creator's play ; hardly any one understandeth this ;

The Master Himself or the slave at His court<sup>4</sup> understandeth it.

## CLXXVII

Kabir, it is well for me that I felt the fear *of God* and forgot all else :

<sup>1</sup> That is, evil passions assail the body.

<sup>2</sup> As poisonous serpents have no effect on sandal-wood, so the evil do not corrupt the holy.

<sup>3</sup> The evil passions which inflame mankind produce no impression on him.

<sup>4</sup> *Diwānī* may also mean divine enthusiast deemed mad by the world.

From hail I melted into water, and flowing on I blended with the Ocean.<sup>1</sup>

## CLXXVIII

Kabir, *God* having collected dust made bodies like a *physician's* powders—

Spectacles for four days, but after all they are only dust.

## CLXXIX

Kabir, all bodies are as the rising and *setting* of the sun and moon ;<sup>2</sup>

But if they meet not God and the guru, they all turn into dust again.

## CLXXX

Where the Fearless One is, there is no fear of others ; where there is fear, there God is not :

Kabir speaketh *thus* deliberately ; O saints, give me willing ear.

## CLXXXI

Kabir, they who know naught pass their time in the sleep of peace :

While they who think they know have their fill of trouble.

## CLXXXII

Kabir, they who are subdued *by worldly love* utter many cries, but different is the cry of the *pir* :<sup>3</sup>

Kabir who was struck on a vulnerable spot<sup>4</sup> fell where he stood.

## CLXXXIII

Kabir, slight is the stroke of a lance ; though struck by it man may breathe *for a time* ;

But he who can endure the stroke of the Word is a guru,<sup>5</sup> and I am his slave.

<sup>1</sup> Kabir's heart was at first cold and hard as hail. When the fire of divine love shone on it, it melted into water, which, flowing on, blended with the ocean of God.

<sup>2</sup> Animals' bodies are born and die.

<sup>3</sup> Also translated—Many cry out that they are struck by God's love, but the pain *they exhibit* tells a different story. The word *pīr* has two meanings : (a) a priest or saint ; (b) pain.

<sup>4</sup> That is, the heart.

<sup>5</sup> It can only be endured by a guru.



## CLXXXIV

Kabir, why, O Mulla, ascendest thou the minaret ? the Lord is not deaf :

Search within thy heart for Him for whose sake thou callest to prayer.

## CLXXXV

Why doth the Shaikh who is without resignation, perform a pilgrimage to the Kaaba ?

Kabir, how can God be for him whose heart is not firm in *his faith* ?

## CLXXXVI

Kabir, offer thy homage to God, by remembering whom trouble shall depart ;

The Lord will be manifest in thy heart, and the fire <sup>1</sup> which burneth thee shall be extinguished.

## CLXXXVII

Kabir, to use force is tyranny though thou call it lawful ;

When thine accounts are called for at *God's* office, what shall be thy condition ?

## CLXXXVIII

Kabir, an excellent dinner is *khichari* <sup>2</sup> *seasoned* with *sufficient* salt to make it palatable ;

Who would cut his own throat by *eating* meat with his bread ? <sup>3</sup>

## CLXXXIX

Kabir, know that the guru will have touched thy heart when worldly love and ambition have been effaced ;

Joy and sorrow shall not then affect thee ; thou *shalt become* God Himself.<sup>4</sup>

## CXC

Kabir, there are different ways of saying Ram ; <sup>5</sup> there is one point to be considered :

<sup>1</sup> Some read *nāi* and translate—The fire *of thy heart* shall be extinguished by God's name.

<sup>2</sup> Rice and *dāl* boiled together.

<sup>3</sup> Kabir was a vegetarian, and objected to the slaughter of animals.

<sup>4</sup> Thou shalt have no consciousness of existence distinct from God.

<sup>5</sup> Rām is the name of God throughout Kabir and the other Bhagats'

He whom everybody calleth Ram was *only* a mountebank.<sup>1</sup>

## CXCI

Kabir, call Him Ram who is omnipresent ; we must discriminate in mentioning *the two Rams* ;

The one Ram (God) is contained in all things ; the other (Ram Chandar) is only contained in one thing, *himself*.<sup>2</sup>

## CXCII

Kabir, in the house in which saints are not served God is not served ;

That house is like a cremation-ground, and ghosts dwell therein.

## CXCIII

Kabir, I have become dumb, insane, deaf,  
And lame from the stroke of the true guru's arrow.

## CXCIV

Kabir, the brave true guru shot an arrow *at me* ;  
On its striking me I fell to the ground with a hole in my heart.<sup>3</sup>

## CXCV

Kabir, the pure rain of heaven<sup>4</sup> hath fallen on barren soil ;

compositions. Sometimes Har, Hari, Gobind, and other names are used, but it is understood that the reference is always to the Supreme God, the Lord of creation.

<sup>1</sup> Although in some of their hymns Kabir and some of the other Bhagats of the Granth Sāhib appear to have believed in the Hindu incarnations, they occasionally ridiculed them.

<sup>2</sup> Some Sikhs translate this and the preceding slok as follows :—

## CXC

Kabir, there are different ways of uttering Rām ; in this there is an important point.

*People* in general utter Rām one way, and the saints another way.

## CXCI

Kabir, utter Rām, Rām, but use discrimination in uttering it.  
Some *while doing so* are engaged in their various *pursuits* while others are absorbed in the one God.

<sup>3</sup> That is, the guru's exhortation made an impression on my heart.

<sup>4</sup> The true guru's instruction.

Know that without good association it becometh like the ashes of a furnace ;

## CXCVI

*But*, Kabir, when the pure rain of heaven meeteth absorbing soil,<sup>1</sup>

It cannot be removed, however much clever men may worry themselves.

## CXCVII

Kabir, I was going on a pilgrimage to the Kaaba, and I met God on the way ;

The Lord fell a-quarrelling with me, ' Who ordered thee to go to that place ? '

## CXCVIII

Kabir, I have often made the pilgrimage to the Kaaba—how many times, O Kabir ?

O my Master, what fault have I committed that Thou wilt not speak to me ?

## CXCIX

Kabir, when God produceth His record, what shall be the fate of him

Who violently killeth animals and calleth it lawful ?

## CC

Kabir, to use violence is tyranny ; God will call for thy defence ;

When thine account is produced from His office, thou shalt be beaten on the mouth.

## CCI

Kabir, to render thine account is easy, if thy heart be pure ;  
In that True Court no one shall molest thee.<sup>2</sup>

## CCII

*Saith* Kabir, O duality, in earth and heaven thou art very difficult to destroy ;<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> When the guru's instruction is communicated to men capable of receiving it.

<sup>2</sup> Literally—catch thee by the coat.

<sup>3</sup> If *tūbari* be read as one word, the translation will be—In earth and heaven there are two beggar's bowls—desire and covetousness—difficult to destroy.

The six religious systems and the eighty-four Sidhs are involved in doubt.

## CCIII

Kabir, whatever there is in me is not mine ; whatever there is, is Thine, *O God*.

If Thine own property be rendered unto Thee, what doth it cost me ?

## CCIV

Kabir, by repeating, ' Thou, Thou,' I have become Thou, O God ; I have not remained in myself ;  
: When the difference between Thee and me was removed, wherever I looked there *wast* Thou.

## CCV

Kabir, man meditateth sin and entertaineth delusive hopes ;

None of his desires is satisfied ; he departeth in despair.

## CCVI

Kabir, he who remembereth God is happy in *this* world ;  
He whom the Creator protecteth wavereth not either in this world or the next.

## CCVII

Kabir, I was being pressed like a handful of sesame when the true guru rescued me ;

He came and appeared to me by primal and ancient destiny.

## CCVIII

Kabir, my days have been spent in evading *payment of my debts to God* ; interest goeth on increasing ;

I worshipped not God, nor had I my account torn up when Death arrived.

Guru Arjan has here inserted the three following couplets :—

## CCIX

Kabir, man is a barking dog which runneth after carrion : <sup>1</sup>  
By grace I have obtained the true guru who hath delivered me.

<sup>1</sup> Literally—a skeleton.

## CCX

Kabir, the earth belongeth to the holy, but thieves have taken possession of it ;

The earth feeleth not their weight ; to them it is clear gain.<sup>1</sup>

## CCXI

Kabir, on account of the husk rice is beaten with a mallet ;  
So when men sit in bad company, Dharmraj shall call them to account.

Here Kabir's couplets continue :—

## CCXII

' O Namdev, worldly love hath bewitched *thee*,' said his friend Trilochan ;

' Why printest thou chintzes and thinkest not on God ? '

## CCXIII

Namdev replied, ' Repeat God's name with thy lips, O Trilochan,

' Perform all thy duties with thy hands and feet, *but* let thy heart be with God.'

Guru Arjan again interposes :—

## CCXIV

O Kabir, no one hath any concern with me nor I with any one ;

I am contained in Him who hath created this world.

Kabir's instructions are resumed :—

## CCXV

Kabir, when flour hath fallen into the mud, none of it is saved ;

It is that which is chewed while being ground that availeth.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> In this line if *bhāran* be read as one word, the translation will be—  
The earth feeleth their weight ; *O God*, remove them.

<sup>2</sup> Human life is the time for man to work out his salvation. It is too late when the soul has departed.



## CCXVI

Kabir, man knoweth everything, and yet he knowingly committeth sin ;

What advantage is it to a man to have a lamp in his hand if he fall into a well ?

## CCXVII

Kabir, my love is for the Friend ; foolish people *try* to dissuade me ;

How can it be proper to break with Him to whom belong my life and soul ?

## CCXVIII

Kabir, why killest thou thyself on account of houses, and mansions, and their decoration,

When three and a half cubits, or at most three and three quarters, shall be thy lot ?

## CCXIX

Kabir, if *God* do not what I desire, what availeth my desiring it ;

God doeth what He Himself desireth, not what I desire.

The following couplet of Guru Amar Das, is here found :—

## CCXX

God produceth anxiety in man, and also freeth him therefrom ;

Nanak, praise Him who taketh care of all.

A couplet of Guru Arjan here follows :—

## CCXXI

Kabir, man thinketh not of God ; he goeth astray through greed ;

He dieth committing sin, and his life is at an end in a moment.

Here Kabir's couplets continue :—

## CCXXII

Kabir, the body is a frail vessel of only frail metal ;

If thou wish to make it permanent, worship God, otherwise it will perish.

## CCXXIII

Kabir, call out the name of God ; sleep not listlessly ;  
By calling out night and day *God* may sometime hear thy cries.

## CCXXIV

Kabir, the body is a plantain grove, the heart an elephant maddened by passion, which *breaketh it down* ;

The jewel of divine knowledge is the goad, and a rare saint the tamer <sup>1</sup> of the elephant.

## CCXXV

Kabir, God's name is a jewel, the mouth a purse to hold it ; open it before him who can appreciate *the jewel* ;

If any purchaser be found, he may take it at a high price.<sup>2</sup>

## CCXXVI

Kabir, *man* knoweth not God's name while bringing up a numerous family ;

He dieth in the midst of his worldly duties, and is not heard of in the outer *world*.

## CCXXVII

Kabir, in the twinkling of an eye and in a moment life passeth away ;

Since the mind freeth not itself from entanglements, Death beateth his drum, *and leadeth away his victim in triumph*.

## CCXXVIII

Kabir, God is as a tree, abandonment of the world as its fruit ;

The saint who hath abandoned bootless discussions <sup>3</sup> as its shade.

<sup>1</sup> *Khevat*, literally—the pilot who steers the elephant.

<sup>2</sup> He may even give his life for it.

<sup>3</sup> The saint, like a tree's shade, affords comfort to man.

## CCXXIX

Kabir, plant the seed of such *a tree* as shall bear perennial fruit,

*Whose* shade shall be cool, whose fruit shall be profuse, and on which birds<sup>1</sup> shall play.

## CCXXX

Kabir, the Giver is a tree whose fruit is mercy *which sheddeth* favours on men ;

When the birds which it sheltereth migrate,<sup>2</sup> they say ' O Tree, mayest thou be fruitful ! '

## CCXXXI

Kabir, association with saints is obtained by destiny ;  
By such association the boon of salvation is obtained, and the difficult road *to God* not obstructed.

## CCXXXII

Kabir, even for a ghari, half a ghari, or half that again, Converse held with the saints is clear gain.

## CCXXXIII

Kabir, the mortals who eat bhang and fish<sup>3</sup> and drink wine,

Shall all go to hell, whatever pilgrimages, fastings, and daily devotion they may perform.

## CCXXXIV

Kabir, if I cast down mine eyes and take the Friend into my heart,

I enjoy every pleasure with my Beloved, and I disclose this to no one.

The fifth Guru here interposes :—

<sup>1</sup> Holy men.

<sup>2</sup> The saints wander abroad to blazon God's goodness.

<sup>3</sup> In Kabir's time the Banāras pandits used to partake largely of fish.

## CCXXXV

For the eight watches, the sixty-four *gharis* of the day,  
my soul looketh towards Thee, O God.

Why cast down mine eyes since I behold the Beloved  
in every heart ?

## CCXXXVI

Hear, my companions, either my soul dwelleth in my  
Beloved or my Beloved in my soul.

I know not whether my soul is in my heart, or my Beloved  
dwelleth in my soul.

## CCXXXVII

Kabir, the Brahman is the guru of the world, but he is  
not the guru of the saints ;

He killeth himself over the perplexities of the four Veds.

## CCXXXVIII

God is as sugar scattered in the sand, but the elephant  
cannot pick it up ;

Saith Kabir, the guru gave this excellent advice, ' Become  
an ant and eat it.'<sup>1</sup>

## CCXXXIX

Kabir, if thou desire the Beloved, cut off thy head and  
make it into a ball ;<sup>2</sup>

While playing attain such a state of *ecstasy* that *thou*  
*shalt be satisfied* with whatever happeneth thee.

## CCXL

Kabir, if thou desire the Beloved, play with a true guru ;  
If unripe oil-seeds be pressed, neither oil-cake nor oil will  
be obtained.<sup>3</sup>

Here a couplet of Namdev is introduced :—

<sup>1</sup> The humble succeed where the proud fail.

<sup>2</sup> Such is the sacrifice that must be made to enable man to play  
with the saints, and share in their bliss.

<sup>3</sup> Nothing can be obtained from a false guru's instruction.

## CCXLI

Man searching for God stumbleth like a blind man and recognizeth not the saint ;

Saith Namdev, how shalt thou obtain God without the mediation of His saints ?

The following lines of Rav Das are here inserted :—

## CCXLII

He who forsaking God the diamond yearneth for other gods,

Shall go to hell, verily saith Rav Das.

## CCXLIII

O Kabir, if thou embrace a domestic life, act honestly ; otherwise abandon the world ;

But if any one, having abandoned the world, *again* become entangled *with it*, great indeed shall be his misfortune.

## RAV DAS

RAV DAS is the author of many hymns in the Granth Sahib. He was certainly a disciple of Ramand and a contemporary of Kabir, but otherwise there is nothing known regarding his precise date, parentage, or place of birth. When Rav Das arrived at years of discretion he began to wait on saints. He used to present them with everything he could procure from his father's house. His father was displeased at this and gave him a separate place of residence. Though his father's wealth and means were considerable, yet he gave nothing whatever to his son. The latter, who by this time had entered the married state, supported himself and his wife by making shoes, and lived very happily. Whenever he saw a holy man he supplied him gratuitously with covering for his feet. He afterwards built a hut, set up in it an idol which he had made from



a hide, and applied himself to its worship. When he was reproached for making an idol out of a hide, he defended himself by descanting on the various advantages of hides. Drums used in worship were made from hides. The cow held sacred by Hindus had a hide. God is contained in animals which have hides, &c., &c.

Rav Das was ever immersed in his devotions, a circumstance which led to the abandonment of his trade and the deterioration of his circumstances. He soon presented all the external marks of poverty and hard life, yet his heart was glad and happy in the contemplation of God. It was during this period of distress that a holy man desired to render him assistance. Rav Das gave him bread to eat and lavished every attention on him. His visitor in return presented him with a philosopher's stone, explained its qualities, and told him to keep it carefully. Rav Das replied that he did not require it, as his property and wealth consisted in the name of God. When the visitor saw that Rav Das absolutely coveted nothing, he implored him to accept the philosopher's stone. Rav Das told him he might leave it in the thatch of his house, by which he meant that the article was not worth acceptance. The visitor obeyed Rav Das and departed. On that occasion Rav Das composed the following hymn :—

God's name is the great wealth of God's saints ;

Day by day it increaseth and in no way decreaseth.

Nothing can steal it either by day or night ; its possessor sleepeth secure in his home.

O God, what need of a stone hath he who possesseth this wealth ?

After the lapse of thirteen months the visitor returned and found Rav Das in the same circumstances as before. He asked him what had become of the philosopher's stone. Rav Das replied, ' It must be where thou didst put it ; I have been afraid to touch it.' Upon this the visitor took it from the

thatch and departed, fully satisfied that Rav Das desired no earthly wealth.

One day the saint found five gold coins in a basket employed to hold accessories of worship. The result was that he began to fear even devotion to God, lest it might bring him wealth. Then God said to him in a vision, 'Although thou absolutely desirest nothing, yet accept the wealth I give thee now.' Rav Das promised to do so. A pious admirer gave him money with which he built a sara, or rest-house, wherein he entertained holy men. He then built a temple and so decorated it with a canopy, fringes, cords of gold lace, wall lamps, chandeliers, &c., that visitors on seeing its beauty became enchanted. After that Rav Das built a two-storied house for himself on the site of the hut he had hitherto used as a temple, and there he continued to worship with perfect love.

Rav Das experienced the ordinary fate of men suddenly enriched. The Brahmans, through envy and jealousy, complained to the king of Banaras that there was no authority in the Shastars for a shoemaker to make an image of God, yet Rav Das had without any fear or compunction set up such an image and was worshipping it and offering it homage. He ought therefore to be made to suffer for his presumption. The king summoned Rav Das, but was so much impressed with the dignity and reasonableness of his defence that he found no difficulty in immediately declaring him guiltless of any offence against religion.

Jhali, the Queen of Chitaur, hearing of Rav Das's fame, visited him and became a disciple of his. At this her attendant Brahmans waxed highly indignant. They said that the queen had lost her reason, and they went and complained of her to the Rana, her husband, who had accompanied her to Banaras. He sent for Rav Das, and heard the charges of the assembled Brahmans against him. They repre-

sented the supreme importance of caste, and the impropriety of allowing a shoemaker to usurp a higher spiritual or social position than that in which he had been born. Rav Das replied, 'What is dear to God is devotion; He payeth no heed to caste.' Upon this the Brahmans proposed to refer the matter to the arbitrament of prayer. They read the Veds for three full hours and repeated many spells, but did not succeed in inducing God to persuade the Rana of Rav Das's guilt. When it came to Rav Das's turn, he said, 'O Great King, be true to thy name of Pardoner of sinners.' He then sang a couple of stanzas. The first line of the first stanza is:—

O come without delay or call me unto Thee.

The first lines of the second stanza are:—

O God of gods, I Thy protection crave;

Have mercy on me, knowing me Thy slave.

The Rana was easily convinced of Rav Das's innocence and expressed himself accordingly. Upon this it is said all present became believers in Rav Das's sanctity.

After that Queen Jhali left Banaras, and returned to her kingdom, where she decided on holding a thanksgiving festival. With great modesty and humility she invited Rav Das to be pleased to attend it. He accepted her invitation and went to Chitaur. His visit afforded her intense pleasure. She distributed a large sum of money in alms on the occasion, and invited the principal Brahmans of her state to meet the holy man. The Brahmans knew that the queen's guru had been a shoemaker, and it would be better for them to take raw provisions of their own and cook them than partake of food proffered by the queen. They accordingly had food cooked for themselves, but, when they sat down to eat it, it is said, they saw Rav Das seated between every two of them. They then believed in his divine mission and fell at his feet. It is stated that he gained many

disciples on that occasion. Rav Das composed the following after the entertainment :—

Clever men,<sup>1</sup> I am notoriously a tanner by caste,  
But in my heart I meditate on God.

If wine be made even with Ganges water, you holy men will not drink it ;

But if wine which is impure, or other liquid be put into Ganges water, the latter will not be altered.<sup>2</sup>

The palmyra palm-tree, sirs, is admittedly impure,<sup>3</sup> as its leaves<sup>4</sup> are also deemed ;

But if God's words be written thereon, men will worship it and bow before it.

My trade is dressing and cutting leather and daily removing dead cattle round about Banaras.

Yet prominent Brahmans now prostrate themselves before me, since I, the slave Rav Das, have sought the shelter of Thy name, *O God*.

Rav Das is said to have been such a perfect saint of God that his conversation and poetry were like suns to dispel the darkness of doubt and infidelity. He performed the meritorious acts prescribed in the Veds and the Shastars. Orientals believe that if milk mixed with water be placed before a swan, it can by its peculiar bill separate both, and drink only the milk. In the same way Rav Das selected virtue from vice, made choice of good acts and avoided things forbidden.

The following compositions of Rav Das are found in the Granth Sahib :

<sup>1</sup> *Nāgar jan*, also translated—Ye city men.

<sup>2</sup> If a man, no matter how highly born, become evil, he is not respected, as wine made with Ganges water is not fit for saints' use. But if, on the contrary, wine be thrown into the Ganges, the Ganges water will still be holy, so the lowly are exalted by association with saints.

<sup>3</sup> Because toddy, an intoxicating liquor, is made out of it.

<sup>4</sup> *Kāgara*, hence kāghaz, the modern Hindustāni name for paper. The leaves of the palm or palmyra-tree were originally used for writing on.



## HYMNS OF RAV DAS

God being light and the soul also light, there is no difference between them except that the soul is encumbered with a body.

## SRI RAG

Between Thee and me, between me and Thee what difference can there be ?

The same as between gold and the bracelet, between water and its ripples.

If I did not commit sin, O Eternal One,

How shouldst Thou have gained the name of Purifier of sinners ?

Thou who art the Lord, art the Searcher of hearts :

The servant is known from his master, and the master from his servant.

Grant me the wisdom to worship Thee with my body.

Rav Das, some rare person who destroyeth his evil passions,<sup>1</sup> may explain this.

Though Rav Das's birth is low, he is a candidate for God's favour.

## GAURI

## I

My associations are low—I think of it day and night—

My birth is mean, mine acts are crooked.

O God, Lord of the earth, Giver of life to men,

Forget me not, I am Thy slave ;

Remove my troubles, make Thy servant full of love for *Thee*.

I will not forsake Thy feet even though my body perish to-morrow.

Saith Rav Das, I seek Thy protection, *O God*.

Quickly come to Thy servant, delay not.

<sup>1</sup>. The *gyānis* translate—Some rare person may explain that God is equally contained in everything.



Rav Das's conception of heaven.

## II

There is a city named Beghampur,<sup>1</sup>  
 Where pain and sorrow find no place ;  
 There is no fear of tribute or of tax ;  
 There is nor care, nor sin, nor dread nor death,  
 Now have I found an excellent abode  
 Where ceaseless happiness doth reign, my friends.  
 There firm and for aye is sovereignty of God,  
 No second or third is there adored,<sup>2</sup> He ruleth alone ;  
 Inhabited and ever famous is that city ;  
 Its people are full dowered with wealth.  
 Theirs it is to wander as they please ;  
 None restraineth them known in the palace,  
 Saith Rav Das, emancipated tanner,  
 My friends become my fellow citizens there.<sup>3</sup>

It is said that a Labana offered an ox to Rav Das. On refusing the present, the saint wrote the following :—

## III

The road to *God* is very difficult and steep, and I have *already* one useless ox.<sup>4</sup>

My one prayer to God is, ' Preserve my capital,<sup>5</sup> O God.'  
 Is there any merchant of God *who will join me*? My goods are laden and about to start.<sup>6</sup>

I am a merchant of God, and deal in divine knowledge.

The wealth I have loaded is God's name ; the world hath loaded poison.

<sup>1</sup> A city where there is no sorrow. This is not Begampur, a village on the left bank of the Bhima, so called because one of Aurangzeb's daughters died and was buried there, while her father was encamped at Brahmapuri on the opposite side of the river.

<sup>2</sup> That is, no Vishnu or Shiv.

<sup>3</sup> That is, they whose lives fit them for that abode are my friends ; and obtain salvation.

<sup>4</sup> My body.

<sup>5</sup> That is, my life.

<sup>6</sup> That is, I am prepared to give religious instruction to whoever will join me.

Ye recording angels, who know this world and the next,  
write whatever nonsense you please *about me, I care not* ;

The club of death will not touch me since I have cast  
away all entanglements.

This world is like the *fleeting* colour of safflower,

*But* the colour of my God is the *permanent* dye of madder,  
saith the tanner Rav Das.

Rav Das prays for divine favour.

#### IV

As a pit full of frogs <sup>1</sup> which know nothing of different  
countries,

So my mind infatuated with evil passions taketh no  
thought of this world or the next.

O Lord of all the world, grant me a sight of Thee for  
a moment ;

My mind is not clear, O God, and so I cannot understand  
Thy condition.

Take pity on me that my doubts may be dispelled, and  
teach me right understanding.

Even supreme Jogis cannot explain Thine attributes which  
are beyond expression.

The tanner Rav Das prayeth for Thy love and service.

The following was Rav Das's reply to a holy man  
who asked the questions contained in the hymn.

#### V

In the Sat age was truth, in the Treta sacrifice, and in  
the Dwapar the performance of worship.

In the three ages these three observances were established,  
but in the Kal age the Name is the only support.

How shall I be saved ?

No one explaineth to me

How my transmigration may cease.

There are many forms of religion described, but every-  
one appeareth to adopt his own.

What are those acts by which I may be saved, and by  
the performance of which I may obtain all things ?

<sup>1</sup> 'Frog in a well' is applied in Hindustāni to an ignorant person.

If what are merits and what demerits be decided by listening to the Veds and Purans,<sup>1</sup> doubt *shall result* ;

Doubt shall *thus* ever dwell in the heart ; who shall dispel pride ?

Man washeth his body with water, but in his heart there is evil of every description.

How shall purity result ? My purity is such as the elephant practiseth.

As by the sun's light night departeth, as all the world knoweth ;

As copper when touched by the philosopher's stone at once becometh gold ;

So if the supreme philosopher's stone, the guru, be found by destiny,

The perturbed mind shall meet God *who is* in the heart, and the doors of adamant shall be opened.<sup>2</sup>

The doubts, the entanglements, and the sins of him who maketh the way of devotion firm in his heart shall be cut away ;

He shall restrain his mind, obtain happiness, and meditate on Him alone who possesseth *all* qualities and yet possesseth none.

Many efforts have I made to ward off the noose of doubt, but, however much I tried, I did not succeed.

Love and devotion have not sprung up in me, therefore Rav Das is sad.

Man is a prey to all the five senses and their attendant passions, and not to one predominating and overmastering sense alone like the lower animals. Hence the following hymn :—

ASA

I

The deer, the fish, the bumble-bee, the moth, and the elephant perish each for one sense ;

So what hope is there for him who *like man* hath five implacable enemies ?

<sup>1</sup> The Veds and Purāns prescribe different forms of worship.

<sup>2</sup> Hardness of heart shall depart.

O God, man loveth ignorance ;

His lamp of discrimination hath grown dim.

The thoughtless are born again as creeping things which distinguish not between good and evil ;

They have now obtained human birth so difficult to obtain, *and yet* in it they associate with the base.

Men and lower animals, wherever they are, are born subject to their previous acts,

And the noose of Death which hangeth over them can by no means be warded off.

Rav Das, renounce worldly love, dispel doubt, and make the guru's divine knowledge thy religious fervour.

O Thou, who dispellest Thy worshipper's fear, grant me supreme bliss at last.

Rav Das prays for the saints' virtues and devotion

## II

The company of the saints, who are Thine image, is my life.

Through the divine knowledge of the guru I recognize the saints as gods of gods.

Grant me the company of the saints, a taste for the saints' converse,

The saints' love, O God of gods,

The saints' good works, and the saints' way, that I may become attached to what they are attached.<sup>1</sup>

I pray for one thing more, the miraculous gem of devotion.<sup>2</sup>

Show me not the wicked and the sinner—

Between the saints and the Infinite there is no difference ;

Rav Das saith, he who knoweth this is wise.

Rav Das is exalted by holy association.

## III

Thou art sandal, I am the poor palma christi<sup>3</sup> plant,  
I dwell near Thee :

<sup>1</sup> Some read *olag olagni*, and translate—That I may become their slave of slaves.

<sup>2</sup> *Chintāmani*, a gem supposed to yield its possessor whatever he desired. In England the wishing-cap was said to possess the same virtue.

<sup>3</sup> This is the *Ricinus communis*, or castor-oil plant.

From a humble shrub I have become a lofty *tree* : Thine excellent perfume abideth *in me*.

O God, I have sought the protection of Thy true congregation.

I am without virtues, Thou art beneficent,

Thou art white<sup>1</sup> and yellow twisted silk ; we are the poor worms<sup>2</sup> *who toil and make it*.

O God, may I continue to associate with the saints as the bee with the honey !

My caste is low, my lineage low, and low is my birth ;

I have not served my sovereign God, saith the tanner Rav Das.

For God's love Rav Das would sacrifice himself.

## IV

What would it matter were my body to be *cut* in pieces ?

Thy slave, *O God*, only feareth that Thy love may depart :

Thy lotus feet are the home of my heart !<sup>3</sup>

By drinking the nectar of His *name*, I have found God who is my wealth.

Prosperity, adversity, worldly love, and wealth screen God from man ;

In them Thy servant is not absorbed.

Thy slave is bound by the rope of Thy love ;

Saith Rav Das, what advantage is it to escape therefrom ?

God's name saves saints and sinners.

## V

God, God, God, God, God, God, God ;<sup>4</sup>

By remembering God, saints and sinners<sup>5</sup> are saved.

<sup>1</sup> *Makhtūl*, from the Arabic *maftūl*.

<sup>2</sup> *Kīra* is by some gyānis translated canvas.

<sup>3</sup> Also translated—Thy feet are the lotus, my soul the bumble-bee flitting over them. This is on the supposition that *bhawar* is read for *bhawan*.

<sup>4</sup> This line is supposed to be an imitation of the devotee's repetition of God's name. The gyānis translate—They who repeat God's name in their hearts, they who repeat it with their tongues, and they who cause others to repeat it, bloom afresh.

<sup>5</sup> *Nistar*, literally—those who ought not to be saved.



Through the name of God, Kabir became renowned, and the accounts of his sins of many births were torn up.

Namdev as in duty bound <sup>1</sup> gave milk to god to drink ;  
Wherefore he had not the pain of being born again in the world.

The slave Rav Das is dyed with God's love,  
And so, through the favour of the guru, he shall not go to hell.

They who think not of God shall be condemned.

## VI

How *man*, a puppet of clay, danceth !

He looketh and looketh, heareth, speaketh, runneth about.

When he acquireth anything he is proud,

But when his wealth is gone he beginneth to weep.

In thought, word, and deed he is fascinated by pleasures,

So when he perisheth he is contained somewhere else.<sup>2</sup>

Saith Rav Das, the world is a play, my brethren ;

I have established loving relations with the True Actor.<sup>3</sup>

The object of the following hymn is to show that nothing offered to God by idolaters, even according to their own ideas, is pure, and that the true offering to God is the sincere heart.

## GUJARI

The calf hath defiled the milk in the cow's udder *by tasting it* ;

The bumble-bee hath spoiled the flowers, and the fish the water—

My mother, where shall I find anything to offer in God's worship ?

I cannot find other flowers superior to these.

Serpents twine round the sandal-tree ; <sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Nimat*, Sanskrit *niyāmit*. His father, before going on a journey, enjoined him to give milk to the family idol during his absence.

<sup>2</sup> Instead of being absorbed in God's light he is born again as an inferior animal.

<sup>3</sup> And not with the play.

<sup>4</sup> Serpents love the perfume of the sandal-tree and twine around it. They thus, in the estimation of strict Hindūs, spoil and render it unfit to be offered in worship, as is commonly done.

Poison and ambrosia dwell together ;  
 Incense, lamps, and consecrated bread are polluted.<sup>1</sup>  
 How shall thy slave perform Thy worship ?

Let me dedicate and offer my body and soul as my  
 worship,

*Thus*, by the guru's favour; shall I find the Pure One.

I cannot perform Thine adoration and worship *according*  
*to Hindu rites* ;

Saith Rav Das, in what condition am I ?<sup>2</sup>

Rav Das concludes that everything is God.

#### SORATH

##### I

When there was egoism in me, Thou wert not with me ;  
 now that Thou art with me, there is no egoism.

Huge waves are raised by the wind in the ocean, but  
 they are only water in water.<sup>3</sup>

O God, what shall I say ? Through illusion things  
 are not as they are supposed to be.

A king sleepeth on his throne ; in a dream he becometh  
 a beggar ;

He suffereth pain at losing his empire, *though* it is intact :  
 such hath been my condition.

Like the story of the rope and the serpent, I have now  
 had the secret<sup>4</sup> explained to me.

On *seeing* several<sup>5</sup> bracelets I erroneously supposed *that*  
*they were distinct from the gold* ; but what I then said I now  
 say no longer.

In all things the one Lord assumeth various shapes ;  
 God sporteth in all hearts.

<sup>1</sup> Somebody has touched them.

<sup>2</sup> Since I cannot worship Thee with all the accessories of Hindu  
 worship.

<sup>3</sup> The meaning is, since the poet has abjured egoism, he has  
 become a portion of God as the waves blend with the sea.

<sup>4</sup> I thought a rope was a serpent, but it was not. I thought that  
 man existed, but now I find everything is God.

<sup>5</sup> If *kamik* were here read, the translation would be—As man  
 mistaketh by calling a thing a bracelet instead of calling it gold.

Saith Rav Das, God is nearer to us than our hands and feet ; it is what taketh place by His will that taketh place.

Rav Das so loves God that he feels he has a claim on His mercy.

## II

When Thou didst bind us with a noose of illusion, we bound Thee with a bond of love ;

Try to release Thyself ; we have been released by adoring Thee.

O God, Thou knowest how we feel towards Thee ;

Now what wilt Thou do with us, such *being our love for Thee ?*

Man catcheth a fish, sliceth it, cutteth it up, and cooketh it in various ways ;

He biteth and eateth it, still . it forgetteth not the water.<sup>1</sup>

The Supreme Ruler is no man's heritage ; He belongeth to him who loveth Him.

Though the screen of illusion be spread over the whole world, yet it troubleth not the saint.

Saith Rav Das, my devotion to the one God hath increased ; to whom shall I tell this now ?

Shall I still suffer misery for the removal of which I worship Thee ?

Rav Das on introspection finds himself wanting.

## III

I obtained this birth difficult of attainment as the reward of merit, but it passeth away in vain *on account of my want of discrimination.*

Say of what account would a palace and a throne like King Indar's be without devotion to God ?

I have not thought of the pleasure in the Supreme God's *name*, a pleasure in which all other pleasures are forgotten.

What we ought to have known we knew not ; we have

<sup>1</sup> That is, its eater becomes thirsty.

become mad, and not considered what we ought to have considered, and so our days have passed away.

Our passions are strong, and our discrimination weak ; our understanding cannot enter into God's designs.

We say one thing, and do another ; worldly love hindereth us from understanding.

Saith Rav Das, I, Thy slave, am sad at heart ;

Avert Thine anger from me and have mercy on my soul.

We should fix our attention on God who can adequately reward us.

#### IV

God is an ocean of pleasure ; in His power are the miraculous tree, and gem, and cow.

The four advantages, the eighteen miraculous powers, and the nine treasures are in the palm of His hand.

Why repeat not, ' God, God, God,' with thy tongue,  
And abandon all other device of words ?

The epic poems, the Purans, the Veds of Brahma, are *all composed* out of thirty-four letters.<sup>1</sup>

Bias having reflected expressed his conviction that there was nothing equal to the name of God.

Very fortunate are they who tranquilly contemplate and fix their attention upon God ; they shall afterwards be freed from their troubles.

Saith Rav Das, the fear of death and birth fleeth from him who hath put the light of *divine knowledge* into his heart.

The saint's relation to God.

#### V

If Thou art a hill, then I am Thy peacock ; <sup>2</sup>

If Thou art the moon, then I am Thy chakor ;

O God, if Thou break not with me, I will not break with Thee ;

<sup>1</sup> Omitting the modifications and combinations of the Sanskrit characters and retaining only one s. The meaning apparently is that the letters which form God's name are superior to all the other letters employed in the Hindu sacred writings.

<sup>2</sup> In India peacocks generally live on undulating lands.

If I break with Thee, whom shall I join ?  
 If Thou art a lamp, then I am Thy wick ;  
 If Thou art a place of pilgrimage, then I am Thy pilgrim.  
 I have joined true love with Thee ;  
 Joining Thee I have broken with all others.  
 Wherever I go there is Thy service ;  
 There is no other Lord like Thee, O God.  
 By worshipping Thee Death's noose is cut away.  
 Rav Das singeth to obtain Thy service.

Man is too proud of his body though its origin  
 and its end are contemptible.

## VI

*The body* is a wall of water supported by a pillar of air ;  
 blood <sup>1</sup> and semen are its mortar.

The poor soul dwelleth in a skeleton of bones, flesh, and  
 veins ;

O mortal, what is mine and what is thine ?

As a bird percheth on a tree, *so doth the soul on the body.*

Thou layest foundations and buildest thyself a house ;

Three and a half cubits shall be thy measure *at last.*

Thou curlest thy hair, and wearest thy turban on the  
 side of thy head ;

But thy body shall become a heap of dust.

Even though thou possess lofty palaces and beautiful  
 women,

Without the name of God thy game is lost.

My caste is low, my lineage low, and base is my birth :

I have sought Thy shelter, O God, saith the tanner  
 Rav Das.

The following was addressed to some one who re-  
 proached Rav Das for not following his trade :—

## VII

I a cobbler know not how to mend shoes,

Yet people want me to mend their shoes.

<sup>1</sup> *Rakat*, the portion supposed to be contributed by the female  
 instead of the ova of modern physiology.



I have no awl to stitch with ;  
 I have no knife to patch with.  
 People have been thoroughly ruined by mending shoes <sup>1</sup>—  
 I have attained my object without mending shoes.  
 Rav Das repeateth God's name ;  
 I have now no concern with Death.

Rav Das's devotion and hope in God.

#### DHANASARI

##### I

There is none so poor as I, none so compassionate as  
 Thou ; *for this* what further test is now necessary ?

May my heart obey Thy words ! fill Thy servant therewith.

I am a sacrifice to Thee, O God ;

Why art Thou silent ?

For many births have I been separated from Thee, O God :  
 This birth is on Thine *own* account.<sup>2</sup>

Saith Rav Das, putting my hopes in Thee I live ; it is  
 long since I have seen Thee.

Rav Das's love for God.

##### II

I remember Thee, O God, in my heart ; I behold Thee  
 with mine eyes ; I fill mine ears with Thy hymns <sup>3</sup> and  
 praises ;

I make my mind the honey-bee, I put Thy lotus feet into  
 my heart, and with my tongue I utter Thine ambrosial  
 name.

May my love for God not decrease !

I have bought it dear in exchange for my soul.

Without the companionship of the saints no love is pro-  
 duced, and without love no service is performed for Thee.

Rav Das offereth one prayer to God—preserve mine  
 honour, O my sovereign Lord.

<sup>1</sup> And neglecting God, the expression *ganthi ganthi* also means to  
 be attached to worldly things.

<sup>2</sup> That I may worship Thee in human body.

<sup>3</sup> The clause is also translated—I fill my ears and my tongue with  
 Thy praises.

God's name is for Rav Das equal to all the Hindu oblations.

## III

Thy name, O God, is mine Arati and mine ablutions ;  
Without the name of God all display is vain.

Thy name is my prayer-mat, Thy name my saffron-grater, Thy name the saffron which I sprinkle *for Thee* ;

Thy name is the water, Thy name the sandal, the repetition of Thy name the grating thereof ;<sup>1</sup> taking it I offer it unto Thee ;

Thy name is the lamp, Thy name the wick, Thy name the oil I pour therein ;

Thy name is the light which I have applied to it, and which hath enlightened the whole world ;

Thy name is the string, Thy name the necklace of flowers ; all the eighteen loads of *vegetables* are too impure<sup>2</sup> to offer *Thee*.

Why should I offer Thee the work of Thy hands ? Thy name is the chauri which I wave over Thee.

The whole world is engrossed in the eighteen *Purans*, the sixty-eight *places of pilgrimage*, and the four sources of life.

Saith Rav Das, Thy name is the Arati ; the true Name is the food I offer unto Thee, O God.<sup>3</sup>

God alone can save man from his evil passions.

## JAITSARI

O Lord, I know nothing ;

I have sold my soul to mammon.

Thou art styled the great Lord of the world, and we the sensualists of the Kal age.

The five evil passions which have corrupted my heart,  
Have at every moment thrown a barrier between Thee and me.

Whithersoever I look, there is a stock of trouble.

<sup>1</sup> Sandal is grated and sprinkled by Hindus on their idol.

<sup>2</sup> Because the bee has tasted them.

<sup>3</sup> This hymn is recited in a collection of Sikh prayers called the *Arati*.

I am not yet satisfied, although the Veds bear witness to God.

As, for his sin, on the body of Indar, the paramour of Ahalya Gautam's wife, a thousand vaginae formed ;

As the head of *Brahma* adhered to the hand of *Shiv* the lord of Uma <sup>1</sup> for his sin,

So these wicked enemies, the deadly sins, have bound and beaten me also a sinner.

I am very shameless, and have not yet grown weary of their company.

Saith Rav Das, whither shall I go? What shall I do?

Except God's protection whose shall I seek?

The saint and the sinner under the allegories of a good and a bad wife contrasted.

#### SUHI

##### I

The good wife knoweth her spouse's worth ;

She renounceth pride and enjoyeth conjugal happiness ;

She giveth her husband her body and soul, and maketh no distinction between him and herself ;

She seeth no one else, heareth no one else, and speaketh to no one else.

How should she, into whose heart no sorrow hath entered, Know of the woes of others ?

The bad wife <sup>2</sup> who hath not served her spouse continually Is unhappy, and loseth both worlds—

The way by the bridge of Sirat <sup>3</sup> is difficult—

She shall have no companion, and must go alone.

In grief and in pain, O God, I have come to Thy door ; I am very thirsty, and I have received no answer from Thee.

Saith Rav Das, I have come to Thy protection ; effect my salvation as Thou thinkest best.

<sup>1</sup> Also called Pārbati.

<sup>2</sup> Wife here is used for man in the generic sense, and the spouse is God.

<sup>3</sup> *Sirāt-ul-mustakīm*. The bridge which leads to heaven, according to Muhammadans.

As everything here changes, man should make provision for the hereafter.

## II

The days which come, pass away again ;  
 We must march on, nothing remaineth stable.  
 Our companions are going, we too must go ;  
 The journey is long ; Death standeth over us.  
 Why sleepest thou ? Awake *for God's service*, O silly one ;

Thou thoughtest life a real thing in this world, *when thou oughtest to have thought of God*.

He who gave thee life conveyeth thee sustenance,  
 And in every heart openeth a shop.<sup>1</sup>  
 Worship God, lay aside egoism ;  
 In thy heart remember God's name betimes.  
 Thy life hath come to an end, yet thou hast not prepared thy way ;

It is evening, and darkness is on every side.  
 Saith Rav Das, O fool and madman,  
 Didst thou not reflect that the world is a transitory abode ?

Man can only rely on God, not on property or relations.

## III

Man buildeth lofty mansions with halls and kitchens,  
*But* after *Death* he cannot remain in them for a ghari.  
 This body is like a wainscoting of grass ;  
 When the grass is burnt, it is blended with the dust.  
 Even thy relations, thy family, and thy companions  
 Set up a cry, ' Take him out quickly ! '  
 The wife of thy house who embraced thee *in life*,  
 Crieth out, ' Ghost ! ghost ! ' and runneth away from thee.

Saith Rav Das, *Death* hath plundered the whole world,  
 But I have escaped by repeating *the name* of the one God.

<sup>1</sup> To dispense food.

God's grace is unparalleled.

# BILAWAL

## I

Everybody used to laugh on seeing my poverty—such was my condition ;

But *I hold* the whole eighteen supernatural powers in the palm of my hand through Thy favour.

Thou knowest I am nothing, O God, Destroyer of fear ;

All men have sought Thy protection, O God, Fulfiller of desires ;

They who have sought Thy protection no longer bear the load *of sin*.

High and low have been delivered from the shameless<sup>1</sup> world through Thee.

Saith Rav Das, why say more regarding the Ineffable ?

Thou, O God, art Thine own parallel ; to what can I liken Thee ?

The glorification of the saint.

## II

The family in which a saint of God is born,

Whether it be of high or low caste, poor or rich, shall have its unalloyed fame blazoned through the world.

Whether man be a Brahman, a Vaisya, a Sudar, a Khatri, a Dum, a Chandal, or a Malechh,

He becometh pure by worshipping God ; he saveth himself and the families of both his parents.

Blest the village, blest the place *of his birth*, blest his pure family in all worlds !

He hath quaffed the supreme essence ; abandoning all others, he hath become intoxicated with it, and renounced sin.

Among pandits, heroes, and emperors, there is none equal to the saint.

<sup>1</sup> Also translated—Have been delivered from the entanglements of the world through Thee.



As the leaves of the water-lily<sup>1</sup> in the water, saith Rav Das, is the saint's existence in the world ; *he remaineth uncontaminated by it.*

God as the Dispenser of salvation.

GAUND

I

Repeat the name of God, the Dispenser of salvation, ye people.

Without the Dispenser of salvation the body groweth weary *in transmigration.*

The Dispenser of salvation is the Giver of deliverance ;

The Dispenser of salvation is our father and mother.

Living *repeat* His *name*, dying *repeat* His *name* ;

His worshipper is ever happy—

The Dispenser of salvation is my life.

If it have been so recorded on thy forehead, thou shalt repeat His name.

Only he who hath ceased to love the world can serve God.

That Dispenser of salvation, I, poor *though I be*, have obtained as my wealth.

If the one Dispenser of salvation do me a favour,

What can the world do to me ?

Having effaced my caste I have become a courtier of God—

Thou, O God, art able to save the world—

Divine knowledge hath sprung up, and I have become enlightened ;

God hath graciously accepted this worm as His slave.

Saith Rav Das, my thirst hath now ceased ;

I repeat the name of God and *perform* His service.

The fate of the slanderer.

II

If man bathe at the sixty-eight places of pilgrimage,

If he worship the twelve *lingam* stones,

<sup>1</sup> The water-lily is supposed to remain dry in the water.

If he dedicate a well or a tank,<sup>1</sup>  
*But* practise slander, all shall be in vain.  
 How shall the slanderer of a saint be saved ?  
 Know that he shall assuredly fall into hell.  
 If man celebrate eclipses at Kurkhetar,  
 Offer his wife with her decorations *to the Brahmans*,  
 And hear with his ears all the *Simritis*,  
*Yet* if he practise slander, all shall be in vain.  
 If he prepare many feasts *to Brahmans*,  
 Make them gifts of land, and build them splendid public  
 mansions ;  
 If, neglecting his own business, he perform that of others,  
 And yet practise slander, he shall wander in many births.  
 O, ye people, why do ye slander ?  
 The slanderer's character is well known.  
 Holy men have considered and decided regarding the  
 slanderer—  
 Saith Rav Das, he is a sinner, and shall go to hell.

It is the guru who communicates the Name by which God's designs are manifested.

#### RAMKALI

Men read, study, and hear all God's names, yet God's designs are not known.

How shall iron become pure gold unless it be touched by the philosopher's stone ?

O God, the knots of doubt unravel not ;

Lust, wrath, worldly love, pride, and jealousy—these five combined plunder *the world*.

'We are great poets, of high family,<sup>2</sup> we are Pandits, we are Jogis, Sanyasis,

'Gyanis, virtuous heroes, we are generous'—these ideas shall never perish.

<sup>1</sup> *Tata*, here for *tarāg*, a tank. Others understand the word to mean a margin, and translate *kūp tata* as a well with its surrounding land.

<sup>2</sup> *Kulīn*. This word is now applied to a race of Brāhmans in Bengāl, who marry a large plurality of wives.

Saith Rav Das, all these men do not understand *God*, they go astray like madmen.

God's name is my support, my life, my soul, and my wealth.

Rav Das in obtaining salvation acknowledges God's favour.

## MARU

Who but Thee, my Jewel, could do such a thing ?

Cherisher of the poor, Lord of the earth ; Thou hast put over my head the umbrella of *spiritual sovereignty*.

Thou relenest towards him whose touch defileth the world ;

The lowly dost Thou exalt, my God, and none dost Thou fear.

Namdev, Kabir, Trilochan, Sadhna, and Sain were saved—

Saith Rav Das, hear, O saints, through God everything is done.

The man of low birth and caste may be saved by devotion.

## KEDARA

Though one perform the six good acts and belong to a *high* family, yet if he heartily worship not God,

And love not the mention of His lotus feet, he is equal to a pariah.

O thoughtless man, think upon God in thy heart ;

Why not look at Balmik ? <sup>1</sup>

From a low caste what a high position he attained by his special devotion to God ;

Though an eater of dogs, the lowest of all, he was beloved by Krishan.

How can poor mortals praise God ? His praise extendeth to the three worlds.

Ajamal, the courtesan, *Lodiya* the huntsman, and the elephant went to God.

<sup>1</sup> This is the man whose feet Krishan washed, not the author of the *Rāmāyana*.

Such degraded beings were saved; why shouldst not thou too be saved, O Rav Das?

The advantages of repeating God's name.

#### BHAIRO

Without beholding *God* there is no hope;  
 Everything that we see perisheth.  
 He who repeateth God's name with *due* praise  
 Is the only Jogi free from desires.  
 If any one employ himself in repeating God's *name*,  
 And *God*, the philosopher's stone, touch him, his duality  
 shall no longer remain.

He who destroyeth the duality of his mind is a *muni*;  
 He shall be absorbed in God<sup>1</sup> who filleth the three worlds.  
 Everybody acteth according to his natural inclinations;  
 It is only the Creator who abideth without fear.

Vegetables blossom to produce fruit;  
 When the fruit appeareth the blossoms decay.

For the sake of divine knowledge men practise religious ceremonies;

When divine knowledge is obtained, religious ceremonies are not performed.

To make butter, knowing people churn coagulated milk;  
 So *those who strive for divine knowledge* obtain deliverance while alive, and are ever at rest.

Saith Rav Das, *having embraced* supreme contempt *for the world*,

Why not heartily repeat God's name, O luckless man?

Rav Das endeavours to humiliate his body.

#### BASANT

Thou knowest nothing, *O my body*;  
 On seeing thy *fine* clothes thou puffest thyself up.  
 No place can hold the proud;  
 Yet over thy head the crow caweth.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Bindwāre*—God who is without the organs of action.

<sup>2</sup> By some Oriental people the dead are thrown to crows, kites, and vultures.

Why art thou proud, O demented *body*?

Thou art much more short-lived than a toadstool in the month of Bhadon.

The deer knoweth not the secret *of his musk* ;

He hath it in his body, yet he searcheth for it abroad.

He who understandeth his own *fleeting* body,

Shall never be disgraced by the myrmidons of Death.

Man is proud of his son and wife ;

It is from him God will take an account.

Thou shalt suffer for what thou thyself hast done, O soul.

Whom shalt thou afterwards address as ' Dear one, dear one ? '

If thou seek the protection of holy men,

Thy sins, even though millions upon millions, shall all be erased.

Saith Rav Das, he who repeateth God's name

Hath no concern with caste, or birth, or transmigration.

The saint, no matter how low his caste, is superior even to the demigods.

## MALAR

### II

Neither the Lord of Lakshmi,<sup>1</sup> nor the Lord of Kailas,<sup>2</sup> nor any one else is equal to those who repeat God's name :

He is one alone though diffused in many ways ; recall, recall Him *to your thoughts* ; He filleth *creation*.

He in whose house *devotion to God* and nothing else was seen, was by caste an untouchable calico-printer.

The greatness of God's name was seen in Vyas ; it was observed in the sons of Brahma ; it is *famous through* the seven islands<sup>3</sup> of the earth.

He whose family<sup>4</sup> used to sacrifice cows at the Id and Bakr Id, and who worshipped Shaikhs, and martyrs, and pirs,

<sup>1</sup> Vishnu.

<sup>2</sup> Where Shiv is supposed to reside.

<sup>3</sup> The conception of ancient Hindu geographers.

<sup>4</sup> The reference is to Nīrū, Kabīr's adoptive father. This verse proves that Musalmāns killed cows at the two festivals referred to long before the British occupation of India.



Kabir, the son of a father who used to do such things, so succeeded that he became celebrated in the three worlds.

All the *chamārs*<sup>1</sup> of my family even still go round Banaras removing dead cattle,

Yet strict Brahmans prostrate themselves before their offspring, Rav Das, the slave of God's slaves.

The following hymn was composed in reply to a Brahman who inquired how Rav Das could obtain salvation :—

### III

By what devotion shall I meet my Beloved, the Lord of souls ?

The supreme state is obtained by association with saints.  
Soiled is my vesture,<sup>2</sup> how long shall I wash it ?

How long shall I remain in this sleep<sup>3</sup> which hath come upon me ?

The things<sup>4</sup> to which I was attached have all perished ;  
The shop of spurious traffic hath closed.<sup>5</sup>

Saith Rav Das, when my account is taken,

I shall see whatever I have done *recorded to my credit*.

### MIRA BAI

A HYMN of Mira Bai is preserved in the Granth Sahib of Bhai Banno, which can be seen at Mangat in the Gujrat district of the Panjab, but it is not included in Guru Arjan's collection.

Mira Bai was daughter of Ratan Singh Rathaur of Merata, a town between Bikaner and Jodhpur in Rajputana. She was born about A.D. 1504. She appears to have inherited her religious proclivities

<sup>1</sup> Leather-cutters supposed by the higher Hindu castes to be unclean.

<sup>2</sup> Until God enters it, it is hopeless to suppose my heart can be purified.

<sup>3</sup> Spiritual ignorance.

<sup>4</sup> The pleasures of the world.

<sup>5</sup> I have no longer dealings with the world.

from her mother. When Mira Bai was yet a child, the bridal procession of a youth of position passed by the palace. All the ladies of the court, except Mira Bai's mother, went to the upper apartments to view the procession. She took the opportunity of their absence to worship an image of Krishan, called Girdhar Lal, which was set up in her private apartment.

Mira Bai laid aside her playthings to follow her mother, and said to her, 'Who is my bridegroom?' Her mother smiled, took her in her arms, and, pointing to Girdhar Lal, said, 'There is your bridegroom.' Upon this Mira Bai instantly accepted him, and veiled her face according to the Oriental practice, which requires a wife to veil her face even from her mother in the presence of her husband. She became so enamoured of Girdhar Lal that she could not pass an instant without seeing him. Her love for him is compared to that of the milkmaids of Bindraban for Krishan. She in time indulged her passion without fear or shame, and without any regard for the traditions of her family concerning the retirement of women from the public gaze.

While her affections were thus engaged, she was betrothed to Kanwar Bhojraj, son of Rana Sanga of Mewar. The subsequent marriage in A.D. 1516, as might well have been expected, proved unhappy. Bhojraj came to Merata in great state with a large retinue, but when the marriage ceremony was being performed and the time came for the bride to circumambulate the pavilion set up for the ceremony, Mira Bai walked around the idol of Girdhar Lal, and took no notice of the bridegroom. When the time for her departure with her husband arrived, her parents wished to send her off with suitable marriage presents, but she was miserable at leaving Girdhar Lal. She grew sad and restless, and wept to such an extent that she became insensible. When

she regained consciousness, her parents affectionately told her that, if it made her happy, she might take Girdhar Lal with her without any further ceremony. She replied that if they valued her present and future happiness, they would give her the image, and she would worship it with heart and soul. Her parents had already perceived that she was a saint and lover of God, and so at the moment of separation from their beloved daughter they presented her with the image as part of her dowry.

Mira Bai, who was overjoyed at obtaining possession of the object of her devotion, set it up in her palanquin, and during the journey feasted her eyes on its beauty. On arriving at her new home, her mother-in-law, the Rani, had hardly paid her the rites of hospitality, when she asked her to worship Durga, a goddess of a totally different temper from the playful Krishan. Mira Bai replied that she had devoted her body to Girdhar Lal, and she would bow her head to none but him. Her mother-in-law replied that a good wife was improved by worshipping Durga. But Mira Bai closed the discussion by saying it was of no use to press her further, and she would abide by her first determination. On this the Rani became very angry, and went to complain of Mira Bai to the Rana : ' This daughter-in-law of ours is worthless, for on the very day of her arrival she refuseth to obey me and putteth me to shame. It is clear what our future relations are to be.'

The Rana became excessively incensed, and went to his daughter-in-law with the intention of punishing her. The Rani, however, had sufficient sense to restrain him ; and he decided that the interests of domestic peace would be consulted by putting Mira Bai into a separate apartment. Though it is admitted by Nabhaji that Rukmini, who became Krishan's consort, and the milkmaids who became Krishan's playfellows, did not meet him until they

had sacrificed to Durga, yet as Mira Bai had already obtained Krishan, it was unnecessary for her to worship Durga, and no exception could be taken to her conduct on the precedent of Rukmini and the milkmaids.

Mira Bai on finding herself in a private apartment became excessively happy, and gave full scope to her religious enthusiasm. She set up her image, decked and adorned it, and devoted herself night and day to the company of holy men. Her sister-in-law Udai Bai was sent to remonstrate with her, and said, 'Thou art the scion of a noble house. Be wise and desist from the company of faqirs, which casteth a slur on both our families.' Mira Bai replied, 'The slur of hundreds of thousands of births departeth on association with saints. The slur is on her who loveth not their company. My life dependeth on the company of saints. To any one who is displeased with it thy remonstrance would be proper.' It was on this occasion that Mira Bai composed the following hymns :—

O my friend, my mind is attached to Krishan ; I shall not be restrained from loving him.

If any one give me a reproach, I will give a hundred thousand in return.

My mother-in-law is severe, my sister-in-law obstinate ; how can I endure this misery ?

Mira for the sake of the lord Girdhar would endure the obloquy of the world.

---

I have the god Girdhar and no other ;

He is my spouse on whose head is a crown of peacock feathers,

Who carrieth a shell, discus, mace, and lotus, and who weareth a necklace.<sup>1</sup>

I have forfeited the respect of the world by ever sitting near holy men.

<sup>1</sup> This is a description of Vishnu, of whom Krishan was an incarnation.



The matter is now public ; everybody knoweth it.

Having felt supreme devotion I die as I behold the world.

I have no mother, father, son, or relation with me.

I laugh when I behold my beloved ; people think I weep.

I have planted the vine of love, and irrigated it again and again with the water of tears.

I have cast away fear of the world ; what can any one do to me ?

Mira's love for her god is fixed, come what may.

The Rana, on being informed of Mira Bai's determination, became beside himself with rage, and sent her a cup of poison under the name of *charnamrit*, that is, water in which an image had been bathed. When she tasted the liquor she knew it was poison, and thus apostrophized : ' The body is perishable, so why weep if it perish in the service of Krishan ? There needs be no regret at the disappearance of a mirage or at the failure of the son of a barren woman to wed. It is not right to say that the moon perisheth on the thirtieth day of the lunar month. Lamentations are as vain as the grief of a bee at the fading of an imaginary flower. As the fruit of a tree falleth, sooner or later, so have I fallen at Krishan's feet. As a pearl born in the ocean is turned into an ornament, so shall I glitter in Krishan's diadem. The world itself is an illusion.'

Mira Bai's only grief at leaving her body was that the worship of Krishan might decline. Having informed the god of her father-in-law's intention, she thus addressed the object of her worship—' People will say that the king poisoned his daughter-in-law because she worshipped thee. I fear therefore that thy worship will be neglected, and the apprehension causeth me poignant misery. Who will now put on thy decorations ? Who will put the saffron mark on thy forehead, attach dazzling rings to thine ears,



twine a garland of pearls round thy neck, girdle thee with a jewelled zone, tie on thy golden armlets and anklets, light incense to gratify thy nostrils, make thee offerings of sweet basil, present thee with sacred food to satisfy thy hunger, and prostrate herself in adoration before thee? My father-in-law hath already abandoned thy worship in his displeasure with me, others too will reproach thee with my death and cease to do thee homage. But after all why should I be anxious? Thou thyself knowest the past, the present, and the future. Thou hast ever preserved thy saints from poison, fire, and sword, so why should I be anxious now?'

On this Mira Bai put the cup of poison on her head in token of submission, and then cheerfully drank it. On that occasion she composed the following verses:—

Radha<sup>1</sup> and Krishan dwell in my heart.

Some say that Mira is insane, others that she hath disgraced her family.

Opening her veil and baring her breast, she danceth with delight before her god.

In the bowers of Bindraban, Krishan with the tilak on his forehead gladdeneth my heart.

The Rana sent a cup of poison and Mira drank it with delight.

Mira's lord is the all-wise Girdhar; she is bound to his service.

The Rana waited to hear of Mira's death, but her life was miraculously preserved, and her cheeks gradually assumed a higher bloom. She devoted herself to the further decoration and ornamentation of the image, and decked it out in fashions ever new. She sang the praises of her god and filled

<sup>1</sup> Wife of Ayana Ghosha (a cowherd) and favourite mistress of Krishan while he lived as Gopāl among the cowherds in Bindrāban.  
—Dowson's *Dictionary of Hindu Mythology*.

her heart with delight and immortal love. She also composed the following on this occasion :—

I knew the Rana had given me poison.

God who caused my boat to float across, separated the milk and water for me.<sup>1</sup>

Until gold is annealed, it is not perfectly pure.

O king, keep thine own family in seclusion ; I am the wife of another.<sup>2</sup>

I sacrifice my mind and body to the saint even though he be a pariah ; I have sold myself to god.

Mira for the sake of worshipping the lord Girdhar is entangled in the feet of holy men.

When the Rana found that the poison had produced no effect, he appointed tipstiffs to watch Mira Bai, and report when she again conferred with faqirs, so that she might be put to death when detected in the act. She was in the habit of laughing and holding playful converse with the idol. One day a tipstaff went and said to the king, ‘At this very moment Mira Bai is holding conversation and laughing with some one.’ The king took up his sword, and called out to her to open the folding doors. He asked her where the person was with whom she had been holding such pleasant discourse. She replied, ‘There he is before thee, mine idol, mine adored. Open thine eyes and look. He is neither afraid nor ashamed of thee.’

Nabhaji states that Mira Bai and the idol had been playing at Indian draughts, and at the time of the Rana’s entrance the idol actually extended its arm to move a piece. The Rana on witnessing the miracle became ashamed. There was, however, no real impression made on his obdurate heart.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> That is, saved me in the ordeal.

<sup>2</sup> I am wedded to Girdhar Lāl, not to thy son.

<sup>3</sup> Mira Bāi’s idol is still preserved in a temple dedicated to her in the old abandoned fortress of Chitaur, once the home of the ancestors of the Mahārāna of Udaipur.

Once when Mira Bai was ill she composed the following :—

Krishan with the large eyes looked at me, and smiled

As I was going to draw water from the Jamna and the vessel glittered on my head.

Since then the delightful image of the dark and beautiful one hath dwelt in my heart.

You may write and bring me incantations, you may write and bring me spells, grind medicine and give it me, *that will not cure me.*

If any one bring me Krishan as my physician I will gladly arise.

His eye-brows are bows, his eyes the arrows which he fitted thereto, and dischargeth to pierce me.

Mira's lord is the wise Girdhar ; how can I abide at home ?

A dissolute and abandoned person tried to tempt Mira Bai's virtue. He told her that he was armed with Girdhar Lal's permission to give her such pleasure as she could only obtain from man's embraces. She replied that she humbly submitted to Girdhar Lal's order, but that they must first dine. She meantime had a couch placed and dressed in the enclosure where saints were assembled. She there addressed her would-be paramour : 'Thou needest not be ashamed or afraid of any one, as the order of Girdhar Lal is on every account proper.' The man replied, 'Does any one do such things before others?' She said she knew of no secret place, for Krishan was everywhere present. 'He seeth the good and bad acts of all and rewardeth men according to their deserts.' On hearing this the ruffian turned pale, and vice gave place to virtue in his heart. He fell at her feet and with clasped hands asked her mercy and divine intercession. Mira Bai felt compassion and brought him, in the words of the chronicler, face to face with God.

Tulsi Das, according to all received accounts, lived nearly a century after Mira Bai, but some

poets have made them contemporaries. The following letter to Tulsi Das is attributed by Raja Raghuraj Sinh to Mira Bai :—

To the holy lord Tulsi Das, the virtuous, the remover of sin, greeting—

I ever bow to thee, dispel all my sorrow.

All my husband's relations give me continual annoyance.

They cause me to endure great suffering when I associate with saints, and perform my worship.

Since childhood Mira hath contracted love for Girdhar Lal :

She cannot now free herself from it in any way ; it completely overpowereth her.

Thou art to me a father and mother ; thou conferrest happiness on God's saints.

Write and inform me what it is proper for me to do.

Tulsi Das's reply :—

They who love not Ram and Sita

Should be abandoned as if they were millions of enemies, however much we love them.

Prahlad abandoned his father, Bibhishan his brother Rawan, and Bharat his mother,

Bali his guru, the women of Brij their husbands, and their lives were all happier for having done so.

The opinion of all holy saints is that relations with and love of God are alone true.

Of what avail is the eye-salve which causeth the eyes to burst ; what more can I say ?

Saith Tulsi Das, that spouse is worshipful, that son is dearer than life,

Who is attached to Ram ; he is my real friend in this world.

As Mira Bai has been made a contemporary of Tulsi Das, so also she has been made a contemporary of the Emperor Akbar. It is said that having heard of the virtues and beauty of Mira Bai, he went with his minstrel, Tansen, both disguised as



hermits, to visit her. The following lines in attestation of this circumstance are attributed to Mira Bai :—

O mother, I recognize Krishan as my spouse.

Akbar came to test me and brought Tansen with him :

He heard singing, music, and pious discourse ; he bowed to the ground again and again.

Mira's lord, the all-wise Girdhar, made me his protégée.

It is said that, on observing her devotion, Akbar was very pleased with the good fortune which enabled him to behold her. He made her a present of a jewelled necklace which she accepted with some misgivings, as it appeared too valuable an article for an ascetic to possess. The emperor was equal to the occasion, and said that he had found it while performing his devotional ablutions in the river Jamna, and thought it would be a suitable present to make her god. Tansen, it is said, composed an ode in her honour, and he and his royal master then returned to their capital. The necklace was too valuable not to provoke remarks unfavourable to its recipient. The Rana submitted it to assayers who valued it at a fabulous sum of money. On inquiry it was found to be the same that a jeweller had sold not long previously for a large price to the emperor. Further inquiry led to the identity of the two strolling hermits with Akbar and his favourite minstrel. Mira Bai's fate was now sealed. Her husband suspected that she had been polluted by the emperor. For this there was but one penalty in that age—she must die. Mira Bai's father-in-law sent her a cobra in a box, so that when she opened it the reptile might sting her to death. She was told it was a salagram. Before opening the box she addressed it as follows :—

O salagram in the box, why speakest thou not ?

I speak to thee, but thou repliest not ; why art thou silent ?



This ocean of the world is very immense ; take mine arm and extricate me.

Mira's lord, wise Girdhar, thou alone art my helper.

On opening the box Mira composed the following:—

What shall the Rana do to me ? Mira hath cast off the restraints of her line.

The Rana once sent a cup of poison to kill Mira ;

Mira drank it with delight, loving it as if it were water blessed by her lord.<sup>1</sup>

The Rana hath now sent a box containing a cobra ;

But when I opened it and looked, the cobra became a salagram.

There was a sound of rejoicing in the company of the saints ; Krishan had mercy on me.

I decorated myself, attached bells to my feet, and, keeping time with both my hands,

Danced before the idol, and sang the praises of Krishan.

The holy are mine and I am theirs ; the holy are my life.

Mira is absorbed in the holy as butter is in milk before churning.

Rana Sanga, Mira's father-in-law, was still obdurate and determined that she should die by the sword, but no one could be found to act as executioner. She was then ordered to kill herself in whatever way she thought fit. By this time she was a widow, her husband having predeceased his father, and her person was at her own disposal. Promising that she would obey the Rana's command she retired to her solitary apartment, during the night put on the dress of a mendicant, and left the palace. She plunged in the nearest river to die in obedience to the order she had received. It is said that she was miraculously preserved by an angel who brought her to shore and addressed her : ' O queen, thou hast obeyed thy father-in-law and art worthy of all praise for thy devotion, but thou

<sup>1</sup> Water in which her idol had been bathed.

hast a higher duty still to perform. It is thine to set a high example to the world, and show unto men how to fulfil the designs of the Creator and become absorbed in Him.' When she recovered she found herself alone on the river's bank with the current flowing at her feet. She stood up in amazement, not knowing for the moment what to do. She met some cowherds, of whom she inquired the way to Bindraban. They presented her with milk, and directed her whither to proceed. She walked on singing her hymns, the object of blessings and attentions in the villages through which she passed.

On her arrival in Bindraban she desired to see Jiv Gosain. To her disappointment he sent her word that he would allow no woman into his presence.<sup>1</sup> She replied, 'I thought everybody in Bindraban a woman, and only Girdhar Lal a man.'<sup>2</sup> I learn to-day that there are other partners than Krishan in Bindraban.' By this she scoffingly meant that the Gosain placed himself on an equality with Krishan as god of Bindraban. The Gosain, on hearing her rebuke, went barefooted to do her homage, and beholding her became filled with the love of God.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> This originally Oriental exclusiveness had long previously been imitated by Christian ascetics. St. Senanus is represented as thus addressing a female saint who sought to land in his island—

Quid foeminis  
Commune est cum monachis?  
Nec te nec ullam aliam  
Admittemus in insulam.

<sup>2</sup> On the principle, already stated, that God is deemed a husband and human beings His wives.

<sup>3</sup> Jiv Gosāin was the son of Ballabh Āchārya, and uncle of Rūpa and Sanātan, two devout followers of Chaitanya, the great Vaishnav reformer of Bangāl (A.D. 1485-1533). Rūpa and Sanātan had been ministers of the Muhammadan ruler of Bihār, and were of royal blood, high rank, and great wealth, all which advantages they relinquished to lead religious lives. Jiv Gosāin was an author of some pretensions. He annotated a treatise of his nephew Rūpa, describing religious pleasures and emotions. He wrote a book on the acts of Krishan, but his greatest work was one in which he amplified his annotations

Mira Bai with loving devotion traversed every grove and pathway of Bindraban, and having fixed the sweet image of Krishan in her heart returned to her late husband's home. On finding her father-in-law still obdurate, she went on a pilgrimage to Dwaraka, where Krishan reigned after leaving Mathura. There again she became entranced with the pleasure of adorning and enhancing the beauty of her favourite god.

During her absence from Chitaur, the capital of Mewar, the visits of holy men to that capital ceased. Dissensions arose in the state. It was only then that the Rana realized what a holy person he had lost. He sent several Brahmans and instructed them to use every entreaty to Mira Bai to induce her to return, and finally to tell her that it was impossible for him to live unless she complied with his prayer. The Brahmans executed his orders, but Mira Bai refused to put herself again in the Rana's power. Upon this the Brahmans sat at her door and declared their intention of neither eating nor drinking till she had returned with them. She replied that she lived in Dwaraka only by the favour of Krishan. She would go and take leave of him and return to the Brahmans. She went to do homage to Ranchhor,<sup>1</sup> the visible representation of that god, became absorbed in his love, and what she had she gave—a humble offering of verses at his shrine :—

O god, remove thy servant's sufferings ;

Thou didst supply Draupadi with endless robes and save her modesty ;

For the sake of thy saint Prahlad thou didst assume the body of a man-lion ;

Thou didst kill Hiranyakashapu, who had not the courage to oppose thee ;

on the treatise of Rūpa, and dwelt at length on the various phases of devotional exaltation.

<sup>1</sup> Krishan received the name Ranchhor when he fled from Rāja Jarāsandh to Dwāraka.

Thou didst kill the crocodile and extricate the drowning elephant from the water.

O beloved Girdhar, Mira is thy slave ; her enemies everywhere annoy her.

Take me, my friend, take me to thy care as thou knowest best.

I have none but thee ; do thou show mercy unto me.

I have no appetite by day and no sleep by night ; my body pineth away.

Lord of Mira, all-wise Girdhar, come to me now ; I cannot live in thine absence.

It is said that Ranchhor, on beholding her supreme love, could resist no longer. He incorporated her in himself, and she became lost to human gaze. The Brahmans searched for her in vain. The only trace of her they could obtain was her *sarhi*, which was found enveloping the body of the idol. The Brahmans' faith in Krishan was confirmed, but their mission otherwise was unsuccessful, and they returned sore disappointed to the Rana. The latter soon experienced the further mortification of beholding his state conquered and plundered, it is said, by the victorious army of Akbar as a retribution for the ill-treatment of Mira Bai.

The following is one of the hymns whose passionate devotion is said to have produced the result of Mira Bai's union with Ranchhor :—

O Lord Ranchhor ; grant me to abide in Dwaraka, to abide in Dwaraka.

With thy shell, discus, mace, and lotus dispel the fear of death.

All places of pilgrimage ever abide in the Gomti for me.

The clash of thy shell and cymbals is to me ever the essence of pleasure.

I have abandoned my country, my queenly robes, my husband's palace, my property, and my kingdom.

Mira, thy slave, cometh to thee for refuge ; her honour is now totally in thy keeping.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The hymns in this life of Mira Bāi are translated from Rāja Raghurāj Sinh's *Bhagat Māl*.



It is said that in commemoration of the miraculous disappearance of Mira Bai, her image is still worshipped at Udaipur in conjunction with that of Ranchhor, the beloved Girdhar of her childhood.

The following is Mira Bai's hymn in Bhai Banno's Granth Sahib.

#### MARU

God <sup>1</sup> hath entwined my soul, O mother,  
With His attributes,<sup>2</sup> and I have sung of them.

The sharp arrow of His love hath pierced my body through  
and through, O mother.

When it struck me I knew it not ; now it cannot be endured,  
O mother.

Though I use charms, incantations, and drugs, the pain  
will not depart.

Is there any one who will treat me ? Intense is the agony,  
O mother.

Thou, O God, art near ; Thou are not distant ; come  
quickly to meet me.

Saith Mira, the Lord, the mountain-wielder,<sup>3</sup> who is compassionate,  
hath quenched the fire of my body, O mother.

The Lotus-eyed hath entwined *my soul* with the twine of  
His attributes.

#### SHAIKH FARID

THERE are hymns and sloks bearing the name of Farid found in the Granth Sahib. The Persian historian Farishta states that when Taimur Lang approached Ajodhan (Pak Pattan) in the Panjab in the year A. D. 1318, Sad-ul-Din,<sup>4</sup> a grandson of Shaikh Farid, who was then on his spiritual throne, fled with several of the leading inhabitants of the city to Bhatner in the state of Bikaner, where

<sup>1</sup> Kawalnain, the Lotus-eyed, an epithet of Krishan, the object of Mira Bāi's special worship.

<sup>2</sup> *Gun* has two meanings—a rope or twine, and an attribute.

<sup>3</sup> Krishan.

<sup>4</sup> In Arabic names the *l* is generally silent in such combinations.



they subsequently made peace with the invaders. Guru Nanak was born in A. D. 1469, so he could not have met the original Farid. It is stated too in the oldest account of the Guru's life that it was with Shaikh Brahm (Ibrahim), Farid's successor, known as Farid the Second, he had two interviews. It is certain that it was Shaikh Brahm who composed the sloks and hymns bearing the name of Farid in the Granth Sahib, though he used the name of the founder of his spiritual line as his poetical *nom de plume*.

The following is the genealogy of Shaikh Brahm. He was the son of Khwaja Shaikh Muhammad, who was son of Diwan Pir Ataulla, who was son of Diwan Shaikh Ahmad Shah, who was son of Diwan Pir Baha-ul-Din styled Harun, who was son of Khwaja Munawwar Shah, who was son of Khwaja Diwan Pir Fazal, who was son of Khwaja Diwan Muiz-ul-Din, who was son of Khwaja Diwan Pir Ala-ul-Din called Mauj-i-darya—a wave of piety—who was son of Diwan Badar-ul-Din Sulaiman, who was son of Hazrat Baba Farid-ul-Din Masaud Shakar Ganj, the original Farid of Pak Pattan.

Shaikh Brahm holds a distinguished place in the list of great saints, and bears several titles or appellations. He is called Farid Sani or Farid the Second, Salis Farid or the arbitrator Farid, Shaikh Brahm Kalan (Shaikh Brahm the elder), Bal Raja, Shaikh Brahm Sahib, and Shah Brahm. He is said to have performed many miracles. The following is given as an example. A thief once entered his house with criminal intent, but by God's will was struck blind and could not find his way out. When Shaikh Brahm rose at night to pray, he told his servant to fetch water for his ablutions. The servant saw the blind thief standing helpless on the floor, and informed his master. The thief prayed for forgiveness, and promised that, if he recovered his sight, he would renounce his evil ways. Upon this Shaikh

Brahm prayed for him ; he recovered his sight, and became a devout Musalman. Another of Shaikh Brahm's miracles is this. In a season of drought he took off his turban and began to whirl it about, upon which rain fell abundantly.

Two sons of Shaikh Brahm are mentioned—one Shaikh Taj-ul-Din Mahmud, a great saint, and another Shaikh Munawwar Shah Shahid. Shaikh Brahm had several disciples, such as Shaikh Salim Chishti Fatahpuri, Shaikh Almadi of Chunian, Baba Ahmad Lanak of Dipalpur, Maulvi Jalal-ul-Din of Shaikhabad, Shah Abdul Fatah of Ghazipur, Haji Niamat Ulla of Shaikhupur, &c.

Shaikh Brahm died on the 21st of Rajab, A. H. 960 (A. D. 1552), after a spiritual reign of forty-two years. The *Khulasat-ul-Tawarikh* states that he was buried at Sarhind. Whatever other details are known of him have been given in the life of Guru Nanak, who went on two occasions to meet and converse with him.

There is a great deal known or written regarding the original Shaikh Farid, and it appears that this sketch would be incomplete without some account of him.<sup>1</sup> Two genealogies of Shaikh Farid, subsequently called Farid Shakar Ganj, are given in

<sup>1</sup> The materials for the life of Farid, which are preserved at the shrine of Pāk Pattan, are the *Jawāhir-i-Farīdi* (the Gems of Farid) by Ali Asghar of Bahadāl, a town near Sarhind; the *Rāhat-ul-Qulūb* (Repose of Hearts), being a diary of Farid's acts and instructions compiled by Nizām-ul-Dīn Auliya; the *Makhazan-i-Chishti*, and the *Asrār-i-Itirāt-i-Farīdi* (Private lives of Farid's descendants), by Pir Muhammad of Pāk Pattan. The first three are in the Persian, the fourth in the Urdu language.

Ali Asghar's work, the *Jawāhir-i-Farīdi*, was completed during the reign of Jahāngīr on the 4th day of the month of Rajab A. H. 1033 (A. D. 1623). Ali Asghar took the work for examination and correction to Maulvi Shaikh Muhammad. The latter was grandson of Shaikh Tāj-ul-Dīn Mahmūd, who was, as we have seen, a son of Shaikh Brahm, called Farid the Second. The details given in the *Jawāhir-i-Farīdi* are said to have been obtained from several volumes deposited in the sacred library at Baghdād.

the *Jawahir-i-Faridi*—one spiritual, the other temporal. He received his spiritual position from his priest Khwaja Qutub-ul-Din Bakhtiyar Ushi<sup>1</sup> of Dihli, whose spiritual predecessors ascend in a direct line to the Prophet of Makka. Farid's temporal or family genealogy is traced back through princes and kings to Hazrat Amir-ul-Mumanin Umr-bin-ul Khitab Qureshi Makki Faruqi, the second Khalifa of the Muhammadans.

When Farrukh Shah, from whom Farid was descended, was king of Kabul, the kings of Ghazni and other states were subject to him. When Kabul was subsequently captured by the king of Ghazni, Farrukh Shah's son went to him in quest of a livelihood. The king of Ghazni treated him with respect, and not only restored him his kingdom of Kabul, but gave him his daughter in marriage. It would appear that the kings of Ghazni and Kabul at the time were relations, for Shaikh Farid's father, Shaikh Jamal-ul-Din, was nephew of the king of Ghazni.

Shaikh Farid's great-grandfather was killed in the struggles of that period.<sup>2</sup> Farid's grandfather, Shaikh Shaib, with his relations, including three sons, the eldest of whom was Jamal-ul-Din Sulaiman, abandoned their country and took refuge in the Panjab in A.H. 519 (A. D. 1125). The Qazi of Kasur, who had been educated in Kabul and who was acquainted with the high position Shaikh Shaib had held there, treated him and his relatives with great respect and hospitality.<sup>3</sup> After some time Shaikh Shaib pro-

<sup>1</sup> So called as having come from Ūsh in Farghāna. See *Āin-i-Akbari*.

<sup>2</sup> In the original it is stated that when Halāku, the grandson of Changez Khān, invaded Ghazni and Kābul, he killed several princes and learned men, including Shaikh Farid's great-grandfather. This is not correct. Halāku's era was long subsequent. It was in A. D. 1258 he captured the city of Baghdād, and brought the Arab Khalāfat to a close.

<sup>3</sup> In the account preserved at Pāk Pattan it is stated that the Qāzi of Kasūr, through the subādār of Lahore, informed the Emperor of Shaikh Shaib's arrival in the Panjāb. This must be an error. The



ceeded to Multan where he deemed he should be less exposed to worldly influences or the temptings of ambition. When he heard of the attentions in store for him in that city, he decided that he could not there carry out his intention to lead a life of obscurity and self-effacement. He accordingly took up his abode in Kothiwal, now known as Chawali Mushaikh, not far from Dipalpur.

Shaikh Shaib, established in Kothiwal a private college for religious instruction, and in spite of himself attracted much attention. His eldest son Jamal-ul-Din married Bibi Miriam,<sup>1</sup> daughter of Saiyid Muhammad Abdula Shah—a descendant of Ali—and adopted daughter of Maulvi Wajih-ul-Din, a descendant of Abbas, uncle of the Prophet of Makka. Wajih-ul-Din had fled from Kabul during political difficulties and taken up his abode in Karor in the Multan district. Miriam is described as a very pious lady and worker of some great miracles. She had three sons, Khwaja Aziz-ul-Din, Farid-ul-Din Masaud, Khwaja Najib-ul-Din, and one daughter, Bibi Khatun Jamila, the mother of Saiyad Ala-ul-Din Ali Ahmad Sabir.

Nizam-ul-Din Auliya, a disciple of Farid, relates a legend of a robber who went to Farid's mother's house to steal. On beginning his operations he lost his sight. He then cried out that there must be some saint or miracle-worker present. He vowed that, if his lost sight were restored, he would renounce thieving and become a good Muhammadan. On hearing this vow Miriam prayed for him, and his sight was restored. He went home, and returned to her the following morning with an offering of milk. Accompanied by his wife and children, he expressed a desire that they should all become Muhammadans.

Emperor of Hindustān was then Prithwi Rāj. Shahāb-ul-Dīn's victorious Indian career did not begin until about fifty years afterwards.

<sup>1</sup> *Isrār-i-Itrat-i-Farīdī*. In the *Jawāhir-i-Farīdī* Jamāl-ul-Dīn's wife, Farid's mother, is called Quresham.

Miriam caused his wishes in this respect to be gratified, with the result that they all became holy. In reply to her, he said his name was Chawa. His shrine among others in that locality subsequently became a place of devout pilgrimage.

When Farid was conceived, his mother used to spend her days and nights in prayer. He was born at Kothiwal on the first day of the month of Ramzan, A.H. 569 (A.D. 1173). The night of his birth was dark and cloudy, and the moon, whose appearance indicates the beginning of Ramzan—the Muhammadan Lent—could not be seen, so men did not know when to begin their fast. A holy man arrived and said that a wonderful son had been born to Jamal-ul-Din Sulaiman. If the infant suckled, the time for fasting had not yet begun, but if, on the contrary, he refused the breast, then all good Muhammadans must fast. Farid did not suckle, and so it was apparent the fast had begun. During the whole of the month of Ramzan, it is said, the infant only took milk by night in the Muhammadan fashion and fasted by day.

When Farid was a few years old his mother taught him his prayers. The boy asked what was gained by prayer. His mother replied 'Sugar'. She used accordingly to hide some sugar under his prayer-carpet, and, when he had finished his prayers, draw it forth, and give it to him as a reward for his devotion. On one occasion, when his mother was absent, he prayed a great deal, and, it is said, a great supply of sugar—a miraculous gift of God—was found under his carpet. Some he ate himself and the rest he gave to his playfellows. He related the circumstance to his mother on her return. It was then his mother gave him the surname Shakar Ganj, meaning a treasury of sugar.

The following is another version of the reason why the name Shakar Ganj was bestowed on Farid. It is related that, when the Prophet Muhammad ascended



into heaven, God gave him a plate of sugar, which He said was from the treasury of a saint who should be born in his sect. The Prophet was to eat some of it himself, and give the remainder to his disciples. When the Prophet returned to earth, his friends asked him whence he had obtained the sugar. He replied that a holy man should be born in his sect, who would become a mediator for sinners. When the Prophet was asked the holy man's name he said, 'He shall receive from God the name Farid, as being fard-i-alam, unique in the world, and he shall be called by me Shakar Ganj.' A third reason for the name will subsequently be given.

His mother sent Farid to school at the age of four or five years. In a short time he committed the whole of the Quran to memory. He was then sent to Multan, where he became proficient in secular learning. His mother, it is said, was then counselled by an angel to send him on a pilgrimage to Makka. Farid himself had previously conceived the same desire, though he was then hardly more than a child. He was at the time reading the *Abul Nafa* with Saiyid Nazir Ahmad. When the latter heard of Farid's intended departure, he began to weep at the loss of his beloved pupil. His parents then resolved to take the boy's preceptor also. They set out from Kothiwal on the 13th day of Jamadi ul Sani, A. H. 585, and arrived in the harbour of Jadda on the 12th of Zi Qada of the same year, that is, after a journey of five months. Thence they proceeded to Makka.

Farid's party stayed in the house of Abdul Rahim Ansari, whose wife was very attentive to them. They heard that Abdul Qadir Jilani, styled Hazrat Ghaus Pak Qutub-i-Alam, had come from Baghdad to perform the great Muhammadan pilgrimage, and taken up his position in the cave of Hura on mount Abu Qabis near Makka.<sup>1</sup> Hazrat Ghaus's praises

<sup>1</sup> We here follow the annals of the shrine at Pāk Pattan. According to the *Āin-i-Akbarī* Abdul Kādir died before the birth of Farid.

were in every body's mouth, and Farid did not conceal his admiration of the distinguished saint. An unkempt faqir on hearing Farid's language foretold the boy's subsequent greatness. The faqir whispered something into his ear, and he at once became insensible. He was taken up and carried to Abdul Rahim's house.

Farid afterwards averred that while he was in this state of apparent insensibility the Prophet appeared to him, and foretold his future distinction and the fame of his shrine. Muhammad promised he would stand on Farid's tomb every fifth day of the Muharram for nine hours through all time. Farid's mother suggested to him to commit to writing all the details of his interview with the Prophet; but the memorandum made in obedience to his mother's suggestion has not been found.

When the pilgrimage to Makka was over, Hazrat Ghaus invited Farid and his party to visit him in his cave. Hazrat Ghaus there produced an iron box containing relics of the Prophet. They consisted of two banners which used to precede him in war, two covers for them, a cup made of olive wood, a pair of buskins, a saffron-coloured turban, and some alpaca cloth for a neckcloth. When these things after examination were restored to the iron box, it was placed on Farid's head and bestowed on him.

After this Farid's party went to visit Madina, and after a brief sojourn there returned to India. On their way from the sea they visited Ajmer, where Farid received instruction from Khwaja Gharib Nawaz.

Farid was in due time sent to Kabul to study theology. Having completed his course there he returned to Multan. At Minhaj-ul-Din's mosque he met the saint Qutub-ul-Din, and became his disciple.

Farid's cousin, Baha-ul-Din Zakaria,<sup>1</sup> Saiyid Jalal-

<sup>1</sup> Surnamed Makhdūm-i-Ālam. His tomb is within the Multān fort. An account of this saint will be found in the *Khulāsāt-ul-Tawārīkh*.

ul-Din Bukhari, and Lal Shahbaz Qalandar asked Farid to join them on a religious peregrination. They were to proceed as fancy dictated in quest of some man of eminent sanctity. Farid said that he only believed in his own priest Qutub-ul-Din. Baha-ul-Din, however, pressed him to join the party, and Farid finally consented. On the journey they arrived at a place where two ways met. On one way which was short there were thieves, while on the other which was long they might travel in safety. Baha-ul-Din advised them to go by the safe road even though it cost more trouble, lest they might be deprived of the money they had with them for their travelling expenses. Farid gave it as his opinion that they should divest themselves of everything that was likely to be stolen, and then proceed by the short road. This advice was adopted.

On their way they arrived at the river Indus, where they found fishermen casting nets. Farid and his party were hungry and agreed to cast nets into the river, each in his turn and in his own name, in the hope of catching some fish for their dinner. The nets were cast and found empty until it came to Farid's turn. His net became so full of fish, and therefore so heavy, that the fishermen could not draw it out of the water. Farid repeating Bismillah easily drew it forth.

The party then proceeded to cross the river. On the opposite shore there lived a saint called Shaikh Suf, under whose spiritual guidance Farid and his party wished to place themselves. Shaikh Suf told Farid and his friends that he had no power to make them his disciples, and referred them to Shaikh Shahab-ul-Din Saharwardi, the cynosure of the age, who lived in Bukhara. Farid and his three friends then set out for Bukhara. Shahab-ul-Din declared that Farid was a man of wonderful courage, and destined to obtain a high spiritual position. At the same time he ought to return to his own priest



Qutub-ul-Din. Before the return of the party Baha-ul-Din became a disciple of Shahab-ul-Din.

As Farid, Baha-ul-Din, Saiyid Jalal-ul-Din Bukhari, and Lal Shahbaz Qalandar were returning from Bukhara they stayed near a village in Sindh. A charitable person gave them a little corn for food, which they much required after a long fast. Farid bade his companions go and pray in the forest, while he took the corn to the village to be ground. He went to a woman's house and asked her to grind the corn and take some of the flour for her labour. She seeing that he was very handsome invited him into her house, and told him that he might grind the corn himself. When he entered, she proposed that he should make love to her. Preparatory to the hoped-for act she put her child of three months old into a cradle. Farid repulsed her, and when she further pressed her proposal took to flight. She then cried out, called all her neighbours to witness an indecent assault, and charged the runaway with having dishonoured her. The villagers collected, pursued and arrested Farid, and took him before the magistrate. He was called upon for his defence, and asked to produce witnesses of his innocence if he had any; otherwise he should suffer the punishment provided for such a heinous crime. Farid said his witness was the woman's child, who would support his statements. The child was brought to court in his cradle. Farid adjured the child by his Creator to speak the truth, and tell what had occurred. He, to the astonishment of all, not only spoke intelligently, but gave evidence calculated to completely establish Farid's innocence. Upon this the magistrate rebuked and imprisoned the woman.

When Farid reached Khwaja Qutub-ul-Din, the latter was at the height of his fame. The author of the *Jawahir-i-Faridi* states that he enjoined the observance of the following four rules on all who aspired to perfection—sleep little, eat little, speak

little, associate little with the world. Farid said that, even were every hair on his body a tongue, he could not describe Qutub-ul-Din's virtues.<sup>1</sup>

Qutub-ul-Din, on finding Farid deficient in scholarship, sent him to the shrine of Abdul Shakur of Sarsa to finish his education.<sup>2</sup> On that occasion Farid repeated the following :—

O Farid, thou hast not walked in God's way ; therefore He hath not appeared unto thee.

Who is there who hath knocked at God's door for whom it hath not been opened ?

Lose thy life on the way of the Friend if thou desire to be even as those holy men.

The high reputation Farid obtained in Dihli soon became irksome to him. He therefore made his way to Hansi, where he remained for some time. Meantime his high priest in Dihli appears to have died. Upon this Farid paid a second visit to that city, and assumed the mantle of his late spiritual guide. He ultimately left it in the keeping of Jamal-ul-Din of Hansi, and thence proceeded to Ajodhan, the present Pak Pattan, where he afterwards died, and where his followers now reside and receive offerings at his shrine.

<sup>1</sup> Khwāja Qutub-ul-Dīn Bakhtiyār Kāki was a Saiyid of the Jāfiri Husaini tribe. He was born about the middle of the twelfth century A.D. Having studied under Abu Hifz, a celebrated Muhammadan doctor of Ūsh, he went to Ajmer and became a disciple of Muayan-ul-Dīn Hasan Chishti. In due time he proceeded to Dihli where not only Farid, but the Emperor Sultān Shams-ul-Dīn Altmish became his disciple. He is said to have been a worker of miracles, and to have obtained his surname Kāki from his ability to produce hot cakes (kāk) at will from under his arm-pits. He died in A.D. 1235, and was buried in Dihli, where his tomb is held in devout reverence by pious Muhammadans. His descendants are called Chishtis from the tribe of his priest.—*Makhazan-ul-Tawārīkh*.

Qutub-ul-Dīn's tomb near the natural spring called Jhālra in Ajmer was a favourite place of pilgrimage of the Emperor Akbar.—*Badāūni*.

<sup>2</sup> The *Rāhat-ul-Qulūb* here gives a different legend.



The manner in which the name of the place became changed to Pak Pattan may be here stated. A canal which derived its water from the Satluj passed near the town. It was usual for all who visited Farid to wash their hands and feet there. The place then became known as *Baba Sahib ka Pak Pattan*, or Farid's cleansing ferry.

When Farid first went to Ajodhan, it is said that he lived on the fruit of the jal and the wild caper. These formed his staple food even when he subsequently became great and famous.

Abu Musalla, a qazi of Pak Pattan, grew jealous of the new-comer Farid, and complained to the subadar of Multan that he sang and danced. The subadar forwarded the complaint to the Emperor, who issued an order, as usual, in the Persian language, 'Anra az shahar ba dar kuned,' turn him out of the city. When this order reached the subadar he read, 'Qazira az shahar ba dar kuned,' turn the qazi out of the city. The words, it was said, had been miraculously changed during the transit of the order from Dihli to Multan. When the qazi heard of the order he, deeming repentance convenient and more profitable than expulsion, fell at Farid's feet, implored his forgiveness, and became his disciple. The qazi in due time gave his daughter in marriage to Farid's son Makhdum Badr-ul-Din. From this marriage was born Hazrat Ala-ul-Din Mauj-i-Darya.

Farid after some time, in accordance with his mother's advice, went to a forest, and lived there as an anchorite for twelve years, subsisting on the leaves of trees. On his return she began to comb his dishevelled hair. Farid complained that the operation caused him pain. His mother replied that he must have caused similar pain to the trees when he robbed them of their leaves and fruit for food. It is written in the Quran that everything prays to God, hence the trees must be sentient beings. Farid then felt for the first time that his penance had been profit-

less. He accordingly set out on another pilgrimage of twelve years. This time, so as not to hurt any living thing, he tied a wooden cake to his stomach, and, it is said, subsisted on the imaginary sustenance it afforded him for the full term of his vow. If any one asked him to eat, he used to point to the wooden cake, and say that he had already dined, and that the remainder of his meal was attached to his stomach. One day in the dire pangs of hunger, it is said, he bit the wooden cake in the hope of satisfying his appetite. The reputed marks of his teeth are shown on a piece of wood still preserved in Pak Pattan.

Farid in his wanderings visited in A. D. 1244 the Girar hill in the Wardha district of Central India, and lived there for some time. Two travellers, who at first mocked him and subsequently felt the effects of his miraculous power, became his disciples. They died on the hill where their graves are still pointed out.

Farid subsequently visited the hill of Datar in the state of Junagarh and abode there for some time. He was known under the name of Shakar Bhai. His fireplace near a spring called Qalandar ka chashma—the Qalandar's well—is still pointed out and revered by pilgrims. Hindu lepers visit the place to be healed of their malady, and in the event of success become Musalmans. Of such are the men in a temple on the slope of the hill, who have acquired several well-marked Muhammadan characteristics.

His mother, finding that Farid on his return had not lost all remnants of pride, dismissed him to do penance for a third period of twelve years. This time, it is said, he caused himself to be suspended by the feet in a well. He used sometimes, when wearied by the unnatural position of his body, to go out and pray, and express his satisfaction with the Divine will. It is said that birds used to build their nests in his hair, and beasts of prey to peck at or devour his flesh. He composed the following couplet in reference to these circumstances :—

Farid, thy body is on the stake ; thy head hath become a cage ; the crows peck at thy feet.

If God come to me even now, happy shall be my lot.

This couplet was subsequently expanded into the 90th, 91st, and 92nd sloks of Shaikh Brahm found in the Granth Sahib. After twelve years thus occupied it is said a voice called out to him, 'God will grant any favour thou askest.' Farid replied that he only desired salvation.

Farid, on being questioned why he had endured so much penance, said that he desired to save all the followers of Muhammad whom he could fold within his arms. His questioner replied, 'Thou canst fold only two men within thine arms.' Farid then stretched out his hands, whereupon one of them seemed to reach to the east and the other to the west, and he said, 'All persons within the circuit of my arms shall accept Islam and be saved.' His questioner stood abashed on hearing this and became his disciple.

It is stated in the *Gulshan-i-Auliya* that God had an understanding with Farid, that He should give him three terms of life of forty years each. After the first forty years God said, 'Thou hast been searching for Me.' After the second forty God said, 'Thou hast done My bidding.' After the third forty God again said, 'Thou hast done My bidding ; now I will do thine.' It would thus appear that after a holy career Farid died at the age of one hundred and twenty years. Other writers, however, as we shall see, assign the saint a shorter period of life.

The fame of Farid's miracles widely extended, and some men through envy became exceedingly hostile to him. Two darweshes, displeased at his high reputation for sanctity and thaumaturgy, came from a great distance to kill him. Farid spoke gently to his intended murderers, with the result that they departed fully satisfied that he was a great saint, and deserved praise rather than censure, long life rather than death.



After that two saints arrived from Mount Lebanon to decide the question as to who was the spiritual ruler of India. On making Farid's acquaintance, they became so enamoured of the beauty and saintliness of his character, that they decided to pass the remainder of their lives in his service. Others arrived on the same errand and from the same locality, so it was said that Lebanon was denuded of its male population. Farid in due time dismissed them all, saying that Lebanon was the home of saints, and they ought not to abandon it.

In the train of other holy men who came from Ghazni, Kabul, and the cities to the west of it to engage in missionary enterprise in India, was Ahmad Danyal of Bukhara<sup>1</sup>, the father of Nizam-ul-Din Auliya. Having stayed for some time at Lahore, Ahmad Danyal in A. D. 1234 proceeded to Badaun, then a famous city of Muhammadan learning. There, three years after his arrival, Nizam-ul-Din, originally called Muhammad, was born to him. Nizam-ul-Din was left an orphan at the age of five years. He was carefully and piously instructed by his mother Zulaikha, and in early youth showed such extraordinary ability, that he was known as Nizam-ul-Din Bahhas, or the Controversialist, and Mahfil-Shikan, the assembly-router. On arriving at manhood he was offered by the Emperor the coveted post of Qazi at Dihli, but, that being principally of a secular character, he preferred to embrace a religious life, and become a disciple of Farid. From him, according to Abul Fazal, author of the *Ain-i-Akbari*, he obtained the key of the treasury of inward illumination.

Nizam-ul-Din had heard much of Farid, and longed to meet him and receive his spiritual instruction. Farid too was equally anxious to meet such a holy man. He said he had had an inspiration to confer the spiritual sovereignty of Hindustan on a man

<sup>1</sup> The *Khulāsāt-ul-Tawārīkh* gives Ghazni as the birthplace of Ahmad Danyāl.

called Nizam-ul-Din. Accordingly, when the two holy men met, Farid gave Nizam-ul-Din his patched coat and wooden shoes, and appointed him head of the Muhammadan faith in India. He bade him be of good cheer and promised ever to assist him. On that occasion Farid made the following couplet :—

The fire of separation from thee roasteth our hearts ;  
The torrent of thy love destroyeth our lives.

These lines were intended to compliment Nizam-ul-Din on his personal popularity, and the love with which he inspired his associates.

In the time of the Emperor Nasir-ul-Din there was a celebrated preacher called Afsah-ul-Din in Dihli. He visited Farid in Ajodhan to hold a religious controversy with him, and was encountered by Nizam-ul-Din, whom Farid deputed for the purpose. Nizam-ul-Din gave Afsah-ul-Din most unexpectedly clever and satisfactory replies to all his arguments, whereat he marvelled greatly and departed, saying, ' If the disciple is so, what must the master be ? ' Farid ultimately made Afsah-ul-Din a disciple of his.

Farid used generally to reject offerings of money. One day the emperor presented him with two plates of gold coins. Farid would only accept two muhars out of the imperial offerings. Those he accepted were devoted to the purchase of provisions for his public kitchen ; the remainder he ordered to be distributed among faqirs. In the process of distribution two of the coins fell and were picked up by a disciple of Farid. Farid not observing this began to pray, but could not fix his thoughts on God. He knew therefore that some one in the assembly must have worldly dross on him. After much inquiry he became aware of the act of his disciple, and ordered him to throw away the coins immediately. It was only then that Farid could fix his attention on his devotions.

As an example of Farid's frugal habits, the follow-



ing anecdote is related. Nizam-ul-Din Auliya one day cooked some coarse lentils which he seasoned with borrowed salt. Farid ordered him to distribute the lentils and then give him his share. When it was brought to Farid, he said that it savoured of excessive expenditure. Nizam-ul-Din admitted that he had seasoned it with borrowed salt, whereupon Farid said he had done wrong. Food obtained in that way should not be eaten. Upon this Farid sent the food away.

Farid accompanied Baha-ul-Din Zakaria at his request on another journey, namely, to the mountain of Qaf, the Caucasus. On descending therefrom they are said to have seen a man with a fiery dress riding on a fiery tiger, an allegory intended to represent the burning zeal of the first propagators of Islam. The man put Farid behind him, and rode off with him for the conversion of the world.

Farid, on returning to Ajodhan from his missionary journey, was hospitably received and entertained by Shaikh Nasir Ulla's mother, a widow named Bibi Um-i-Qulsum, whom he afterwards married. She brought him valuable building land to the west of the town. Farid cherished Nasir Ulla, and educated and brought him up as his own son.

During Farid's absence in the Caucasus a Jogi gained great spiritual ascendancy over the people of Ajodhan, and made many converts among them. In due time they all returned to Farid, who promptly repaired the mischief that had been done, and restored his flock to their former spiritual allegiance.

The Emperor Nasir-ul-Din deputed Nawab Alif Khan to present Farid with a large sum of money in gold and a perpetual grant of the revenue of four villages. Farid refused both the money and the grant, and told Alif Khan to take them to those who needed them. If he himself accepted them, he would no longer be reckoned a darwesh. Men would upbraid him for his worldliness, and on the day of judgement

he would not be allowed to take his place in the ranks of the elect. On this occasion Farid cited the precepts and example of his priest Qutub-ul-Din Bakhtiyar Ushi. Once the Emperor Shams-ul-Din Altmish sent him a dish of gold and silver coins and a lease of six villages. Qutub-ul-Din rejected the royal offerings, saying that none of his predecessors had ever accepted such things, and, were he to do so, he would be no true follower of theirs.

When Nawab Alif Khan was on his return journey to Dihli, it occurred to him that the Emperor Nasir-ul-Din had no heir, and he reflected that, if he could secure Farid's intercession, he might become emperor himself. He therefore returned to Farid who gave him the following verses :—

The great Faridun was not an angel ;

He was not constructed out of rose-water and ambergris ;

He obtained greatness by his justice and generosity.

Dispense thou justice and generosity, and thou shalt be even as Faridun.

Alif Khan receiving these lines joyfully returned to Dihli, and ultimately, on the death of Nasir-ul-Din, was saluted emperor under the title of Ghiyas-ul-Din Balban.<sup>1</sup>

Farid went to Dihli during the life-time of Nasir-ul-Din and received a most hospitable reception. The Emperor introduced him to his queens and made them his disciples. While in the female apartments Farid's glance fell on Hazabra, the Emperor's daughter. Farid first looked at her, and then looked up to heaven. He inquired whose daughter she was, and on being duly informed took his departure. The Emperor understood Farid's desire, and sent his prime minister to offer him Hazabra in marriage. Farid, who had already made up his mind on the subject, said that God, the Prophet, and the elders of the Chishtis had all given him orders to ally

<sup>1</sup> *Jawāhir-i-Farīdi.*

himself with the Emperor's daughter. He averred that he had seen a sign on Hazabra's forehead that she was intended for him. Upon that occasion Farid addressed God—'Thou hast drawn away my heart from Thy love, and inclined it in another direction.' God is said to have replied—'Perform the marriage for the love of my friend the Prophet.' Farid prayed God to pardon him. God again replied—'I have an object in this. When sons are born to thee, it shall be to the advantage of thy people, and they shall be pardoned.' Farid, still anxious on the subject, urged, 'If any of my descendants sin, I shall be called to account in Thy court.' God replied, 'Keep the good children thyself, and entrust the bad ones to Me.'

Farid and the Emperor's daughter were duly married. The Emperor sent three hundred servants to wait on her. Of these Farid only allowed her to retain two men and two women. The first night the lady, richly apparelled, lay on a gorgeous couch. Farid produced his prayer-carpet, and slept on it on the ground near her. Next day she told her nurse that Farid had not approached her. The nurse remonstrated with him on the subject. He replied that he did not approve of the regal style the lady had adopted. She must sell her jewels and rich dresses, devote the price of them to God's service, and wear the habit of a darwesh. When the lady received this message, she said she would do as her husband had ordered. She accordingly devoted the proceeds of the sale of her jewels and dresses to the relief of the poor. Farid then procured for her wear a coarse jacket of a dirty brown colour, black paejamas, green glass bangles, and a pewter nose-ring. The Emperor was not pleased that his daughter should appear in such mean habiliments, and again supplied her with new clothes and jewellery to wear instead of what she had rejected at her husband's desire. The new articles she again gave to the



poor. A third time the Emperor sent her what he deemed suitable apparel and ornaments, but she and her husband parted with them as before. The Emperor continued to send her presents, but they were only a source of disagreement between her husband and herself. At last the lady proposed that they should leave Dihli and proceed to Pak Pattan. This was agreed upon. Farid left his brother Najib-ul-Din to do spiritual duty for him in Dihli. It may be here stated that the females of the shrine are still married in dresses similar to what Farid procured for his wife. After the honeymoons raiment more suitable to their worldly position is adopted.

The Emperor's daughter bore Farid five sons—Badr-ul-Din, Shahab-ul-Din, Nizam-ul-Din, Yaqub, and Abdulla Shah ; and three daughters—Fatima, Mastura, and Sharifa. In the *Itrat-i-Faridi* it is stated that Farid had a third wife named Najib-ul-Nissa, sister of Shaikh Zakaria, and we shall subsequently see that he procured a fourth wife on the Panjab mountains.

Farid being once very ill sent Nizam-ul-Din and other darweshes to a cemetery to pray for him. The idea was and is, that prayers offered in the presence of men who have gone to God, are acceptable and successful. The prayer, however, proved of no avail. Upon this one of the darweshes remarked that the prayers of the worthless were of no advantage to the perfect, that is, the prayers of ordinary darweshes could not benefit Farid. This expression was subsequently repeated to Farid by Nizam-ul-Din. Farid was pleased with the compliment and, it is said, granted Nizam-ul-Din supernatural power. Nizam-ul-Din then returned to the cemetery, prayed for Farid's recovery, and on his return found him in perfect health.

To show the spiritual and social position held by the family it is related that Farid addressed his cousin as ' Hazrat Ghaus Shaikh Baha-ul-Din Zakaria '.



His cousin addressed him in reply, ' Mashuq-i-Khuda wa ashik-i-zat-i-Kibria Farid, fard-i-alam, Shah Shākar Ganj Ajodhani Chishti '—Beloved of God and loving the Almighty Being, Farid, unique in the world, king, treasury of sugar, Chishti of Ajodhan.

Shaikh Badr-ul-Din, descended from a noble family of Ghazni, was a disciple of Qutub-ul-Din of Dihli. Farid, highly impressed with Badr-ul-Din's reputation for sanctity, went one day to visit him. Badr-ul-Din had nothing for him to eat, so he sent his coarse blanket to the market to be sold for whatever it would fetch, in order to provide a meal for his distinguished guest. Malik Nizam-ul-Din, a different person from the Nizam-ul-Din Auliya with whom we have been concerned, made a monastery for Shaikh Badr-ul-Din, who was pleased to reside in it, and dispense to the poor the provisions which Nizam-ul-Din had provided for them in abundance. It happened that this Nizam-ul-Din subsequently in some way offended the Emperor and was imprisoned. Badr-ul-Din wrote to Farid to pray to God for his release. Farid refused on the ground that Nizam-ul-Din had constructed a monastery for self-aggrandizement, a course which was not in accordance with the humble practice of his predecessors who sought retirement and self-effacement.

There was a religious man called Shams Dabir who lived in great indigence in Sunam in the present state of Patiala. He wrote some verses in praise of Farid, and went to him to recite them. Farid on hearing the eulogium asked the poet what he wanted. Shams Dabir replied that he was very poor, and had not wherewithal to support his aged mother. Farid replied that he gave not money, but he would pray very fervently for him. Shams Dabir ultimately became secretary to the Emperor's prime minister.

The Emperor Ala-ul-Din Masaud made Hamid, a learned man, his viceroy of Bengal. One day as Hamid was standing with clasped hands before the

Emperor, a form of light appeared to him, and asked why he was standing in a suppliant attitude before a fool. The same question was asked Hamid the next day, and the next day again. Upon this he resigned his post and proceeded to Ajodhan, whither he was attracted by Farid's spiritual power. On reaching Farid's dwelling, he fell down and kissed his threshold. When Farid had heard his story, he made him his disciple, and gave him the patched coat of a Khalifa. Hamid remained for some time with Farid, and became a very eloquent preacher. Farid often called him a bright particular star, but at the same time remarked that a star looks not bright in the presence of the sun—a subtle compliment to himself. Farid suggested that he should return, and live in the town of Andina near Dihli, and benefit God's people by his preaching. Hamid, however, stated that his intention was rather to make a pilgrimage to Makka and Madina, the cities hallowed by the residence of his Prophet. Upon this Farid allowed him to take his departure.

Maulana Badr-ul-Din, son of Saiyid Minhaj-ul-Din Najjari,<sup>1</sup> was professor of Arabic in the Muhammadan college of Dihli. In the course of his theological studies he encountered several difficulties for which he could receive no satisfactory solution from the holy men of his acquaintance. He therefore resolved to travel to Bukhara, then the seat of some of the greatest Muhammadan scholars of the age. He went by Multan, whose learned men also he wished to consult. On the way he met some pious hermits, one of whom was a disciple of Farid, and had Farid's name ever on his tongue. Badr-ul-Din, after a short conference with him, told him he was wasting his time in such occupation. The disciple said he could not help it, for Farid's name issued spontaneously from his lips. The disciple and his friends then

<sup>1</sup> In the English translation of the *Āin-i-Akbari* Bukhārī is found for Najjārī.

suggested to Badr-ul-Din to pay Shaikh Farid a visit, and perhaps he would solve some of his difficulties. Badr-ul-Din replied that he had met several Shaikhs, that they were merely impostors, and that men wasted their time in converse with them. The disciple and his friends argued the matter with Badr-ul-Din, and represented to him that he could only appreciate Shaikh Farid's merits when he had made his acquaintance. Badr-ul-Din at last gave way, and was conducted by his casual friends to Farid. Farid solved his theological difficulties in a satisfactory manner, and then made him his disciple. Upon this Badr-ul-Din decided not to proceed to Bukhara, but remain in Ajodhan with Farid. He became so humble that he used to wait on holy men, cut fire-wood in the forest, and cook their food with it. He was at the same time very attentive to his devotions, and used to mortify his body with fasting.

Once, when there was a marriage in Pak Pattan, Badr-ul-Din, on seeing the relations of the bride draw water with which to bathe the bride and bridegroom according to ancient custom, thought that if he were in his own country and among his people his own marriage also might be duly celebrated.

Sometime afterwards Badr-ul-Din proceeded on a pilgrimage to Makka and Madina. On his return Farid informed him of the thoughts which had passed through his mind on seeing water drawn to bathe the bride and bridegroom, and said he could either have a temporal or a permanent marriage, as he deemed most advantageous. By permanent marriage Farid meant death, as among the ancient Greeks ; and if Badr-ul-Din desired it, not only water but milk and sugar should ever be offered at his shrine, and the fame of such a marriage should resound both in earth and heaven.

It would appear from the *Jawahir-i-Faridi* that Badr-ul-Din accepted both forms of marriage. Farid gave him his daughter Fatima in marriage. He also

made him his chamberlain with the title of Badr-ul-Diwan. Whenever Farid spoke to him on the subject of appointing him to a position corresponding with that of bishop *in partibus infidelium*, he used to reply that he desired to live for ever under Farid's shadow. Farid built him a house near the great mosque of the city, and there he lived in the service of God. After his death a mausoleum was erected over his remains. As promised by Shaikh Farid, his marriage ceremonies are celebrated once a year by a fair held on the sixth day of the month Jamadi ul Sani, when copious libations of sharbat are offered at his shrine.

One day as Farid awoke from a trance, he said, 'The eye which looketh not towards God had better be blind; the tongue which uttereth not His name had better be dumb; the ear which heareth not His praises had better be deaf; and the body which performeth not His service had better be dead.' After this utterance Farid relapsed into his trance.

Once seven hundred holy men were sitting together. An inquirer put them four questions to which they gave identically the same replies—

Q. 1. Who is the wisest of men? A. He who refraineth from sin.

Q. 2. Who is the most intelligent? A. He who is not disconcerted at anything.

Q. 3. Who is the most independent? A. He who practiseth contentment.

Q. 4. Who is the most needy? A. He who practiseth it not.

The following sentences are taken from Farid's sermons :—

God hesitateth to raise His hand against His creatures.

Be not overjoyed with worldly wealth, and, if thou have none at all, be not depressed.

The day we obtain not our desires should be to us as



a time of rejoicing like the night of the Prophet's ascension into heaven.

Man should not allow his ambition to be cooled by the discouraging remarks of the world.

When a faqir putteth on rich clothes, they become his winding-sheet.

Of all attractions, attraction towards devotion is the best.

It fareth well with him who thinketh on his own faults and not on the faults of others.

To the pure all things are pure ; nothing can defile them.

If you aspire to attain the dignity of the departed saints, bow not to monarchs.

The learned man is the most noble among men, and the holy man the most noble among noblemen.

The holy man among the learned is like the full moon among the stars.

The most contemptible of men is he who occupieth himself with eating and dressing.

The repetition of the following lines gave great spiritual comfort to Farid :—

Last night sad thoughts possessed me,  
But afterwards I reflected on my beautiful Lover.  
I said I would do everything to go to His door.  
My tears ran, and my Lover then caught my sleeve.

A student asked Farid if singing were lawful and proper. He replied that, according to the Muham-madan religion, it was certainly unlawful, but its propriety was still a matter of discussion.

Nizam-ul-Din Auliya told Nasir-ul-Din, a disciple of his, that one day when he went to visit Farid he stood at his door, and saw him dancing as he sang the following :—

I wish ever to live in Thy love, O God.  
If I become the dust under Thy feet, I shall live.  
I Thy slave desire none but Thee in both worlds ;  
For Thee I will live and for Thee I will die.

The following was a favourite couplet of Farid :—

Not every heart is capable of finding the secret of God's love.

There are not pearls in every sea ; there is not gold in every mine.

One of Farid's beloved friends was Shaikh Jamal-ul-Din of Hansi, whom he called his senior Khalifa. Hazrat Shaikh Baha-ul-Din Zakaria of Multan, hearing of this man's fame, begged Farid to lend him to him to preach to the faithful. Farid refused, but, when pressed by Jamal-ul-Din, who was attracted to Baha-ul-Din by supernatural influence, replied, 'Go and blacken thy face.' It is said that upon this Jamal-ul-Din's face became black, and he fled to the forest to hide himself from human gaze. Farid forbade all persons to intercede for him or assist him in any way. It happened that, as a man called Alim was going to Ajodhan from Multan, he met Jamal-ul-Din on the way. Jamal-ul-Din begged him to intercede with Farid, and he did so. Lapse of time and importunity caused Farid to relent. He wrote to Jamal-ul-Din the four following lines and then restored him to favour :—

Go round the world, and in wandering raise blisters on thy feet ;

If thou find any one like me, then forsake me.

Come one morning with pure heart to my door ;

If thou attain not thine object, then make complaint.

Jamal-ul-Din returned to Farid, and Farid's love for him increased after the rupture. Jamal-ul-Din was a descendant of Abu Hanifa of Kusa.

Farid visited Mokalhar, now called Faridkot in honour of the saint. The country was then ruled by Mokal. At the time of Farid's visit, Mokal was building his capital, and used to impress all visitors for the work. Though Farid wore the patched coat of a re-

ligious man, he too was pressed into the Raja's service. The masons and workmen on making Farid's acquaintance bowed at his feet, and prayed him to grant them forgiveness of their sins. The Raja too followed their example, and for some days personally waited on him. Farid asked what name the king was going to give his city. The king replied Mokalhar. Then said Farid, 'Berun khair wa andarun darr'<sup>1</sup>—it is fair without, but a ruin<sup>1</sup> within—by which the saint meant that it should never be thoroughly inhabited. The king represented his hard fate to Farid. Though thousands of rupees had been spent on his capital, no one came to dwell in it. If his holiness Farid ordered, it should soon be full of inhabitants. Farid then told him to change the name and dwell in it himself. Mokai consented and called the city Faridkot in compliment to his holy guest. Farid then said, 'Go, God the most high will cause thee and thy descendants to abide in that fort.'

There is a legend that Farid once visited a city on the Panjab mountains. One day, as he was bathing, a beautiful young lady accidentally saw and conceived a desire to approach him, for a son by such a man should become king of the realm of beauty. It is said that Jamila Khatun—the beautiful lady—while revolving this in her mind, became pregnant. After Farid's departure there was great commotion in the tribe on hearing of the young lady's condition. She averred that she had committed no impropriety, but no one would believe her. Every one said it was of course that stranger Farid's doing. Farid chanced to return to that part of the country six months afterwards. He was charged with the young lady's seduction, which, apart from being a sin, was a grievous offence against the tribe. He solemnly denied the charge, but no one would accept his statement. He requested his accusers to ask the lady if she had ever conceived a desire to have a child by

<sup>1</sup> *Darr* is so understood in Faridkot.

him. She then admitted that such a desire had arisen in her mind. Upon this Farid, in self-defence, instanced the well-known case of Jesus having been born without a human father, and also the case of Adam, who had been produced without father or mother, and said that nothing was impossible to God's Omnipotence, and He might in His mercy have given a son to the virgin. The tribe heeded not Farid's words, and said they would only believe him if he wrought a miracle in their presence. They found no difficulty in suggesting a subject. They told him that no sugar-cane grew in their country. If he went with them to the forest and caused sugar to rain, they would accept his story of the young lady's immaculate pregnancy, but not otherwise. Farid then said in the Persian language, which he habitually spoke, 'Chi ajab az Afridgare ki zan-i-bikr ra az qudrat-i-kamila-i-khud hamila be wasta shohar sakht, az asman shakar nisar farmayad?' What wonder would it be if the Creator, who out of His perfect power maketh a virgin pregnant without human intervention, should rain sugar? It is said that sugar immediately began to rain, and from that time Farid obtained the name of Shakar Ganj, the treasury of sugar.<sup>1</sup> After this miracle all the people of the tribe became his followers, and he was formally wedded to Jamila Khatun, who soon afterwards gave birth to a son. Farid remained there for six months, during which time he fasted forty days. He locked up the house in which he had dwelt, saying that his successor would open it, and then returned to Ajodhan.

As his successor Diwan Taj-ul-Din was returning from a pilgrimage to Makka and Madina, he happened to visit that part of the country. He asked the people to what tribe they belonged. They said that they were descendants of Qutub-ul-Alam Baba

<sup>1</sup> Farishta, the Persian historian, has given other reasons for the appellation. Vide vol. II, p. 288. Lakhnau edition.



Farid Shakar Ganj. He inquired from which of Farid's sons they were descended. They replied that they had not come in that way, but had been miraculously born. When Taj-ul-Din had heard the whole story, he unlocked the door of Farid's hut. The people were delighted to see Taj-ul-Din, and became his followers in large numbers.

Farid died of pneumonia on the fifth day of the month of Muharrim, A.H. 664 (A.D. 1266). The date of Farid's death is commemorated by the chronograms (a) 'Faridasari,' (b) 'auliyae Khudai'—He was unique, a saint of God.<sup>1</sup> Farid's last words were in Arabic, 'Ya hayyo, ya qayyum'—O ever living, O eternal God! At the last word 'qayyum' Farid expired.

Farid was to have been buried outside the town of Pak Pattan at a place called the Martyrs' graves, where he had first alighted on his arrival, but his son Makhdum Khwaja Nizam-ul-Din arrived in time to alter the proposed arrangement. This son who had been a general in the Emperor's army, was then living in retreat at Patali. As he lay asleep one night before his father's death, he thought he heard his father calling him. He arose and went to Ajodhan, but, as the gates of the town were all locked at the time, he could not gain access to Farid's dwelling. Farid knew of his son's arrival, but it was too late to see him. 'His advice, however,' said Farid, 'should be taken in all matters regarding my funeral and burial.' The son advised that the family should wait for Nizam-ul-Din Auliya from Dihli, and expressed his intention of temporarily burying his father in the house where he had lived, and where subsequently his eldest son Khwaja Shahab-ul-Din was buried.

On the arrival of Nizam-ul-Din Auliya from Dihli, he had a mausoleum erected for Farid. He

<sup>1</sup> Farishta and the author of the *Khulāsāt-ul-Tawārīkh* give different dates, but they are proved false by the chronograms.

directed that the Quran should be read over clean bricks, that the reader should then blow on them and employ them for the construction of Farid's grave. This direction was obeyed. The Hafizes and the Khalifas read the Quran over bricks consecrated as directed, and made Farid's grave with them. A shrine was built with stone windows on the east and north sides for women to see through, and with a door on the south side to be called the bihishti darwaza, or gate of paradise, for men to enter by. The body was then exhumed from its temporary grave, and after being well perfumed placed within the mausoleum thus constructed. It is said that the souls of Muhammad and all the Muhammadan saints appeared on the occasion. At the advice of Nizam-ul-Din Auliya, the stone window at the east was broken at Farid's re-interment to admit of the exit of the souls of the Prophet and his saints. Where the soul of Muhammad had taken up its position within the mausoleum, there was a hujra or small chapel built, called Qadam Rasul or the Prophet's footsteps. Nizam-ul-Din then stated that he had received a message from the departed Farid, that God would pardon and save from hell all who passed through the paradisal gate. This was everywhere proclaimed from the rising to the setting of the sun. Some persons, however, who had no internal eyes, refused to believe that the gate possessed such supreme efficacy. Upon this Nizam-ul-Din said to the Prophet, 'If the populace be allowed to behold thee, their spiritual darkness shall be dispelled.' It is said that the Prophet then appeared to the whole multitude, and not a scintilla of doubt remained in any one's mind as to the advantages to be obtained from passing through the sacred portal.

It was subsequently ordered that women should pray at the stone window on the north side, and that a wall should be built outside it to secure their

privacy. The door opening to the east was then called the door of light. It is that by which men generally enter and leave the shrine.

After Farid's death his son Badr-ul-Din Sulaiman succeeded him in his spiritual, and Saiyid Maulvi Badr-ul-Din Ishaq in his temporal duties. Envious persons set the two Badr-ul-Dins at variance, upon which Nizam-ul-Din Auliya came from Dihli and made peace between them.

We have mentioned the *Rahat-ul-Qulub* as one of our authorities for the life of Farid. The first entry in it was made on the 11th of the month Rajab, A.H. 655 (A.D. 1254); and the last on the 25th of Safar, A.H. 656. The diary thus shows Farid's acts and conversations for the space of eleven months. We shall here give some extracts from it.

Farid considered that faqiri or holiness consisted in four things, namely, to be blind to the faults of Muhammadans, to be deaf to slander, to be dumb when evil speaking is suggested, and to be lame when there is a desire to visit evil places.

On one occasion Shaikh Badr-ul-Din of Ghazni, Jamal-ul-Din of Hansi, Sharaf-ul-Din of Nabha,<sup>1</sup> and Qazi Hamid-ul-Din of Nagaur met at Farid's house. Farid dilated to them on the virtues of hospitality, and said it was proper for a host to give something to every guest whether he received an equivalent or not.

At a religious conference at Farid's house, where were assembled Maulvi Hamid-ul-Din of Nagaur, Shaikh Shams-ul-Din, Shaikh Burhan-ul-Din, and others, Shaikh Farid mentioned an expression in the Hadis, or traditional sayings of the Prophet, that love of the world was the source of all evil. A man called Shaikh Abdulla Suhel of Tastar said that God and man were all one. There was no difference between them except that, in propor-

<sup>1</sup> *Nābha*, so in the original.



tion as man loved the world, he fell away from God. Farid expressed his concurrence with this statement, and added that the heart was like a mirror, and love of mammon was as rust on it, which should be removed by the file of God's love. Land covered with tares and thistles produced no good crop until they were eradicated. Faqirs should remain aloof from the world, and not visit even kings and nobles.

Once when the king of Iraq was ill, he sent for Abdulla Suhel to treat him. Suhel cured him, but thought it necessary to expiate the offence of visiting a king by living a life of absolute retirement for seven years. The friendship of wealthy men was in his opinion as poison for holy men. When a holy man associates with such men, his influence on others is injurious to them. Abdulla defined the word tariqat—a spiritual stage of Muhammadans—to mean absolute disregard for the things of this world.

Farid said he had lived for ten years with the saint Abu Yusuf Chishti, and during that time had never moved a foot in the direction of a king or noble, except on Fridays when he went to pray, for prayers should be said in common on the Sabbath. He thought that whenever a faqir has visited a monarch, his patched coat and hat ought afterwards to be burned in order to remove the contagion of wealth and pride.

It is not surprising to hear that a man of Farid's sanctity and force of character made many converts among the Hindus within the reach of his influence. The Bahlis, the Sirhangs, the Jhakars, and the Adankans are enumerated among the tribes whom he induced to accept Islam.

When Badr-ul-Din Sulaiman, Farid's son, succeeded him, he was invested with the turban which Farid himself had received from Shaikh Abdul Qadir Jilani (Hazrat Ghaus). The turban was of three colours, saffron at one end, brown at the other, and white in the centre. Nizam-ul-Din



purchased several white turbans, and steeped them with Abdul Qadir Jilani's in the same pot. The object of this was that Abdul Qadir Jilani's turban might communicate some of its virtues to the white turbans, and that the latter after such contact might confer blessings on Farid's disciples and friends, when they bound them on their heads. When Badr-ul-Din had put on Abdul Qadir Jilani's turban, and Farid's disciples and friends the white turbans, the whole company went outside the gate of paradise and sat down. Sweets were produced, and a priest read texts from the Quran over them. They were then distributed for the repose of the souls of the Chishti Khwajas to whom Farid spiritually belonged.

This custom is still observed by the followers of Farid. On the approach of the Muharrim, the Quran is read over a jug of sharbat for the souls of ancestors, and the sharbat is then distributed among the faithful. When the Muharrim begins, there is singing after breakfast, to which the high priest listens on his carpet of prayer. The whole audience then enters on a state of exaltation. The priest puts on a turban like Farid's, and binds white turbans on the heads of his brethren and disciples. On the fifth day of the Muharrim he opens the 'Gate of paradise', and the crowd enters with a rush, in the hope that, when they cross the barrier, they shall secure in reality the bliss of the elect.

The gate of paradise is a small door in the shrine, which is only opened twice a year, and on both occasions at night. In our time the crowd which passes through, shouting 'Haji Qutub Farid', or simply 'Farid', to maintain their fervour, has been estimated sometimes at thirty thousand souls. To reach the gate of paradise three outer portals have to be traversed. Among the immense crowd there is a rivalry to reach heaven in the shortest time, not by good deeds, but by physical strength; and in

the struggle numbers are continually maimed, and some aged and infirm persons occasionally killed. Were not a large force of police, generally reinforced from neighbouring districts, marched to the shrine to maintain order, great indeed would be the destruction of human life at this religious ceremony. Men are not content to pass the gate for themselves, they return again and again to vicariously conduct their female relatives to the abode of bliss, and this reiterated service increases the crowd, the confusion, and the danger to human life.

On the seventh day of the Muharrim there is again singing, the reading of the Quran is finished, and the gate of paradise is left open. On the tenth of the month Farid's mausoleum is washed and perfumed within and without.

In the month of Ramzan the banners which Abdul Qadir Jilani received from Madina and gave to Farid, are taken out and fitted with new cloth. The high priest's followers present him with an ordinary coat and a patched coat—meaning thereby temporal and spiritual raiment. When he puts them on, the prayers appointed for the Id in the end of Ramzan are read. Farid's cup, stick, and rosary are then produced and prayers offered. The high priest with a rosary in one hand and Farid's staff in the other begs for alms, upon which his followers present him with cakes of sugar, almonds, and coco-nuts. Such offerings are afterwards distributed among the poor.

It remains to add a few words regarding Nizam-ul-Din Auliya, the author of the *Rahat-ul-Qulub* and Farid's faithful friend and disciple. He states that he visited Ajodhan three times during the life of Farid, and Farid charged him with the education of his children.

Subsequently Nizam-ul-Din was sent by Farid as Khalifa or spiritual ruler of Hindustan, and in that capacity amassed great wealth and became known

as Zar-i-zar Baft—woven, or altogether, of gold, a name given him by Bu Ali Shah, a religious man of Panipat.

It is probable that Nizam-ul-Din's great wealth aroused the jealousy of Mubarak Khilji, who ascended the Dihli throne in A.D. 1317. He summoned Shaikh Rukn-ul-Din from Multan in the hope of counteracting Nizam-ul-Din's unquestionably great influence with the people. Nizam-ul-Din went forth to meet the man who had been chosen as his antagonist, and produced a highly favourable impression on him. When the Emperor afterwards asked Rukn-ul-Din who had been the principal person to go forth and welcome him to Dihli, Rukn-ul-Din replied 'The foremost man of the age', by which he meant Nizam-ul-Din. The Emperor after this testimony to Nizam-ul-Din's greatness withdrew his opposition to him, and allowed him to dwell in peace.<sup>1</sup>

The imperial hostility to Nizam-ul-Din descended to Ghiyas-ul-Din Tughlak, one of the successors of Mubarak Khilji. When Ghiyas-ul-Din was returning from his expedition to Bengal, he no longer desired to see Nizam-ul-Din, and ordered him to leave the city. Nizam-ul-Din had no alternative but to obey, but decided to do so at leisure. He said to his friends 'Hanoz Dihli dur ast'—Dihli is still far off—by which he meant that the Emperor should never reach Dihli. The Emperor on his homeward march put up in a house at Afghanpur, hastily constructed for his reception by his son Alaf Khan. The house fell upon the monarch and killed him in A.D. 1325. The Emperor's death was popularly attributed to his hostility to the saint. Nizam-ul-Din's expression 'Dihli is far off' has passed into a proverb.<sup>2</sup> It corresponds to the

<sup>1</sup> *Āin-i-Akbari*.

<sup>2</sup> Farishta gives many details of Nizām-ul-Dīn which it is not necessary to reproduce here.

English saying, 'There is many a slip 'twixt the cup and the lip.' Nizam-ul-Din himself died the same year as the Emperor.

Nizam-ul-Din, notwithstanding his worldly success, raised many men in Dihli, Bengal, Chanderi, Malwa, Bihar, Ujjain, Gujrat, and the Dakhan to the heights of spiritual sanctity. Having conferred his khalifaship on Khwaja Hazrat Nasir-ul-Din Chiragh, he died in Dihli on Wednesday, the 18th day of Rabi ul Sani, A. H. 725, A. D. 1325, that is, sixty years after the death of his beloved priest.<sup>1</sup> He was buried in a quarter then known as Ghyaspur. He wrote the following Persian lines in praise of Farid :—

Pir-i-man pirest maulana Farid ;  
Hamchu o dar sihar Maula na-farid.  
My priest is the holy Farid ;  
God created no one in the world like him.

## HYMNS OF SHAIKH FARID

### Miscellaneous Religious Instruction :—

ASA

Saith Shaikh Farid, my dear friends, attach yourselves to God.

This body shall become dust and its abode be the un-honoured grave.<sup>2</sup>

To-day God can be met, Shaikh Farid, if thou restrain the feelings which agitate thy mind.

Had I known that I should die and not return again,

I would not have devoted myself to this false world and ruined myself.

<sup>1</sup> The *Khulāsāt-ul-Tawārikh* gives the date of his death as A. H. 710. We accept in preference the date given in the *Ain-i-Akbari*.

<sup>2</sup> *Nimāni gor* is a common expression in the writings of Farid. *Nimāni* is not an epithet of the body as some suppose.



Honestly speak the truth ; utter not falsehood.

The disciple ought to travel by the way the guru pointeth out.

When the lover <sup>1</sup> is saved, the heart of the beloved <sup>2</sup> taketh courage.

Thou who turnest to the glitter of gold shalt be split in twain by the saw.

O Shaikh, no man's life is permanent in this world ;

How many have sat on the seats on which we sit !

As kulangs come in Kartik, forest fires in Chet, lightning in Sawan,

As woman's arms adorn her husband's neck in winter,

So transitory things pass away ; reflect on this in thy mind.

Man taketh six months to form <sup>3</sup> and one moment to break up.

The earth asked heaven, <sup>4</sup> *saith* Farid, how many pilots <sup>5</sup> had passed away ;

Some have been burnt, others are in the cemeteries, and their souls suffer reproaches *from the angels of Death*.

Farid's longing to meet God :—

SUHI

On account of the severe burning of high fever *induced by separation from God*, I wring my hands ;

I have grown crazy longing for my Spouse.

Thou, O Spouse, wast angry with me in Thy heart ;

It was through my demerits, and not my Spouse's fault.

My Lord, I did not know Thy worth ;

I have lost my youth and repent too late.

O black kokil, why art thou black ?

<sup>1</sup> *Chhail*, literally—a handsome young man ; here the reference is to the elect.

<sup>2</sup> *Gori*, a handsome young woman ; here the reference is to those who are striving for perfection.

<sup>3</sup> That is, the foetus is formed after six months in the womb.

<sup>4</sup> That is, the disciples asked the guru.

<sup>5</sup> Religious guides.

*The kokil*—‘ I have been burnt by separation from my Beloved ;

Can she who is separated from her Beloved ever be happy ? ’

If the Lord be merciful, He will cause me to meet Him.

Painful is the well<sup>1</sup> into which lone woman<sup>2</sup> *hath fallen* ;

She hath no companions and no helper.

Thou hast mercifully, O God, caused me to meet Thy saints ;

When I look again, God is my helper.

My way is thoroughly tedious ;

It is sharper than a two-edged sword and very narrow ;

Over that is my passage ;

Shaikh Farid, prepare thyself betimes for that road.

## SLOKS OF SHAIKH FARID

### I

The day that woman was to be married was previously fixed.<sup>3</sup>

The Spouse, the angel *of Death* of whom we have heard, hath come to show his face ;

Having cracked the bones *of the body* he will take away the poor soul.

The time recorded cannot be altered ;<sup>4</sup> explain this to thy soul.

The soul is the bride, death the bridegroom ; he will marry her and take her away.

As she goeth, whose neck shall she run to embrace with her arms ?<sup>5</sup>

Have you not heard of the bridge of Sarat, which is finer than a hair ?

Farid, when the summons cometh, arise and deceive yourselves not.

<sup>1</sup> That is, the world.

<sup>2</sup> The soul.

<sup>3</sup> Marriage here means death.    <sup>4</sup> Man shall live his allotted span.

<sup>5</sup> Whose help shall the soul seek at the last moment !

## II

Farid, since I walk in the way of the world, it is difficult to be like the darwesh at God's gate.<sup>1</sup>

I have tied and taken up my bundle of *worldliness*; whither shall I go to throw it away?

## III

I know nothing, I see nothing, the world is a smouldering fire;

My master did well to *warn me*, otherwise I too should have been burnt.

## IV

Farid, had I known my sesames<sup>2</sup> were to be so few, I should have husbanded my handfuls;

Had I known that the Bridegroom<sup>3</sup> was so young, I should *have been* less vain.

## V

Had I known that my dress<sup>4</sup> was opening, I should have put a fast knot on it.<sup>5</sup>

So great as Thou I have found none; I have seen and wandered the world over.

## VI

Farid, if thou have acute wisdom, write not a black mark *against others*.

Bend thy head and look beneath thy collar.<sup>6</sup>

## VII

Farid, if men beat thee with their fists, beat them not in return;

*Nay*, kiss their feet and go home.

<sup>1</sup> That is, it is difficult for worldly people to be holy.    <sup>2</sup> Breathings.

<sup>3</sup> Had I known that God, like a very young and innocent bridegroom, did not value me, I should have been less vain. The verse is also translated—Had I known that the Bridegroom was for the humble, I should have been less proud.

<sup>4</sup> The body which contains the soul tied up in it.

<sup>5</sup> If I had known that this trumpery body was so soon to pass away, I should have taken greater care.

<sup>6</sup> Look into thy heart, consider thine own faults and not those of others.

## VIII

Farid, when it was time for thee to earn,<sup>1</sup> thou wast in love with the world :

Death's foundations are strong ;<sup>2</sup> when *the last breath* is drawn, *thy soul* shall be packed away.

## IX

See, Farid, what hath occurred—thy beard hath grown grey ;

The future is near, the past is left far behind.

## X

See, Farid, what hath occurred—sugar hath become poison.

To whom shall I tell my sorrow except to my Lord ?

## XI

Farid, mine eyes have seen enough, and mine ears heard enough ;

The tree of *the body* hath become ripe,<sup>3</sup> and hath assumed another colour.

## XII

Farid, hath any one who enjoyed not *her spouse when her hair was black*, enjoyed him *when her hair was grey* ?

Love thy Spouse, so shall the colour of *thy hair* be restored.<sup>4</sup>

Guru Amar Das offers the following objection to this couplet :—

## XIII

Farid, whether man's hair be black or grey, the Lord is ever *present* if any one remember Him :

<sup>1</sup> That is, to serve God.

<sup>2</sup> Literally—increase by a fourth *daily*.

<sup>3</sup> The *gyānis* translate—The vegetables have become ripe. That is, the field of life has yielded its harvest, and it is time for death.

<sup>4</sup> That is, youth shall return, and thou shalt have another opportunity of enjoying thy Spouse. *Rangan wela hoi* is also read and translated—This is the time for enjoying Him.



Even if all men desire to love God, *they will not succeed* by their own endeavours :

This cup of love belongeth to God ; He giveth it to whom He pleaseth.

## XIV

Farid, I have seen those eyes which charmed the world—  
They could not endure the streak of lampblack,<sup>1</sup> yet in them birds have hatched their young.

## XV

Farid, men shout and shriek and ever give advice ;  
But how can they whom the devil hath led astray, turn their thoughts *to God* ?

## XVI

Farid, if thou long for the Lord of all, become the grass on the pathway *for men to tread on* ;

When one man breaketh thee and another trampleth on thee,

Then shalt thou enter the court of the Lord.

## XVII

Farid, revile not dust, there is nothing like it ;

When we are alive it is beneath our feet, when we are dead it is above us.

## XVIII

Farid, where there is greed, what love can there be ?  
*Where there is greed, the love is false.*

How long canst thou pass thy time in a broken hut in the rain ?

## XIX

Farid, why wanderest thou from forest to forest breaking down branches and thorns ? <sup>2</sup>

It is in the heart God dwelleth ; why seekest thou Him in the forest ?

<sup>1</sup> Used to darken the eyelids. This slok is said to have been written on seeing the skull of a beautiful courtesan who used to find fault with her servant for touching her eyes when applying lampblack.

<sup>2</sup> Also translated—When the thorns of the forest seek to drive thee back.

## XX

Farid, with these spindle-shanks I have traversed plains and mountains.

But to-day for Farid to *lift* his jug hath become *as toilsome as a journey of hundreds of miles.*

## XXI

Farid, the nights have grown long ; my sides ache and ache.

Curse on the lives of those who have hopes other *than in God.*

The following was written on Farid's missing the visit of a holy friend who had come to see him :—

## XXII

Farid, had I been present when my friend came, I would have devoted myself to him.

Now *my body* burneth like madder on the cinders, *and I cannot pay him a return visit.*

## XXIII

Farid, the Jat<sup>1</sup> planteth the kikaṛ, yet he wanteth the grape-tree of Bijaur ;

He spinneth wool, yet he wanteth to wear silk.

## XXIV

Farid, in the streets there is mud ; the house of my dear friend whom I love is distant ;

If I go to him, I shall wet my blanket ; If I remain *at home*, our love shall be severed.

## XXV

O God, though Thou send Thy rain, and wet, and drench my blanket ;

Yet shall I go to meet that friend so that our love may not be severed.

<sup>1</sup> A tribe generally employed in agriculture.

It is said that when Farid was one day putting on his turban, it slipped from his hand. The following was composed on the occasion :—

## XXVI

Farid, I fear that my turban will be soiled ;  
My thoughtless soul knoweth not that dust will rot my head also.

## XXVII

Sugar unrefined and refined, loaf sugar, molasses, honey, and buffalo's milk,  
Are all sweet things, but not, O God, so sweet as Thou.

## XXVIII

Farid, my bread is made of wood,<sup>1</sup> hunger is my condiment ;  
They who eat buttered bread shall suffer great pain.

## XXIX

Eat hard dry bread, and drink cold water ;  
Farid, on seeing another's buttered bread let not thy heart long for it.

## XXX

I slept not with my husband last night ; my body is pining away ;  
Go ask the wife whom her husband hath put away, how she passeth the night.<sup>2</sup>

Guru Amar Das has given the following reply to this question :—

## XXXI

She findeth no entrance to the house of her father-in-law, and no place with her parents.

<sup>1</sup> A reference to the wooden cake Farīd I wore on his stomach to satisfy the cravings of hunger.

<sup>2</sup> This and the preceding line are explained.—If man feel so much from a temporary separation from God, what shall he feel from an eternal separation ?

Can she for whom her husband careth not, be called a happy wife ?

## XXXII

Woman, whether in this world or the next, belongeth to her Spouse, the inaccessible and unfathomable One ;

Nanak, she is a happy wife who is pleasing to *God* the Unconcerned.

## XXXIII

They who bathe, and wash, and adorn themselves, and then heedlessly sleep regardless of *their spouses*,

Farid, are as it were smeared all over with asafoetida, and the perfume of their musk departeth.

## XXXIV

I dread not the departure of youth if my Spouse's love depart not therewith ;

Farid, how often hath youth become dry and withered without love !

## XXXV

Farid, my bed is anxiety ; its bottom, affliction ; its mattress and coverlet, separation from God ;

Such is my life ; do Thou, O true God, look upon me.

## XXXVI

Men continually speak of love ;<sup>1</sup> O Love, thou art a monarch ;

Farid, deem the body in which there is not love a place of cremation.

## XXXVII

Farid, *pleasures*<sup>2</sup> are like poisonous sprouts smeared with sugar ;

Some die while planting them ; others are ruined while gathering them.

<sup>1</sup> Literally—separation, but here it means love in absence.

<sup>2</sup> Some make women the subject of this slok, but this is contrary to the teaching of the Granth Sāhib. Thus Guru Nānak writes, 'Why call woman bad?' Guru Arjan, through his regard for women, rejected a stanza brought to him by Pilo for insertion in the Granth Sāhib. It began, 'Look not even on a paper likeness of woman.'



## XXXVIII

Farid, men have lost the four *watches of the day* in wandering and the four watches of the night in sleep ;

God will call for thine account and ask why thou camest *into the world*.

## XXXIX

Farid, when thou wentest to the gate of the court, sawest thou *not* the gong ?

When that sinless thing is thus beaten, what shall be the condition of us sinners ?

## XL

It is beaten every ghari and receiveth *complete* punishment at the end of every watch ;<sup>1</sup>

So the body like the gong passeth a painful night.

## XLI

Shaikh Farid hath grown old, and his body hath begun to totter ;

Were he to live even for hundreds of years, his body would become dust *at last*.

## XLII

Saith Farid, allow me not, O Lord, to sit *and beg* at another's gate.

If that is how Thou art about to treat me, then take the life from my body.

## XLIII

O blacksmith, thou goest to the forest with thine axe on thy shoulder, and thy water-pot on thy head ;

*Saith* Farid, I am longing for my Lord, thou art longing for charcoal.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> At the end of the first *ghari* of the *pahar* the gong was struck once ; at the end of the second *ghari* twice, and so on till the end of the *pahar* of eight *gharis*, when it was struck sixteen times.

<sup>2</sup> This is believed to be an appeal from Farid to his friend Jassa, a smith, to spare the tree under which the saint used to pray. Jassa was not a wood-cutter, as the English reader may suppose. In the East smiths go to the forest to cut down trees to make charcoal from them for the purpose of their trade.

## XLIV

Farid, some have a great deal of flour, others have not even salt ;

When they have *all* departed, it will be known who shall suffer punishment.

## XLV

They who had drums, and trumpets, and umbrellas *over their* heads, and bards to sound their praises,

Went to sleep in the cemetery, and were buried as if they had been *poor* orphans.

## XLVI

Farid, they who built houses, mansions, and lofty palaces also departed ;

False was their business and they dropped into their graves.

## XLVII

Farid, there are many tacks on the patched coat to make it last, but there are no such tacks on the soul ;<sup>1</sup>

Shaikhs and their disciples have departed, each in his turn.

## XLVIII

Farid, while the two lamps *of man's eyes* are shining, the angel of Death cometh and seateth himself *on his body* ;<sup>2</sup>

He captureth the fortress, robbeth it of the soul, and having put out the lamp departeth.

## XLIX

Farid, see what happeneth to cotton, what befalleth sesame,

Sugar-cane, paper, earthen utensils, and charcoal ;

The punishment they receive awaiteth those who do evil.

## L

Farid, men carry prayer-carpets on their shoulders, wear a sufi's *robe*,<sup>3</sup> and speak sweetly, but there are knives in their hearts ;

<sup>1</sup> There is nothing to restrain the soul from flying away from the body.

<sup>2</sup> That is, death comes while man is looking on.

<sup>3</sup> *Sūph*, also called a *kafni*, a patched coat without sleeves worn by

Externally they appear bright, but in their hearts is sable night.

## LI

Farid, if any one were to cut my body, not a drop of blood would issue from it,

Since the body which is dyed with God containeth no blood.

On this couplet Guru Amar Das made the following commentary :—

## LII

This body is all blood ; the body cannot exist without blood ;

But the blood of greed entereth not the body which is dyed with its Lord.

When the fear of the Lord entereth the heart, the body groweth lean and the blood of greed departeth from it.

As metals are purified by fire, so the fear of the Lord removeth the filth of evil inclinations.

Nanak, that man is handsome who is dyed with the love of God.

## LIII

Farid, search the lake<sup>1</sup> where the Real Thing<sup>2</sup> is to be found ;

What availeth it to search in a pond ?<sup>3</sup> one's hand *merely* sinketh into the mud.

## LIV

Farid, the little girl did not enjoy her Spouse ; when she grew up she died.

Lying in the grave she calleth, ' I have not met Thee, O my Lord.'

Musalmān faqīrs. *Sūf* is generally supposed to come from the Greek *sophia*, wisdom, but in Arabic the word means wool. Sūfis affected woollen garments.

<sup>1</sup> The guild of the saints.

<sup>2</sup> God's name.

<sup>3</sup> In inferior company.

## LV

Farid, the hair of my head is grey, my beard is grey,  
my moustaches also are grey ;

O my heedless and insensate soul, why art thou devoted  
to sensual pleasures ?

## LVI

Farid, how far canst thou run on a house-top ? banish  
thine indifference to the Dear One ;

The days which were counted and allotted thee have  
passed away in vain.

## LVII

Farid, attach not thy heart to houses, mansions, and  
lofty palaces ;

When unweighable earth falleth on thee, thou shalt have  
no friend.

## LVIII

Farid, set not thy heart on mansions and wealth ; think  
upon the grave ;

Remember that place whither thou must go.

## LIX

Farid, forsake those occupations from which no advantage  
resulteth,

Lest thou be put to shame in the court of the Lord.

## LX

Farid, perform the service of the Lord, dispel the doubts  
of thy heart ;

Darweshes require the endurance of trees.

## LXI

Farid, black are my clothes, black my vestment ;

I wander about defiled by sin, yet men call me a dar-  
wesh.

## LXII

That which hath been rotted by water, will not bloom  
if it be kept immersed in it ;

Farid, the wife rejected by God ever and ever grieveth.



## LXIII

When a woman is a virgin she is happy ; when she is married her troubles *begin*.

Farid, she hath this regret that she cannot again become a virgin.<sup>1</sup>

## LXIV

The swans have alighted in a little tank of brackish water ;<sup>2</sup>

They dip in their bills, but drink not ; they thirst to fly away.

## LXV

The swans fly away and alight on a field of kodhra ;<sup>3</sup> people go to drive them away ;<sup>4</sup>

Heedless people know not that swans eat not kodhra.<sup>5</sup>

## LXVI

The birds<sup>6</sup> which occupied the lake<sup>7</sup> have flown away ; Farid, the full lake shall also pass away, and the lotuses<sup>8</sup> alone remain.

## LXVII

Farid, bricks shall be thy pillow, thou shalt sleep *beneath* the earth, worms shall eat thy flesh ;

How many ages shall pass away for thee lying on one side.<sup>9</sup>

## LXVIII

Farid, the beautiful water-pot<sup>10</sup> shall be broken ; the excellent rope<sup>11</sup> shall part therefrom ;

In whose house shall the angel Azrail be a guest to-day ?

The soul which has lost its opportunities of salvation regrets that it cannot again return to a human body.

<sup>2</sup> That is, saints have fallen into the company of the wicked.

<sup>3</sup> An inferior Indian cereal, the *Paspalum scrobiculatum*.

<sup>4</sup> The saints fare badly among the perverse who annoy and slander them.

<sup>5</sup> Holy men do not covet worldly things.

<sup>6</sup> That is, kings and persons in high positions.

<sup>7</sup> The lake means the world.

<sup>8</sup> Holy men.

<sup>9</sup> Not moving.

<sup>10</sup> The body.

<sup>11</sup> The rope by which the water-pot is let down into the well. Here it means life.

## LXIX

The beautiful water-pot shall be broken ; the excellent rope shall part therefrom ;

How shall our friends who were a burden to the earth return now ?

## LXX

*Saith* Farid, thou dog who prayest not, this custom of thine is not good ;

Thou never goest to the mosque at the five times of prayer.

## LXXI

Rise in the morning, Farid, perform thine ablutions, repeat thy prayer ;

Cut off the head which boweth not to the Lord.

## LXXII

What is to be done to the head which boweth not to the Lord ?

Burn it instead of firewood under the earthen pot.

## LXXIII

Farid, where are the father and mother who gave thee birth ?

They have departed from thee ; art thou not yet convinced *that the world is unstable* ?

## LXXIV

Farid, make thy heart a plain, level all its hollows and hills ;

And the fire of hell shall never approach thee hereafter.

Guru Arjan makes the following observation on this :—

## LXXV

O Farid, the Creator dwelleth in creation and creation in the Creator ;

Whom callest thou bad, since there is none beside Him ?

LXXVI

Farid, if my throat had been cut on the same day as my navel string,

I should not have fallen into such trouble, nor undergone such hardship.

LXXVII

My teeth, my feet, mine eyes, mine ears have ceased their functions ;

The body crieth aloud, ' Those acquaintances have gone away.'

LXXVIII

Farid, do good for evil, clothe not thy heart with anger :

*Thus* shall thy body not suffer pain, and thou shalt obtain everything.

LXXIX

Farid, the birds <sup>1</sup> are guests in the beautiful garden of the world ;

The morning drum beateth ; make preparations for thy departure.

LXXX

Farid, musk is distributed at night ; they who sleep obtain no share of it.

How can they whose eyes are asleep obtain it ?

LXXXI

Farid, I thought I alone had sorrow, but the whole world also hath sorrow ;

When I ascended an eminence and looked, I found the same anguish in every house.

Guru Arjan replies to this as follows :—

LXXXII

Farid, in the midst of this fair earth there is a thorny garden ;

But the man favoured by the spiritual guide feeleth not its prickles.

<sup>1</sup> That is, souls.

## LXXXIII

Farid, few are found who love the Dear One ;  
They who do, find their lives happy and their persons  
beautiful.

## LXXXIV

O river,<sup>1</sup> destroy not thy bank ; thou too must give an  
account ;  
The river floweth whithersoever God willeth.

## LXXXV

Farid, my days have passed in sorrow, and my nights in  
anguish ;  
The ferryman standeth up and shouteth, ' The wind is  
driving the boat into the whirlpool.' <sup>2</sup>

## LXXXVI

The long river *of life* floweth and wasteth away its  
banks ; <sup>3</sup>  
If the ferryman be on the alert, what harm can the  
whirlpool do the boat ?

## LXXXVII

Farid, there are twenty friends in words ; but if thou  
search for one *real friend*, thou shalt not find him.  
I am suffering like smouldering fuel for my beloved  
friends.

## LXXXVIII

Farid, these people are ever barking ; <sup>4</sup> who can endure  
the continual annoyance ?  
I have stopped mine ears, and I care not how much wind  
is blowing.

## LXXXIX

Farid, God's dates are ripe ; rivers of honey flow past  
them ; <sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> This was addressed to the Satluj.

<sup>2</sup> The guru warns man that he is going to die.

<sup>3</sup> The body wastes away and death gradually approaches.

<sup>4</sup> Crying out for worldly things.

<sup>5</sup> The dates are the saints of God, the rivers of honey His praises.



The days that pass in enjoying them are profitable to my life.<sup>1</sup>

## XC

Farid, my dry body hath become a skeleton ; ravens peck at the hollows of my hands and feet ;

Up to the present, God hath not come to mine aid ; behold His servant's misfortune !

## XCI

O ravens, you have searched my skeleton and eaten all my flesh ;

But touch not these two eyes, *as* I hope to behold my Beloved

## XCII

O ravens, peck not at my skeleton ; if *haply* you sit on it, then fly away ;

*At any rate*, eat not the flesh from where my Lord dwelleth in my skeleton.

## XCIII

Farid, the wretched tomb calleth out, ' O homeless, come home !

' You shall assuredly come to me ; fear not death.'

## XCIV

How many have departed before my very eyes !

Farid, men have different anxieties, and I have mine.

## XCV

*God* saith, ' If thou reform thyself, thou shalt meet Me ; on meeting Me thou shalt be happy ;

' Farid, if thou remain Mine, all the world shall be thine.'

## XCVI

How long shall the trees on the banks retain their place ?

Farid, if thou put water into a frail vessel, how long will it remain ?

<sup>1</sup> Dates and honey are promised to Muhammadans in heaven, but Farid means that they can be obtained on earth.

## XCVII

Farid, places have become empty and their occupants gone below ;

The wretched graves take possession of souls ;<sup>1</sup>

O Shaikh, say good-bye *to your friends* ;<sup>2</sup> thou must depart to-day or to-morrow.

## XCVIII

Farid, death hath no more a boundary than a river<sup>3</sup> which washeth away *its banks* ;

*When Death appeareth* hell burneth in front ; *terrible* cries and sounds of woe are heard.

To some all understanding hath come ; others wander about recklessly.

Men's acts in this world shall bear witness in *God's* court.

## XCIX

Farid, the crane<sup>4</sup> sitteth on the bank of the river and sporteth ;

While it is sporting the hawk suddenly striketh it ;<sup>5</sup>

When the hawk of God striketh it, it forgetteth its sport.

God hath accomplished such things as could never have been conceived.

## C

A body of three and a half *mans* is moved by water and grain ;

Man entereth the world entertaining high hopes ;

When the angel of Death cometh, he will break open every door ;

He will take man prisoner in the presence of his dear brethren.

<sup>1</sup> The Musalmāns believe that the soul remains with the body till its account is taken.

<sup>2</sup> Also translated—worship God. Some say this hymn was addressed to a disciple of Farid. Farid told him to worship God, as his sojourn in this world was uncertain.

<sup>3</sup> Literally—the boundary of death appears like that of a destroying river. Death does as much havoc in the world as a large tropical river during the rainy season to the surrounding country.

<sup>4</sup> The soul.

<sup>5</sup> Death strikes the soul.

Lo ! man departeth on the shoulders of four men,  
Farid ; *but* the *good* acts he performed in this world shall  
be serviceable to him in God's court.

## CI

Farid, I am a sacrifice to those birds<sup>1</sup> which live in the  
forests ;

They live on fruit, sleep on the ground, and never leave  
God's side.

## CII

Farid, the season changeth,<sup>2</sup> the forests wave, the leaves  
drop off ;

I have searched in every direction, but *found* no place  
of rest.

## CIII

Farid, tear thy coat into tatters and wear a blanket  
*instead* ;

Adopt a dress by which thou mayest obtain the Lord.

Guru Amar Das makes the following reflection  
on this couplet :—

## CIV

Why tear thy coat and put on a blanket ?

Nanak, if thine intentions be good, seated at home thou  
shalt find the Lord.

Guru Ram Das has added the following :—

## CV

O Farid, they who were proud of their greatness and  
possessed youth and untold wealth,

Went away bare from the Lord like a hillock after rain.<sup>3</sup>

## CVI

Farid, terrible are the countenances of those who have  
forgotten the Name ;

<sup>1</sup> Hermits.

<sup>2</sup> That is, old age comes on.

<sup>3</sup> Water will not rest on a hill, neither will God's grace on him who  
holds his head too high.

Here they have abundant sorrow, and hereafter neither house nor home.

## CVII

Farid, if thou awake not in the end of the night, thou art dead while alive ;

Even if thou forget God, God will not forget thee.

Guru Arjan has here composed the following four couplets :—

## CVIII

Farid, the Bridegroom is merry, and far beyond all need ;  
To be dyed with God is the true decoration.

## CIX

Farid, treat pain and pleasure as the same ; banish sin from thy heart ;

Consider what pleaseth God as good, and thou shalt gain His court.

## CX

Farid, the world playeth as mammon maketh it play ;  
thou too playest with it ;

The soul for which God careth playeth not.<sup>1</sup>

## CXI

Farid, the heart is dyed with the world, though the world be worthless ;

To be like faqirs is difficult ; their *excellence* can *only* be obtained by perfect acts.<sup>2</sup>

Farid then proceeds :—

## CXII

Devotion in the beginning of the night is the blossom,  
in the end of the night the fruit ;

They who watch obtain gifts from the Lord.

<sup>1</sup> Is not subject to worldly love.

<sup>2</sup> Also translated—by perfect good fortune.



Guru Nanak offers the following objection to this doctrine :—

## CXIII

Gifts are the Lord's ; what can prevail against Him ?

Some who are awake receive them not ; others who are asleep He awaketh and conferreth presents upon.

Farid continues to expound his doctrines :—

## CXIV

Thou who searchest for thy Spouse, must have some fault in thyself ;

She who is called a good wife never looketh for any one else.

## CXV

Make patience thy bow, patience thy bowstring,

Patience thine arrow, and the Creator *will not allow* thee to miss thy mark.

## CXVI

With such patience do the patient mortify their bodies ;

They thus become near God, but tell their secrets to no one.

## CXVII

This patience is the main object ; if thou, O mortal, adopt it,

Thou shalt become a great river and not a separate branch thereof.

## CXVIII

Farid, to be a darwesh *at God's* gate is difficult ; my love for God is only on the surface.

Few there are who walk in the way of the darweshes at God's gate.

## CXIX

My body is heated like an oven ; my bones burn like firewood ;

Were my feet to tire, I would walk on my head to meet the Beloved.

Guru Nanak has here composed the following couplet :—

## CXX

Heat not thy body like an oven, burn not thy bones like firewood ;

What harm have thy head and feet done thee ? Behold the Beloved within thee.

The following is by Guru Ram Das :—

## CXXI

I go searching for the Friend, but the Friend is with me ;  
Nanak, the Unseen is not seen, *but* the pious show the way to Him.

The following couplets have been contributed by Guru Amar Das :—

## CXXII

The crane seeing the swan<sup>1</sup> swimming conceived a desire to swim ;

But the poor crane was drowned ; and its body turned upside down.

## CXXIII

I thought he was a great swan, wherefore I associated with him ;

Had I known that he was only a wretched crane, I would never have touched him.

## CXXIV

What mattereth it whether he whom God looketh on with favour be a swan or a crane ?

Nanak, if it please God, He can change a crow into a swan.

Farid thus closes his spiritual instructions :—

## CXXV

In the lake there is but one bird, while there are fifty snarers ;<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The crane is the hypocrite : the swan the holy man.

<sup>2</sup> That is, the temptations of the world are many to lead the soul astray.

This body is immersed in the waves *of the world* ; O True One, my hope is in Thee.

## CXXVI

What is that word, what those virtues, what that priceless spell ;

What dress shall I wear that I may captivate the Spouse ?

## CXXVII

Humility is the word, forbearance the virtue, civility the priceless spell ;

Make these three thy dress, O sister, and the Spouse shall come into thy power.<sup>1</sup>

## CXXVIII

There are few saints

Who, though wise, are simple,

Though strong, are weak,

And, though having not, divide what they have.

## CXXIX

Utter not one disagreeable word, since the true Lord is in all men.

Distress no one's heart ; every heart is a priceless jewel.

## CXXX

All men's hearts are jewels ; to distress them is by no means good :

If thou desire the Beloved, distress no one's heart.

## BHIKAN

BHIKAN was most probably Shaikh Bhikan of Kakori who died in the early part of the Emperor Akbar's reign. The Persian historian Badauni has the following account of him :—' Kakori is a pargana town in the Sarkar of Lakhnau. Shaik Bhikan was the most learned of the learned men of his time,

<sup>1</sup> In the oldest Janamsākhi this reply is attributed to Guru Nānak.

abstemious and well versed in the holy law, while in devout piety even Abu Hanifa, the greatest of the Imams, was his inferior. For many years he was engaged in teaching and in instructing the people. He had committed the whole of the glorious word of God to memory, according to each of the seven methods of reading it. He used also to give instruction thereon. He reckoned his spiritual succession from Mir Saiyid Ibrahim of Irij, who was himself the most learned of the learned men of his time. The Shaikh would never mention the Sufi mysteries in a public assembly, but only in private to those who had been initiated into their secrets; and one of his sayings was, "If the mystical profession of the Unity of God be made public, it returns solely to him who uttered it, or to the learned few." He would not listen to singing, and outwardly reprobated it. He left numerous children who attained perfection, all of whom were adorned with the embellishments of rectitude, piety, wisdom, knowledge, and virtue.

'The compiler of these historical selections was honoured, in company with the late Muhammad Husain Khan by being permitted to pay his respects to the Shaikh in Lakhnau. It was the month of Ramzan and a certain one brought to the Shaikh a work on logic, asking him to set him a task in that book. The Shaikh said, "You should read some book on divinity." The Shaikh's death occurred in the year A.H. 981 (A.D. 1573-4).'

Badauni states that when Muzaffar Khan rose in revolt against Akbar, he on one occasion pitched his tent near the burial place of Shaikh Bhikan, no doubt with the object of praying for his intercession for the success of his enterprise.

Badauni also speaks of 'that pilgrim to the two sacred precincts Haji Bhikan Basawani.' This, however, may have been a different person from Shaikh Bhikan of Kakori.



Whoever wrote the following hymns bearing the name of Bhikan in the Granth Sahib, must have been some religious man who resembled Shaikh Farid II, and was largely tinctured with the reformatory ideas then prevalent in India. It has been conjectured, with some show of probability, that Bhikan was a follower of Kabir.

Only God's name can heal a diseased mind and body.

#### SORATH

From mine eyes tears have flowed, my body hath become lean, and my hair the colour of milk.

My throat is choked ; I cannot utter a word ; what can mortal now do ?

O Sovereign Lord, Gardener of the world, be Thou my physician,

And save Thy saints.

There is pain in my forehead ; my body is burning ; my heart <sup>1</sup> is in anguish ;

Such pangs have been produced in me that there is no medicine for them.

The name of God, a pure nectareous water, is the best medicine in the world.

Bhikan prayeth, may I by the guru's favour obtain the gate of salvation !

---

The bliss which Bhikan finds in devotion :—

Such a Name, a priceless jewel, I have obtained as the reward of meritorious acts.

With several efforts I put the jewel in my heart ; however much I tried to conceal it, it would not be concealed.

Though one try to utter God's praises, they cannot be uttered ;

They are like sweets to a dumb person.

My tongue is happy in repeating, mine ear in hearing, and my mind in thinking *on God's name*.

Saith Bhikan, both mine eyes are satisfied ; wherever I look there is God.

<sup>1</sup> *Kareje* ; as in Latin, the liver is used here for the heart.

## SUR DAS

THE Sur Das, one of whose hymns is found in the Granth Sahib, must not be confounded with Sur Das, a blind poet famous in the north of India as the author of the *Sur Sagar*. The Sur Das with whom we are concerned was a Brahman born A.D. 1528. On account of his beauty he was surnamed Madan Mohan, an epithet which means that he bewitched Cupid himself, and it was said that his external and internal eyes bloomed like the lotus flower. He became highly proficient in music, poetry, and kindred arts, and at the same time possessed all the joy, comfort and pleasure to be obtained from esoteric divine knowledge. He sang of love, the first and greatest of the divine passions which form the proper subjects of poetry. As soon as a verse issued from his mouth it became celebrated. It is said that, even in that age of bad roads and slow locomotion, it would reach four hundred miles in a day as if it had acquired wings for flight.

The Emperor Akbar, who admired poetical talents, appointed Sur Das governor of the province of Sandila. Its capital is in the present district of Hardoi in Oudh. His administration appears to have been by no means successful. The ordinary land revenue of Sandila was thirteen lakhs of rupees per year, but it was all spent by Sur Das in feeding holy men. When he heard of a contemplated inspection of his province and the collection of its revenue, he fled to avoid the consequences of his too profuse generosity. When the officials arrived to take the revenue, they found stones in the sealed treasure-chests instead of money. Each chest was labelled with a slip containing these lines :—

Sandila yields its thirteen lakhs ;  
They're eaten up by men who pray :

So Sur Das Madan Mohan now  
At dead of night hath run away.

The Emperor on reading these verses said that eating was an excellent thing, but absconding was not a course to be commended. He was even pleased to learn Sur Das's generosity and service to saints, and accordingly wrote an order pardoning his offence and expressing satisfaction at his devotion to holy men, but at the same time requesting him to appear before him. Sur Das said that it was a thousand times better to wipe the shoes of holy men than be governor and revenue collector of a province, and he refused to appear before Akbar. Todar Mal, Akbar's Prime Minister, could tolerate it no longer. He said to the Emperor, 'If such people can with impunity spend the money which belongs to the state and then abscond, there will be an end to all government.' Under the circumstances Akbar altered his resolution and ordered that Sur Das should be imprisoned. The poet's jailor was named Timir Das. The word *timir* means night or darkness; and the word *das*, if pronounced with a short vowel, means ten. From his prison the poet sent the Emperor the following couplet, which in the original contains a pun on the name of the jailor.

One night brings darkness which a small lamp lights;  
O may the sun king Akbar save me from Ten Nights!

Sur Das was immediately released from prison and the governor of the jail obtained the sobriquet of Ten Nights from the pun on his name.

Sur Das subsequently wrote a stanza in which he prayed that the title of shoe-holder to the saints of God might be conferred on him. A holy man, to put him to the test, told him he was going to see the great lord Madan Mohan, also an epithet of Krishan, and asked him to keep watch

over his shoes till he returned. Sur Das with great pleasure took up the saint's shoes and said, 'Up to the present my wishes have only been expressed, but now they are fulfilled.' The high priest in collusion with the saint several times sent a man to call Sur Das while holding the shoes. He refused to come until he had completed the menial service he had undertaken. The high priest and the saint were both highly pleased with Sur Das's devotion.

Sur Das passed the remainder of his life in forest tracts in the worship and contemplation of God in the society of holy men. His shrine is near Banaras.

The following hymn of Sur Das in the Sarang measure on the happiness of communion with God is found in the Granth Sahib.

The people of God dwell with God.

They dedicate unto Him their bodies and souls ; all they possess they dedicate unto Him. While voicing His name they become intoxicated <sup>1</sup> with divine pleasure.

On beholding Him men become free from sin, and obtain all things.

After gazing on His beautiful face, there needs nothing else.

He who forsaketh God and desireth any one else, is like a leech on a leprous body.

Sur Das, God hath taken my soul into His keeping and granted me deliverance <sup>2</sup> in exchange.

In the Granth Sahib of Bhai Banno, the following hymn of Sur Das in the same measure is also found. The ordinary Granth Sahib only contains the first line. The hymn was originally copied into the Granth Sahib of Kartarpur, but a pen was subsequently drawn through it and sulphate of arsenic rubbed over it for more complete erasure.

<sup>1</sup> *Jhok*, the falling of the head in deep thought or absorption.

<sup>2</sup> *Ih parlok*, the next world, by which is understood the joy of the next world, that is, absorption in God and deliverance from transmigration.



The reason for its erasure has not been explained. The subject of the hymn is the old one—Evil communications corrupt good manners—as stated by the old Greek poet Menander.

O man, abandon the society of those who turn away from God ;

In association with them evil desires are produced, and devotion is interrupted.

What availeth it to give milk to a serpent to drink ? It will not part with its poison.

What availeth it to bathe an elephant in the river ? He will soil his body as before.<sup>1</sup>

What availeth it to a crow to peck at camphor; or to a dog to bathe in the Ganges ?

What availeth it to a donkey to be smeared with fragrant aloes, or to a monkey to wear jewels on his body ?

Sinners are like stones ; the arrows of divine knowledge pierce them not, even though a quiverful be discharged.

Saith Sur Das, O God, this black blanket cannot be dyed another colour.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> This verse is omitted in some recensions of Bhāi Banno's Granth Sāhib.

<sup>2</sup> A blanket made of natural black wool cannot be dyed. The meaning is that the man who turns away from God cannot be regenerated.

---

Grant to Thy Sikhs the gift of Sikhism, the gift of the Guru's instruction, the gift of faith, the gift of confidence in Thee, and the gift of reading and understanding the holy Granth Sahib.

# INDEX

Pref. stands for Preface, Int. for Introduction, and n for note.

- Abchalanagar (Nander), v 220, 246.  
 Abdālī, vi 69 n 4.  
 Abdul Qādir Jilāni, vi 362 n 1, 387.  
 Abdul Rahīm Ansārī, vi 362.  
 Abdul Shakūr of Sarsa, vi 366.  
 Abdulla, bard, iv 6, 187.  
 Abdulla Khān, Sūbādār of Jalandhar, iv 105.  
 Abdulla Shāh, son of Shaikh Farīd, vi 375.  
 Abhijit, ii 112 n 1.  
 Abhyāgat, ii 233 n 1.  
 Abraham, Musalmān story of, vi 127 n 2.  
 Accounts, former Indian practice of settling, vi 251 n 1.  
 Achal Batāla, i 157 n 2.  
 Acquisitions, six, vi 273 n.  
 Acrostics, G. Nānak's Hindi, i 3; Persian, i 12; Kabir's, vi 181.  
 Acts in human birth attach to the soul, i 67 n 1; result of, i 198 n 1, 335 n 1; two kinds of, iii 225 n 1; vi 90 n 2, 147 n 1 and 2.  
 Adanshāhis, v 174.  
 Adesh, i 213 n 1.  
 Adh, coin, i 12 n 3.  
 Ādi Granth, Int. lxxiii, lxxv.  
 Aditi, Int. lx.  
 Adonai, Lord, i 9 n 2.  
 Adultery forbidden, iv 253; v 110.  
 Ages, four, i 4 n 6, 235; ii 230; iii 402.  
 Agni, Int. lxiii.  
 Ahalya, vi 56 n 2.  
 Ahinsa, vi 141.  
 Ahmad Danyāl, vi 370 n 1.  
 Ahmad Shāh Durāni, iii 10; v 108 n 1, 223 n 1.  
 Ain-i-Akbari, i 157 n 1; vi 362 n 1, 377 n, 390 n 1.  
 Āi Panth, i 212 n 4.  
 Aj, grandfather of Rām Chandar, i 168 n 3.  
 Ajāmal, ii 339 n 1.  
 Ajit Singh, son of G. Gobind Singh, v 51; his heroism, 130, 132, 140; sent against Pathāns, 154; death at Chamkaur, 188.  
 Ajit Singh, adopted son of Māta Sundari, v 231, 254, 255.  
 Ajmer Chand, Rāja, v 99, 125, 136, 145, 170, 172, 175.  
 Ajodhan, i 84; Shaikh Farīd at, vi 366.  
 Ajudhia, Monkey temple at, iv 366; vi 30.  
 Akāl, v 261 n 4.  
 Akāl Bunga, iv 3, 32.  
 Akālīs, iv 4.  
 Akāl Ustat, v 260 n.  
 Akbar, his religion, Int. xlv, lvi; i 157 n 1; visits Amar Dās, ii 97; summons G. Arjan, iii 81, 83; remits land revenue of Panjāb, 84; addressed as deity, iv 369; vi 350, 417.  
 Akk, poisonous plant, i 288 n 1.  
 Akshar, vi 189 n 1.  
 Alāhaniān, i 189 n; iv 70.  
 Alakh, the Invisible, iii 108 n 3.  
 Alā-ul-Dīn, last of Saiyad rulers, Int. xlii, lxx.  
 Alayār, ii 77.  
 Alif Khān, v 51, 154.  
 Alim, author of the Rāg Māla, iii 64.  
 Alim Singh, v 140, 155, 171.  
 Allāh, name of God, iii 388 n 2; v 67 n 2.  
 Allāhābād (Priyāg), place of pilgrimage, i 144 n 1.  
 Almast, Bhāi, iv 50, 53, 55.  
 Alms, i 39 n 4, 372 n 3; ii 206 n 1; iii 70.  
 Alphabet, Indian method of teaching, i 3; vi 181; Gurumukhi, i 256 n 1; ii 56; Hindi, ii 56; Sanskrit, iii 168 n 1.  
 Amar Dās, Guru, birth, ii 30; visits Guru Angad, ii 32; becomes his disciple, ii 32;

Amar Dās (*continued*)—

his devotion, ii 35, 40, 42 ; punishment of the Tapa of Khadūr, ii 38, 39 ; appointed Guru, ii 43 ; mode of life as Guru, ii 58 ; sends Sāwan Mal to Hardwār, ii 60 ; Rāja of Kāngra's visit, ii 61 ; Rāja's insane queen, ii 62 ; rebellion of Dātu, ii 64 ; the Sikhs persecuted by Muhammadans, ii 68 ; prophecy at Kasūr, ii 75 ; annual gatherings instituted, ii 79 ; parable of the saint's son, ii 83 ; Bāwali founded, ii 87 ; Rām Dās visits him, ii 89 ; Bibi Bhāni, the Guru's daughter, married to Rām Dās, ii 91 ; Emperor Akbar's visit, ii 97 ; hostility of Hindus, ii 102 ; sent for by the Emperor, ii 105 ; Rām Dās deputed in his stead, ii 106 ; advised by the Emperor to placate the Hindus by visiting Hardwār, ii 112 ; rules of his religion, ii 137 ; tests Rām Dās, ii 142 ; devotion of Bibi Bhāni, ii 143, 144 ; Rām Dās appointed his successor, ii 146 ; death and cremation of, ii 150 ; hymns of, ii 154 ; denounces concremation of widows, ii 228 n 1.

Ambāla, v 247.

Ambarik, King of Ajudhia, vi 63 n 2.

Amber, ancient capital of Jaipur, Int. xlix.

Ambrosias, five, ii 248 n 1 ; vi 85 n 1.

Āmils, surveyors, i 18.

Amrit, baptism, Pref. xix ; v 95 n 1.

Amritsar, founding of, ii 141 ; stages of completion, ii 258, 267, 270, 276 ; iii 2 ; temple and tank, iii 3, 9, 20, 33, 440 n 1 ; Granth Sāhib placed there, iii 65 ; visit of Emperor Jahāngīr, iv 32.

Amritsar Singh Sabha, Author's translation accepted by, Pref. xiii, xxix.

Amro, G. Angad's daughter, ii 1, 31.

Āna, coin, iv 19 n 1.

Anal, bird, v 143, 276 n 2.

Analogy of European and Indian conditions in fifteenth century, Int. xl.

Anand, ii 117, 130 ; marriage by, v 109, 249 n 1.

Anand, grandson of G. Amar Dās, ii 117.

Anand Ghan, Int. lxxx.

Anandpur, founding of, iv 338, 362 ; v 2 ; invested, v 130 ; plundered, v 164, 174 ; evacuated, v 185.

Ananta, serpent, iv 254 n 6.

Anatomy, Indian, vi 47, 169 n 2 and 3.

Ancestor worship, i 50, 65 n 5 ; ii 84 n 1 ; iv 249, 250 n 4, 346 n 1 ; vi 128 n 8.

Anchorets, vain devotion of, i 41 n 1 ; vi 177.

Angad (Lahina), Guru, meeting with G. Nanak, i 183 ; tested by him and named Angad, i 185 ; ii 11 ; appointed his successor, i 187 ; ii 11 ; marriage, ii 1 ; lived in Khadūr on becoming Guru, ii 11 ; his mode of life, ii 15 ; visit of Emperor Humāyūn, ii 19 ; cures Chaudhri's son, ii 28 ; Amar Dās's visit, ii 32 ; drought in Khadūr, ii 36 ; Guru obliged to leave Khadūr, ii 36 ; appointment of Amar Dās as Guru, ii 43 ; G. Angad's death and cremation, ii 44 ; his sloks, ii 46 ; adoption of the Gurumukhi characters for the Gurus' hymns, ii 56.

Animation, suspended, vi 16 n 2.

Ani Rai, son of G. Har Gobind, iv 67, 223.

Anjan, a collyrium, ii 119 n 3.

Anpūrna, iv 132 n 1.

Ansāvatār, v 274 n 3.

Antarjāmi, vi 77.

Anthropomorphism, Int. lxi ; vi 99.

Antimony, ii 119 n 3.

Aparas, iii 224 n 1.

Apollo, Int. lix.

Apostasy, Gur Dās on, iv 257.

Ārati, i 83 n 3 ; vi 122 n 2, 333 n 3.

Archaisms avoided, Pref. xxxi.  
 Archery of G. Gobind Singh, v 172.  
 Ardās, supplication, v 333.  
 Arjan, Guru, order to translate Granth Sāhib into all languages, Pref. viii; birth, ii 93; sent to Lahore, ii 277; Prithia's jealousy, ii 279; appointed his father's successor, ii 281; building of Har Mandar, iii 9, 12; episode of Rāja Bīrbār, iii 16; visit to Cholha, iii 21; to Khānpur, iii 22; founding of Tarn Tāran, iii 25; of Kartārpur, iii 26; visit to shrine of G. Nānak and Sri Chand, iii 27; his wife's desire for a son, iii 29; she is sent to Bhāi Budha, iii 30; birth of son Har Gobind, iii 35; controversy with Pandit, iii 50; decision to compile hymns of Sikh religion, iii 55; visit to Mohan to obtain sacred books, iii 56; completion of the Granth Sāhib at Rāmsar, iii 60 n 1; interviews with poets, iii 62; declines Chandu's daughter for his son Har Gobind, iii 75; son betrothed to Narāin Dās's daughter, iii 76; letter from Chandu, iii 79; marriage of Har Gobind, iii 80; Guru sent for by Emperor Akbar, iii 81; visited by Emperor Akbar, iii 83; Emperor remits revenue in compliment to Guru, iii 84; death of Akbar, iii 84; Guru assists Khusrō, iii 85; Prithia and Chandu plot against him, iii 87; departure for Lahore by Emperor Jahāngīr's orders, iii 90; is tortured, iii 93; bathes in the Ravi, iii 98; his last injunctions, iii 99; is succeeded by Guru Har Gobind iv 2.  
 Arjāni resuscitated, ii 130.  
 Arms, advantages of wearing, v 102.  
 Arnold's translation of *Gītgovind*, vi 7 n 1.  
 Arun or Anuru, vi 81 n 1.

As, son of Chitrbr̥, i 218 n 2.  
 Āsa ki Wār, i 218.  
 Asām, iv 351 n 1.  
 Ascetics, exclusiveness of, vi 353 n 1.  
 Ashes, use of, v 300 n 2; vi 243 n 5.  
 Ashtapadi, iii 197 n 1.  
 Asht Chhāp, vi 83.  
 Asidhuj, v 98 n 1.  
 Asmān Khān, son-in-law of Painda Khān, iv 190, 194, 198, 204, 210.  
 Asoka, Int. lv.  
*Asrār-i-Itrāt-i-Farīdi*, vi 358 n 1.  
 Aswad of Makka, iv 380 n 1.  
 Atal Rāi, Bāba, iv 49 n 1, 130, 131.  
 Atar Singh, Sir, Int. lxxxvi n.  
 Aurangzeb, Pref. xviii; treatment of Hindus, Int. xlviii, xlix; iv 277, 298, 300, 303, 304, 305, 307, 317, 368, 369, 375, 388, 391; v 20, 107, 164, 179, 201.  
 Aurangzeb, sons of, v 229 n 1.  
 Austerities, G. Gobind Singh on, v 271.  
 Authenticity of religious books, Int. liii.  
 Awadh (Oude), vi 61 n 3.  
 Azrāil, i 178 n 1.  
 Bāba, ii 2 n 2.  
 Bābar, Emperor, imprisons G. Nānak, i 111; visits him, i 113; succeeded by Humāyūn, ii 19; descendants of, iv 379 n 1.  
 Babbhikhan, King of Ceylon, vi 24 n 2.  
 Badaoni, iii 84.  
 Badri Narāin, vi 102.  
 Badr-ul-Dīn, Maulāna, Farīd's son-in-law, vi 378.  
 Baghdād, G. Nānak's visit to, i 179.  
 Bāgrīān, Lord of, iv 150 n 1.  
 Bahilo, Bhāi, iii 8, 13; v 207.  
 Bahlol Khān Lodi, Int. lxxi.  
 Bahādur Shāh, Emperor, his relations with Guru Gobind Singh, v 230; their interview in Agra, v 232; his death in Lahore, 251.



Bahā-ul-Dīn Zakarīa, vi 363 n 1, 372, 375.  
 Bāhia villages, iv 294.  
 Bairāgi, i 141 n 1, 161, 332; vi 105.  
 Bairārs, v 204 n 1, 226.  
 Baisākhi festival, iii 26; iv 290.  
 Bājra, iv 291 n 1.  
 Bakāla, iv 69; G. Teg Bahādur at, 329, 331.  
 Bakr Id, vi 341.  
 Bāla, Int. lxxviii, lxxix, lxxx, lxxxvii.  
 • Bali, portions of offerings, i 279 n 2; iv 346 n 1.  
 Bālī, son of Prahād, vi 63 n 4.  
 Bālkrīra, i 2.  
 Ballu, Bhāi, with G. Amar Dās, ii 58, 117.  
 Bālmik, iii 414.  
 Balwand, Musician, ii 15, 21, 23, 253.  
 Bāmdev, vi 36.  
 Bām Māragis, iii 348 n 1.  
 Banāras, i 61 n 2; ii 87; saw at, i 274 n 1; iv 304; visit of Gobind Rāi, iv 365; vi 27, 30, 124, 131, 314 n 3, 138 n 1.  
 Banda, early history of, v 237; career in the Panjāb, 246; execution of, 253.  
 Bandāi Khālsa, v 250.  
 Bandishar, iv 27 n 2.  
 Bania, iii 67.  
 Banno, compiler of the Granth Sāhib, i 41 n 5; iii 66; vi 1, 419.  
 Baptism of Sikh recruits, Pref. xxv; v 95 n 1.  
 Bār, tract in Panjāb, Int. lxx.  
 Bards employed by Guru Gobind Singh, v 83, 161, 314 n 1.  
 Barley rolls, iv 346.  
 Barmaid, Indian, vi 155 n 2.  
 Baroda, H.H. the Gāekwār of, Pref. xxvii.  
 Barwānal, i 63 n 3.  
 Basāli, v 141.  
 Basant, Indian spring, i 371 n 1.  
 Bāsarka, ii 35, 66.  
 Basāva, horse dealer, iv 218.  
 Batāla, birthplace of G. Nānak's wife, i 19 n 1, 109, 157, 158.  
 Bathing, G. Nānak on, i 146, 152, 177 n 1, 372 n 1; iii 11; Hindu times for, ii 254 n 2; G. Gobind Singh's injunctions

Bathing (*continued*)—  
 regarding, v 161; Kabir on, vi 214.  
 Bāwa Wali of Kandhār, i 172.  
 Bāwan, v 262 n 4.  
 Bāwan Akhari, iii 168.  
 Beauty, thirty-two marks of, vi 64 n 1.  
 Bedis, v 294.  
 Beni, Pandit, ii 134; Bhagat, vi 88.  
 Bentinck, Lord W., Pref. xxii.  
 Ber tree, i 122; ii 142.  
 Betel, use of, iv 179; ingredients of, 244, 248 n 4; as lip-salve, vi 256 n 3.  
 Betrothal ceremony, iii 76.  
 Bhagat Māl, iii 415 n; vi 2, 3, 5, 20, 36, 37 n 2, 86, 95 n 1, 100 n 1, 102, 119, 126 n 1, 131 n 1.  
*Bhagat Ratanāwali* of Mani Singh, Int. lxxv, lxxix.  
 Bhagats, vi 1 n 1.  
 Bhagats of Granth Sāhib, vi 1; authorities for their lives, vi 2.  
 Bhagauti, iii 108 n 1.  
 Bhagauti ki Wār, v 81.  
*Bhagawad Gita*, vi 124 n 1; G. Har Kishan's reading of, iv 321.  
 Bhāgo, Indian heroine, v 213, 215, 220.  
 Bhagwān Gir, iv 288.  
 Bhāgbhari, presents a robe to the Guru, iv 61.  
 Bhagīrath, i 145; ii 262 n 1; vi 162 n 5.  
 Bhagtu, Bhāi, ii 272 n 1; iv 276, 290, 291.  
 Bhāi, meaning of, Int. lxxiv n; ii 5.  
 Bhairo, mutilator of idol, iv 218.  
 Bhāi Rūpa, iv 151.  
 Bhāna, Bhāi, son of Bhāi Buddha, iv 125, 142; sent for by G. Har Gobind, iv 222; consecrates G. Har Rāi, iv 235.  
 Bhang, i 120, 174; v 153; vi 71 n 3, 314.  
 Bhangāni, battle of, v 35.  
 Bhāni, Bibi, daughter of G. Amar Dās, ii 30; marriage with Rām Dās, ii 91; devotion to her father, ii 144; birth of her son, ii 93.  
 Bharthari, King of Ujjain, i 169 n 3

- Bhatinda, legend of, v 221, 222 n 1.
- Bhattewāl, vi 39.
- Bhawāni, v 262 n 3.
- Bhikan, Bhagat, vi 1; his hymns, 416.
- Bhikan Khān, v 20, 30, 40, 42.
- Bhikan Shāh, Saiyid, iv 358, 366.
- Bhikha, bard, ii 85.
- Bhikhia, betrothal of his daughter Jito, v 2.
- Bhīm Chand, Rāja of Bilāspur, v 5, 7; visit to G. Gobind Singh, 8; desires elephant, 8; scorns Guru, 9; quarrel with Fateh Shāh, 27; subsequent war, 38, 50.
- Bhoi, Rāi, Int. lxxi.
- Bhringi, iv 247 n 5.
- Bhujangam, Jogī belief, iii 360 n 1.
- Bhūp Chand, Rāja of Handūr, v 126, 131.
- Biās, river, ii 34, 42, 66, 109, 150; iv 102.
- Bībarīs, ii 84 n 1.
- Bibeksar, tank, iv 48.
- Bidhi Chand, iii 22; iv 4, 35, 84, 89, 96, 108, 111, 114; early history of, iv 154; recovery of horse for Guru, iv 158; goes disguised as magician for second horse, iv 175; at battle of Nathāna, iv 181, 186; at battle of Kartārpur, iv 204; visit to Budhan Shāh, iv 213; sent to Bay of Bengal, where he met Sundar Shāh, iv 216, 225; death, iv 226.
- Bidur, ii 331 n 1; iii 415; vi 41, 252.
- Bigha, land measure, iii 252 n 1.
- Bigotry of Muhammadans, Int. lxxxvi.
- Bijli Khān, Nawāb of Gorakhpur, vi 139.
- Bilāspur, capital of Kahlūr, v 6.
- Bilāwal, ii 229 n 1.
- Binaipāl, v 221.
- Bindhiāchal, v 270 n 1.
- Bindrāban, i 57; vi 347 n 1.
- Birbar, Rāja, iii 15.
- Birth, human, vi 289 n 1, 404 n 1.
- Bishan Singh, Rāja, iv 348 n 1.
- Bisiār, G. Nānak's visit to, i 93.
- Bismillāh, i 240 n 5; vi 259 n 1, 364.
- Body, compared to puddle, i 21 n 4; formation of, 198 n 1; gates of, vi 16 n 2, 169 n 2 and 3; mystical divisions of, 180 n 1.
- Bohr tree, ii 39 n 1.
- Books, sacred, of Muhammadans, i 167 n 1; of Hindus, ii 192.
- Boons, four, iii 121 n 1.
- Brahma, god of Creation, i 40 n 3, 215 n 1, 300 n 1; ii 193 n 1; iv 254 n 4, 255; sons of, vi 128 n 7, 201, 271 n 1.
- Brahmand, mundane egg, iii 230 n 1.
- Brāhmans, power of, Int. xxxix, lvii; duties of, i 255 n 1; sacred herbs of, 155 n 1, 307 n 2; cooking of, 132; customs, iii 193 n 1; ii 204 n 1; iii 317 n 2; iv 134 n 1; v 74 n 1; rules for, vi 104 n 2; origin of, 146 n 1; Kulin of Bengal, vi 338 n 2.
- Brahmaputra, G. Nānak's journey on, i 81.
- Brahm Dās, Kāshmīri Pandit, i 163, 167.
- Brahm, Shaikh, i 84, 102, 285; genealogy of, vi 357.
- Brain, nectar distilled from, vi 16 n 2, 155 n 1.
- Branding with irons, v 279 n 2.
- Breath, five species of, i 99 n 1, 378 n 2; suspension of, i 378 n 2; exercises with, vi 16 n 2.
- Bridal dresses at Farid's shrine, vi 375.
- Bridge, of floating stones, vi 40 n 2; to heaven, 334 n 4.
- Brihaspati, teacher of gods, wife abducted by moon, vi 81 n 1, 138 n 2.
- Brooms, Jains' use of, i 151 n 2.
- Browning on transmigration, Int. lxvii.
- Budha, Bhāi, Int. lxxiv, lxxvii, meeting with G. Nānak, i 133; invests G. Angad, ii 11; finding of G. Angad, ii 13; invests G. Amar Dās, ii 43; finding of G. Amar Dās, ii 65; receives rules of religion from Guru, ii

Budha (*continued*)—

137; invests G. Rām Dās, ii 146; superintends building of tank at Amritsar, ii 271; teacher of Har Gobind, iii 49; entrusted with care of Granth Sāhib, iii 66; inaugurates Har Gobind, iv 2, 4; visit to G. Har Gobind at Guāliar, iv 24; organizes sacred concerts, iv 57; returns to forest life, iv 70; visit to Sri Har Gobindpur, iv 120; retires to his village, iv 121; vision of G. Arjan, iv 125; death iv, 127.  
 Budha, Int. liii, liv; i 64; iv 345.  
 Budhan Shāh, meeting with G. Nānak, iv 140; with Gurdita at Kīratpur, iv 142; visit of Har Gobind to, 213; his death, 215.  
 Buddhism, sacred books, Pref. v; expulsion of, Int. lv, lvii; causes thereof, Int. lv, lvi.  
 Budhu Shāh, v 18; bravery 37; Guru's gift, 45.  
 Būh, G. Arjan's prediction on, iii 22.  
 Bulār, Rāi, Int. lxxi, lxxii, i 2, 11, 15, 19, 21, 31.  
 Bull, supporter of earth, i 200 n 2, 203 n 2.  
 Bumble Bees, vi 264 n 1.  
 Burnt offerings, i 28 n 3.  
 Butter-churning, vi 201 n 2.  
 Caesar on German gods, Int. lx n.  
 Cake, Shaikh Farīd's wooden, vi 368, 398 n 1.  
 Calendar, Kabīr's, vi 190.  
 Call to prayer, Muhammadan, i 179 n 2.  
 Canals of Mālwa, v 224; canal at Pāk Pattan, vi 367.  
 Carrion, i 281 n 1.  
 Caste, Hindu castes, i 16 n 1; system attacked by Gurus, Pref. xxii; i 278, 283; ii 84, 102; iv 220, 248 n 4; v 93, 101; vi 22, 31, 34, 103, 104, 126, 286 n 6, 319.  
 Catechism, Sikh, iv 264.  
 Categories, twenty-five, vi 266 n 4.

Cattle, trespassing, iii 301 n 1.  
 Cemeteries, worship of, iv 293; prayers in, vi 375.  
 Census of Sikh pilgrims at Har-dwār, Pref. xx, xxi n.  
 Ceylon, i 146, 154.  
 Chacha Phaggo, iv 345.  
 Chaitanya, reformer of Bengāl, vi 353 n 3.  
 Chakars of body, v 261 n 3; vi 91 n 8.  
 Chakor, ii 2 n 3; iii 154; vi 39.  
 Chakwi, ruddy sheldrake, i 271 n 1.  
 Challenges, customs of, iv 179.  
 Chamārs, vi 342 n 1.  
 Chamkaur, battle of, v 186, 202.  
 Chanā (gram), i 68 n 2.  
 Chānakya, Nīti, iv 7 n 4.  
 Chandarbans, vi 81 n 1.  
 Chanda Singh, Bhāi, commentator of Granth Sāhib, i 202 n 4.  
 Chandel, Rāja of, v 38.  
 Chandi, v 80, 83, 289 n 1.  
 Chandu, Emperor's Diwān, iii 70, 79, 87, 98; iv 7, 20, 22, 28, 35.  
 Chaparnāla (Gurūsar), iv 61.  
 Charanpāhul, initiation ceremony, i 47 n 1.  
 Chātrik, pied Indian cuckoo, i 83 n 6, 139 n 1; ii 246 n 1.  
 Chatur Dās, Banāras Pandit, i 61.  
 Chaudhri, ii 28 n 1, 29, 136.  
 Chaupar or Chausar, i 7 n 1, 245, n 3; iii 426 n 1; iv 201; vi 348.  
 Chautāla, iv 356.  
 Chhajju, water carrier, iv 322.  
 Chhitānk, weight, iv 278 n 1.  
 Chhotāmīr, iv 193, 203.  
 Chintāmani, jewel, vi 325 n 2.  
 Chitaur, ancient capital of Mewār, Int. xlix; Rāna of, vi 318; Mira Bai's temple, 348 n 3.  
 Chitrugupt, i 210 n 2.  
 Cholha, i 106; iii 21.  
 Chronograms, vi 94, 98, 384.  
 Chronology, Hindu contempt for, vi 3.  
 Chūni Mandi, birthplace of G. Rām Dās, ii 87.  
 Circumcision, vi 127 n 2.  
 Clarified butter (*see* Ghi).  
 Clothes, dyeing, i 42 n 1; blue, i 117 n 1; red, ii 226 n 1.

- Concremation of widows, Pref. xxii, xxiii; i 381; ii 228 n 1.
- Congress of Orientalists at Rome, Pref. xxvii, xxviii.
- Conversion, forcible, of Hindus, v 174.
- Cooking square, i 43 n 1, 51, 132; vi 129.
- Corn, staff of life, vi 239.
- Coronation Ode, ii 24, 27 n 2, 58, 253.
- Courtesan, how saved, ii 338 n 1; iv 251; vi 213, 396 n 1.
- Covetousness inveighed against, vi 16 n 1.
- Cow, sacrifice of, vi 341 n 4; calf, vi 118 n 1; reanimation of, vi 220 n 1; vi 28 n 1.
- Cow-dung, i 43 n 1, 242 n 2.
- Crane, vi 413 n 1.
- Creation, i 138 n 4, 195 n 2, 215 n 1.
- Creator, Indian belief in One, Int. lxi; i 300 n 1.
- Cremation grounds, worship of, iv 293; Kabīr on, vi 283 n 2.
- Crows, human corpses thrown to, vi 340 n 2.
- Cuckoo, pied Indian, i 83 n 6, 139 n 1; black Indian, i 139 n 2.
- Cunningham's *History of the Sikhs*, iv 21 n 1.
- Customs, Indian, i 39 n 2, 65 n 4 and 7, 76 n 2, 112 n 1, 115 n 1, 151-90, 181, 190 n 1 and 2; 226-348, 279 n 2; iii 202 n 2, 317 n 2; iv 250, 66; v 9 n 1, 24 n 1; vi 378.
- Dabistān-i-Mazāhib*, iii 100 n 1; iv 21 n, 212, 217, 239.
- Dadhich, vi 108.
- Dādu, saint, v 227.
- Dādūpanthis, vi 140.
- Daityas, ii 160 n 1.
- Dakāits, vi 20.
- Dāl, ii 32 n 1; vi 111 n 3.
- Dalla village, ii 22, 66; iv 51.
- Dalla Singh, v 223, 226.
- Dām, ii 114 n 1.
- Damdama, ii 35; iv 336.
- Damodri, wife of G. Har Gobind, iii 80; iv 50, 56, 76, 151, 223.
- Damri, coin, i 16 n 2.
- Dance, religious, i 183, 305 n 1; v 22; vi 211 n 2.
- Dand, v 275 n 3.
- Dāni, Bībī, daughter of G. Amar Dās, ii 30, 89.
- Dān Singh, v 211, 217.
- Dāra Shikoh, iv 277, 298, 300, 302, 303.
- Daroli, iv 51, 54, 146.
- Darūd, iii 419 n 2.
- Darwesh, i 55.
- Dasarath, iv 271 n 1.
- Dasahra, ii 254 n 2.
- Dāsu, son of G. Angad, ii 1, 42, 44.
- Daswen Pādshāh ka Granth*, v 223 n 1.
- Dattātre, ii 69 n 1; iv 288.
- Dātu, son of G. Angad, ii 1, 42, 44, 63; iii 59.
- Daula Shāh, of Gujrāt, iv 64 n 2, 123.
- Daulat Khān, i 33, 36, 37.
- Daya Kaur, mother of G. Angad, ii 1.
- Daya Kaur, mother of G. Rām Dās, ii 87.
- Daya Rām, father-in-law of G. Har Rāi, iv 225.
- Daya Singh, one of the five beloved of G. Gobind Singh, v 91, 140, 159, 168.
- Dayāl, Rāja of Bijharwāl, v 52.
- Deadly sins, i 13 n 1.
- Dead, disposal of the, ii 222; vi 340 n 2.
- Death, belief in existence after, Int. lxxv, lxxix; i 89 n 1, 201 n 4; ii 302; G. Har Gobind on, iv 34; messenger of, vi 226 n 3; of holy men, vi 230 n 3; noose of, vi 42 n 3; havoc created by, vi 409 n 3; god of (*see* Dharmrāj), river Jamna protects from, vi 198 n 4; as angler vi 285 n 5.
- Death at will, i 181; ii 117; iii 3, 100; iv 64, 224, 298.
- Defilement, Gurus deprecate Hindu ideas of, i 47, 51, 132, 185.
- Dehra Bāba Nānak, i 180; iv 127, 288.
- Dehra Dūn, residence of Rām Rāi, v. 17.
- Deogiri, vi 32.



- Dera Ghāzi Khān, i 123.  
 Destiny regulated by the Supreme Deity, i 178 n 2, 214 n 2; ii 322 n 1; iii 154 n 3; iv 114; v 122; vi 68 n 1.  
 Devaki, mother of Krishan, i 57 n 1, 305 n 4.  
*Devi Mahātāmya*, see *Durga Sapt Shatī*.  
 Devotees, self-immolation of, i 274 n 1.  
 Devotions, Sikh, i 136; nine forms of, iii 108 n 2.  
 Dhāk-tree, vi 280 n 1, 295.  
 Dhāka, iv 352.  
 Dhanna Bhagat, vi 1, 105, 106 n 2; hymns of, 109.  
 Dhārīwāl, vi 39.  
 Dharm Dās, successor of Kabīr, vi 141 n 1.  
 Dharmrāj, god of death, i 126 n 1, 201 n 4; ii 148; iii 178 n 1, 277 n 5, 417 n 1; vi 42 n 3, 61 n 4, 210 n 3, 285 n 5, 292 n 2.  
 Dharmśāl, i 47 n 2.  
 Dhatūra, vi 71 n 3.  
 Dhaulpur, battle of, v 230.  
 Dhāva plant, i 158 n 4.  
 Dhilwān, v 209, 225.  
 Dhīr Mal, son of Gurditta and grandson of G. Har Gobind, birth of, iv 129; his treachery, iv 202; aspires to be Guru and takes possession of Granth Sāhib, iv 213; message to Emperor Shāh Jahān, iv 215; his continual disloyalty and disobedience, iv 208.  
 Dhoti, i 239 n 2, 240 n 4; v 147 n 1; vi 92 n 5.  
 Dhru, i 215 n 3; iii, 414; vi 24.  
 Dhūbri, capital of Kāmrup, iv 356.  
 Dialects and languages of the present work, Pref. v, vi, xv, xxxi, xxxii, xxxiii.  
 Digambar, i 310 n 2; ii 336.  
 Dihli, i 20; iv 15, 24; v 295 n 3; vi 28, 366, 373, 375.  
 Dikpāls, v 299 n 1.  
 Dilāwar Khān, v 55.  
 Dīna, v 200, 207.  
 Dīn Beg, Muhammadan General, v 124.  
 Dipālpur, i 106.  
 Directions, ten, vi 192 n 2.  
 Disciples, duties of, i 75 n 4.  
 Dīr Singh, Bhāi, Pref. xxx; Int. lxxxvii; v 84 n 1.  
 Divination by sacred books, Int. lxxxv.  
 Diwālī, ii 79 n 1; vi 295 n 1.  
 Diwānā faqīrs, v 218.  
 Doāb district, ii 109; iv 4, 102.  
 Dogrās, i 46 n 5.  
 Donkey, use of, iii 165 n 1; Sītālā's, vi 57 n 2.  
 Doulagarh, capital of Bengāl, i 169 n 3.  
 Dowson's *Hindu Mythology*, i 382 n 1.  
 Draupadi or Panchālī, iv 408 n 1; vi 104.  
 Dravidian country, G. Nānak's visit to, i 147.  
 Dress, nobleman's, iv 227; Sikh's v 95, 147 n 1, 215 n 1; God without distinctive, v 285 n 2.  
 Drum of G. Gobind Singh, v 5 n 1.  
 Duality (Dwait), i 165 n 5; vi 66 n 1, 309.  
 Dukhbhanjani, ii 142, 269; leper at, 267.  
 Dūms, minstrels, i 33, 52 n 1.  
 Duni Chand, i 129; v 129, 133, 134.  
 Durbāsa, vi 47 n 4.  
 Durga, goddess, i 138 n 1, 166 n 6, 183; ii 1 n 1, 3, 133; iii 6 n 1, 45; v 60, 61 n 1, 114 n 1, 286 n 1; vi 57 n 2, 117.  
*Durga Prabodh*, v 84 n 1.  
*Durga Sapt Shatī*, v 80 n 2.  
 Duryodhan, Kaurav prince, iv 408 n 1; vi 252.  
 Dwāraka, i 144 n 1; ii 93; v 279 n 1; vi 23, 30, 53 n 1, 113.  
 Dying thoughts, effect of, i 67 n 1; vi 80 n 1.  
 Earrings, banker's, vi 279 n 1.  
 Earth, nine ancient divisions of, i 30 n 1; flora of the, i 282 n 1; support of, v 225.  
 Ecstasy, Jogis' state of, vi 17 n 2, 91 n 6.  
 Education, Indian system of, i 3.  
 Effort encouraged, i 253.  
 Egg, world as, i 116 n 2.

- Elders, ii 234 n 1.  
 Ekshabdis, iii 108 n 3.  
 Elect, i 202 n 3.  
 Elements, five, i 178 n 4; ii 198 n 1; of body, vi 169 n 2, 3.  
 Eleocarpus, berries of, vi 93 n 2.  
 Elephant, raising of the emperor Ibrāhīm Lodi's, i 56; saved by thinking of God, iii 415 n 1; presented to G. Gobind Singh, v 4; made drunk for battle, v 134; men's fights with, v 135 n 1; trapping of, vi 172 n 1.  
 Elliot, Sir Henry, *History of India*, Int. xlix n.  
 Ellora, caves of, vi 32.  
 Elphinstone's *History of India*, iv 350 n 2.  
 Emanation from Primal Being, Soul an, Int. lxviii.  
 Eminābād, or Saiyidpur, i 43.  
 End of world, G. Arjan on, iii 161.  
 English occupation of India, Guru's prophecy, Pref. xviii, xix; iv 381; G. Gobind Singh on, v 107, 157; account of death of Banda, v 252.  
 Equality, G. Nānak's principles of, i 192; of man, Kabīr on, vi 249.  
 Eternal life, food of, ii 221.  
 Ether, i 178 n 4.  
 European and Indian conditions, analogy of, Int. xl.  
 Exaltation of brain, vi 246 n 4, 5.  
 Exercises, devotional, of Sikhs, i 136; iv 252.  
 Existences, i 5 n 1; vi 42 n 1, 63.  
 Exultations of poets, vi 10 n 1.  
 Faqīrs, customs of, i 230 n 1; iii 360 n 2, 429 n; v 274 n 1, 300 n 2, 303 n 3; vi 11 n 1, 379; rules for, 386; clothes, 401 n 3.  
 Farīd, Shaikh, i 52 n 3, 84, 92; his penance, iv 60; vi 1; his life, 356, 414.  
 Farīdkot, iv 4 n; vi 381, 382.  
 Farishta, historian, vi 383 n 1, 384 n 1.  
 Farrukh Shāh, Emperor, v 251, vi 359.  
 Fasts, Hindu, ii 240; iii 420 n 2; eleventh day, vi 25, 51.  
 Fatah Shāh, Rāja of Garhwal, v 8, 16, 18; marriage of daughter arranged, v 24; quarrel with Rāja Bhīm Chand, v 27.  
 Fatah Singh, great grandson of Bhai Bhāgu, v 226.  
 Fatah Singh, son of G. Gobind Singh, v 60, 97, 195; death of, v 198.  
 Fatahgarh, fort, v 129.  
 Fate, i 178 n 2, 214 n 2.  
 Father-in-law's house, world as, i 74 n 7.  
 Fātiha, Qurān, i 125 n 1.  
 Faust, iii 238 n 1.  
 Feet, reverence of the, iv 255.  
 Festivals, ten Hindu, iv 254 n 3.  
 Fevers, three, vi 73 n 1.  
 Fig-tree, vi 137.  
 Filial duties of Sikhs, iv 270.  
 Firdausi, poet, v 205 n 2.  
 Fire, five fires, i 70 n 2; penance of five fires, i 358 n 1; a purifier, iii 221 n 2; inherent in timber, iii 339 n 1; sacrificial, iii 17.  
 Firmament, ii 231 n 1; Muhammadan conception of, vi 155 n 4.  
 Firozpur, iv 4 n.  
 Firoz Shāh Tuglak, Emperor, Int. xlv, lxxi.  
 Five rivers, land of, Pref. xxv.  
 Flesh, G. Nānak on, i 47.  
 Flora of the earth, i 282 n 1.  
 Food, unlawful, i 39 n 2; thirty-six palatable dishes, i 97 n 2; sacred, i 182, 185; of eternal life, ii 221; G. Har Rai on impure, iv 281; Malak Dās, iv 343; for manes, iv 346 n 1; Brahman's, v 61; Hindu sacred, v 114 n 1; impure, v 152 n 1; vi 319; distribution of, v 105.  
 Fool, association with, ii 235.  
 Four days, i 187 n 3; Ages, i 4 n 5.  
 France, v 286.  
 Frog in a well, vi 323 n 1.  
 Fruit of immortality, Gopi Chand's, i 169 n 3.  
 Funeral service of Sikhs, i 190 n 3.

Gaekwār of Baroda, H.H. the, Pref. xxvii.

Gainda, son of Desu, iv 340.

Gajja Singh, Mahant, Pref. xxvi.

Gajmoti, iii 311 n 1.

Gandharbs, v 319 n 2.

Ganesh, i 138 n 2; vi 35, 58 n 2, 93 n 1, 138 n 3.

Ganga, wife of G. Arjan, iii 1, 29, 90; iv 3, 12, 33, 49, 69.

Ganga Rām, merchant, iii 9.

Ganga Rām, cousin of G. Gobind Singh, v 2.

Ganga Sāgar, vi 105.

Gangasar, iii 26.

Gangeris, v 273 n 1.

Ganges, Pref. xx; i 144 n 1, 294 n 4; ii 254 n 2; iii 26; iv 365; vi 69 n 1, 151 n 3, 268 n 2.

Garhia, Bhāi, of Kāshmīr, iv 123.

Garments, five, iv 188 n 3.

Garur, or Garuda, vi 29 n 1, 81 n 1, 87 n 2.

Garur Purān, iv 123.

Gate, i 159 n 1.

Gātha, iii 434 n 1.

Gaur Brāhmans, vi 105.

Gawār, iii 208 n 2.

Gaya, i 64; iv 346, 347 n 1; vi 30.

Gāyatri, i 166 n 4, 237 n 1; ii 108; vi 58 n 1.

Ghar, i 278 n 1.

Ghara, iv 170 n 2.

Ghari, i 5 n 2; vi 28 n 1, 400 n 1.

Ghazni, King of, vi 359, 370.

Gherar, iv 102.

Ghi, i 243 n 1; iv 276.

Ghogha's repentance, iv 367.

Ghulām Muhai-ul-Dīn, historian, v 93.

Ghuman, vi 35, 39.

Ghumand Chand, Rāja of Kāngra, v 136.

Ghyās-ul-Dīn Tughlak, Emperor, vi 390.

Girdhāri, shop-keeper, ii 79.

*Gītgovind*, vi 5; English translation of, vi 7 n 1, 9.

Gobind, founder of Goindwāl, ii 34.

Gobind Singh, Guru, Pref. xii, xvi, xviii, xxv; Int. xlix, lii, lxiii, lxxiv, lxxvii; birth, iv

Gobind Singh (*continued*)—

357, 359 n 1; Bhikan Shāh's visit, iv 358; practises arms, iv 363; departure for Anandpur, iv 365; visits Chhota Mirzāpur, Banāras, Ajudhia, Lakhnau, Lakhnaur, and Kiratpur, iv 365, 366, 367; arrival at Anandpur, iv 368 n 1; his father's affection, iv 371; message from his father in prison, iv 383; his answer, iv 385; execution of his father, iv 387; becomes Guru, iv 389; cremation of G. Teg Bahādūr's head, iv 390; practice of archery, v 1; Vichitar Nātak, v 1 n 1; his companions, v 2; his marriage, v 2; Rāja Ratan Rāi's presents, v 4; army increased and drum made, v 5; visit of Rāja Bhīm Chand, v 7; effort of the latter to obtain elephant, v 8; Guru's refusal, v 13; preparations for war, v 15; departure for Nāhan, v 16; fort built at Pāunta, v 17; visit to Rām Rāi, v 20; composes poetry, v 22; death of Rām Rāi, v 22; Guru's departure for Dehra Dūn to punish masands, v 23; resumes quarrel with Rāja Bhīm Chand, v 26; war declared, v 29; disloyalty of Pathān soldiers, v 31; Guru's description of Pāunta battle, v 39 n 1, 44; gifts to Budhu Shāh, v 45; visit of Rāni of Rāipur, v 48; returns to Anandpur, v 49; reconciliation with Rāja Bhīm Chand, v 51; Ajit Singh born, v 51; battle of Nadāun, v 53; Zorāwar Singh born, v 55 n 1; alliance with Rāja Gopāl, v 58; Jujhār Singh born, v 59; Fatah Singh born, v 60; interview with Kesho Brāhman, v 62; Rām Avatār translated, v 67; the Guru on idolatry, v 67; dialogue of the princess and the Brāhman, v 69; translation of Hindu works, v 83; decision to abolish masands, v 86; on hair, v 89; tests



Gobind Singh (*continued*)—

devotion of Sikhs, v 91 ; establishes the pāhul and the Khālśa, v 93 ; address to his Sikhs, v 93 ; preparation of Amrit, v 95 ; rules for members of the Khālśa, v 95 ; his own baptism, v 96 ; advocates wearing of arms, v 102 ; visits to his kitchen, v 105 ; on sacred music, v 106 ; prophecies on advent of the English, v 107, 157 ; prescribes rules for Sikhs, v 109 ; envoy from hill chiefs, v 114 ; preparation of sacred food, v 114 ; rules for salvation, v 116 ; surprised by hill chiefs, v 120 ; complaints against the Guru to the Emperor, v 121 ; defeat of Emperor's troops at Anandpur, v 124 ; hill chiefs combine against the Guru, v 127 ; battle, v 130 ; siege, v 132 ; repeated complaints to Emperor Aurangzeb, v 137 ; the Sikhs depart to Nirmoh, v 138 ; plot to assassinate the Guru, v 139 ; he retires to Rasāli, v 141 ; visits Bhabaur, v 141 ; returns to Anandpur, v 142 ; discountenances wearing jewellery, v 149 n 1 ; inveighs against tobacco, v 153 n 1 ; Ajmer Chand causes renewal of hostilities, v 154 ; victory of the Sikhs, v 155 ; further instructions to the Sikhs, v 157 ; imperial forces again attack the Guru, v 162 ; siege of Anandpur, v 168 ; the Guru proves the treachery of the hill chiefs, v 178 ; letter from Emperor, v 179 ; desire of the Sikhs for capitulation, v 180 ; safe conduct promised, v 184 ; evacuation of Anandpur, v 185 ; renunciation deeds, v 184 ; march through Kīratpur to Ropar, v 185 ; the Guru proceeds to Chamkaur, v 186 ; and sends members of his family to Dihli, v 186 ; again attacked, v 187 ; appoints five Sikhs to the Guruship, v 189 ;

Gobind Singh (*continued*)—

escapes to Māchhiwāra forest, v 190 ; his mother arrested, v 195 ; death of his mother and sons, v 198 ; his *Zafarnāma*, v 201 ; deputation from Mānjha Sikhs, v 211 ; defeat at Khidrāna, v 213 ; visit to Dalla at Damdama, v 219 ; rejoined by his wives, v 219 ; dictates the Granth Sāhib to Mani Singh, v 223 ; Dalla baptized, v 223 ; the Guru fines himself at Dādūdwāra, v 228 ; consulted by Emperor Bahādur Shāh, v 230 ; visits Dihli and rears a temple to his father, v 230 ; arrival at Āgra, v 232 ; religious discussion with Bahādur Shāh, v 232, 233 ; demands Wazīr Khān's life, v 234 ; travels with Emperor, v 235 ; visits Pūna and proceeds to Nander, v 238 ; gives Banda a mission, v 239 ; Guru's wife sent to Dihli, v 240 ; the Guru attacked with a poniard, v 241 ; wounds reopened, v 242 ; appoints the Granth and the Khālśa his successor, v 244 ; death, v 245 ; compositions, v 260 ; the Guru on God, v 262 ; on penances and austerities, v 270 ; baptismal rites, v 263, 282.

Gobind Singh, Sādhū, author of *Itihās Guru Khālśa*, iv 1 n 1, 204 n 1.

God, man's conception of, Int. lxii ; Moses' conception of, Int. lxvi ; Greek and Sikh do., Int. lxii n, lxiii ; not anthropomorphic, Int. lxiii, lxiv ; as husband, i 6 n 3 ; as Bairāgi, i 141 n 1 ; assayer, i 355 n 2 ; relationship to man, iii 118 ; orders to God, iii 193 n 1 ; man's account with, iii 194 n 2 ; conferrer of blessings, iii 211 n 1 ; uncreated, iii 260 n 1 ; as milk, 318 n 1 ; creation, iv 17 n 2 ; as destroyer, v 77 ; servants of, v 103 n 1 ; dwellings of, v 67 n 2 ; immortal, v



God (*continued*)—

243 ; source of bravery, v 261 n 4, 313 n 1 ; omniscience of, 263 n 1 ; greatness of, v 269 ; infinite, v 305 n 1 ; Author of all acts, v 308 n 1 ; above censure, v 312 n 1 ; universe evolved from, 331 n 1 ; belief in unity of, vi 1 ; source of souls, vi 17 n 2 ; omnipresence, vi 41, 292 n 5 ; iii 83, 120 n 1, 150, 337 n 1 ; iv 15 n 2, 146, 254 n 5, 370 ; v 98 n 1, 233 ; vi 32 n 1, 124.

God of death, *see* Dharmrāj.

Godāvari river, v 236.

Goindwāl, i 107 ; ii 34, 68, 87, 284 ; iv 32.

Golden Temple, iii 3, 9, 10.

Golkanda, v 51 n 1.

Gomti, vi 202 n 2.

Gonābāi, mother of Nāmdev, vi 17.

Gonda, Bhāi, iv 284.

Gong, vi 400 n 1.

'Good people', iii 229 n 2.

Gopāl Chand, cousin of G. Gobind Singh, v 2.

Gopālpur, vi 23.

Gopi Chand, King of Bengāl, i 169 n 3.

Gorakh, or Gorakhnath, i 41 n 2 ; shrine of, i 172 ; ii 140.

Gorakhmata, i 59 n 1 ; iv 50.

Goitrāchār, vi 209 n 7.

Gram, i 68 n 2.

Grandfather's duties, ii 234 n 1.

Granth Sāhib, languages of, Pref. vi, xv ; sanctity of, Pref. xvi ; contents of, Int. li ; G. Gobind Singh, Int. li, lii ; Dharmśāl, i 47 n 2 ; Gurumukhī adopted for, by G. Angad, ii 56 ; Har Mandar built for its reception, iii 9 ; G. Arjan's compilation, iii 59 ; arrangement of hymns, iii 61 ; emperor orders erasure of hymns, iii 91 ; Granth entrusted to Bhāi Budha, iii 66 ; slok sung at opening of, iii 183 n 1 ; Banno's and Bhāi Bidhi Chand's copies, iv 189 ; Granth appropriated by Dhīr Mal, iv 213 ; G. Har Gobind's trial of Rām Rāi and

Granth Sahib (*continued*)—

Har Krishan, iv 311 ; brought to G. Teg Bahādur, iv 334 ; returned to Dhīr Mal, iv 337 n ; Tenth Guru's Granth at Damdama, iv 393 n 1 ; at Rāipur, v 48 n 1 ; G. Gobind Singh on mispronunciation of words, v 106 ; editions of, v 223 n 1.

Grih (Grah), iii 305 n 2.

Guāliar, iv 22 n 1.

Gubernatis, Count A de, Pref. xxvii, xxviii.

Ghudda, Diwāna, v 218.

Gugga, v 158 n 1.

Gūjari, wife of G. Teg Bahādur, iv 331, 344, 348, 357, 364, 379, 386 ; v 5, 195, 199.

Gulāb Rāi, grandson of Sūraj Mal, iv 363 ; v 2, 49, 185, 257.

Gul Bāgh, horse, iv 157, 161, 187.

Gumti, vi 61 n 3.

Gurbaksh Singh Bhāi, or Rām Kaur, Int. lxxvii ; 19 n 1 ; v 1 n 1, 95, 137.

*Gur Bilās*, Pref. xiii ; iv 1 n 1, 168 n 1, 368.

Gur Dās, Bhāi, Int. lxiii, lxxiii, lxxiv, lxxv, lxxxvi ; iii 55, 82, 83 ; on religion before advent of G. Nānak, i 100 n 2, 191 ; on succession of G. Angad, ii 12 ; on accession of G. Rām Dās, ii 149 ; visit to G. Rām Dās, ii 264 ; writes at Arjan's dictation, ii 60, 63 ; appointed to spiritual duties at Har Mandar, iv 13 ; on difficulties of Sikhism, iv 133 ; G. Har Gobind's test, iv 134 ; flight to Banāras, iv 135 ; sent back to Amritsar under arrest, iv 137 ; death, iv 144 ; analysis of Sikh religion, iv 241.

Gurdās, iv 308.

Gurdāspur, i 109 ; vi 39, 40.

Gurditta, son of G. Har Gobind, iv 56 ; his son Dhīr Mal born, iv 129 ; Gurditta adopted by Sri Chand, iv 130 ; founded Kiratpur, iv 140 ; his son Har Rāi born, iv 145 ; battle of Kartārpur, iv 203 ; kills Asmān Khān, iv 210 ; raises cow to life, iv 220 ; death, iv 221.

Gurdwāra, i 47 n 2.  
*Gurmat Prabhākar*, ii 254 n 2.  
*Gurmat Sudhākar*, iii 6 n 1.  
*Gur Tirath Sangrah*, iv 64 n 3, 321 n 1.  
 Guru, meaning of, i 4 n 3; true, iii 251 n 1, 265 n 1, 316 n 2; iv 59 n 1.  
 Gurumukhī, Int. l, lxxxvi, lxxxvii; lives of G. Nānak, Int. lxxiii; Panjābī alphabet, ii 56; iii 50, 82.  
 Gurus, lives of, Pref. xv, xvii; Int. lxxvi, lxxvii; i 1; ii 1, 58, 253; iii 1; iv 1, 275, 315, 331; simplicity of language of, Pref. vi; disciples' love for, iv 261; twenty-two at Bakāla, iv 332.  
 Gurūsar, temple, iv 61, 187; v 207 n 1.  
 Gyāni, Pref. vi, vii, ix, xiii, xiv, xxxiii.  
*Gyān Parbodh*, v 308.  
 Gyān Ratanāwalī, Int. lxxv; i 182 n 3.  
 Gyāndev, vi 27 n 1, 30.  
 Hadīs, iii 19 n 1; vi 386.  
 Haidarābād, Nizām of, v 246 n 1.  
 Hair, i 224 n 1; v 90 n 1, 91, 97, 136, 255, 258 n 1, 300 n 2; vi 209 n 1, 225 n 2.  
 Haiyāt Khān, revolt of, v 20.  
 Hāji, i 166 n 5.  
 Halāku, captor of Baghdād, vi 359 n 2.  
 Hamīd, Khalīfa, vi 376, 377.  
 Handāl of Jandiāla, Int. lxxx, lxxxi; ii 262.  
 Hānsi, vi 366.  
 Hanumān, i 382; iv 158; v 53, 114 n 1; vi 3, 56 n 2, 81 n 1.  
 Haqiqat, i 13 n 2.  
 Hār, month, iv 373.  
 Har, God's name, ii 330 n 1.  
 Harchandauri, mirage, iii 306 n 1.  
 Hardwār, ii 87, 109; iii 26.  
 Hare's flesh, v 152 n 1.  
 Har Gobind, Guru, birth, iii 35; life attempted by Prithi Chand, iii 37, 39, 47; attacked by small-pox, iii 42; recovery, iii 47; education by Bhāi Budha, iii 49; marriage, iii 80; ap-

Har Gobind (*continued*)—  
 pointed successor of G. Arjan, iii 90; adopts a martial style of dress, iv 2; enlists soldiers, iv 4; mode of life, iv 5; correspondence with Chandu, iv 8; message from the Emperor Jahāngīr, iv 11; departure for Dihli, iv 14; saves life of Emperor, iv 18; hostility of Chandu, iv 20; the Guru sent to Guāliar fort, iv 21; visited by Bhāi Budha, iv 24; made surety for Rājas, iv 26; re-visits Emperor, iv 28; punishment of Chandu, iv 30; visited by Empress Nūr Jahān, iv 31; hostility of Mihrbān, iv 36, 37; horse bought for him by Sujān seized by Emperor's order, iv 38; Guru visits Miān Mir, iv 41; protects Kaulan, iv 47; enlists Pathāns, iv 52; miracle of pīpal-tree, iv 53; birth of son Gurditta, iv 56; Har Gobind's return to Amritsar, iv 57; birth of son Atal Rāi, iv 68; son Teg Bahādur born, iv 70; remonstrance of the Sikhs, iv 76; Sikh appropriation of Emperor Shāh Jahān's white hawk, iv 79; preparations for vacating Amritsar, iv 81; takes part in the battle, iv 88; imperial envoy proposes peace, iv 90; Ruhela selected as residence during the rains, iv 101; Guru's interview with Gherar, iv 103; founding of Sri Har Gobindpur, iv 105; expedition of Abdulla Khān, Sūbadār of Jalandhar, against Guru, iv 107; battle of the Biās, iv 108; kills Abdulla Khān, Karam Chand, and Ratan Chand, iv 116; takes a last farewell of Bhāi Budha, iv 125; returns to Amritsar, iv 128; Bāba Atal and Mohan, iv 130; death of Bāba Atal, iv 131; Gur Dās's pride punished, iv 134; arrest of Gur Dās, iv 137; betrothal of Teg Bahādur, iv 138; visits Sādhu and Rūp Chand, iv 150; found-

Har Gobind (*continued*)—

ing of Bhāi Rūpa, iv 151; Bidhi Chand, iv 153, 154; recovers horses, iv 158, 178; battle of Nathāna, iv 181; Guru kills Lala Beg and obtains victory, iv 185, 186; marriage of Teg Bahādūr, iv 189; dismissal of Painsa Khān, iv 193; revenge of the latter, iv 195; battle of Kartārpur, iv 204, 205; death of Painsa Khān, iv 209; tenets of the Sikhs, iv 219; anger against Gurditta, iv 220; visit of Anand Rāi, iv 228; preparations for death, iv 231; contumacy of Dhīr Mal, iv 232; on the celebration of the Holi, iv 235; consecration of Har Rāi, iv 235; G. Har Gobind's death, iv 238; his five sons, iv 275.

Hari, ii 329 n 1.

Hari Chand, father-in-law of G.

Har Gobind, iii 77; iv 50, 146.

Hari Chand, Rāja of Handūr, v 24, 36, 38, 41, 43, 44.

Hari Dās, father of G. Rām Dās, ii 87, 91.

Hari Dās, Governor of Guāliar fort, iv 22, 23, 26.

Harīke, ii 1, 29.

Haripur, Kangra, ii 60.

Harishchandar, son of Trisanku, iii 306 n 1.

Har Krishan, Guru, son of G.

Har Rāi, birth, iv 315, installed as Guru, 314; age on succession, iv 315; Aurangzeb's summons, iv 318; Rāja Jai Singh's embassy, iv 320; Guru's departure for Dihli, iv 320; discussion on the Bhagwat Gīta, iv 321; message to Aurangzeb, iv 322; Guru's power tested, iv 324; seized with fever, iv 325; small-pox developed, iv 327; death and cremation, iv 330.

Har Lāl, Pandit of Banāras, ii 63, 430.

Har Mandar, temple, iii 3, 9, 10, 14; iv 13, 14, 336; v 108 n 1.

Harnākhas, father of Prahlād, ii 160 n 1.

Har Rāi, Guru, son of Gurditta and grandson of G. Har Gobind, born, iv 145; betrothal of, iv 225; tenderness for flowers, iv 227; consecration as Guru, iv 235; mode of life, iv 276; his standing army, iv 277; cure of Emperor's son, iv 279; the poor woman's bread, iv 280; adventure with a python, iv 282; visit of the hill Rājas, iv 287; Bhagat Bhagwān, iv 288; episode of Bhagtu, iv 291; patronizes the Marhāj tribe, iv 293; receives a visit from Kāla and his nephews Sandali and Phūl, prophesies Phūl's greatness, iv 294; Gaura protects Guru's family, miracle of Guru, iv 297; Aurangzeb's ascension, iv 300; Dara Shikoh seeks the Guru's protection, iv 301; the Guru sent for by Aurangzeb, iv 304; Rām Rāi sent instead, iv 307; Har Krishan chosen as the Guru's successor, iv 311 n 1; death of G. Har Rāi, iv 314.

Hasan Abdāl, i 171.

Hastinapur or Dihli, i 169 n 1; vi 28.

Hat used by faqīrs for initiation, iv 188 n 1.

Hath Jog, i 228 n 2; vi 90.

Hāthi Singh, v 254, 256.

Hawk, Emperor Shāh Jahān's, iv 79; parable, v 216.

Hazāra Singh, Bhāi, Pref. xii, xxx.

Hazāre Shabd, v 326.

Heart reversed, vi 222 n 1; lotus in, vi 243 n 1.

Heaven, Kabīr on, vi 139 n; Muhammadan conception of, vi 155 n 4; described by negatives, vi 165.

Hells, seven, v 284 n 1; Kabīr on, vi 139 n 1.

Hem Kunt, golden peak, v 296 n 1.

Hermit, *see* Sanyasis.

Heron, i 46 n 2.

Hide, uses of, vi 317.

Hikāyāt, v 260 n 1.



- Hillock hurled at G. Nānak, i 172.  
 Himāiti Nāla, stream, v 176.  
 Himālayas, i 144 n 1.  
 Himat Singh of Jagannāth, v 92, 185.  
 Hinduism, Sikh reversion to, Pref. xxiii; Int. lvi, lvii; remarkable prophecies, Pref. xviii; under Jahāngīr, Int. xlv; under Aurangzeb, Int. xlv-xlix; Muhammadan rule, Int. xli-xliv, xlix; vitality of, Int. lvii; iii 43, 61, 71, 96 n 1, 202 n 2; iv 272; vi 54 n 1; 90 n 5, 95, 97, 101, 102, 104 n 2, 107 n 1, 118, 119 n 1, 192 n 4.  
 Hindus, four sects of, vi 95.  
 Hingula, goddess, v 286 n 1.  
 Hīra Ghāt, v 239.  
 Hīra Singh, H.H. the Rāja of Nābha, Pref. xxvi.  
 Hoi, goddess of small-pox, vi 295 n 1.  
 Hola Mahalla, Int. lxxxvi n.  
 Holi, Saturnalia, i 65 n 7; iv 233 n 3.  
 Hom, i 28 n 3; iii 204 n 2.  
 Honour, protecting, iii 44 n 3.  
 Horns, blowing of, i 60 n 3.  
 Horse, iv 39, 156, 161, 169, 179, 341; vi 54 n 1, 156.  
 Hour, ambrosial, ii 248 n 1.  
 Hujra, iii 18 n 5; vi 385.  
 Humā, *see* Anal.  
 Human birth, i 335 n 1.  
 Humāyūn, i 110 n 1; ii 19, 20.  
 Hunchback, ii 338 n 2.  
 Husain Shāh, faqīr, ii 137.  
 Husband, God as, i 6 n 3; Indian husband a god to his wife, i 76 n 4.  
 Hymns, of G. Nānak, i 261; of G. Angad, ii 46; of G. Amar Dās, ii 154; of G. Rām Dās, ii 286; of G. Arjan, iii 102; of G. Teg Bahādur, iv 393; of G. Gobind Singh, v 261; of Jaidev, vi 15; of Nāmdev, vi 40; of Trilochan, vi 78; Sadhna, vi 87; Beni, vi 88; Rāmānand, vi 105; Dhanna, vi 109; Pipa, vi 119; Sāin, vi 121; Kabīr, vi 142; Rav Dās, vi 321; Mira Bāi, vi 355;  
 Hymns (*continued*)—  
 Shaikh Farīd, vi 391; Bhīkan, vi 416; Sūr Dās, vi 419.  
 Ibn Batūta, historian, Int. xliii.  
 Ibrahim Lodi, King of Dihli, i 56, 119 n 1.  
 Īd festival, iv 156 n 1, 245 n 6; vi 341 n 4.  
 Idols, i 372; idol defiled by Nāmdev, vi 22; stone, vi 33, 299 n 3; Dhanna's idol worship, vi 106.  
 Idolatry, G. Nānak's deprecation of, i 326, 336, 339; of ignorant Sikhs, iii 6 n 1; Gur Dās's *Kabīr* against, iv 273; at Gaya, iv 347 n 1; G. Gobind Singh on, v 148; Nāmdev on vi 42; Kabīr on, vi 140, 163.  
 Illusion, vi 160 n 1, 281 n 1.  
 Illustrations to this work, Pref. xxvii.  
 Imāms, vi 415.  
 Immolation, self, i 274 n 1.  
 Immortality, fruit of, i 169 n 3.  
 Impurity of birth and death, i 242, 313; of food, i 132; iv 281, 343; of songs, i 371; G. Arjan on, iii 221 n 1; of cooking vessels, &c., vi 129; Rāmānuj's practice, vi 98; of blood, vi 146 n 2; Brahman's ideas, vi 161; Kabīr on, vi 258.  
 Incantations at places of cremation, vi 294 n 4.  
 Incarnations, G. Gobind Singh on, v 94, 274 n 3; belief in, vi 3.  
 Indar, god, i 168 n 1; vi 53 n 3, 56 n 2, 108; Indar's bow, vi 10, 81 n 1.  
 India, Muhammadan conquest of, Int. xli.  
 Indian months and seasons, i 138 n 3; philosophy, six schools of, i 8 n 1; Max Müller's *Indian Philosophy*, i 8 n 1.  
 Infanticide forbidden by Gurus, iii 71 n 2.  
*Inferno*, Dante's, v 241 n 1.  
 Infidels, Kabīr on, vi 162.  
 Initiation, form of, i 47 n 1; hat used in, iv 188 n 1; secret, iv 260 n 3.



- Ink, Indian, i 8 n 2.  
 Inscription on G. Arjan's temple, iii 101.  
 Institutes of Parāsar, i 12 n 1.  
 Instruments, five musical, i 99 n 1; vi 146 n 4.  
 Instruction, ethical, G. Amar Dās's, ii 71.  
 Intoxicants, vi 320.  
 Ira, vi 16 n 2.  
 Irāq horses, iv 57.  
 Isaiah, Int. liv.  
 Ishar (Shiv), i 210 n 3.  
 Islands of the world, seven, vi 341 n 3.  
 Islām forced on Hindus, iv 370.  
 Ismāil, sacrifice of, iv 156 n.  
*Iśrār-i-Itrāt-i-Farīdi*, vi 360 n 1, 375.  
*Itihās Guru Khālsa*; iv 1 n 1, 44 n 2, 48 n, 104 n.  
 Itinerary of Nāmdev, vi 33 n 1.  
 Itineraries of Gurus unsatisfactory, Pref. xxvi.  
 Jagannāth, i 82; vi 9, 30, 97.  
 Jagir, iv 140 n 1.  
 Jahāngir, Emperor, Int. xlv, xlv, xlvi, lvi; iii 84, 88, 90; iv 11, 18, 29, 30, 33, 76.  
 Jaidev, vi 1; his wife, vi 6; composes *Gūgovind*, vi 7; King Satvikra's poem, vi 9; travels, vi 10; his mutilation, vi 11; miraculous restoration of hands, vi 13; his wife's devotion and the queen's plot, vi 14; hymns, vi 15.  
 Jains, i 151 n 1, 152, 280 n 3, 372 n 1; v 316 n 1; vi 97 n 1.  
 Jaipur, Rāja of, v 232; vi 10.  
 Jai Rām, brother-in-law of G. Nānak, Int. lxx; i 18, 29, 32.  
 Jai Singh, Rāja, iv 299, 318, 322, 325.  
 Jait Pirāna, iv 292.  
 Jaitsari ki Wār, iii 370.  
 Jalandhar city, ii 66.  
 Jalandhar, destroyer of gods, v 78 n 2.  
 Jalandhar Doāb, ii 66; iii 26.  
 Jāl-tree, i 19 n 2; v 208; vi 367.  
 Jam, god of death, i 201 n 4.  
 Jamila Khatūn, a wife of Shaikh Farīd, vi 382.  
 Jamna, i 144 n 1; iv 14, 25; vi 198 n 4.  
 Janameja, i 169 n 1.  
 Janamsākhis, Pref. xv, xxvi; Int. lxxviii, lxxx - lxxxii, lxxxiv, lxxxvi, lxxxvii; i 10, 242 n 3.  
 Jand, iii 59.  
 Jandiāla, ii 262.  
 Jandiāna, v 223.  
 Janeu, sacrificial thread, i 16, 238; iv 219, 371; v 98, 191.  
 Jangams, i 133 n 2, 151.  
 Japji, i 195 n 1; v 94 n 1.  
 Jāpji, Int. lii; v 94 n 1, 261 n 1.  
 Jāti Mal, warrior, iv 92, 96, 108, 185, 203, 204, 212, 230.  
 Jatis, i 93 n 1.  
 Jatpura, Guru at, v 194.  
*Jawāhir-i-Farīdi*, vi 358 n 1, 360 n 1, 365.  
 Jawālamukhi, sacred volcano, ii 1 n 1.  
 Jaziya, tax on infidels, ii 108 n 1.  
 Jehovah, i 9 n 2.  
 Jetha, *see* Rām Dās, Guru.  
 Jetha, Bhāi, G. Har Gobind's captain, iv 4, 12, 24, 30, 32, 35, 137, 181, 183, 185.  
 Jewels, iii 204 n 2.  
 Jewellery, worn by men, v 149 n 1.  
 Jhabāl, iv 85.  
 Jhāli, queen of Chitaur, vi 141, 318.  
 Jihlam, iii 85; iv 76.  
 Jin, v 119 n 1.  
 Jind, genealogy of Rājas of, iv 294.  
 Jīt Mal, cousin of G. Gobind Singh, v 2, 43, 45, 46.  
 Jīto, wife of G. Gobind Singh, v 2, 55 n 1, 59, 60, 95 n 1, 151.  
 Jivātama, soul, Int. lxviii; vi 17 n 1.  
 Jodh, Rāi, iv 153, 172, 181, 189, 198, 190.  
 Jodhpur, Rāja of, Int. xlviii; v 232.  
 Jog, i 10 n 1, 53 n 2, 54 n 6, 228 n 2, 352 n 1; iii 55 n 1, 176 n 1; vi 16 n 2, 194 n 7, 232 n 4; accessories of, ii 16.

- Jogis, i 10 n 1, 54 n 7, 60 n 3, 84 n 1, 99 n 1, 157 n 1, 162, 225 n 2, 274 n 2, 294, 350 n 2 and 3, 378 n 1 and 2; ii 16, 72 n 1; iii 94, 402 n 2 and 10; iv 50, 54, 261; vi 199 n 3; 243 n 5, 255, 262 n 1 and 4.
- Joga Singh, v 138.
- Jojan, vi 37 n 1.
- Jones's, Sir William, translation of *Gīt Govind*, vi 7 n 1.
- Jot Bikās*, v 79.
- Jug, *see* Ages.
- Jugāwali*, G. Nānak's poem, i 93.
- Jujhār Singh, v 59, 60, 184, 195, 198.
- Jūnāgarh, vi 33.
- K's, the five, v 95.
- Kaaba, Makka temple, i 38 n 6, 175.
- Kabīr Bhagat, i 61; iii 332; v 113, 310 n 1; authorities for life of, vi 122 n 3; his commandments, 125; trouble with Brāhmans, 130; cures Emperor, 132; charges against him, vi 132; his persecution, vi 132, 133; fictitious banquet by, vi 134; meets Brāhmans, vi 136; death at Magahar, vi 138; quarrel about his corpse, vi 139; his resurrection, vi 140; his hymns, vi 142; acrostic, vi 181; lunar days, vi 190; week days, vi 193; against parda, vi 213; sloks, 278.
- Kabirpanthis, vi 141.
- Kabīr*, Gur Dās's, Int. lxxiii, lxxv lxxix; iii 54 n 2.
- Kabul, i 122; vi 359.
- Kachh, v 95, 147 n 1.
- Kafni, coat of faqīr, vi 401 n 3.
- Kahlūr, Rāja of, iv 338.
- Kāhn Singh, Sardār of Nabha, Pref. xxix; ii 254 n 2; iii 6 n 1.
- Kailās, vi 268 n 2, 341 n 2.
- Kaithal family, ii 272 n 1; iv 343 n 1.
- Kal age, i 147, 235; ii 312; iv 214.
- Kal bard, ii 56.
- Kāla and Karam Chand, iv 272.
- Kalaptaru, tree, growing in heaven, iii 204 n 1.
- Kāle Khān, iv 198, 207, 212; v 20, 30, 33.
- Kalha, v 193, 200.
- Kaliāna, Bhāi, iii 3, 4, 7.
- Kaljug, i 78 n 1; ii 16.
- Kallar, i 73 n 2.
- Kalpa, vi 61 n 1.
- Kalsahār, bard, ii 56.
- Kālu, father of G. Nānak, Int. lxx, lxxii; i 1, 19, 20, 23, 30, 97, 101, 135.
- Kalyāna, iv 107, 110.
- Kām, god of love, i 198 n 5.
- Kāmakhsha, goddess, iv 354.
- Kāmdhenu, iii 148, 204 n 1.
- Kāmrūp, i 73 n 1; iv 348, 351 n 1, 354, 356.
- Kanaiya, water-carrier, v 173.
- Kanhaiya Misal, v 216 n 1.
- Kans, Rāja, i 57, 305 n 4; vi 41 n 1, 56 n 1.
- Kāntimati, mother of Rāmānuj, vi 94.
- Kapālmochan, vi 81 n 1.
- Kāparis, i 280 n 1; vi 217.
- Kapila, sage, i 89 n 2; ii 262 n 1; vi 105.
- Kapūra, v 208, 225.
- Kār, Hindu sacred lines, i 225 n 1.
- Karāh Parshād, i 182 n 2; recipe for, v 114.
- Karīr tree, ii 42.
- Karma, or acts, Int. lxvi; i 6, n 2, 208 n 4; manmukh, i 137.
- Karm Bhūmi, iii 132 n 1.
- Karm Chand, son of Chandu, iv 106, 111, 113.
- Karm Chand of the Marhāj tribe, iv 292.
- Karmo, wife of Prithi Chand, iii 29, 33, 36, 39, 41.
- Karor, one hundred lākhs, ii 192 n 2.
- Kartārpur, Int. lxxiv; i 132, 136, 180; ii 2, 9; iii 26; iv 52, 151, 231, 232.
- Kasār, pudding, vi 203 n 1.
- Kāshi, *see* Banāras.
- Kāshmīr, i 163, iii 66; Aurangzeb's attempts to convert, iv 369 n 1.
- Kasyapa, i 168 n 2; vi 81 n 1.

- Kasūr, ii 75.  
 Kattu Shāh, iv 63.  
 Kaul, v 225.  
 Kaulan, Qāzi's daughter, iv 43  
     n 1, 45, 48, 49 n 1, 96.  
 Kaulsar, iv 48.  
 Kaura Mal, i 2.  
 Kauravs, i 168 n 6.  
 Kauri, vi 55 n 1.  
 Kedār-nāth, place of pilgrimage,  
     ii 262 n 2.  
 Kesri Chand, Rāja of Jaswān, v  
     27, 51, 128, 135.  
 Kesgarh, v 97, 171.  
 Kesho, Pandit, v 62, 65.  
 Khadūr, i 182; ii 1, 7, 11.  
 Khālis, v 317 n 1.  
 Khālsa, Pref. xi, xiv, xviii, xix;  
     iii 10; v 93, 95 n 1, 96 n 1, 97,  
     99, 128, 147, 155, 156, 157, 223,  
     239, 242, 244, 250.  
 Khālsa Tract Society, iv 359 n 1.  
 Khatris, i 106, 381; ii 30; v 94,  
     98.  
 Kheda Brāhman, ii 133.  
 Khem Singh, Sir Bāba, Pref. xii.  
 Khes, shawl, v 215.  
 Khichari, vi 307 n 2.  
 Khidrāna or Muktsar, v 210, 213,  
     214.  
 Khīr, vi 42 n 2.  
 Khīvi, wife of G. Angad, ii 1.  
 Khizr, i 147 n 1.  
 Khudā, i 113 n 2; iii 388 n 1;  
     v 234.  
*Khulāsat-ul-Tawārīkh*, i 157 n 2;  
     iv 64; vi 363 n 1; 370 n 1,  
     384 n 1, 391 n 1.  
 Khuram, Prince, iv 36.  
 Khusro, son of Jahāngīr, Int.  
     xliv, xlv; iii 84, 85.  
 Kiāra Sāhib, i 15.  
 Kikar-tree, i 158 n 5; ii 9.  
 Kinars, iii 229 n 2.  
 Kind Beg, iv 11, 34.  
 Kine not eaten by Hindus, i 39  
     n 2.  
 Kinguri, musical instrument, i  
     274 n 2.  
 Kīratpur, founding of, iv 140,  
     232, 266.  
 Kiriya, i 65 n 4.  
 Kitchen, establishment of Sikh,  
     iv 285; v 313 n 2.  
 Kitchener, Lord, Pref. xxix.  
 Knowledge, G. Gobind Singh on,  
     v 113.  
 Kokil, i 139 n 2; vi 48 n 3.  
 Kolād, or Koilāth, vi 30.  
 Kos, vi 37 n 1.  
 Kotwāl, vi 241 n 2.  
 Kripāl, Udāsi mahant, v 34, 39  
     n 1, 193.  
 Kripāl, Rāja, v 12, 51, 58.  
 Kripal Chand, iv 352, 358, 366,  
     367; v 2, 5, 32, 37.  
 Krishan, birth of, i 57 n 1; his  
     accomplishments, i 166 n 1;  
     168 n 7; visits Bidur, ii 331  
     n 1; cures hunchback, ii 338  
     n 2; colour of, i 213 n 2, 215  
     n 3; ii 93; v 330 n 1; vi  
     53 n 2; dances, iii 4, 401 n 2,  
     414 n 2; iv 255; sports, v 22;  
     incarnation, v 320 n 2 and 3;  
     Pundarik, vi 23; Dwāraka, vi  
     30, 32 n 1, 41 n 1; nurse, vi  
     56 n 1; family, vi 81 n 1;  
     Kabīr on, 124 n 1; yellow-  
     robed, vi 202 n 3; patronizes  
     Bālmik, 339 n 1; Parmanand,  
     vi 82; temple of, at Mailkot,  
     vi 97; Valmik, vi 104.  
 Krishan Avatār, v 310 n 4.  
 Krishanlila, play, i 57.  
 Krishan Kaur, wife of G. Har  
     Rāi, iv 325, 329.  
 Kshatri, militant caste, i 16 n 1;  
     vi 104 n 2.  
 Kuchajji, i 74.  
 Kukah, i 142 n 1.  
 Kumbhak, iii 176 n 1.  
 Kurkhetar, Int. lxxiv; i 47 n 3;  
     iv 343.  
 Kurm, v 27 n 1.  
 Kurmavatār, i 151 n 4.  
 Kushā, sacred gross, i 142 n 1.  
 Kuwar, bard, v 59.  
 Labāna, rescuer of G. Teg  
     Bahādur's body, iv 388.  
 Ladha, Bhāi, intercedes for Bal-  
     wand and Satta, ii 23.  
 Lahina, *see* Angad, Guru.  
 Lahore, Int. lxix, lxxvi, lxxviii,  
     lxxxv, lxxxvi; i 129, 145 n 1;  
     well at, ii 258; G. Arjan's  
     visit to, iii 27, 90, 101; temple  
     built by G. Har Gobind, iv  
     35.

- Lākh, one hundred thousand, i 5 n 1.
- Lakhmi Dās, G. Nānak's son, i 29; ii 4, 6, 9, 11.
- Lakshman, brother of Rām Chandar, vi 81 n 1.
- Lakshman Sen, King of Bengal, vi 5.
- Lakshmi, wife of Vishnu, i 151 n 3; goddess of wealth, i 198 n 5; iii 94 n 1; vi 95, 100.
- Lala Beg, Shāh Jahān's commander, iv 179, 184, 185.
- Lāl Beg, v 152 n 1.
- Lāl Chand, father-in-law of G. Teg Bahādur, iv 138.
- Lāl Chand, confectioner, v 42.
- Lāl Chand, son of Bīdhi Chand, iv 225, 226.
- Lālo, Bhāi, carpenter, i 43, 109; ii 13.
- Lālo, Bhāi, banker's son, ii 66, 81.
- Lālu, headman of Khadūr, ii 44.
- Lālu, uncle of G. Nānak, i 26.
- Lampblack used as collyrium, vi 396 n 1.
- Land revenue, system of collecting, i 18 n 2.
- Langāha, captain in army of G. Har Gobind, iv 4, 35, 65.
- Langar khāna, G. Arjan's, i 253 n 2.
- Languages and dialects used in Granth, Pref. v, vi, xv, xxv, xxxi, xxxii, xxxiii; forbidden, i 12 n 1.
- Lanka, i 168 n 5; vi 11.
- Lāwān, Sikh marriage ceremonial, ii 334 n 1.
- Lentils, vi 372.
- Leper of Dukhbhanjani, ii 267; guise assumed by Vishoba, vi 21.
- Letter, torn, i 115 n 1; of God's name, vi 38 n 1, 157 n 3; vi 189 n 1; thirty-four, vi 330 n 1.
- Libations, Hindu, to ancestors, i 50, 129 n 1.
- Life, four states of, i 309 n 1; unequal conditions of, i 289; four sources of, i 4 n 4; as night, iii 324 n 1; transitory, v 220.
- Līla Rām Diwān, Pref. xxx.
- Lime, vi 286 n 6.
- Ling, vi 52 n 4.
- Lingam, v 69 n 1; vi 21, 69 n 2.
- Literature, sacred, i 12 n 1, 205 n 2; G. Gobind Singh's translations of Hindu, v 83.
- Lodi, Pathān dynasty, i 119 n 2.
- Lohgarh, iv 57, 82; v 129.
- Loi, Kabīr's wife, vi 207 n 6, 214.
- Lotus, of wisdom, i 21 n 4, 265 n 2; birth of Brahma, i 300 n 1; petals, iii 361 n 1; 439 n 1; v 194 n 5, 232 n 1, 273 n 3, 332 n 2; in heart, vi 243 n 1.
- Love, primal, i 369 n 1.
- Loyalty, of Sikhs, Pref. xix; enjoined on Sikhs, v. 31, 96 n 1; iv 265.
- Ludhiana, iv 4 n 1; *Panjābi Dictionary*, vi 111 n 2.
- Lunar month, ii 112 n 1; days, vi 190.
- Machindar, Goraknāth's father, i 166 n 3.
- Machonochie, Mr. A. F., vi 17 n 4.
- Madan Mohan, vi 417.
- Mādhava Nal Sangit*, iii 65.
- Mādho, sent to Kāshmīr, iii 67.
- Madhūkari, vi 301 n 3.
- Madhusūdan, God, i 7 n 2.
- Madina, i 179.
- Madīras, i 75 n 2.
- Madrās, or Dravidian country, i 147.
- Magahar, vi 137, 215 n 2.
- Mahābhārat*, Sanskrit Epic, i 57 n 1, 144 n 1, 168 n 6, 169 n 1, 269 n 2; iii 54 n 1; vi 86.
- Mahādev, G. Rām Dās's son, ii 93, 277; iii 2, 48, 49.
- Mahalla, Int. li; v 62 n 1.
- Mahān Singh at Muktsar, v 214.
- Mahar Mitha, Rāi of Kāngar, iv 153.
- Mahārāshtr, vi 24 n 1.
- Mahīpati, author of *Bhakta Līlāmrita*, vi 2, 4.
- Māhri Chand, G. Gobind Singh's cousin, v 2, 37.
- Mahtāb Singh, v 260 n 1.
- Mahūrat, i 144 n 4.
- Māi Dās, Bairāgi, ii 93.



- Maimūn Khān, v 163.  
 Māipotre, ii 79.  
 Māj̄h ki Wār, i 152 n 2.  
 Majnūn's hillock, iv 14, 28.  
 Makhan Shāh, iv 333.  
 Makka, i 38 n 6, 174, 175; vi 258.  
 Malār ki Wār, i 105 n 1.  
 Malay tree, i 82 n 1.  
 Malechh, i 204 n 2, 239.  
 Maler Kotla, Nawāb of, v 197, 200.  
 Maliāgar Singh, v 208.  
 Malik Bhāgo, i 43.  
 Malu Bhāi, ii 78.  
 Malūk Dās, iv 343.  
 Malu Shāh, soldier advised by Guru Angad, ii 18.  
 Mālwa, iv 4 n 1, 174 n 2; battle of, iv 181; Sikhs from, v 182 n 1.  
 Man, ten stages of, i 279; composition of, i 273 n 1.  
 Man, weight, iv 66 n 1; vi 38, 295 n 2.  
 Māna, G. Angad's servant, ii 20.  
 Mānak Chand, ii 95, 274.  
 Mānak Chand, G. Nānak's great grandson, iv 127.  
 Mandara, Olympus, i 151 n 3.  
 Mandi, Rāja of, iii 4, 7.  
 Manes, i 50, 65 n 5; iii 70; vi 54 n 2, 119 n 1, 163 n 2, 388.  
 Māngat, iii 66.  
 Mango, i 74 n 2; vi 48 n 3, 247 n 2.  
 Mani Singh, Bhāi, Int. lxxiv, lxxv, lxxvi, lxxix, lxxxiv, lxxxvi; iv 1 n 1; v 223 n 1, 226, 241, 260 n 1.  
 Manj, Bhāi, iii 7.  
 Mānjha country, G. Arjan's tour through, iii 20; iv 4, 102; v 211.  
 Mānjis, ii 151 n 1.  
 Manmukh Karm, perverse acts, i 137.  
 Manohar Dās, G. Amar Dās's great grandson, iv 222.  
 Mansa Devi, wife of Guru Amar Dās, ii 30, 91.  
 Mānsarowar, sacred lake in Tibet, i 357 n 1; ii 18, 267; vi 268 n 1.  
 Mān Singh, v 187, 189, 216, 235.  
 Mān Singh, Rāja of Jaipur, iv 350; vi 2.  
 Mansions, lunar, iii 228 n 2.  
 Mansūr, Husain, Sūfi, iv 44 n 1.  
 Manu, law-giver, i 89 n 2.  
 Manuscripts, destruction of Sikh, Int. lxxxiii.  
 Mardāna, minstrel, Int. lxxxvii; i 33, 44, 52, 58, 59, 65, 78, 94, 172, 181.  
 Marhāj, iv 179.  
 Marhi, i 60 n 4.  
 Mārkaṇḍ, vi 47 n 1.  
 Mārkaṇḍeya Purān, v 61 n 2, 289 n 1.  
 Marks, sacrificial, vi 99, 125.  
 Marriage, i 342; iii 71 n 2, 350; v 24 n 1, 110, 232, 266 n 1; vi 166 n 6, 178 n 2, 209 n 3, 5, and 6, 378.  
 Mārū ki Wār, ii 229 n, 235; iii 443 n 3.  
 Marwāhi, or Mahādevi, iv 65, 67.  
 Mārwar, vi 30.  
 Masands, agents or collectors, ii 271; iii 10; iv 3, 364; v 23, 84, 86, 106.  
 Māsha, i 63 n 6, 158 n 1.  
 Masnad-i-Ali, nobles, ii 271.  
 Massa Rānghar, defiler of Har Mandar, v 260 n 1.  
 Matchmakers, Hindu, iii 71 n 1.  
 Mathura, bard, ii 285.  
 Mathura, Int. xlvii; iii 72; iv 304; v 256; vi 30, 140.  
 Mati Dās, martyr, iv 373, 381, 382.  
 Matta di Sarāi, ii 1.  
 Maula, i 265 n 3.  
 Māya, i 4 n 2, 167 n 2; iii 139, 277 n 1 and 2, 299; iv 144; vi 41, 48 n 1, 49, 181 n 1, 197, 210 n 1, 236 n 1 and 2, 263, 281 n 1 and 5.  
 Mazhabi Regiments, v 99.  
 Measures, Indian musical, i 3 n 1.  
 Meat forbidden to Vaishnavs, vi 89 n 2.  
 Medani Parkāsh, Rāja of Nāhan, v 15.  
 Merchant, God as wholesale, i 60 n 1.  
 Meru, rosary bead, i 151 n 3, 235 n 1; ii 59.  
 Metals, eight, i 273 n 1.  
 Metastasio, i 175 n 1.  
 Miān, title of respect, i 117 n 2.

- Miān Khān, Viceroy of Jammu, v 51.  
 Miān Mir, vision of, iii 94; iv 40, 43, 301.  
 Miān Mitha, priest, i 123, 128.  
 Mihān, devotion of, iv, 342.  
 Mihrbān, son of Prithi Chand, iii 28, 41, 89; iv 36.  
 Milk, iii 318 n 1; v 300 n 2; vi 146 n 2.  
 Milkmaids, vi 10, 219.  
 Mill, J. S., *Utility of Religion*, Int. lxix.  
 Milton's idea of God similar to Sikh, Int. lxxviii.  
 Mimes at Guru's court, v 86.  
 Mina, villain, ii 284 n 2.  
 Mines, i 4 n 5.  
 Mir, Lord, i 117 n 3.  
 Mira Bāi, vi 342.  
 Miracle plays, i 223 n 2; v 297 n 2.  
 Mirage, iii 306 n 1.  
 Mirdang, iv 244 n 1; v 287 n 1.  
 Miriam, mother of Shaikh Farīd, vi 360.  
 Mīr Jumla, iv 350.  
 Misals, Sikh, v 216 n 1.  
 Mispronunciation of Granth, G. Gobind Singh on, v 106.  
 Missars, i 353 n 1.  
 Mithankot, i 123.  
 Mohan, son of G. Amar Dās, ii 30, 74, 148.  
 Mohan, Gurumukh's son, iv 130.  
 Mohri, son of G. Amar Dās, ii 30, 74, 81, 91, 148, 150; iii 1.  
 Mokāl, Rāja of Farīdkot, vi 381.  
 Mokāl hār, vi 381.  
 Mokhsh, salvation, iii 121 n 1.  
 Molasses, vi 154 n 5.  
 Molesworth, *Marathi Dictionary*, vi 23 n 1.  
 Money, Indian, i 12 n 3, 16 n 2, 25 n 5, 45 n 1, 223 n 4; ii 114 n 1; iii 83 n 2; iv 19 n 1.  
 Monier Williams, *Brāhmanism and Hinduism*, vi 100 n 1.  
 Monis, vi 218 n 3.  
 Monkeys, trapping of, vi 172 n 3.  
 Monogamy, G. Nānak on, i 100 n 2; v 110.  
 Monotheism, Sikh, Pref. xix; Int. xxxix, lviii, lx, lxi; Gobind Singh on, v 328 n 1; vi 1, 27, 102.  
 Months and seasons, i 138 n 3, 371 n 1; lunar, ii 112; iii 124.  
 Moon, Hindu worship of, iii 420; supposed sections of, vi 193 n 1.  
 Moore, poet, vi 10 n 1.  
 Mosaic system, Int. lvii, lxvi; i 89 n 2.  
 Muazzim, or Bahādur Shāh, v 59.  
 Muazzin, i 345 n 1.  
 Mubārik Khilji, King of Dihli, vi 390.  
 Muftīs, i 40 n 2.  
 Mughals, i 110 n 1.  
 Muhakam Singh, v 92, 135, 140, 185.  
 Muhammad, Prophet, vi 363, 385.  
 Muhammad Āzim, Int. xlviii.  
 Muhammad bin Tughlak, Emperor, Int. xliii; vi 28.  
 Muhammadan conquest of India, Int. xli; of Turkey, Greece, and Otranto, Int. xl; literature, i 12 n 1; sects, i 192 n 1; books, i 207 n 2.  
 Muhar, coin, iii 83 n 2.  
 Muharrim, ceremonies at, vi 384, 388.  
 Muhsan Fāni, historian, iv 212.  
 Mukālāwa, vi 166 n 6.  
 Mukhlis Khān, general of Shāh Jahān, iv 81, 92.  
*Muktnāma*, v 116.  
 Muktsar, v 210, 213, 214.  
 Mūla, Karār, i 122.  
 Mulla, i 36, 41, 374 n 1.  
 Müller, Max, Pref. xi, xiv; his *Indian Philosophy*, i 8 n 1.  
 Mūlowāl, Guru's well, iv 339.  
 Multān, town, i 180; ii 160 n 1; vi 362, 363, 367.  
 Mundāwani, ii 221 n 1; iii 64.  
 Munīs, i 210 n 1; ii 16.  
 Muqaddami, i 84 n 2.  
 Murād Baksh, son of Shāh Jahān, iv 277, 298, 300.  
 Musalmāns, instructions to, iii 18.  
 Music, Pref. xxvi; i 3, 99 n 1, 274 n 2; v 106, 333.  
 Mutasadis, clerks, iv 336 n 1.  
 Muzang, Lahore, iv 35.

Mythology, Hindu, vi 81 n 1, 56 n 2, 87 n 2, 104.

Nābha, Rāja of, Pref. xxvi, xxvii, xxx; iv 4 n 1; Rāja's temple, iv 187; descent of Rāja, iv 294; Guru's sword, v 46, 313 n 2; vi 386 n 1.

Nābhaji, author, vi 2, 95, 344, 348.

Nāch, dance, vi 211 n 2.

Nāgīna Ghat, v 239.

Nāgnāth, temple at, vi 20, 23.

Nāhan, Rāja of, v 47.

Naina Devi, iv 368; v 67.

Nāmdev, Bhagat, Int. xliii; ii 332; iii 332; vi 17 n 4; his birth, vi 18; betrothal, vi 18; his mother's complaint, vi 19; his offering to idol refused, vi 19; becomes dakait, vi 20; becomes disciple of Vishoba, vi 21; his repentance, vi 22; advised in a vision to go to Pandharpur, vi 23; God rebuilds his roof, vi 24; visited by Janābāi, vi 25; his devotion tested, vi 25; his wife and the philosopher's stone, vi 26; visit from Gyandev, vi 27; they make preparations for a tour through India, vi 27; visits Dihli, vi 28; Nāmdev persecuted by Emperor, vi 28; miracle of reanimated cow, vi 28 n 1; visits Banāras, Priyāg, Gaya, Ajudhia, Mathura, Gokal, Bindrāban, Dwāraka, Mārwar, and Kolād, vi 30; the well at Kolād, vi 30; visits Rameshwar, Paithan, Deogīri, Nāsik, and Jūnāgarh, vi 31-2; miracle at Audhiya Nāgnāth, vi 31; death and burial, vi 34; version of Nāmdev's life in *Bhagat Māl*, vi 36; Nāmdev said to be son of Bāmdev's daughter by immaculate conception, vi 36; haunted well, vi 37; the banker's gold, vi 37; alleged visit to Bhattewāl and Ghuman, where said to be cremated vi 39.

*Nāmdev Gāthā*, vi 21.

Name, i 9 n 1; of gods, i 138, 348 n 2; iii 56, 279 n 2, 412 n 1; selection of, vi 123.

Nānak, Guru, contemporaries of, Int. xl, lxxiii; rulers in time of, Int. xlv; doctrines, Int. l, lxi; birthplace, Int. lxx; Bidhi Chand's life of, Int. lxxxix; Natal month, Int. lxxxiv; first nine Gurus' *nom-de-guerre*, Int. li; birth of, i 1; education, i 2; his Hindi acrostic, i 3; Persian acrostic, i 12; Kiāra Sāhib, i 15; marriage, i 18; two sons, Sri Chand and Lakhmi Dās, i 29; goes to Sultānpur, i 32; becomes accountant in Sultānpur, i 33; begins his mission, i 37; visit to Saiyidpur, i 43; miracle at Malik Bhāgo's, i 44; cooks a deer at Kurkhetar, i 47; pretends to irrigate his field at Kartārpur, i 50; journey to Bindrāban and Gorakhmata, i 57, 59; discourse with Sidhs, i 59; with Chatur Dās Pandit, i 61; visit to Gaya, i 64; parable of the shopkeepers, i 68; meets with Nurshāh, i 73; tempted by Satan, i 78; returns to Talwandi, i 95; heals a leper, i 107; imprisoned by Emperor Bābar, i 111; release, i 121; converts Duni Chand, i 129; his *Twelve Months*, i 138; meeting with Bhāi Budha, i 133-4; visits Ceylon, i 154; Mount Sumer, where he again meets Sidhs, i 170; travels to Makka, i 174; miracle at Makka, i 175; visits Baghdād, i 179; Lahina (Angad) becomes his disciple, i 183; ii 2, 4; devotion of Sikhs tested, i 183; ii 6; his successor Angad appointed, i 187; ii 9; death, i 190; state of religion before his advent, i 191; Japji, i 195; Rahirās, i 250; Sohila, i 259; Asa ki Wār, i 218; defence of women, i 244 n 2; satire on Hindi sects, i 355; moral commandments, i 372; instructions at



Nāmdev (*continued*)—

- Baisākhi Fair, i 367; daily practice of, ii 5; meeting with Budhan Shāh, iv 140.  
 Nānakamata (Pilibhīt), i 59 n 1; iv 50, 52, 54.  
 Nānaki, sister of G. Nānak, Int. lxx; i 18.  
 Nānaki, wife of G. Har Gobind, iii 77; iv 50, 67, 68, 70, 223, 331, 361, 364.  
 Nānak *Parkāsh*, Int. lxxvi, lxxviii, lxxxiv.  
 Nand Chand, v 2, 5, 12, 24, 29, 36, 41, 44, 56, 87, 89.  
 Nander, v 220, 236, 238.  
 Nand Lal, Bhāi, v 79 n 1, 102, 104 n 2.  
 Nankāna (Talwandi), Int. lxxii, lxxxv; i 2, 18.  
 Nārād, son of Brāhma, i 215 n 3; vi 218 n 4.  
 Narain Dās, iii 76.  
 Narāyan, ii 339 n 1; v 233, 273 n 2.  
 Narbada, river, vi 136.  
 Narsi Bāmani, temple at, vi 18.  
 Narsinh, iii 415.  
 Nasihat Nama, i 128.  
 Nasir-ul-Din, Emperor, vi 373 n 1.  
 Nāth, superior of Jogis, i 165 n 4.  
 Nauhar, v 226, 227.  
 Nau Nidhi, i 150 n 2.  
 Necklace of sweet basil, i 61 n 4; vi 93 n 2; of eleocarpus berries, vi 93 n 2.  
 Nectar, of the Name, ii 53 n 3, 121 n 1; tank of, ii 267; baptismal water, v 95 n 1; five nectars enumerated, vi 156 n 5.  
 Nicholson, General Sir John, Pref. xviii.  
 Nigura, vi 126.  
 Nihāli, ii 12.  
 Nihangs, iii 110 n 3.  
 Nijābat Khān, officer, v 20, 31, 40, 42, 43.  
 Nilgāus, v 305 n 2.  
 Nim, vi 247 n 1.  
 Nima, Kabir's foster mother, vi 123.  
 Nirankār, God, Sikh conception of, Int. lxiii.

- Nirgun sargun, iii 117 n 2.  
 Nirjala Ikādashi, or Nimāni, iv 66.  
 Nirmoh, v 138.  
 Niru, Kabir's foster father, vi 123, 341 n 4.  
 Nirvān, Int. lxiv, lxv; exemplification of, Int. lxv; vi 17 n 1.  
 Niwali, Jog feat, i 378 n 1.  
 Noises in head, i 74 n 5; iii 402 n 2.  
*Nom-de-guerre*, Guru's, Int. li; ii 13 n 1; of poets, i 9 n 3.  
 Nūr Jahān, Empress, Int. xlv, xlv; iv 31.  
 Nūrshāh, queen of Kām rūp, i 73.  
 O, symbol of God, i 64 n 2.  
 Oam, vi 16 n 2, 243 n 1.  
 Oamkār, Rāmkali, i 63.  
 Oath, v 202.  
 Obsequies, ii 150, 153 n 1; Sikh, iv 2.  
 Observances, Sikh, religious and secular, iv 252.  
 Ocean, world compared to, i 6 n 1; of fire, i 63 n 3; terrible, ii 186; vi 143 n 4; God's ship, vi 172 n 2; vi 285 n 5.  
 Offerings, burnt, i 28 n 3; thirteen Hindu, to manes of ancestors, iv 250 n 4.  
 Oil Press, Indian, i 125 n 2.  
 Omens, futility of, iv 249; vi 176 n 2.  
 Omnipresence of God, i 265.  
 Ontology, Int. lxviii.  
 Ordinances of Khālsa, v 95, 97.  
 Organs of action and perception, i 159 n 3; 320 n; iii 401 n 3, 4, and 5; vi 149 n 1, 169 n 2.  
 Oriental Congress at Rome, proceedings of Pref. xxvii, xxviii.  
 Ornaments worn by men, v 149 n 1.  
 Ouranos, Int. lviii.  
 Ovid, vi 10 n 1.  
 Oxen, vi 165, 166, 215.  
 Padamāvati, wife of Jaidev, vi 6, 13, 14.  
 Pahar, vi 28 n 1, 400 n 1.  
 Pahoā, place of pilgrimage, ii 109.  
 Pāhul, baptism, Int. lxxvii; iii 71 n 2; v 93, 263.



- Pāi, i 188 n 1.  
 Painda Khān, iv 52, 57, 66, 88, 98, 128, 142, 192, 193, 194, 195, 202, 203, 208, 209.  
 Painda Khān, Muhammadan General, v 124.  
 Pains, classified, vi 73 n 1.  
 Paira, Bhāi, iii 3, 53.  
 Paisa, ii 12; iii 67; iv 329, 385.  
 Pāk Pattan, i 84, 101; vi 366; reason for name, vi 367.  
 Pālki, ii 61; iv 228 n 1.  
 Palma christi plant, vi 325 n 3.  
 Palmyra palm, vi 320 n 3; leaves, vi 320 n 4.  
 Pānch, i 202 n 3.  
 Pānch Amrit, vi 85 n.  
*Pancharātra* of Nārad, i 326 n 1.  
 Pānch Mukti, v 97.  
 Pānch Piyāre, v 96.  
 Pānch Sabd, i 99 n 1.  
 Pandharpur, vi 23, 27, 33.  
 Pandits, i 4 n 1; ii 134; iii 50; vi 189 n 2, 314 n 3.  
 Pānipat, i 52 n 3.  
 Panjāb, land of five rivers, Pref. xxv; capital of, Int. lxix; official language, Pref. xxiv, xxv.  
 Panjābi, importance of language, Pref. xxiv.  
 Panjāb Kaur, wife of Rām Rāi, v 22, 89.  
 Panja Sāhib, i 172.  
 Panjokhara, iv 320.  
 Pantheism, Int. lxii; claims of Vedantists, 103 n 2; vi 27, 99.  
*Panth Parkāsh*, v 1 n 1.  
 Papias on Christian religion, Int. lxxxvii n.  
 Paper, vi 320 n 4.  
 Param hans, explanation of, ii 18.  
 Param Singh, v 226.  
 Parāsar, *Institutes of*, i 12 n 1.  
 Paras Rām, i 168 n 2.  
 Pārbati, consort of Shiv, i 166 n 6; iii 213 n 1; iv 132 n 1; vi 58 n 2, 334 n 2.  
 Parbs, iv 254.  
 Parda, Pīpa attempts to abolish, vi 116.  
 Pargiter, translator of Mārkan-deya Purān, v 61 n 2.  
 Pariah, iii 414 n 1.  
 Parmānand, vi 82, 84 n 1.  
 Parmātama, Supreme Being, Int. lxviii.  
 Pāro, Bhāi, ii 18, 66, 77, 79, 81.  
 Parrot and simmal-tree, vi 66 n 2.  
 Partridge and hawk, parable, v 216.  
 Pasāri, vi 75 n 1.  
 Passions, five evil, i 13 n 1, 54 n 4, 70 n 2, 286 n 1; ii 243; iii 109 n 4, 309 n 1, 328 n 1; vi 89 n 2, 149 n 1, 154 n 2, 185 n 2, 206 n 1, 227 n 1.  
 Patāl, Hindu hell, v 284 n 1.  
 Patālpuri, iv 236.  
*Pantanjali*, *Aphorisms of*, i 10 n 1.  
 Patāsha, sweetmeat, v 95.  
 Pathān soldiers of G. Gobind Singh, v 20, 30, 40.  
 Patiāla, Singh Sabha of, Pref. xxi; iv 4 n 1, 295.  
 Patna, birthplace of G. Gobind Singh, Pref. xii; iv 348, 357; v 305.  
 Patti, *see* Tablets.  
 Paul, St., Int. lxiv, lxviii n., lxxx n.  
 Pāunta, battle of, v 34, 35.  
 Pauri, i 105 n 2, 218 n 1.  
 Pavilion, bridal, vi 209 n 5.  
 Payments of land revenue in kind, vi 251 n 1.  
 Peacock, home of, vi 330 n 2.  
 Penances, Hindu, i 136, 358 n 1; v 272.  
 Pens scattered in Mālwa district, v 223.  
*Periplus of the Erythrean Sea*, v 236.  
 Persian wheel, ii 10 n 1, 252 n 1; language, i 11, 12 n 1.  
 Pheru, Bhāi, iv 276; v 86.  
 Pheru, G. Angad's father, ii 1.  
 Philanthropy, Gur Dās on, iv 256.  
 Philosopher's stone, ii 301, 345; vi 26, 317.  
 Philosophy, systems of Hindu, Int. lix, lx; i 8 n 1.  
 Phūl, ancestor of the Phūlkiān Chiefs, iv 294.  
 Pig as scavenger, vi 300 n 3.  
 Pilgrimages reprobated by Gurus, Pref. xx, xxi, xxiii; Hindu places of, i 144 n 1; ii 79 n 1; futility of, iv 257; iv 398 n 1; of Nāmdev, vi 27.

- Pilgrims, census of Sikh at Har-  
dwār, Pref. xxi n.
- Pilibhīt, i 59.
- Pind, or pinda, i 65 n 2.
- Pīpa, Bhagat, vi 57 n 2, 105, vi 111;  
visit to Rāmānand, vi 112; be-  
comes faqīr, vi 113; pilgrim-  
age to Dwāraka, vi 113; his  
faithful wife Sita, v 113; visit  
to Toda, vi 115; Sūr Sen visits  
him, vi 116; against parda,  
vi 116; secures pardon for a  
cow-killer, vi 118; his hymn,  
vi 119.
- Pīpal-tree, Guru Nānak's, i 59  
n 2; G. Gobind Singh's, v 209.
- Pīr, i 169 n 2; ii 350 n 1; vi  
306 n 3.
- Pītras, manes, vi 54 n 2.
- Planets, seven ancient, iii 305  
n 2; vi 269 n 1.
- Plants used in worship, i 61 n 4,  
155 n 1, 307 n 2.
- Pockets, Hindu substitutes for,  
iii 279 n 3; vi 281 n 6.
- Poetry, nine themes of Oriental,  
v 161 n 1.
- Pollution, Hindu, i 93; of articles  
of worship, vi 327 n 4.
- Polyandry, vi 104 n 1.
- Polygamy of Gurus, reason for,  
iii 77 n 1.
- Pompeii, Lingam in, v 69 n 1.
- Postīn, iv 219.
- Posture, dance, i 305 n 1.
- Pothohār, Int. lxxxvi.
- Poushkin, vi 10 n 1.
- Poverty, Kabīr on, vi 260 n 4.
- Prahlād, saint, ii 114, 160; vi  
67 n 1, 128 n 6, 271 n 2.
- Prākṛit, iii 63, 434 n 1.
- Prānsangali of G. Nānak*, i 156;  
iii 53, 55 n 1.
- Prayers, five Musalmān, i 39 n 5;  
of unborn child, vi 302 n 2.
- Prema, lame Sikh, ii 136.
- Prithi Chand, son of G. Rām  
Dās, ii 92, 279, 281; iii 1, 2, 17,  
20, 28, 36, 39, 41, 46, 48, 81, 85.
- Prithi Chand, Rāja of Dadhwal,  
v 51.
- Prithwi Rāj, Int. xli; vi 359 n 3.
- Priyāg, *see* Allāhābād.
- Prohibitions of Khālsa, v 98.
- Promises, sanctity of, v 204.
- Prophecies, Moslem, iv 196 n;  
of Gurus, iv 381; v 107.
- Psyche, i 6 n 3.
- Pūna, v 236.
- Punnu and Sassi, story of, v 221.
- Pūrak, Jog exercise, iii 176 n 1.
- Purāns, Pref. v; i 28 n 4, 207 n 2;  
iii 402; vi 36, 324 n 1.
- Pūri, G. Nānak's visit to, i 81.
- Purity of Sikh religion, Pref. xii,  
xxiii.
- Pushkar, v 227.
- Qalandar, a Muhammadan an-  
choret, i 58 n 3.
- Qāzi's claim against G. Har  
Gobind, iv 42; complaint to  
Emperor, iv 46.
- Qualities, three, i 89 n 2; ii 47,  
198 n 1; iii 172 n 2; thirty-  
two, iii 278 n 2; vi 17 n 2, 101  
n 6; five forming the garden  
of the world, vi 50 n 1.
- Queen, insane, and G. Amar Dās,  
ii 62.
- Quoit, v 261 n 3.
- Qurān, Int. liii, lxxviii n.; i 39  
n 5, 125 n 1, 178 n 1, 206 n 2;  
selecting name in, vi 123.
- Qutb-ul-Dīn Aibak, Emperor,  
Int. xlii.
- Qutub-ul-Dīn Bakhtiyār Ushi, vi  
359 n 1, 365, 366 n 1, 373.
- Rabāb, or Rebeck, i 33 n 1.
- Rādha, or Rādhika, v 22; vi 8,  
10, 347 n 1.
- Rāfazis, v 277 n 2.
- Raghurāj Sinh, Mahārāja and  
poet, vi 2, 4, 95 n 1, 121 n 1,  
350.
- Rāg Mala, iii 65.
- Rāgs, musical measures, Pref.  
xxvi; i 3 n 1; v 335.
- Rahīm, i 176; iv 370.
- Rahirās, i 250 n 1.
- Rahu, demon, i 283 n 1; iii 305  
n 2.
- Rāi Jodh, iv 180, 186.
- Raipur, Rani of, v 48.
- Rāja Rām of Assam, iv 357; v 4.
- Rajindar Singh, Mahārāja of  
Patiāla, Pref. xxvii.
- Rāj jog, i 228 n 2.
- Rakāb Ganj, iv 389.

- Rām, iv 370 ; letters of name, vi 38 n 1, 157 n 3, 307 n 5.
- Rama, G. Amar Dās's son-in-law, ii 142.
- Rāmānand Bhagat, vi 93.
- Rām Avatār*, translation of, v 67, 310 n 3.
- Rāmānuj, vi 93.
- Rāmānujis, marks of, vi 99.
- Rāmāyan, epic poem, i 269 n 2.
- Rām Chandar, King of Ajudhia, Int. lxxxii ; i 40 n 4, 113 n 1, 168 n 3, 216 n 3, 305 n 2, 382 ; ii 30, 31 n 1 ; iii 50 ; iv 158 ; v 275 n 1, 320 n 3 ; vi 24 n 2, 30, 31, 35, 40 n 2, 52 n 6, 56 n 2, 61 n 5, 81 n 1, 100, 263, 308 n 1.
- Rām Dās (Jetha), Guru, birth, ii 88 ; visit to G. Amar Dās, ii 89 ; becomes his Sikh, ii 89, married to Bibi Bhāni, ii 91 ; his sons Prithi Chand, Mahādev, and Arjan born, ii 92, 93 ; receives necklace from G. Amar Dās, ii 101 ; deputed to Akbar, ii 106 ; expounds faith of Sikhs, ii 107 ; sent to build Santokhsar, ii 141 ; tested by G. Amar Dās, ii 143 ; installed as Guru, ii 146 ; visit of Sri Chand, ii 257 ; tank commenced at Amritsar, ii 258 ; visits Lahore, ii 258 ; Arjan sent to Lahore, ii 277 ; deception of Prithi Chand, ii 279 ; Arjan sent for and appointed the Guru's successor, ii 281 ; Guru Rām Dās's death at Goindwāl, ii 284 ; hymns, ii 286.
- Rāmdāspur (Amritsar), ii 276 n 1.
- Rāmkalī, iii 84 n 1.
- Rāmo, sister of Damodari, iv 51, 55, 151.
- Rām Rāi, son of G. Har Rāi, Int. lii ; iv 307, 309, 310, 311, 312, 315, 316, 338 ; v 17, 18, 20, 22.
- Rāmsar, G. Arjan founds, iii 60.
- Rām Singh, Rāja of Jaipur, iv 348 n 1, 355, 360 ; v 58.
- Ramzān, iii 422 n 1 ; vi 211 n 3, 361, 389.
- Ranbīr Singh, Rāja of Jind, Pref. xxvii.
- Ranjīt, G. Gobind Singh's drum v 6.
- Ranjīt Singh, Mahārāja, Int. lxxxiii, lxxxiv ; iii 25 n 1 ; v 245 n 1, 246 ; vi 39.
- Ranjīt Singh, Sardār of Chicharauli, Pref. xxvii.
- Rankhambh Kala, princess, v 69.
- Rās Mandal, dance, v 22.
- Ratan Chand, iv 105, 111, 113.
- Ratti, i 58 n 1 ; seed or weight, v 246 n 2.
- Rav Dās, Bhagat, ii 332 ; iii 332 ; vi 105, 141, 316, 318, 321.
- Rāvi, river, i 101, 129, 191.
- Rāwan, King of Ceylon, i 305 n 2 ; v 290 n 3 ; vi 3, 24 n 2, 40 n 2, 207 n 3 and 4.
- Real Thing, vi 79 n 2, 402 n 2.
- Reay, Lord, Pref. xxix.
- Rechak, iii 176 n 1.
- Red powder, i 65 n 7, 297 n 1 ; robe, ii 226 n 1 ; jacket, iii 291 n 1 ; colour, iii 319 n 1, 369 n 1 ; lead, vi 178 n 2.
- Regions of earth, nine, i 30 n 1.
- Relics at Nābha, v 224 n 1 ; Shaikh Farid's, vi 363.
- Religions, books of other, Pref. v ; causes for new, Int. lv ; with and without State support, lv ; religious systems, ii 190 ; vi 310.
- Religion of the Hindus*, vi 104 n 3, 140 n 1.
- Religious observances, Sikh, i 83 n 5, 136, 181 ; iv 252.
- Renan, Int. liv.
- Repetition of Name, i 9 n 2, 49, 147 ; vi 40 n 2, 60, 117, 124.
- Reward of good actions, vi 164 n 1.
- Rice, Mr. L., vi 93 n 3.
- Ridh Sidh, v 333 n 1.
- Rikhis, i 207 n 2, 211 n 1 ; ii 109.
- Ripudāman Singh, The Honorable Tikka Sāhib of Nābha, Pref. xxvi.
- Roe, Sir Thomas, English Ambassador, Int. xlv.
- Rome, Oriental Congress at, Pref. xxvii, xxviii.
- Rosaries, i 51, 61 ; iv 28 ; v 310 n 1 ; vi 93 n 2, 389.

- Rossetti on transmigration, Int. lxvii.  
 Ruhela, iv 101.  
 Rūp Chand, Bhāi, iv 149, 150 n 1, 152, 172.  
 Rupee, i 63 n 6; v 233.
- Sachansach, Bhāi, ii 62.  
 Sach Khand, Int. lxiv, lxv, lxxxi; iv 3, 125, 131, 223, 225.  
 Sacrifices, i 28 n 3; vi 89 n 1, 211 n 3, 247, 315 n 2.  
 Sacrificial marks, materials for, Int. lviii, lix; i 58, 135, 163; ii 11, 43; vi 99, 125, 178 n 2, 286 n 6.  
 Sadd, hymn, ii 151; author of, iv 143.  
 Sadhaura, v 239, 247.  
 Sādhik, i 41 n 4; vi 258.  
 Sadhna, Bhagat, iv 265; vi 32, 84, 85, 87 n 2.  
 Sādhu, holy man, iii 55; iv 5.  
 Sādhu, son of Sāda, iv 147, 148, 149, 152, 172.  
 Sādhu, married to Bibi Viro, iv 68, 94, 144.  
 Safflower, i 86 n 1, 176; iii 173 n 1.  
 Sagara, King of Ajudhia, ii 262 n 1.  
 Sahaj jog, i 228 n 2.  
 Sahāri Mal, cousin of G. Amar Dās, ii 276.  
 Sahaskriti sloks, iii 29 n 2, 63, 430 n 1.  
 Sāhib, meaning of, Pref. vi n 1.  
 Sāhib Chand, v 40, 135.  
 Sāhib Kaur, wife of G. Gobind Singh, v 143, 144, 219, 231, 240, 254.  
 Sahij, i 77 n 5.  
 Sahijdhāri, Int. lii.  
 Saido, Bhāi, i 147, 153, 156; ii 13.  
 Saif-ul-Dīn, friend of G. Teg Bahādur, iv 373.  
 Sāin, Bhagat, ii 18; vi 1, 105; life of, 120.  
 Sāin Dās, husband of Rāmo, iv 51, 55, 146, 151.  
 Saints, iii 292 n 1; iv 400 n 1.  
 Saiyād Beg, general, v 153, 154, 162.  
 Saiyid Khān, v 162, 163.
- Saiyidpur, Int. xlv; i 43, 109, 111, 114, 118, 119.  
 Sajjan, Shaikh, i 45, 46 n 1, 47.  
 Sākat, iii 213 n 1.  
 Sākhis, v 299 n 1.  
 Sakhi Sarwar, Pīr, iii 7, 419; iv 147 n 1, 339.  
 Sāl tree, v 131 n 1.  
 Sālāgrām, sacred stone, i 61 n 3; iii 4, 50, 51, 52 n 1 and 2; v 75, 78 n 2; vi 84.  
 Sālāvāhana, vi 23, 96.  
 Salim Shāh, vi 29 n 3.  
 Sālo, Bhāi, iii 3, 20, 53; iv 12.  
 Salvation, means of, ii 134; v 116, 123; by repetition of Name, vi 40 n 2; four degrees of, vi 250 n 1; time for, vi 311 n 2.  
 Samāna, sacked by Banda, v 247.  
 Saman Burj, tower, iv 159.  
 Samarmati, Queen, v 68.  
 Sambat era, Int. lxxix, lxxxiv; i 110 n 1.  
 Sampats, six, vi 272 n 6.  
 Sanāt, i 25 n 5.  
 Sanāth, vi 67 n 3.  
 Sanctuary, Hindu, ii 344 n 2.  
 Sāda, vi 67 n 1, 128 n 7.  
 Sandal, vi 76 n 1; wood, vi 305 n 2; tree, vi 327 n 4; used in worship, vi 233 n 1.  
 Sandali, son of Rūp Chand, iv 294.  
 Sandhia, v 9 n 2.  
 Sandila, vi 417.  
 Sanga, Rāna, vi 352.  
 Sangat Sāhib at Nander, v 240.  
 Sangatia envoy, v 57.  
 Sango Shāh, cousin of G. Gobind Singh, v 2, 3, 36, 43.  
 Sangrāna, memorial of victory, iv 93.  
 Sanskrit, Int. 1; burning of Sanskrit library at Bihār, Int. xlii; literature, ii 110 n 1, 134; letters, iii 168 n 1; tongue, iv 135.  
 Sant Dās, son of Jiwan, iv 298.  
 Santokhsar, founding of, ii 141; iii 2.  
 Santokh Singh, Bhāi, poet (author of *Sūraj Parkāsh*), Int. lxxvi, lxxvii, lxxviii; ii 24 n 1; iv 180; v 1 n 1, 200, 244 n 1.



- Sant Singh of Kapūrthala, Bhāi, Pref. x; Int. lxxvi.
- Sanyāsi, i 41 n 1, 58 n 3, 106, 141 n 1; riot at Govindwāl, ii 69; iv 261, 288; vi 104 n 2, 282 n 1.
- Sārang, pied India cuckoo, i 83 n 6.
- Saraswati, river, i 144 n 1; ii 109.
- Sarāswatī, goddess, i 198 n 6.
- Sarāvagis' Temple, i 150; v 264 n 1.
- Sarbloh, v 313 n 1.
- Sardūl Singh, Gyani, Pref. ix, xxx; ii 24 n 1.
- Sarhind, v 139, 168, 193, 200, 201, 232, 247.
- Sarmad, iv 303.
- Sās girās, i 101 n 1.
- Sat, Golden Age, i 4 n 6; iv 99; vi 15 n 1.
- Satbharāi, ii 7.
- Sati, i 165 n 3; iii 91; v 277 n 1; vi 14; Kabir on, vi 153, 178 n 2.
- Sat Kartār, i 49.
- Satluj, river, i 85 n 5; ii 66, 109; iv 368; v 3, 176; vi 407 n 1.
- Satnāja, vi 111 n 2.
- Sat Nām, true name, i 138.
- Satnāmis, Int. xlvii, xlviii.
- Satogun, ii 198 n 1.
- Sat Sangat, i 278.
- Sat Sri Akāl, war cry, v 28.
- Satta, musician, ii 16, 21, 23, 24 n 1, 253; iii 61.
- Saw at Banāras, i 274 n 1.
- Sawaiyās of G. Gobind Singh, Int. lii; of the bard Mathura, iii 72 n 2; read at baptism, v 265.
- Sāwan, Hindi month, ii 55 n 3; iii 109 n 1.
- Sāwan Mal, nephew of G. Amar Dās, ii 60, 61, 62.
- Sciences, fourteen Hindi, i 63; v 269 n 1.
- Seasons, Indian, i 138 n 1; G. Arjan's, iii 407.
- Second sight of Bhāi Budha, ii 13.
- Sectaries, vi 167.
- Sects, four Muhammadan, i 192 n 1; Hindu, vi 95, 101.
- Seli, faqir's necklace, iv 2.
- Senses, five, vi 164 n 4.
- Sepulture, Indian, i 60 n 4, 68 n 1, 115 n 1, 181, 182 n 2, 279 n 2, 348, 349 n 2; iii 202 n 2, 285 n 1; Sikh, v 98, 118.
- Ser, weight, iii 282 n 1; vi 38, 169 n 5.
- Serpent, i 305 n 3; tortured by worms, iv 188, 282; v 205 n 1; vi 246 n 4, 290 n 1; 294 n 5, 305 n 2, 327 n 4.
- Services, Sikh, i 136, 181; menial, vi 12 n 1.
- Sewāpanthis, v 174.
- Shahāb-ul-Dīn Ghori, Int. xli.
- Shāh Jahān, Emperor, iv 36, 49 n 1, 76, 138, 156, 175; war with G. Har Gobind, 183; solicited by Painda Khān, 195, 198; Shāh Jahān's sons, 277; letter to G. Har Rāi, 278; his sons' rebellion, 299; vi 3.
- Shahzāda, son of Mardāna, i 182.
- Shaikhs, i 40 n 1, 72 n 3.
- Shakar Ganj, vi 358, 361, 383.
- Shaktis, iii 213 n 1.
- Shams-ul-Dīn, Emperor, i 52 n 3; vi 366 n 1, 373.
- Shankar Āchārya, v 118 n 2; vi 94.
- Shankar Diāl, Sardār, Pref. xxx.
- Sharaf, Shaikh, i 52 n 3.
- Shariāt, i 13 n 2.
- Shāstars, Pref. v; i 8 n 1; iii 260 n 1, 330, 402; vi 74 n 1, 320.
- Shastar Nām Māla, Int. lii; v 83.
- Sheldrake, ruddy, i 271 n 1.
- Shells to summon worshippers, vi 298 n 1.
- Sher Afghan Khān, iv 369.
- Sher Shāh, conqueror of Bengāl, ii 19.
- Sher Singh, Mahārāja, iv 1 n 1.
- Sheshnāg, hydra-headed serpent, ii 348 n 1; iii 200 n 1; v 270 n 2; vi 74 n 2, 94.
- Shiāh Muhammadans, v 152 n 1.
- Shikār Ghāt, v 239.
- Shisham tree, ii 265; iii 2 n 2.
- Shiv, god, Int. xli, lvii, lix; i 40 n 3, 138, 155 n 1, 166 n 6, 199 n 1; ii 109, 262 n 2; iii 6 n 1, 203 n 1, 432 n 2; v 69 n 1, 262 n 3, 284 n 3; vi 18, 20, 57 n 2, 58 n 2, 93 n 2, 94, 138 n 3, 258 n 1, 341 n 2.

- Shivnābh, King of Ceylon, i 146, 154.  
 Shivrāt, i 155 n 1.  
 Shopkeepers, parable of the, i 68.  
 Shrādh, i 129 n 1, 241; vi 163.  
 Shukdev Rikhi, ii 31 n 1.  
 Siālkot, i 122.  
 Sidh Gosht, i 171.  
 Sidhis, eight, v 269 n 2, 318 n 1.  
 Sidhs, i 41 n 4, 59, 171.  
 Sikandar Khān Lodi, Emperor, Int. xlv; v 113; vi 131.  
 Sikhism, development, Int. lxiv; in danger, Int. lvi, lvii; ritual of, iii 55; principles of, v 93, 95, 116.  
 Sikh religion, general ignorance of, Pref. v, vii, xx; its advantages to the State, vii, xviii, xxiv; merits of military guardians of, xix, xxv; catholicity of, xi, xxvi; authenticity of, lii-liii; originality, liv; two divisions of, lii; not ascetic, lxiv; rules of, i 136, 217 n 3; ii 137; superiority of, iv 271, 283.  
 Sikhs' ignorance of their religion, Pref. xx; reversion to Hinduism, xxiii; Int. lvi, lvii; rules and observances, iii 67; Sikhs and Hindus, iii 422 n 3; vi 40.  
 Sikh war-cry, v 97, 100.  
 Sikh writings, difficulty of, Pref. vi, viii, xxxiii.  
 Simmal tree, i 46 n 3 and 4; vi 66 n 2.  
 Simritis, i 117 n 4; v 300 n 1; vi 101, 156.  
 Sindūr, vi 178 n 2.  
 Singhs, Int. lii; v 95.  
 Singh Sabha, letter to the author, Pref. xiii.  
 Singing, Shaikh Farid on, vi 380.  
 Sins, deadly, i 13 n 1, 286 n 1; iii 432; *see* Passions.  
*Sirāt-ul-mustakīm*, vi 334 n 4.  
 Sirmaur, Rāja of, v 185.  
 Sita, wife of Rām Chandar, i 40 n 4, 168, 216 n 3, 305 n 2, 382; iv 158.  
 Sitala Devi, goddess of small-pox, iii 43; vi 57 n 2.  
 Siyar-ul-Mutaākharīn, iv 392 n 1; v 253.  
 Skull, Farid's slok written on seeing, vi 396 n 1.  
 Slok, i 105 n 2; ii 46; iii 183.  
 Small-pox, iii 43; iv 327.  
 Snakes, iv 188, 282; v 205 n 1; vi 294 n 5.  
 Sodar, i 136, 250 n 2.  
 Sodhis, iii 65; iv 332, 337, 338.  
 Sohan, vi 268.  
 Sokrates, Int. liii, liv, lxvii, lxix.  
 Solaha, i 164 n 2.  
 Sondha Khān, Emperor's stable-keeper, iv 159, 170.  
 So Purukh, i 254.  
 Soul, Int. lxv-lxix; i 198 n 1, 272 n 1, 284 n 1, 312 n 1; ii 175 n 1; iii 285 n 2; iv 123, 151; vi 17 n 1, 45 n 3, 158, 159 n 1, 169 n 4, 186 n 3, 196 n 3, 235, 404 n 1.  
 Sound, unbeaten, i 274 n 2; iii 266, 402; vi 90 n 5.  
 Species, animal, vi 42 n 1.  
 Spell of salvation, gāyatri, i 166 n 4, 237 n 1; ii 108; vi 58 n 1; Vishnu's farewell, vi 138 n 3, 254.  
 Spelling, Indian, Pref. xxxi.  
 Sri Chand, G. Nānak's son, Int. lii, lxxx; i 29; ii 4, 6, 9, 11, 257; iii 27; iv 128, 130, 288.  
 Sri Har Gobindpur, iv 104 n 1, 105, 118.  
 Srinagar in Garhwāl, v 8, 16.  
 Srinagar in Kāshmir, i 163; iv 61, 63.  
 Srirang, vi 65 n 1.  
 Sri sect, vi 101, 102.  
 Stages of life, four of twice-born Hindus, vi 104 n 2.  
 Standing on the head, penance of, 205 n 1.  
 Stars, Muhammadan conception of, vi 155 n 4.  
 Statius, Int. lviii.  
 Steel ornaments, v 149 n 1.  
 Stones, bridge of, vi 40 n 2, 45 n 1; gods, iii 5; vi 33, 149 n 4.  
 Strife (Greek Eris) iv 76.  
 Strivers, i 41 n 4.  
 Sūdars, i 16 n 1, 371 n 3; ii 184 n 1.  
 Sūfis of Persia, i 261 n 1; dress of, vi 401 n 3.  
 Sūfism, stages of, i 13 n 2.

- Suhāg, marriage state, iii 145 n 3.  
 Suhāgan, i 76 n 6 ; vi 236 n 2.  
 Suhela, or Gul Bāgh, iv 178.  
 Sukhmana, vi 16 n 2.  
 Sukhmani of G. Arjan, iii 197 n 1.  
 Sulabi Khān, iii 88, 89.  
 Sulahi Khān, iii 17, 33, 48, 85, 86.  
 Sulakhani, G. Nānak's wife, i 19 n 1, 32 ; ii 4.  
 Sūlisar, iv 341.  
 Sultānpur, i 18, 108.  
 Sumer Singh, Mahant, Pref. xii.  
 Sun, vi 192 n 4.  
 Sundar Dās, author of the Sadd, ii 151.  
 Sundari, Māta, wife of G. Gobind Singh, v 3, 4 n 1, 51, 219, 230, 240, 250, 254, 256, 257.  
 Sundar Shāh, faqīr, iv 216, 217, 225, 226.  
 Superstition, iii 53 ; iv 249.  
 Suph, vi 401 n 3.  
 Sūraj bans, vi 81 n 1.  
 Sūraj Mal, son of G. Har Gobind, birth of, iv 67 ; his marriage, iv 138 ; request to his father, iv 236 ; visit of G. Teg Bahādur, iv 363.  
*Sūraj Parkāsh*, Pref. xiii, xv ; Int. lxxvii ; iii 2 n 1, 60 n 3, 67, 69 n 1 ; iv 180, 303 n 1 ; v 199 n 1.  
 Sūr Dās, Bhagat, vi 417, 418 ; hymns, 419.  
 Surjan Singh of Anandpur, v 257.  
 Surma, collyrium, i 76 n 5 ; ii 119 n 3 ; vi 396 n 1.  
 Suspended animation, i 287 n 1.  
 Swan, great, i 357 n 1 ; ii 18, 217 n 1 ; bill, iv 245 n 3 ; vi 320, 413 n 1.  
 Swayamvars, v 266 n 1.  
 Sweet basil, i 61 n 4, 155 n 1 ; iii 6 n 1, 73 n 1 ; vi 38, 93 n 2, 177.  
 Swine's flesh, i 39 n 2.  
 Tablets for teaching alphabet, i 3.  
 Tacitus on ancient German religion, Int. lx n.  
 Taimūr Lang, Int. xl, lxx.  
 Takā, coin, i 223 n 4.  
 Takhallus, i 9 n 3 ; v 314 n 1.  
 Talwandi, G. Nānak's birthplace i 1, 2 n 1, 95 ; iv 66.  
 Talwandi Sābo, or Damdama, iv 340 ; v 219.  
 Tāna Shāh, King of Golkanda, v 51.  
 Tank, measure, i 158 n 1.  
 Tanks, Hindu, ii 84 n 1 ; Sikh, i 2, 320 n 1 ; ii 87 ; iii 9, 10, 11, 13 ; iv 48.  
 Tānsen, Akbar's minstrel, vi 350.  
 Tantras, ancient scriptures of the Sāktas, iii 213 n 1 ; vi 93 n 1, 197.  
 Tapa, a penitent, ii 29, 35, 38, 99, 261, 303.  
 Tāra, Masand, iv 308 ; v 17, 89, 207.  
 Tāra Āzim, usurper, v 229, 230.  
 Tāra Singh, Pandit, iv 64 n 3.  
 Tarīqat, i 13 n 2 ; vi 387.  
 Tarn Tāran, i 106 ; iii 25 n 1, 85, 89 ; iv 32.  
 Tarpan, Hindu worship, v 9.  
 Tasbi, *see* Rosary.  
 Tāsh, i 87.  
 Tastes, six physical, ii 116.  
 Tasu, measure, iii 152 n 1.  
 Tat (pure) Khālsa, Pref. xi ; v 250.  
 Teg Bahādur, Guru, prophecy regarding coming of English, Pref. xiii, xviii ; son of G. Har Gobind, iv 70, 331 ; marriage with Gūjari, iv 189, 331 ; at battle of Kartārpur, iv 206 ; departure for Bakāla, iv 239 ; discovered by Makhan Shāh, iv 333 ; invested as Guru, iv 334 ; Dhīr Mal's treachery, iv 334 ; the Guru on forgiveness, iv 335 ; visit to Amritsar, iv 336 ; refused admission to Har Mandar, iv 336 ; returns to Bakāla, iv 337 ; founds Anandpur, iv 338 ; malice of Dhīr Mal, iv 338 ; visits Āgra, Itāwa, Priyāg, Banāras, and bathes in Karmnāsha, iv 344 ; visits Gaya, iv 345 ; Patna, iv 347 ; visit of Rāja Rām Singh, iv 349 ; who accompanies him to Kām rūp, iv 352 ; receives King of Kām rūp, iv 354 ; king's conversion, iv 355 ; mound raised at Dhūbri, iv 356 ; Rāja Rām of Asām, iv 357 ; birth



- Teg Bahādur (*continued*)—  
of Gobind Rāi, iv 357; the  
Guru returns to Patna, iv 359;  
departure for Anandpur, iv  
362; sends for Gobind Rāi, iv  
364; visit of Kāshmiri Pan-  
dits, iv 371; message to  
Emperor, iv 372; departure  
for Dihli, iv 373; halts at  
Saifābād, iv 373; arrested at  
Āgra, iv 377; efforts of Em-  
peror to convert him, iv 378;  
his refusal and torture, iv 380;  
his thaumaturgic power, iv  
381; prophesies coming of  
English, iv 381; locked in  
cage, iv 383; sloks of consola-  
tion to his wife and son, iv  
384; appoints his son Gobind  
Rāi his successor, iv 385;  
instructions to Sikhs about the  
disposal of his head, iv 386;  
executed, iv 387; head taken  
to Anandpur, iv 387; crema-  
tion of his body, iv 388;  
cremation of his head, iv 390;  
his hymns, iv 393; sloks, iv 414.  
Tēj Bhān, father of G. Amar Dās,  
ii 30.  
Temples, illustrations of, Pref.  
xxvii; destruction of Hindu,  
Int. xlvii, xlviii, xlix; ii 9;  
to Rāmānuj, vi 100; to Rav  
Dās, vi 318.  
Ten stages of man, i 279.  
Tewar, i 104 n 1.  
Thags, robbers, i 71 n 1; Thags  
and Jaidev, vi 10, 12.  
Thanesar, ii 109.  
Thappās, marks on crops, i 263  
n 2.  
Theism and Pantheism, Int. lxiii.  
Theology, comparative, Int. lv.  
Thieves' plants, vi 71 n 3.  
Thirty days' fast, i 22 n 1.  
Thok bajāna, vi 295 n 4.  
Thoughts, dying, i 67 n 1; vi  
80 n 1.  
Threads, seven, vi 272 n 6.  
Thucydides on Revenge, v 241  
n 1.  
Tiger's whiskers, iv 277; skin,  
iv 299; tiger and Guru, v 19;  
love of tigress, v 211.  
Tikke di Wār, ii 25.  
Tilak, i 58, 135, 163; ii 11, 43;  
vi 99, 178 n 2, 286 n 6.  
Tilang, measure, iii 387 n 1; v  
286 n 4.  
Tiloka, officer of Kābul army, iii  
67.  
Tilokhari, G. Har Krishan cre-  
mated at, iv 330.  
Tilok Singh and Rām Singh, v  
224 n 1.  
Time-table, Indian, i 144 n 4,  
187 n 3.  
Tithes ordained for religious pur-  
poses, v 117.  
Tobacco forbidden to Sikhs, Pref.  
xxi, xxiii; iv 342; v 97, 117,  
153.  
Todar Mal, Sikh, v 198.  
Todar Mal, Akbar's minister, vi  
418.  
Toddy, vi 320 n 3.  
Tola, weight, i 63 n 3.  
Tortoise, i 151 n 3, 165 n 2.  
Torture, implements of, Int. xlvi;  
iii 92, 94.  
Trance, i 287 n 1.  
Translation of Sikh writings,  
difficulty of, Pref. vi, viii,  
xxxiii; examination of, Pref.  
ix; G. Arjan's injunction,  
Pref. viii; certificate of cor-  
rectness of, Pref. x.  
Transmigration, Pref. xvi; Int.  
liv, lxxv; i 5 n 2, 6 n 2, 9 n 1,  
38 n 4, 67 n 1, 83 n 1, 108 n 1,  
129, 137, 142 n 4, 226 n 1, 284  
n 1, 332; ii 8 n 1, 18, 207; iii  
68, 131, 136, 154 n 3, 174 n 2,  
185 n 2, 216 n 1, 312 n 1, 402  
n 7; iv 188, 230, 280, 282;  
v 20, 152, 214, 216, 225; vi  
17 n 1, 80 n 1, 96, 137, 139 n 1,  
149, 169 n 4, 186 n 3, 215,  
289 n 1, 327 n 2, 404 n 1.  
Trees, benefits derived from, iv  
226; allegory, vi 242, 243 n 4.  
Tribeni Priyāg, meeting of rivers,  
i 144 n 1; ii 257.  
Trilochan, Bhagat, iii 332; vi  
1, 58, 76, 77; hymns of, vi 78,  
79, 80, 81.  
Trinity, Hindu, i 40 n 3; iii 334  
n 1.  
Tripta, G. Nānak's mother, Int.  
lxx; i 96, 100.



- Trumpp's translation of Granth, Pref. xiii, xv; i 82 n 3.  
 Truth, iii 136 n 1, 245 n 1; iv 259; vi 53 n 1.  
 Tulsi Dās, vi 349.  
 Tulsi plant, v 78 n 2.  
 Turban, tall, iii 110 n 3; Sikh, v 215 n 1; couplet repeated when tying on, iii 187 n 1; vi 256 n 1, 258, 387.  
 Turiya Pad, vi 123 n 1.  
 Turks, iv 39 n 1.  
 Turmeric, vi 286 n 6.  
 Uch ka Pīr, v 192.  
 Udaipur, Int. xlviii; vi 348 n 1.  
 Udās, G. Nānak's definition of, i 106.  
 Udāsīs, founder of, Int. lii, lxxix, lxxx; iv 288; revolt of, v 34; made copy of Granth Sāhib, v 87.  
 Ude Singh, Bhāi, Int. lxxvi; v 101, 120, 129, 135, 140, 142.  
 Ugarsen, vi 41 n 1.  
 Uma, Pārhati, v 284 n 3; vi 334 n 2.  
 Umbrellas, iii 15 n 1; vi 47 n 3.  
 Union of soul with God, Int. lxxv; i 10 n 1.  
 Unity of God, Sikh belief in, Int. lxi, lxii; iv 255; vi 41.  
 Universe evolved from God, v 331 n 1.  
 Upanishads, iii 53 n 1.  
 Urdu, alien to Panjāb, Pref. xxiv.  
 Ursa, stone used in worship, i 323 n 1.  
 Vairāg, vi 105.  
 Vaishnav faith, ii 32, 93; vi 89 n 2, 92 n 3.  
 Vaisyas, caste, i 16 n 1; vi 104 n 2.  
 Valmīk, iv 265; huntsman, vi 104.  
 Vāmāchāris, vi 104 n 3.  
 Varans, or castes, i 16 n 1.  
 Vasudev, father of Krishan, i 57 n 1; v 320 n 4.  
 Vāsuki, serpent, vi 74 n 2.  
 Veds, Pref. v; Int. 1 n; i 4 n 4, 116 n 3, 207 n 1, 269 n 2, 348 n 1, 371 n 3; ii 31 n 1; iii 321, 420; v 323 n 3; vi 125, 320, 324 n 1.  
 Vedantists, claims of, v 103 n 2; vi 27, 160 n 1.  
 Vegetables of the earth, i 282 n 1; eighteen loads of, vi 333 n 2.  
 Veiling of the face, ii 62 n 1; vi 116, 213, 343.  
*Veracious History*, Lucian's, iv 153 n 1.  
 Vessels of shopkeeper, i 23 n 1; sun-dried cooking, vi 128; clay, vi 226 n 1; testing soundness of, vi 295 n 4.  
 Vibhishan, vi 24 n 2.  
*Vichitar Nātak*, v 1 n 1.  
 Vichitar Singh and elephant, v 134.  
 Vidhwa, *see* Widow.  
 Vidur (Bidur), ii 331 n 1; vi 252.  
 Vikramādīt, Rāja, ii 102 n 1; and Mahābhārat, ii 31 n 1.  
 Vīro, G. Har Gobind's daughter, iv 66, 84, 144, 236; v 2.  
 Virtues, the five, i 127 n 1.  
 Vishisht and Vishwāmītra, vi 58 n 1.  
 Vishnu, Int. xli, lvii, lix, lxxxi; i 40 n 3, 57 n 1, 61 n 4, 81, 151 n 3, 199 n 1, 300 n 1; ii 160 n 1, 348 n 1; iii 6 n 1, 203 n 1; iv 254 n 5; v 273 n 3, 274 n 3, 279 n 2, 330 n 1; vi 63 n 4, 83, 87 n 2, 89 n 2, 92 n 3, 93 n 2, 94, 99, 105 n 1, 345 n 1.  
*Vishnu Sahassar Nām*, v 261 n 1.  
 Vitthal, god, vi 23 n 1.  
 Vows, religious, iii 77 n 1.  
 Vyās, compiler of Veds, ii 31 n 1, 234 n 2.  
 Wadāli, G. Arjan's sojourn at, iii 34, 35; G. Har Gobind's visit to, iv 142.  
 Wāhguru, i 56 n 1; ii 107, 207 n 1; Gur Dās's explanation of, iv 135 n 2.  
 Wali, Bāwa, of Kandhār, i 172.  
 Wali Khān, son of Subādār of Jalandhar, iv 138.  
 Wall, Hindus' path to paradise through opening in, v 74 n 1.  
 Wannī, gold colouring, ii 202 n 1.  
 Wār, i 218 n 1.  
 Water, Sikh initiation with, i 47 n 1, 372 n 1 and 2; G. Nānak's

- Water (*continued*)—  
 use of, i 50 ; waving of, i 231 ;  
 G. Gobind Singh's baptismal,  
 v 94 ; scattered at Mālwa, v  
 223, 316 ; animals which live  
 in, vi 42 n 1 ; of Ganges, vi  
 320 n 2.
- Water-lily, i 265 n 2 ; vi 337 n 1.
- Wazīr Khān, iii 17 ; iv 187, 195 ;  
 sent to G. Har Gobind, iv 11,  
 26, 34, 65 ; intervenes to pre-  
 vent further war, iv 96.
- Wazīr Khān, the emperor's vice-  
 roy, v 195, 209, 213, 220, 222,  
 234, 248.
- Weapons used by Sikhs, v 129.
- Weavers, Kabīr's allegory on, vi  
 136 n 1 and 2, 170 n 4.
- Week days, seven, vi 190 ;  
 names of, vi 269 n 1.
- Weights and measures, i 63 n 6,  
 158 n 1, 188 n 1 ; iii 152 n 1,  
 252 n 1, 282 n 1 ; iv 66 n 1,  
 278 n 1 ; vi 37 n 1, 169 n 5,  
 295 n 2.
- Well, bāwali, ii 87 ; G. Nānak's,  
 i 172 ; iii 154 n 2 ; at Kolād, vi  
 30 ; haunted well, vi 37 ; body  
 as, vi 149 n 1 ; well rope, vi  
 404 n 11 ; allegory of, vi 166,  
 368.
- Wheels, Persian, iii 35 ; vi 49  
 n 2.
- White elephant's pearls, iii 311  
 n 1.
- Wholesale dealer, God as, i 60  
 n 1.
- Widows, con cremation of, for-  
 bidden to Sikhs, Pref. xxii,  
 xxiii ; i 381 ; ii 228 n 1 ; v  
 277 n 1 ; vi 153 ; ceremonies  
 at, vi 178 n 2 ; remarriage of,  
 vi 154 n 3.
- Wife versus widow, i 76 n 6.
- Williams, *Indian Wisdom*, i 129  
 n 1.
- Wilson, *Religion of the Hindus*,  
 Int. xlvii ; vi 104 n 3, 140 n 1.
- Wine, forbidden to Sikhs, Pref.  
 xxi, xxiii ; G. Nānak on, i 182 ;  
 Brāhman's punishment for  
 drinking, iv 134 n 1 ; *Gur Bilās*  
 on, iv 168 ; G. Har Rāi's  
 interdict, iv 288 ; Kabīr on,  
 vi 142.
- Women, emancipation of Sikh,  
 Pref. xxii ; G. Nānak on duty  
 of, i 289 ; customs of Hindu,  
 ii 84 n 1 ; G. Nānak's defence  
 of, i 244 ; married woman's  
 dress, iii 112, 278, 319 n 1,  
 369 n 1 ; Gur Dās on, vi 251 ;  
 Hindu women abducted, v 157  
 n 1 ; once selected their own  
 husbands, v 266 n 1 ; remain  
 with parents after marriage, vi  
 166 n 6, 375.
- Wooden cake of Shaikh Farīd, vi  
 368, 398 n 1.
- Wordsworth on transmigration,  
 Int. lxvii.
- Worlds, fourteen, i 116 n 2, 344  
 n 2 ; denizens of, like children,  
 i 217 n 2 ; dangerous ocean, i  
 6 n 1 ; father and father-in-  
 law's houses, i 74 n 7 ; world as  
 an egg, i 116 n 2 ; creation and  
 destruction of, i 138 n 4 ; ii  
 348 ; people of the, i 217 n 2,  
 300 n 2 ; iii 230 n 2, 294 n 1,  
 391 n 1.
- Worship, symbols of Hindu, i  
 99 n 1 ; iii 51, 83, 112, 329  
 n 1 ; vi 90 n 5, 93 n 2.
- Wrestler's turban, iii 110 n 3.
- Xenophon, Int. liii.
- Ya Ali, Muhammadan war-cry,  
 v 41.
- Yādavs, deception of, vi 47 n 4.
- Yakshas, iii 229 n 1.
- Yāma, i 210 n 2.
- Yavan, i 12 n 1.
- Year, Indian, i 110 n 1, 138 n 3.
- Yog Sūtra, ii 16 n 1.
- Yogini, vi 93 n 1.
- Yudhishtar, iv 408 n 1.
- Zabardast Khān, Viceroy of  
 Lahore, v 168, 222.
- Zafarnāma*, v 201.
- Zakaria Khān, Int. lxxv, lxxvi,  
 lxxxii, lxxxiv ; i 2.
- Zamīndār, Int. lxxi.
- Zeus, Int. lviii, lix, lx.
- Zindagi Nāma*, v 103.
- Zoroastrianism, Int. lvi ; i 89  
 n 2.

OXFORD

PRINTED AT THE CLARENDON PRESS

BY HORACE HART, M.A.

PRINTER TO THE UNIVERSITY











BL  
2017  
.3  
E5M3  
v.6

Macauliffe, Max Arthur (tr.)  
The Sikh religion

PLEASE DO NOT REMOVE  
CARDS OR SLIPS FROM THIS POCKET

---

UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO LIBRARY

---



