

# M. A. MACAULIFFE'S THE SIKH RELIGION

(VOLUME I TO III): AN HISTORICAL ANALYSIS

A

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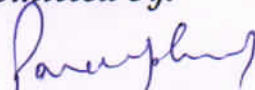
IN

HISTORY

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***CERTIFICATE***

This is to certify that this thesis entitled '**M.A. Macauliffe's The Sikh Religion (Volume I To III): An Historical Analysis**' submitted by Pardeep Singh for the award of the degree of Doctor of Philosophy of this university is an original work done under my supervision and has not been submitted elsewhere for any other degree. I consider it worthy of submission for the award of the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

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# **CHAPTER - 1**

## **HISTORICAL MILIEU**

Intellectual curiosity and western interest in the general history of mankind can be taken to be the most widely cited reasons that led to the generation of western interest in the Indian people. Many additional factors, on the other hand, were responsible for attracting British attention towards Sikh community and faith in particular. Political reasons were a major reason for igniting their interest. The British took notice of the Sikhs at a time when they were growing as a political power in the North Western part of India in the last two decades of the 18<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>1</sup> In the beginning individuals connected with the East India Company began to collect information about the Sikhs. They are, in no way systematic accounts, but their only merit is their being pioneering efforts.<sup>2</sup> The earlier writings cannot be held as authentic interpretations of the Sikh religion because of their general ignorance of the language and lack of familiarity with the culture.<sup>3</sup> But later writings are relatively more dependable than the earlier ones.

In one of his lectures in 1961, the famous historian E.H. Carr had stated that one must study the historian before one begins to study his facts. This statement facilitates an understanding of the beginning of Sikh studies by Western scholars such as Polier, Browne and Forster during the 18<sup>th</sup> century. Further, it might be useful to fathom the growth of these studies in the writings of Malcolm, Princep, Murray, Cunningham, Lepal Griffin, Ernest Trumpp and Macauliffe during the 19<sup>th</sup> century.

Antonie Louis Henri Polier was the first European who collected and compiled information about the formidable power of the Sikhs. His paper on the Sikhs is perhaps the first known concise but cohesive account of the Sikh people. Col. A.L.H.

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1. Fauja Singh (Edi.) *Historians and Historiography of the Sikhs*, New Delhi, 1978, p.1
  2. Darshan Singh (Edi.) *Western Image of the Sikh Religion*, New Delhi, 1999 ,(Introduction) p.xi
  3. Darshan Singh, *Western Perspective on the Sikh Religion*, New Delhi, 1991, p.5

Polier was born in February 1741 at Lausanne in Switzerland.<sup>4</sup> His father's name was H.E. Polier. He was of French origin and a naturalized citizen of Switzerland. His uncle, Paul Phillip Polier, was the commandant of the Fort St. George in Madras. Polier arrived in India in 1757 and joined the East India Company as an assistant engineer at Calcutta. Polier also worked in Madras and Bihar. After sometime he was promoted as Chief Engineer with the rank of Captain in 1762.<sup>5</sup> Polier was a Swiss resident and as a result faced lot of problems in getting promotions in the East India Company.

Eventually, he got the opportunity of obtaining a deputation with the Nawab of Oudh.<sup>6</sup> Due to some problems he resigned from his job in 1775 and even worked under the Mughal Emperor for some time.<sup>7</sup> Hastings readmitted him in company's service in 1782 as Lieutenant Colonel and stationed him at Lucknow.<sup>8</sup> After getting retirement in 1789 he returned to Europe to settle down near Avignon, where he was murdered on February 9, 1795.

It was during his posting in Lucknow that he started evincing interest in Indian history and religion.<sup>9</sup> He presented a number of research papers at various meetings and forums.

His paper 'The Siques' or 'History of the Seekers' was presented on December 20, 1787 before the members of Asiatic Society of Bengal.<sup>10</sup> This paper touches upon

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4. Darshan Singh (Edi.) *Western Image of the Sikh Religion*, (Introduction) p.vii

5. G. Khurana *British Historiography on the Sikh power in Punjab*, New Delhi, 1985, p.3

6. Fauja Singh (Edi.) *Historians and Historiography of the Sikhs*, p.8

7. Ganda Singh (ed.), *Early European Accounts of the Sikhs and History of Origin and Progress of the Sikhs*, (rpt.) New Delhi, 1974, p.89

8. Krishan Dayal Bhargava (ed.), *Browne's Correspondence*, Delhi, 1960, pp 293-294

9. While in Lucknow Polier developed an interest in collecting manuscripts and paintings. It was here in 1783 under his patronage that miniatures and paintings having distinct European artistic imprint were prepared. He also arranged a part of *Mahabhata* to be translated into Persian. Finally it was in this period of his life that Polier developed an interest in the Hindu religion. He was the first European to have succeeded in securing a complete set of the *Vedas*. Apart from collecting oriental manuscripts and miniatures during his stint in Awadh, Polier built up a fascinating library in Lucknow where his collection was maintained. The contents of this library, alongwith his other collections were distributed between the Bibliotheque Nationale in Paris, the British Museum in London, the library of King's college at Cambridge, Eton College in London. The Islamic Museum at Berlin and the Bibliotheque Cantonale of Lausanne.

10. Himadari Bannerjee (ed.), *The Khalsa and the Punjab*, New Delhi, 2002, pp. 55-69

almost all the important dimensions of the contemporary Sikh society, their origin and progress of their faith, their struggles for independence, their religious and civil institutions, their dress and diet, occupations etc.<sup>11</sup> Although, Polier seems to be very critical of the Sikhs, yet, even the strong anti-Sikh prejudices could not prevent him from taking note of some of the remarkable features of the Sikh society and Sikh polity.

This paper had innumerable errors which are quite natural owing to the paucity of authentic information, absence of personal contacts with the Sikhs and ignorance of their language and traditions. Nevertheless, this paper is significant due to some obvious reasons. First and foremost it is a paper written by a European about the Sikh people<sup>12</sup> and secondly it offers the author's independent point of view about the Sikhs, which grants it salience among other contemporary writings. Such individual forays into history occasioned by personal curiosity and inquisitiveness were bound to be overshadowed as the British Company in its quest for firsthand knowledge of the Sikh people began to formally employ its administrators for producing what can be called officially commissioned histories.

After Colonel Polier, Charles Wilkins observed Sikh Gurdwara and Sanget at Patna and wrote a letter to the Secretary Asiatic Society about the Sikhs.<sup>13</sup> This letter is another evidence of the growing western interest in the Sikh religion. Major James Browne, agent of Warren Hastings at the Court of Shah Alam II was the first Englishman to be asked by the authorities to collect every possible information about the Sikhs.

James Brown was born in the year 1744 and joined the English East India Company's army in 1765 at the age of 21 as a cadet.<sup>14</sup> He got early promotions in his career. In 1767, he was promoted to the rank of Lieutenant and four years later he was elevated to the Captain's rank on June 30, 1771. Warren Hastings appointed him his

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11. Darshan Singh (Edi.) *Western Image of the Sikh Religion*, (Introduction) p.ix

12. J.S. Grewal, *Contesting Interpretation of the Sikh Tradition*, New Delhi, 1998, p.23

13. Darshan Singh (Edi.) *Western Image of the Sikh Religion*, (Introduction) p.x

14. G. Khurana *British Historiography on the Sikh power in Punjab*, p.5

aide-de-camp in 1772.<sup>15</sup> As a reward for his outstanding abilities he was appointed collector of the Jungle Terai districts in 1774 and served there for six years. On 19, January 1781 he was sent to the Imperial Court at Delhi as the agent of the Governor General.<sup>16</sup>

Browne returned to England in 1786. He was promoted to the rank of Lieutenant Colonel on February 2, 1788. Thereafter, he returned to India. He died at Dinapur on June 22, 1792 at the age of 48.<sup>17</sup>

Browne submitted two papers first entitled ‘Description of the Jungle Terry Districts’ on June 20, 1787 and second entitled ‘History of the Origin and Progress of the Sikhs’ on September 17, 1787 to John Motteux, Chairman of the Court of Directors. These were later published by the order of the Court under the title ‘India Tracts’ in 1788. The latter of the two works is of great relevance as this is revelatory of Browne’s views about the Sikhs as well as British administration’s keenness to acquire knowledge about them. In his letter to Major James Browne, Governor General Warren Hastings wrote:

*“Your first care must be to collect the  
Materials of a more complete and authentic  
knowledge you must study the Characters,  
Connection, Influence, and Power of the  
several competitors for the possession of the  
King’s favour or the Exerciser of his authority,  
and the state, view and relations of the Independent  
Chief and States, whose Territories border on his.”*<sup>18</sup>

Browne’s account contains two parts. The first part is an English translation of a Persian manuscript prepared by Budh Singh Arora of Lahore and Ajaib Singh Suraj of Malerkotla named Risala Dar Ahwal-i-Nanak Shah Darwesh or simply Risala-i-

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15. Fauja Singh (Edi.) *Historians and Historiography of the Sikhs*, p.2

16. *Ibid.*

17. Darshan Singh (Edi.) *Western Image of the Sikh Religion*, (Introduction) p.xii

18. Krishan Dayal Bhargava (ed.), *Browne’s Correspondence*, p.3

Nanak Shah.<sup>19</sup> The second portion is Browne's original contribution. In this part of his work he deals with the period from 1764 to 1783. He includes in it an exhaustive list of the Sikh Chiefs of the period under study along with their respective military resources and places of residence; a map showing the extent of their territorial possessions and a brief description of Sikh institutions, customs and manners.

Historiographically, Browne's work marks the beginning of modern historical writings on the Sikhs.<sup>20</sup> Later day historians like Malcolm and Cunningham relied on it as a resource for writing their historical accounts about the Sikhs. Browne, in his work, offers a clear picture of the developments in Delhi in addition to an intimate account of the internal orientation and policies of the officials of East India Company.

George Forster was a contemporary of Colonel Polier and Major James Browne. Forster was a civil servant of the East India Company and was an adventurous and highly learned person.<sup>21</sup> He left Calcutta on May 23, 1782 on his long and arduous overland journey to England.<sup>22</sup> In the course of this journey he passed through the North-Eastern hilly areas of the Punjab in February, March, April 1783. George Forster died at Nagpur.

Forster has produced an account of the Sikhs in epistolary form comprising detailed letters written from Kashmir in 1783 to Mr. Gregory at Lucknow.<sup>23</sup> These letters were later published in two volumes in 1798 under the title 'A Journey from Bengal to England'.<sup>24</sup> His account has found favour among the Sikhs as an objective and sympathetic description. Forster's account begins with the origin of the Sikh faith but his comments on the contemporary religious and civil institutions, the character of the Sikhs, the strength and weaknesses of the community are more enlightening.<sup>25</sup>

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19. J.S. Grewal, *Contesting Interpretation of the Sikh Tradition*, p.24

20. *Ibid.*

21. *Ibid.* p.25

22. G. Khurana *British Historiography on the Sikh power in Punjab*, p.7

23. Fauja Singh (Edi.) *Historians and Historiography of the Sikhs*, p.13

24. Mr. Gregory had specifically asked about the Sikhs which is clear from the beginning of the letter "Now my dear Sir, you will be pleased to know that, do not possess a well-grounded knowledge of the subject; I cannot deduce, satisfactorily to myself their story from the period in which Nanak, the Institutor of their sect & their Lawgiver, lived. He used this letter XI to furnish details to Mr. Gregory.

25. Darshan Singh (Edi.) *Western Image of the Sikh Religion*, (Introduction) p.xiv

George Forster's account is largely based on his own observations about the Sikhs during his travels and the information collected from Colonel Polier. There are two major objects for writing his account. The first one is to provide authentic information to the European about the Sikhs in view of their great political achievements whereas the second motive of Forster is to furnish first hand information concerning the Sikhs.<sup>26</sup> Forster's account can be acknowledged as an improvement over the earlier accounts of Colonel Polier and Major Browne.

In the 19<sup>th</sup> century Maratha power was crushed and the British were making efforts to extend their territories. In the situation that evolved close and direct contacts with the Sikhs had almost become inevitable and imminent. It was primarily in anticipation of these impending encounters that Lt. John Malcolm wrote 'Sketch of the Sikhs'.

John Malcolm was born at Burnfoot in the parish of Westerkirk, Dumfriesshire on May 2, 1769.<sup>27</sup> He studied at Westerkirk, but because of his father, George Malcolm's financial difficulties, could not get much formal education.<sup>28</sup> His maternal uncle John Pasley, a rich London merchant took him to London and after a brief period of schooling produced him before the Directors of East India Company, who commissioned him to the army. Malcolm arrived in Madras in 1783 at the age of fourteen.<sup>29</sup> After a few years he was promoted to become a part of diplomatic service. He learnt Persian and devoted his spare time to study books on history and literature.<sup>30</sup> He was struck by paralysis and died in London on May 30, 1833.<sup>31</sup>

He was also a prolific writer of history. His literary contributions include

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26. Fauja Singh (Edi.) *Historians and Historiography of the Sikhs*, pp.13-14

27. Darshan Singh, *Western Perspective on the Sikh Religion*, p.14

28. G. Khurana *British Historiography on the Sikh power in Punjab*, p.18

29. C.E. Buckland, *Dictionary of Indian Biography*, New Delhi, 1971, p.271

30. Malcolm married in July, 1807. In Jan. 1810, he left for Tehran and completed his book *The Political Sketch of India* in 1811( 1809-1811). He visited England in July 1812 and was there for five years. Shortly after his arrival, he was knighted and made K.C.B. in April 1815. The same year i.e. 1815 he published his book *History of Persia*. This proved a great success and Malcolm received the honorary degree of Doctor of Laws at Oxford in 1816. Malcolm returned to India in 1871 and participated enthusiastically in the implementation of Lord Hasting's new policy by bringing central India within the fold of the treaties of subordinate cooperation. He was promoted to the rank of Brigadier.

31. Fauja Singh (Edi.) *Historians and Historiography of the Sikhs*, p.21



‘Political History of India’ 1811, ‘History of Persia’ 1815, ‘Life of Clive’ etc. He was awarded an honorary degree of Doctorate of Laws at Oxford in 1816.<sup>32</sup>

Malcolm came to Punjab in 1805. During this time he collected written material as well as oral information about the history, manners and religion of the Sikhs. He visited Calcutta towards the end of 1806 and stayed there for six months. During his sojourn at Calcutta he wrote ‘Sketch of the Sikhs’. Malcolm wanted to write a detailed history of the Sikhs but the preoccupations of his public duties did not allow him much time for it. He also wrote ‘History of India’ his Memoirs, his reports on the Central provinces and the English translation of Bakhat Mal’s ‘Khalsa Nama’.<sup>33</sup>

In the process of writing he was able to collect a large number of manuscripts. His material included the Adi Granth, the Dasam Padhshah Ka Granth, the Vars of Bhai Gurdas, the Janamsakhi of Bhai Bala, the Siyar-ul-Mutakhirin and Forster’s Travels.<sup>34</sup> He also took the help of a Sikh priest of Nirmala order named Atma Ram of Calcutta.<sup>35</sup> John Leyden who had good command over the oriental languages also helped Malcolm in translation.

‘Sketch of the Sikhs’ has three sections:<sup>36</sup> (i) religious institutions, usages, manners and character; (ii) Sikhs countries and government; (iii) religion of the Sikhs. A perusal of the three sections reveals inaccuracies at several places as also several errors in the spelling of names of persons and places. Despite all the shortcomings this work is not challenged even today.

After Malcolm, William Ward also wrote about the Sikhs and his account is mainly based on Malcolm’s Sketch. William Ward was born on October 20, 1769.<sup>37</sup> His father John Ward was a carpenter and builder. He was baptized at Hull and studied at the Rev. Dr. Fawcett’s training institute established at Ewold . He was sent

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32. C.E. Buckland, *Dictionary of Indian Biography*, p.271

33. Fauja Singh (Edi.) *Historians and Historiography of the Sikhs*, p.17

34. *Ibid.*

35. Darshan Singh, *Western Perspective on the Sikh Religion*, p.15

36. Darshan Singh (Edi.) *Western Image of the Sikh Religion*, (Introduction) p.xv

37. C.E. Buckland, *Dictionary of Indian Biography*, p.441

to India in 1799. He died of cholera on March 7, 1823, at Serampur.<sup>38</sup>

William Ward perhaps is the first European writer writing on the Sikhs who has given a list of the main ideas of the Japji Sahib of Guru Nanak in his work 'Account of the Sikhs'. He has also given an exegesis of many hymns of Bhagat Ravidas and Bhagat Kabir. In the systematic and chronological studies of the Sikh beliefs and practices in English, Ward's name is included among the pioneers.

For several years after Malcolm, no serious attempt was made until Henry Prinsep and Captain Murray published their writings on Punjab History.<sup>39</sup> Captain Murray (1791-1831) wrote a short paper on the manners, rules and customs of the Sikhs.<sup>40</sup> Captain Murray produced this work on the basis of his personal observations. It has since been useful and even been reproduced by many historians on the Punjab. It provides information about the Sikh institutions, social practices, rules of succession, agrarian laws etc.

Henry Thoby Prinsep was born on 15<sup>th</sup> July 1793 at Thoby Priory in England. He was the Fourth son of John Prinsep.<sup>41</sup> He served in various capacities in India. In 1850 he became an elected member of the Court of Directors. After 1858 he was offered membership of Indian Council.

Prinsep wrote a book entitled 'The Origin of the Sikh Power in the Punjab and the Political Life of Maharaja Ranjit Singh with an Account of the Religion, Laws and Customs of the Sikhs'<sup>42</sup> and published it in 1834. For this work Prinsep largely depended upon Captain Murray and Captain Wade's reports. This book gives useful information about the Sikh kingdom, community and the origin of the Sikh power on

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38. *Ibid.*

39. G. Khurana *British Historiography on the Sikh power in Punjab*, p.35

40. Darshan Singh, *Western Perspective on the Sikh Religion*, p.17

41. He commenced his education under a private tutor and at the age of 13 joined Mr, Knox's school at Tunbridge. where he was at once placed in sixth form. Henry Prinsep joined East India Company as a writer on 20th December, 1809 at the young age of sixteen. After a training period of two years he was employed in the Judicial Department in 1811. He was appointed in the Secretariat in 1814 and was subsequently promoted to the newly created office of the Superintendent and Remembrance of legal affairs. Prinsep once again joined the Governor General suite during Lord Marquess of Hastings's (1813-1818, 1818-1823) tours which embraced the period of Nepal and Pindari Wars and the Third Maratha War (1816).

42. Fauja Singh (Edi.) *Historians and Historiography of the Sikhs*, p.29

the ruins of the Mughal Empire. Prinsep's account covers the period from 1742 to 1833.

However, there are also certain deficiencies in Prinsep's writings. Prinsep's weakness lies in his failure to comprehend the latent flame of Sikh religion and the potentials of the Sikh masses, with which he was not familiar.<sup>43</sup> At times, Prinsep takes things for granted without conducting a thorough probe. At the end of this work notes based on the work of Khushwaqt Rai's *Tarikh-i-Sikhan* were appended when a part of Prinsep's own book was already in the press.<sup>44</sup>

After the publication of Captain Murray and Henry Prinsep's accounts, Major G. Carmichael Smyth wrote a book in 1847 entitled 'A History of the Reigning Family of Lahore, with some Account of the Jammu Rajahs, the Seik Soldiers and their Sardars'.<sup>45</sup> The chief objective behind writing this book was to bring out all the important facts which pertained to the political condition of the Lahore Darbar.<sup>46</sup>

The importance of Smyth's work lies in the fact that he has been very heavily depended upon by scholars, both European and Indian to discredit the Lahore Darbar.

Maharaja Ranjit Singh had enlisted 39 Europeans to westernize his army and Lieutenant Colonel Henry Steinbach was one among such officers. Henry Steinbach was German, who entered the Khalsa Darbar service in 1836 as a battalion commander.<sup>47</sup> He narrowly escaped during the mutiny in the Sikh army in 1843. In 1843 he returned to Europe but after one year arrived in India in May 1844. After

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43. G. Khurana *British Historiography on the Sikh power in Punjab*, p.47

44. During his long service Prinsep was brought into close contact with a long succession of Governor Generals including Lord Hastings, Lord Amherst, Lord William Bentinck, Lord Auckland and Lord Ellenborough. In 1865 he wrote autobiographical sketch of his official life. Prinsep was conservative to the backbone. On the education question, Prinsep was strongly opposed to the policy, initiated by Macaulay of substituting English for the classical oriental languages as the medium of instruction. In 1835, Prinsep was appointed as a member of Governor General's Council during a temporary vacancy which was made permanent in 1840. He retired from service in 1843 and settled in London. In order to enter Parliament, he contested from four constituencies as a conservative candidate and was elected from Harwich, but was unseated on technical grounds. He was elected member of Court of Directors in 1850 and retained his Directorship even when the Council of India was established in 1858. He retired in 1874 because of deafness and failing sight and died on Feb. 11, 1878.

45. Fauja Singh (Ed.) *Historians and Historiography of the Sikhs*, p.30

46. G. Khurana *British Historiography on the Sikh power in Punjab*, p.64

47. Darshan Singh, *Western Perspective on the Sikh Religion*, p.17

returning from Europe he joined the services of Raja Gulab Singh of Jammu as the Commandant of a couple of battalions and some guns.<sup>48</sup> He remained there till 1851.

Henry Steinbach's book was published in 1845 under the title 'The Punjab: Being Brief Account of the History of the Country of the Sikhs, its Extent, History, Commerce, Productions, Government, manufacturers, Laws, Religion'.<sup>49</sup>

It appears that the main aim of the author was not to produce any authentic account of the history of the Punjab but to put together in a hastily and less than responsible manner the material available on the country of the Sikhs in order to make a forceful plea for the annexation of the Punjab by the British. The author touches upon all the important aspects of the life and the country of Punjab. Although the account of Steinbach is highly prejudicial, it may be regarded as a useful and contemporary source about the period following the death of Ranjit Singh which witnessed a transformation in the political scene of the Punjab.

Alexander Gardner was adventurous by temperament. He was born in 1785 near Lake Superior in North America.<sup>50</sup> His father was a Scottish emigrant and his mother was an English resident of Mexico. Gardner started his travels in his childhood. From Mexico he came to Ireland. After visiting Madrid and Cairo, he joined his brother in Russia. After his brother's death he moved down to Persia and from there to Afghanistan with a keen desire to reach Punjab. He arrived in Punjab in 1831.<sup>51</sup>

In Afghanistan he got married to a native girl and led a peaceful life for two years during which a child was born to him. Both his wife and child died in a clash. During his stay in Punjab he joined the artillery service of Ranjit Singh as a Colonel. After Ranjit Singh's death he joined the services of Dhyani Singh and his brother Gulab Singh. He died on 22<sup>nd</sup> January 1877 and his body was buried in the cemetery

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48. G. Khurana *British Historiography on the Sikh power in Punjab*, p.108

49. Darshan Singh, *Western Perspective on the Sikh Religion*, p.18

50. C.E. Buckland, *Dictionary of Indian Biography*, p.159

51. *Ibid.*

of Sialkot, now in Pakistan.<sup>52</sup>

Alexander Gardner wrote a book entitled 'Soldier and Traveller: The Memories of Alexander Gardner, Colonel of Artillery in the service of Maharaja Ranjit Singh'. His book is divided into sixteen Chapters. First nine chapters deal with Gardner's own life; chapters ten to fifteen are about the apotheosis of Ranjit Singh's power and the last chapter is about his last days at Srinager.

Known in the Khalsa service as Martin Sahib, John Martin Honigberger was born in 1795 at Krontadt.<sup>53</sup> He left his country in 1815 and reached Varna on the Black Sea. After visiting Constantinople, Syria and Cairo he reached Baghdad. In search of job he traveled to Karachi and then to Lahore in 1829. He possessed knowledge of eleven languages. After Ranjit Singh's death Pandit Jalla dismissed Honigberger from Lahore Darbar's services. But after Jalla's death he was re-employed.

Honigberger got married to a Kashmiri woman by whom he had two children. They were educated at Mussouri, a hill station near Dehradun. When he returned to Hungary he took them along with him.<sup>54</sup>

Honigberger's wrote the book 'Thirty five years in the East' first published at Calcutta in 1852. Through the medium of this book, he provides useful and authentic information about peculiar diseases, indigenous methods of treatment and social attitudes towards diseases and patients. He also writes about the social codes of untouchability which governed matters of food and eating by the high and the low alike. He also mentions that Hindu and Sikhs did not take any liquid prepared by a Muslim or a European. He gives detailed information about the intoxicants popular among Muslims as well as Hindus. Honigberger's work can be accorded the status of an immensely valuable resource containing information about the actual social conditions in the Punjab of those days.

Another contemporary Western writer to have written on the history of the Sikh Gurus and their teachings is W.L. M'Gregor. M'Gregor was a medical doctor

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52. N.K. Sinha, *Ranjit Singh*, (n.p.) Calcutta. 1968, p.206

53. Fauja Singh (Edi.) *Historians and Historiography of the Sikhs*, p.50

54. *Ibid.* p.55

and attached to the first European Infantry as Assistant Surgeon in 1835, when he first visited Punjab.<sup>55</sup> He witnessed the Dusshera festival in Amritsar in the company of Maharaja Ranjit Singh in September-October of 1835. In year 1836 he came to Lahore on deputation by the orders of the Lord Metcalfe, the Governor of the North West provinces.<sup>56</sup> During this time he got very close to the Maharaja and began having frequent meetings with the latter.<sup>57</sup> After Ranjit Singh's death M'Gregor went back to his regiment in Sabathu and continued taking interest in the Punjab politics.

When the first Sikh war broke out M'Gregor with his regiment came at Mudki on 20 December 1845.<sup>58</sup> He served as a Medical officer till the end of the war and happened to be an eye witness of Mudki and Sabraon battles.<sup>59</sup> After the war M'Gregor was posted at Lahore Darbar to serve under Sir Henry Lawrance. During his stay at Punjab he collected material on the Sikh history and published a complete history of the Sikhs in two volumes by the end of 1846.

M'Gregor is the first western writer to have written a complete detailed history of the Sikhs from the birth of Guru Nanak to the annexation of Kot Kangra by the Britishers. The first edition of his book was sold within a few months and the second edition appeared in 1847 without any revision.

This book by M'Gregor has Guru Nanak and his successors as its subjects. He also gives details about Guru Gobind's relations with the hill chiefs and the Mughals as well as Banda's incomplete mission. The period of widespread persecution of the Sikhs by Mughal Governor's of Punjab and the Misl period also form a part of the book. The book also covers the life of Ranjit Singh till his death; Ranjit Singh's successors and the Anglo Sikh Wars.<sup>60</sup>

As far as this phase of history is concerned, he does not add anything to the information on Sikhism already available except some gross misrepresentations of

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55. Darshan Singh, *Western Perspective on the Sikh Religion*, p.19

56. G. Khurana *British Historiography on the Sikh power in Punjab*, p.92

57. S.S. Bal, *Guru Nanak in the eyes of Non-Sikhs*, Chandigarh, 1969, p.60

58. Fauja Singh (Edi.) *Historians and Historiography of the Sikhs*, p.60

59. G. Khurana *British Historiography on the Sikh power in Punjab*, pp.99-100

60. J.S. Grewal, *Contesting Interpretation of the Sikh Tradition*, p.26

such central events and turning points of the Sikh history as the martyrdom of Guru Arjun Dev, Guru Teg Bahadur and the younger sons of Guru Gobind Singh.<sup>61</sup> It is noteworthy that even after spending several years among the Sikhs he remained ignorant of such basic things as the initiation ceremony of the Sikhs, the creation of the Khalsa etc.<sup>62</sup>

Joseph Davey Cunningham's 'History of the Sikhs' has been regarded as the culmination of almost a century long process of western writings on the Sikhs. Cunningham was born on June 9, 1812<sup>63</sup> in Lambeth in a Scottish family. His father Allan Cunningham was a writer of a few creative and historical books which include Marmaduke Maxwell, a drama, and books on the lives of the most eminent British painters, sculptors and architects published between 1829 and 33. Cunningham received his education in different private schools of London. He had a very distinguished career at Addiscombe, a military seminary for training military officers for the East India Company. He reached India in 1832.<sup>64</sup> First of all he was employed on the staff of the Chief Engineer of the Bengal presidency. In 1837 he was appointed assistant to Colonel Cluade Wade. For the next eight years he held various appointments under the successor of Colonel Wade. When the first Anglo Sikh war started he was appointed as a political agent in the State of Bahawalpur.<sup>65</sup> In 1840 he was placed in administrative charge of the district of Ludhiana. During part of 1841 he was in magisterial charge of the Ferozepur district. In 1843 he was in civil charge of Ambala. During the first Sikh war he joined the army with the order of Charles Napier.<sup>66</sup> He was present during many battles like those of Ferozepur, Badowal and Aliwal.

The Governor General harboured a suspicion that Cunningham favored the

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61. G. Khurana *British Historiography on the Sikh power in Punjab*, p.106

62. Darshan Singh, *Western Perspective on the Sikh Religion*, p.21

63. C.E. Buckland, *Dictionary of Indian Biography*, p.103

64. Darshan Singh (Edi.) *Western Image of the Sikh Religion*, (Introduction), p.xvi

65. C.E. Buckland, *Dictionary of Indian Biography*, p.103

66. G. Khurana *British Historiography on the Sikh power in Punjab*, p.122

Sikhs and as a consequence of this he made him a political agent of Bhopal.<sup>67</sup> Here, in 1849, he published his work 'History of the Sikhs'.<sup>68</sup> In this book Cunningham tried to expose the truth of the first Anglo Sikh war. Quite expectedly, he was relieved of his political posting on July 11, 1849. He died on February 28, 1851 at Ambala.<sup>69</sup> Joseph remained unmarried. His commitment to his career is reflected in the fact that he never took any leave during his service of sixteen years.<sup>70</sup>

During his eight year stay among the Sikhs, he availed of every opportunity to familiarize himself with the people. During the period between 1844 and 1848 he published a few scholarly papers for publication in the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.<sup>71</sup> These were "Notes on Moorcrafts travels in Ladakh" in 1844; "Notes on the Antiquities of the Districts within the Bhopal Agency" in 1847; "On ruins of Puthree" in 1848 and "Notes on the Limitsnon Perpetual Show in the Himalayas" in 1848.<sup>72</sup> The author came in for criticism mainly for his sympathies for and appreciation of the Sikh faith and also for his indictment of some of the functionaries of the Company for their antagonistic policy towards the Sikh kingdom.

The 'History of the Sikhs' contains nine chapters.<sup>73</sup> The first chapter deals with the country and the people. The teachings of Guru Nanak have been discussed in the second chapter. The third chapter concentrates on the growth of the Sikh faith under the later Gurus, creation of the Khalsa and the struggle of Banda Singh. In the fourth

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67. Joseph seems to have expected a promotion in the North Western Agency itself and did not like his shift to Bhopal. However, he made best use of it. In fact after moving to Bhopal he won further laurels as an efficient political figure. Soon after his arrival at Bhopal, he brought about peace in that turbulent state, then under a minor Nawab and his mother carrying on the administration. For this role he subsequently got a commendation certificate from Sir Henry Hardinge. He also prevailed upon the states in Rajputana to follow the example of Bhopal to increase their tributes to the British. This enabled the British to make their contingents in these states effective bodies and to put peace in the whole world of Central India on an enduring basis. As the head of the British agency in Bhopal Cunningham took great interest in the archaeological remains lying not only within the territory under Bhopal agency but even beyond it. In Jan. 1848 he wrote to the Resident of Indore to pay attention to the architectural and sculptural remains at Sanchi.

68. S.S. Bal, *Guru Nanak in the eyes of Non-Sikhs*, p.76

69. Harbans Singh, *Encyclopaedia of Sikhism*, Patiala, 1998, Vol II, p.481

70. C.E. Buckland, *Dictionary of Indian Biography*, p.103

71. Fauja Singh (Edi.) *Historians and Historiography of the Sikhs*, p.96

72. S.S.Bal, *British Policy Towards Punjab*, Calcutta, Nov. 1971, Appendix I, p.253

73. Darshan Singh, *Western Perspective on the Sikh Religion*, p.24



chapter a detailed analysis of the history of the Sikhs up to 1764 is carried out. The fifth chapter deals with the Misl period and also traces the establishment of the Sikh rule under Maharaja Ranjit Singh's till 1808-09. The next two chapters are devoted to the rule of Ranjit Singh up to his death in 1839. Whereas the eighth chapter deals with the aftermath of Ranjit Singh's death till the year 1845, the last chapter probes the causes and outcome of the first Sikh war.<sup>74</sup>

Cunningham's work proved to be a source of inspiration for a whole generation of Indian historians of the Sikhs during the 20<sup>th</sup> century. It was also significant from the point of view that it told the story of transition. As it also dealt with the period when Punjab was annexed by the British and came face to face with a new destiny the work becomes important for understanding the historical developments that would have a long term bearing for the community of Sikhs and for Punjab.

Cunningham was essentially a historian of ideas. His understanding of the Sikhs chiefly stemmed from his views on their religion and beliefs. Religion appeared to him to be the springboard of all actions of the Sikhs.<sup>75</sup> In no other account of the history of the Sikhs have they been described with so much emphasis and cogency in relation to their faith. The role and inspiration of religion in the development of Sikh community as a political power had earlier been broached by Browne, Polier, Forster Malcolm but it was reserved for Cunningham to fully work out this relationship.<sup>76</sup>

After Cunningham, Horace Hayman Wilson wrote on Sikhism. But his contribution is limited as he wrote very little about the Sikhs. He was born on 26 September, 1786 and was educated in Soho Square, London and St. Thomas Hospital.<sup>77</sup> He joined the East India Company in 1808 as a medical officer. He studied Sanskrit steadily and also translated some books.

Wilson's account of the Sikh sects is contained in his 'Religious Sects of the

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74. C.E. Buckland, *Dictionary of Indian Biography*, p.455

75. G. Khurana *British Historiography on the Sikh power in Punjab*, p.132

76. Darshan Singh, *Western Perspective on the Sikh Religion*, p.43

77. G. Khurana *British Historiography on the Sikh power in Punjab*, p.141

Hindus'. He also wrote 'Civil and Religious Institutions of the Sikhs', 'The Sikh Religion: A Symposium' about the Sikhs. This account is mainly based on Wilkins, Malcolm and his personal observations.<sup>78</sup>

Undoubtedly it is a serious attempt to provide a systematic account of the beliefs and practices of the Sikhs but the analysis suffers greatly because of the author's ignorance of the true facts and lack of familiarity with the community.

The next in line of the Western historians of the Sikhs is Robert Needham Cust. Robert Needham Cust was a distinguished Civil servant of East India Company. He was born on February 24, 1821 and was educated at Eton and Haileybury. He entered in the Bengal Civil Service in 1843 and retired in 1867.<sup>79</sup> He served in the North West Province and Punjab in many capacities. During the Anglo Sikh wars he was present in Punjab and happened to be an eye witness of Mudki, Firozshahr and Sabraon episodes. In 1855 he was called to the bar from Lincoln's Inn. He also took part in the settlement of Punjab after the mutiny of 1858. From 1864 to 65 he was home secretary to the Government of India. He also served as Honorary Secretary of the Royal Asiatic Society for some time.<sup>80</sup>

Robert Cust produced many books on the religions and languages of the world. He also authored a book on Guru Nanak Dev entitled 'The Life of Baba Nanak, the Founder of the Sikh Sect' and published it during 1859-60. The book was then reprinted in 1863.<sup>81</sup> He has given a very impressive account of the life of Baba Nanak and the nature of his mission. This account is largely based on the Sikh chronicles and the information collected by Cust during his stay in Punjab. Cust did not enter into any controversial issue in the process of writing his account. After the annexation of Punjab the British made a proposal to Cust for translating Adi Granth and Dasam Granth. However, he was unable to take up the project.

It is also necessary to study the writings of Lepel Henry Griffin in a survey of

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78. Darshan Singh, *Western Perspective on the Sikh Religion*, pp. 26-27

79. S.S. Bal, *Guru Nanak in the eyes of Non-Sikhs*, p.94

80. C.E. Buckland, *Dictionary of Indian Biography*, p.105

81. Darshan Singh, *Western Perspective on the Sikh Religion*, p.27

the scripting of Indian history by Western scholars. Griffin was born on 20<sup>th</sup> July 1838 at Watford, Hertfordshire. His father had three children, one son and two daughters. He cleared the Indian Civil Services Examination in 1859.<sup>82</sup> As a result he was sent to Punjab as an Assistant Commissioner on 17<sup>th</sup> November 1860. He served in Punjab continuously for a period of two decades and later became Chief Secretary. In April 1875 he was appointed Superintendent of the Kapurthala State. He was elevated to the position of the permanent Chief Secretary of the Punjab in November 1878. In February 1880, he was asked to go to Kabul, as assistant of Sir Fredrick Roberts. For his services the Government conferred on him the titles of C.S.I. in July 1879 and K.C.S.I. in May 1881.<sup>83</sup>

During the tenure of Ripon he was sent to Central India. He was not very enthusiastic about this.<sup>84</sup> In fact, he nurtured a desire to become the Lieutenant Governor of Punjab and later even staked a claim for the coveted position. However, his request was not acceded to. He died at the age of seventy at his residence in London on 9<sup>th</sup> March 1908. He bequeathed a lot of wealth on his wife Marie Elizabeth. His widow later married Mr. Charles Hoare.

Griffin also made notable contribution to the scripting of Sikh history. He wrote 'Punjab Chiefs' and 'Punjab Rajas and the Law of Inheritance to Chiefships'.<sup>85</sup> The 'Punjab Chiefs' can be considered to be Griffin's major contribution. For the purpose of writing this account he was able to collect material by virtue of his personal relations with chieftains and their successors. In addition to this he also used the British official records as a resource.

Griffin seems to have two main objectives behind writing the history of the Punjab. The first is to provide justification for British expansionism in India and

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82. Fauja Singh (Edi.) *Historians and Historiography of the Sikhs*, p.135

83. *Ibid*, p.136

84. It is from here that he wrote a pamphlet of 27 pages titled *Our North West Frontier* from Allahabad in 1881. In 1884 he wrote *The Great Republic* which got published from London. In 1888 was published his *Famous Monuments of Central India*. But Griffen never liked his posting and ultimately when he was ignored for the post of Lieutenet Governor he got completely dejected and resigned in 1889 on medical grounds. S.K. Baja, 'Lepel H. Griffin', in Fauja Singh's (ed.), *Historians and Historiography of the Sikhs*, New Delhi, 1978, pp 136-36

85. C.E. Buckland, *Dictionary of Indian Biography*, pp. 180-81

second to establish the racial and political superiority of the English people over the Indians. Griffin betrays a very poor opinion about caliber and capabilities of the Indian rulers; he describes the policies of British Government towards the Sikh states as uniformly liberal and enlightened.

Griffin endeavours to build a theory that Ranjit Singh's autocratic rule and his weak successors were the major reason for the annexation of Punjab. He also tries to create an impression through his work that British rule was based on the universally cherished idealistic principles of governance like justice, beneficence and strength which according to him were absent in the Sikh rule.<sup>86</sup>

A perusal of his work makes it amply evident that his work is conditioned by an ulterior objective. Rather than being purely historiographic the work is an attempt to provide justification for British rule in the Punjab and a basis for the preservation of British Empire in India. However, one has to concede that Griffin was one of those few administrative historians who have left to us a rich heritage of historical literature on the Sikh period.

The project of translation of the Adi Granth was originally conceived in 1859 but it could begin only in 1869. Ernest Trumpp was entrusted with the responsibility of doing the translation.<sup>87</sup> Trumpp was born on 13 March, 1828 in Ilsfeld near Besigheim in Northern Wuerttemberg. His father's name was George Trumpp and mother's was Sera. By profession his father was a peasant and master carpenter. In the age of seventeen years Trumpp passed the military examination. He took part in liberal movement of 1848, as a result of which he was imprisoned.

Trumpp completed his studies at the University of Tuebingen. From Tuebingen he went to Basel in Switzerland and then proceeded to London.<sup>88</sup> He was employed by the East India House through the good offices of Sir Edwin Norris and was made Assistant Librarian. Due to his accuracy and great talent for grammatical problems Church Mission Society asked him to go to India for the study of modern Indian

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86. Fauja Singh (Edi.) *Historians and Historiography of the Sikhs*, pp.142-43

87. Harbans Singh, *Encyclopaedia of Sikhism*, Patiala, 1998. vol. iv, p.367

88. C.E. Buckland, *Dictionary of Indian Biography*, p.430

languages. Trumpp reached Karachi in 1854 and learnt Sindhi and Persian there.<sup>89</sup> Trumpp got married with Pauline Linder on October 2, 1856 and a son took birth on September 21, 1857. His wife died three days after the birth of the child. In 1858 he married Wilhelmine Lusie Pelaragus. After the second marriage he shifted to Peshawar.

Due to serious illness he left Peshawar and returned to Stuttgart. During this time he continuously worked on languages like Hindukush, Kashmiri, Brahmi etc.<sup>90</sup>

In 1870-71 Trumpp came to Lahore to translate the Sikh scriptures into English. He worked hard all through his life but the intermittent attacks of fever he suffered from made him very weak. He lost his eye sight in 1883, spent the last few years of his life in a mental hospital and passed away on Sunday April 5, 1885.<sup>91</sup>

Trumpp arrived in Lahore in 1870 with the aim of translating the Sikh scriptures. He read the Sikh Granth with the help of Granthis, noted down the grammatical forms and absolute words and drew up a grammar dictionary.<sup>92</sup> Having prepared his tools he went back to Europe in the year 1872 and began to write down the translation. His work was published in 1877 under the title of the 'Adi Granth' or the Holy Scriptures of the Sikhs.<sup>93</sup>

Trumpp's book may be divided into two parts. The first part deals with the life of Baba Nanak, the translation of two Janamsakhis and the life sketches of Sikh Gurus up to Guru Gobind Singh. It also contains an account of the religion of the Sikhs, brief account of the compositions of the Guru Granth Sahib and language and meters used in the Guru Granth Sahib.<sup>94</sup> The second part contains the translations of the compositions of the Guru Granth Sahib, four Ragas and Bani of several Bhagats.

There is no doubt that Trumpp's translations of portions of the Guru Granth Sahib and the Janamsakhis were among the pioneering works in the area of the Sikh

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89. Harbans Singh, *Encyclopaedia of Sikhism*. vol. iv, p.367

90. N.G. Barrier, 'Trumpp and Macauliffe: Western Studies of Sikh History and Religion' in Fauja Singh's (ed.) *Historians and Historiography of the Sikhs*, New Delhi, 1978, p 168

91. C.E. Buckland, *Dictionary of Indian Biography*, p.430

92. Harbans Singh, *Encyclopaedia of Sikhism*. vol. iv, p.367

93. J.S. Grewal, *Contesting Interpretation of the Sikh Tradition*, p.35

94. Darshan Singh, *Western Perspective on the Sikh Religion*, p.31

studies. But because of factors like his own arrogant behavior, his prejudices against the non-Christian religions, his unfamiliarity with the medieval Indian religious movements, his poor opinion of everything Indian combined to defeat the very purpose of his translation of the Sikh scriptures.<sup>95</sup> He did not miss any opportunity that came his way to condemn the Sikh religion. The translation made by Trumpp is replete with sentences which do not approximate the meaning. The failure to capture the essence and communicate the meaning is so great that one regrets the futile labour and the large amount of money spent in vain.

His opinions and gross misrepresentations of the Sikh religion provoked the Singh Sabhaities to raise voice against him. On 5<sup>th</sup> April, 1899, the Khalsa Diwan wrote to Lord Curzon, the Viceroy and Governor General of India that:

*“Trumpp has misrepresented our Granth Sahib....He has spoken in very offensive terms of the language of our sacred volume... We now pray your Excellency to have a correct translation of our sacred scriptures into English which will be worthy of our religion and our race and which will remove the stigma which Dr. Trumpp sought to attach to us forever”.*<sup>96</sup>

## II

Max Arthur Macauliffe was a leading Orientalist known throughout Europe for his original work on Grammars and Philosophy. He was a renowned translator of Sikh scriptures and a noted historian of early Sikhism. One account holds that he was born on September 10, 1841, at Newcastle West, Limerick County, Ireland.<sup>97</sup> But Bhai

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95. Fauja Singh (Edi.) *Historians and Historiography of the Sikhs*, pp.171-72

96. Ms Madanjeet Kaur, ‘A Document Evidence of the Sikh reaction at Trumpp’s translation of the *Adi Granth* in *Pnujab History Conference Proceedings*, Fourteenth Session, March 28-30, 1980, Patiala, p 223

97. Harbans Singh, *The Encyclopaedia of Sikhism*, Vol. III, p.1.

Kahan Singh Nabha in his work 'Mahan Kosh' and W. H. McLeod in his work 'Exploring Sikhism' give 29<sup>th</sup> September 1837 as the date of his birth thus precluding the possibility of consensus.<sup>98</sup> Macauliffe was educated at the Newcastle School, Limerick, Spring Field College and Queen's College, Galway. He received a broad humanistic education that accorded him the opportunity of reading Greek and Latin classics in the original. He was also familiar with French and Italian. However, there is no extant information available about Macauliffe's wife and family. In the examination of 1862 he was chosen for the Indian Civil Service and was deputed to the land of five rivers, Punjab where he joined his duty in February 1864. After completion of eighteen years of service, he was appointed Deputy Commissioner in 1882. Two year later, he became Divisional Judge. During his service in the Punjab Macauliffe devoted himself to the study of Sikhism and its literature.<sup>99</sup> His profound understanding and sympathy for the people of the Punjab and their religious traditions made him an able and just Civil servant. On account of certain factors his fellow Englishmen in India were not appreciative of his labours and work and there was always conflict of interest between them.

The main focus of his life remained in his work as a translator and interpreter of Sikhism. His interest in Sikhism was occasioned by attending a Diwali Celebration in Amritsar shortly after arriving in the Punjab.<sup>100</sup> In one of his articles he has himself recounted the story as to how he got interested in the study of Sikhism. He says, "Several years ago I attended the great Diwali fair at Amritsar and it appeared to me to be worth describing in the Calcutta Review. In doing so, it became necessary for me to understand something of the Sikh religion".<sup>101</sup> This incident aroused his curiosity in Sikh religion and as a result of this he undertook a study of Sikhism with a particular focus on the hymns of the Gurus. He was greatly impressed by the style and standard of the ethics practiced and preached in Sikhism. During this visit he also

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98. Bhai Kahan Singh Nabha, *Mahan Kosh*, Punjab, 1960 Second Edition, p.703.

99 Harbans Singh, *The Encyclopaedia of Sikhism*, p.1.

100. Rattan Singh Jaggi, *Sikh Panth Vishavkosh*, Patiala, 2005, Vol. II, p.1383.

101. Darshan Singh (Ed.), *Western Image of the Sikh Religion*, p.316.

came in the contact with Bhai Gurmukh Singh who was an Assistant Professor of Punjabi at Oriental College, Lahore.<sup>102</sup>

In one of his works published during the initial phase of his career there is a description of a visit to the popular shrine of the semi-legendary Saint Sakhi Sarvar in the Suliman Mountains. This assumed the shape of an article in 1875 issue of the Calcutta Review.

The evidence of his interest in Sikhism first gets manifested in some early articles published in the Calcutta Review between the years 1875 and 1881.<sup>103</sup> The titles of some of the important articles of this period are "Diwali at Amritsar– the Religion of the Sikhs", Calcutta Review, Vol. XI, 1880, 257-272;<sup>104</sup> "The Rise of Amritsar and the Alterations of Sikh Religion" Calcutta Review, Vol. LXXII, 1881, 57-73, and "The Sikh Religion under Banda Singh its Present Condition", Vol. LXXIII, 1881, 155-168. Macauliffe is also famous for the contributions to Sikh literature listed below which came out in the form of books, lectures and encyclopedia entries.<sup>105</sup>

1<sup>st</sup> Translation of the Sikh Scriptures, a lecture at the Akal Takht, Amritsar, The Khalsa, Lahore, February 22, 1899.

2<sup>nd</sup> Life and Teachings of Guru Gobind Singh a paper read at the Orientalists Congress at Rome, Journal of the Orientalists Congress, 1899.

3<sup>rd</sup> Holy Writings of the Sikhs, Allahabad, 1900.<sup>106</sup>

4<sup>th</sup> The Sikh Religion and its Advantages of the State, a lecture before the United Services Institution of India, Shimla, July 6, 1903.

5<sup>th</sup> How the Sikh Became a Military People, Paris, 1905.

6<sup>th</sup> The Holy Scriptures of the Sikhs, Asiatic Quarterly Review, October 1910.<sup>107</sup>

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102. Bhai Kahan Singh Nabha, *Mahan Kosh*, p.703.

103. The Civil and Military Gazettee Lahore, March 19, 1913 as quoted in Mahan Kosh, p.703.

104 M.A. Macauliffe, Diwali at Amritsar in Darshan Singh (Ed.), *Western Image of the Sikh Religion*, New Delhi. 1999, p 42

105 Darshan Singh (Ed.), *Western Image of the Sikh Religion*, pp. 40-50

106 M.A. Macauliffe, Holy Writings of the Sikhs in Darshan Singh (Ed.), *Western Image of the Sikh Religion*, p 316

107 *Ibid*, p.382



7<sup>th</sup> Sikhs, Sikhism and Sikh Wars, entries in the Encyclopedia Britannica, 1911.

8<sup>th</sup> Hindi translation of Guru Nanak's Japji, (unpublished)

While in India, for the most part Macauliffe made his home in Amritsar on the Cantonment Road. For a short period, he also lived in Nabha town of Punjab. Macauliffe secured from Maharaja Ripudaman Singh of Nabha the services of Bhai Kahan Singh,<sup>108</sup> the royal tutor. Bhai Kahan Singh Nabha later earned fame for his authoritative and monumental work "Gurshabad Ratnakar Mahan Kosh", an encyclopaedia of Sikh literature. However, Dr. Rattan Singh Jaggi in his work 'Sikh Panth Vishavkosh' maintains that in 1883 Macauliffe made a request to Maharaja Hira Singh of Nabha to be provided the services of Bhai Kahan Singh Nabha.<sup>109</sup> Bhai Kahan Singh Nabha in his 'Mahan Kosh' has also corroborated this explanation of his association with Macauliffe. On the request of Macauliffe Bhai Kahan Nabha spent two years with him to help him in reading and comprehending Gurbani and Guru Granth Sahib. Macauliffe also spent some time in Mussouri and Dehra Dun where he invited Bhai Kahan Singh Nabha on several occasions.<sup>110</sup>

Macauliffe was posted as the Divisional Judge, Ferozepur, in early 1892. In February 1892, he sought the Government's permission to go on leave partly to complete and publish his work on the Sikhs.<sup>111</sup> On March 14, the Punjab Government informed him that his request could not be granted. In protest, he went on long leave to Europe till May 1893. On May 4, 1893, the Singh Sabha, Ferozepur wrote a letter which was forwarded to him by Bhai Gurmukh Singh, who was the Chief Secretary of the Khalsa Diwan, Lahore, urging him to translate Guru Granth Sahib into English. As English, particularly after the annexation of Punjab, had come to acquire some importance in social, political and administrative terms and as many Sikhs were now learning English there was a realization that it was important and necessary to translate Guru Granth Sahib into English.

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108. Harbans Singh, *The Encyclopaedia of Sikhism*, p.1.

109. Rattan Singh Jaggi, *Sikh Panth Vishavkosh* p.1383.

110. Darshan Singh, *Western Perspective on the Sikh Religion*, pp.35-36

111. Nazer Singh, *Guru Granth Sahib Over to the West*, New Delhi, 2005, p.76.

Macauliffe realized that the massive work of translating the Guru Granth Sahib and writing a definitive and responsible history of Sikhism could not be mixed up with his official encumbrances as a full time civil servant. Yet he could not afford to relinquish his official employment. He had already lost nearly a lakh of rupees in some of the commercial companies which had gone bankrupt. Nevertheless, on the assurance of the Khalsa Diwan, that Sikhs would muster funds for him and on the assurance of Raja Bikram Singh, whom he had met in Faridkot, that he would be paid his six months salary as divisional Judge and provided support from other sources, Macauliffe resigned service in 1893.

Macauliffe had established deep and consistent contacts with leading Sikh scholars and had perfected the requisite linguistic tools. He studied a number of Indian and related languages like Sanskrit, Prakrit, Arabic, Persian, Turkish, Marathi, Gujarati and Punjabi in its various dialects with the purpose of forming an understanding of the linguistic complexities, shades and nuances of the Guru Granth Sahib

Between 1893 and December 1897, Macauliffe worked on the translation of Guru Granth Sahib – a project assigned to him by the Sikhs themselves. In order to equip himself for this onerous and formidable task he spent three years in Amritsar. From 1896 to 1897 he tried to seek Punjab Government's patronage for his work but failed to impress them.<sup>112</sup> Between January 1897 and March 1898, he made three written supplications to the Chief Secretary, Punjab, for this purpose. At the same time, he gave an assurance that he would not produce anything which was not acceptable to the Sikhs.

However, he received encouragement and help for this work of translation from the rulers of princely states such as Raja Hira Singh of Nabha State, Maharaja Rajinder Singh of Patiala State, Raja Ranbir Singh of Jind State, Tikka Ripudaman Singh of Nabha State, Sardar Ranjit Singh of Chachhrauli and the Gaekwad of Baroda State. Unfortunately, this help was not sufficient neither for the execution of his work

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112. *Ibid*, p.77.

nor for meeting the expenses he was incurring. In his letter published on December 25, 1899 he explains how he had employed Gianis and writers to learn Punjabi dialects and on that account incurred a debt of Rs. 35000 in terms of payments to be made to them.<sup>113</sup> He also raised certain points about money that would be needed to cover the printing costs.

In the meantime he attended the Congress of the Orientalists held in Paris where he presented his paper 'The Holy Writings of the Sikhs'. Through the paper Macauliffe gave a detailed account of the origin, motives and circumstances which led to his undertaking the study of Sikh history and religion. Macauliffe highlighted the fact that his scheme was approved and supported by Sikh organizations. Both the Singh Sabha, Amritsar and the Singh Sabha Lahore had endorsed his project. In February 1898 Akand Path was performed for Macauliffe's success at Amritsar.

In May 1898 Macauliffe submitted a Memorandum to the Government of India, asking for a grant of Rs. 10,000 to publish his work. Nothing was heard of it till early 1902 when the Secretary of the state intervened in the matter. In May 1902, the Punjab administration headed by Charles Riwayat recommended that Macauliffe should be given Rs. 5000.<sup>114</sup>

After putting in hard labour of the sixteen years Macauliffe completed the work of translation and published it under the title: 'The Sikh Religion – Its Gurus, Sacred Writings and Authors' in 1909, in six volumes. The work was published by the Clarendon Press in Oxford.<sup>115</sup> After the publication of his work Macauliffe contributed some articles on Sikhism to the eleventh edition of the Encyclopaedia Britannica and continued to interpret Sikhism for both popular and scholarly audiences by means of lectures and articles. He died on 15 March 1913 in his London home, Sinclair Gardens, West Kensington. He was attended in the end of his life by a Punjabi servant called Muhammad who reported that Macauliffe recited the Japji, the

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113. *Ibid.* (But Harbans Singh in his work, The Encyclopaedia of Sikhism given another date Dec. 25, 1898 to wrote the letter).

114. *Ibid.*, p.82.

115. Rattan Singh Jaggi, *Sikh Panth Vishavkosh*, p.1384.

Sikh morning prayer, shortly before he died.<sup>116</sup>

British officers in India did not approve of Macauliffe's approach towards Sikhism. This was a major factor behind turning down his request for the official government patronage which he needed to complete his work. In the process of completing 'The Sikh Religion' he spent a lot of money from his personal funds. It is estimated that he spent two lakhs of rupees for the completion of his work.<sup>117</sup> A number of Indians including Maharaja Hira Singh of Nabha State, Raja Ranbir Singh of Jind State, Sardar Ranjit Singh of Chhachhrauli, H.H. Gaekwad of Baroda State in addition to leading scholars and statesmen recommended 'The Sikh Religion' for the patronage of the Indian Government.<sup>118</sup> A meeting of special committee of Sikh scholars was held under Jawala Singh superintendent of the Golden Temple which carefully examined Macauliffe's translation of the Guru Granth Sahib and commended them as accurate and faithful to the essence of Sikh religion and scriptures. The Punjab Government recommended a grant of Rs. 15000 as advance payment for copies of the translation.<sup>119</sup>

There were some officers in the Punjab Government who following the lead of Sir Maclaworth Young, opposed the grant as very high. Finally Lord Morley, the secretary of state, ordered the sum to be reduced to Rs. 5000 but Macauliffe declined it.<sup>120</sup> According to the 'Civil and Military Gazzettee', Lahore, March 19, 1913, the Government's offer of Rs. 5000 was declined by Macauliffe because this amount was not sufficient for the valuable and high quality work.<sup>121</sup>

This shows that the British Government was not amenable to Macauliffe's propositions nor was it supportive of his enterprises primarily for his pro-Sikh approach. When Macauliffe died resolution of condolence was passed by various Sikh organizations. The Sikhs of Rawalpindi established a Macauliffe Memorial Society

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116. Harbans Singh, *The Encyclopaedia of Sikhism*, p.2.

117 Harbans Lal, 'Max Arthur Macauliffe: The Western Gateway to Study of Sikhism', in *Studies in Sikhism and Comparative Religion*, vol. XIV, Number- I, New Delhi, Jan-June, 1995, p 44

118 Nazer Singh, *Guru Granth Sahib Over to the West*, p.76

119. Harbans Singh, *The Encyclopaedia of Sikhism*, p.2.

120 W.H. Mcleod, *Exploring Sikhism*, New Delhi, 2000, p.262

121. The Civil and Military Gazzettee Lahore, March 19th, 1913 as quoted in Bhai Kahan Singh, *op.cit.*, p.703.

and tried to raise money for a library.<sup>122</sup> However they succeeded in collecting only Rs. 3245 which was not sufficient to establish a library. Then they decided that money would be used for a Macauliffe Medal to be awarded by the University of the Punjab in Lahore. Later, the University rejected this offer because it was felt that the competition for the medal would be limited only to the Sikhs. Finally money was given to Khalsa college in Amritsar where a medal to be awarded each year was instituted for the best essay on a historical topic.<sup>123</sup>

Macauliffe undertook the work of translating the Guru Granth Sahib and of writing the history of Sikhism with a sense of urgency. The reason was that he believed that the moral and religious spirit of the essential and original tenets and philosophy of Sikhism was in danger. The first important reason was that Ernest Trumpp had translated the Sikh scriptures in 1877 which were perceived to be inaccurate and misleading for the coming generations. Secondly, the Punjabi language was going through extensive transformation and due to the diachronic linguistic changes there was a feeling that it would become difficult to form an adequate understanding of the hymns of the Guru Granth Sahib. Thirdly a whole generation of the older Gianis, the professional interpreters of the scripture, was getting depleted and was not being replenished by younger men able to keep the voice of tradition alive. Fourthly the educated Sikhs were losing not only the linguistic skills, but also the religious motivation to understand their own traditions. Lastly no adequate dictionary existed, at that time, of the language of the Guru Granth Sahib, although the foundations for one had been laid in the work of Pandit Tara Singh Narotam.<sup>124</sup> Macauliffe wanted to catch living tradition as a guide before it was lost.

In the translation of Guru Granth Sahib Macauliffe took the help of studies of western scholars done prior to him such as those by Henry Colebrooke, John Malcolm, Joseph Davey Cunningham, Horance Hayman Wilson, Monier Williams

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122 Harbans Singh, *The Encyclopaedia of Sikhism*, p.2.

123 *Ibid.*

124 According to Dr. Ratan Singh Jaggi, Pandit Tara Singh Narotam was born in 1822 A.D. in District Gurdaspur. He wrote many remarkable books related to Sikh religion like-Shri Guru Tirath Sangrah, Gurmet Nirmina Sagar and Wahiguru Shabadarth Tikka.

and Fredrick Max Muller. It is important to state that Macauliffe followed his independent judgments and convictions rather than simply re-inscribing research done by others. In his work Macauliffe also tried to escape from and set right the misleading and erroneous impressions created by the earlier scholars such as Ernest Trumpp.

Macauliffe faced a lot of problems in translating the Sikh Scriptures. He had to consult a large number of Granthis, Gianis and other learned men and Sikh scholars. The chief one, as mentioned above was Bhai Kahan Singh Nabha a renowned Sikh scholar. He also maintained active liaison with all the important contemporary exegetes of the sacred word such as Bhai Sardul Singh Giani, Bhai Sant Singh of Kapurthala, Bhai Fateh Singh, Bhai Darbara Singh, Bhai Bhagwan Singh of Patiala, Bhai Dasaundha Singh of Ferozepur and Giani Ditt Singh. A few Gianis were kept in his regular employment all the time. His house in Amritsar was like a school of divinity where theological deliberations and literary and linguistic hair-splitting went on all the time. Dealing with the Gianis was not an easy task. Some of them had chronic and predetermined objections to sharing their sacred knowledge with a European. None of them knew English and hardly any two agreed in their interpretations. Sometimes when Macauliffe found pious and learned men holding very different views and opinions from his own it became difficult to reconcile the contradictions that emerged in his mind. "I have met so called Gianis who could perform *tours de force* with their sacred work and give different interpretations of almost every line of it".<sup>125</sup> The best way of resolving such difficulties was that of placing second and third interpretations in footnotes when differences were irresolvable.<sup>126</sup> Finally his guiding principle was to ascertain to what extent an interpretation was related to its context and whether it was harmonious with the whole of Sikh doctrine. He also made it a point to consult the Sikh community.

Before Macauliffe, Ernest Trumpp, a German missionary had been engaged by

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125 Darshan Singh (Ed.), *Western Image of the Sikh Religion*, p.321.

126. Harbans Singh, *The Encyclopaedia of Sikhism*, p.3.

the India office to translate the Guru Granth Sahib. This translation was completed in 1877.<sup>127</sup> As soon as it came out Trumpp's work came in for severe criticism by the Sikh community because it was perceived to be full of inaccuracies and to be misleading in nature. The criticism of Trumpp chiefly because of his method and findings had started being voiced ever since 1871.<sup>128</sup> His first major critics were Donald F. McLeod and R.N. Cust. The British enquiry made in 1873, also showed that Pandits in Lahore had disapproved Trumpp's method. Macauliffe realised that linguistic complexities and incongruities was the basic problem behind the failure of Trumpp's translation. Moreover, Trumpp also disregarded the traditional interpretations of the Sikh scriptures. Trumpp kept excessive focus on the Punjabi of the scriptures in the light of its relation to Sanskrit. Thus, an obsessive attention to the derivative aspect of Punjabi and the traces of Sanskrit in it deviated from the real purpose of translation. Trumpp's translation was further impaired because its English was awkward.<sup>129</sup> The chief attribute of Macauliffe's approach was a desire for a fresh approach to the language of the scriptures through the assistance of professional interpreters or Granthis and Gianis of the Sikh community in the light of the Sikh tradition.

Macauliffe's approach to collecting and analysing information was markedly different from Trumpp's.<sup>130</sup> Trumpp studied in isolation and with Non-Sikh informants, Macauliffe on the other hand took the help of prominent scholars of the Sikhs and Sikhism like Bhai Sardul Singh, Bhai Sant Singh, Bhai Prem Singh etc. Unlike Trumpp, Macauliffe did not entertain any bias against the Sikh Religion.<sup>131</sup> On one occasion Macauliffe himself averred, "My own views on religious matters being absolutely unsectarian, I would aim to producing a book acceptable to the Sikhs themselves. I hold no brief from any religious denomination, and would describe the Sikh religion as it is without the introduction of any opinion or comments of my

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127. *Ibid*, p.3

128. Nazer Singh, *Guru Granth Sahib Over to the West*, p.75.

129. Harbans Singh, *The Encyclopaedia of Sikhism*, p.3.

130. Fauja Singh, *Historians and Historiography of the Sikhs*, p.176.

131. Darshan Singh, *Western Perspective on the Sikh Religion*, p.36.

own".<sup>132</sup> Trumpp had given greater importance to Janam Sakhi and Rahitnama literature. The motivation for Trumpp's study was historical linguistics or philology. On the other hand, whenever Macauliffe completed a section of his translation he sent it to Sikh scholars for comments. As such the final draft was the result of the reviews, alterations and suggestions generously given by a large number of scholars and not simply the work of a single person.<sup>133</sup>

### III

As has been brought out above, the most important work on the early Sikh tradition was produced by Max Arthur Macauliffe. "I bring from the East what is practically an unknown religion. The Sikhs are distinguished throughout the world as a great military people, but there is little known even to professional scholars regarding their religion". It was with these words that Macauliffe began his famous and painstaking work. His 'Sikh Religion' covers nearly 2500 pages and is divided into 6 volumes. It can be said that the lives of the ten Gurus and all the Bhagats whose compositions are included in the Adi Granth form a major area of study. An almost equal amount of space in this work is devoted to the compositions of the Gurus and the Bhagats.<sup>134</sup> The first volume contains about twenty nine pages comprising the Preface and about forty pages comprising the Introduction. The rest of the volume is devoted to Guru Nanak's life and hymns. The second volume is devoted to the lives of the second, third and fourth Gurus and their religious compositions. The third volume deals with the life and hymns of Guru Arjan Dev. The fourth volume deals with the life and compositions of the sixth, seventh, eighth and ninth Gurus. The life and compositions of Guru Gobind Singh forms the subject of the fifth volume. The sixth and the last volume deals with Bhagats like Kabir, Namdev, Farid, Shaikh Ibrahim, Ravidas, etc. Among these compositions of Kabir receive relatively greater importance and are studied in 73 pages. In terms of importance Namdev and Farid

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132. Darshan Singh(Ed.), *Western Image of the Sikh Religion*, p.320.

133. Fauja Singh, *Historians and Historiography of the Sikhs*, p.177.

134. J.S. Grewal, *Contesting Interpretation of the Sikh Tradition*, p. 43.



come next. Thirty five pages of the text are devoted to Namdev and twenty three pages to the compositions and life of Farid. Ravidas, on the other hand has more than twenty pages devoted to his life and compositions. Most of the Bhagats like Bhani, Trilochan, Dhanna, Jaidev, Parmanand, Sadhana, Ramanand, Pipa, Sain, Bhikan and Sur Das have only 2 to 10 pages devoted to them. Mira is, however, an exception with 14-15 pages devoted to her in the work of Macauliffe.

By 1908 Macauliffe had finished a voluminous manuscript and had started making arrangements for its publication by Oxford University.<sup>135</sup> Although, the successful completion afforded happiness but it did not last long because Macauliffe failed in his endeavours to secure the support of the Sikhs and English people who had promised to provide financial help for the publication of his work. The author made several unsuccessful attempts for getting financial support for his work. Unfortunately, neither official nor non-official dignitaries come forward with monetary help. To make matters worse the government also refused to sponsor the publication.<sup>136</sup> The promises made by the ruler of Nabha and Patiala state to contribute lakhs of rupees remained unfulfilled. When the Sikh leaders requested the government for help it offered only rupees 5000. As a result of this Macauliffe came under a heavy debt of approximately two lakh of rupees in the process of getting his work published.

In order to ensure the authenticity of his work, Macauliffe utilized as many available primary sources as was possible. The number of primary sources consulted by him was more than that of any of his predecessors. Much of his original evidence comes from Sikh sources like – the Adi Granth, the Dasam Granth, the Works of Bhai Gurdas, the Janamsakhi's, the Gurbilases and the works of Bhai Santokh Singh.<sup>137</sup> From amongst his Sikh contemporaries Macauliffe used the works of Giani Gian Singh and Bhai Kahan Singh Nabha and many others. He also referred to well-known Persian sources like the *Dabistan-i-Mazahib*, the *Khulasat ut-Tawarikh* and the *Siyar*

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135. Fauja Singh, *Historians and Historiography of the Sikhs*, p.179.

136. *Ibid.*

137. J.S. Grewal, *Contesting Interpretation of the Sikh Tradition.*, p.44.

*ul-Mutakhirin*, apart from the works translated by Elliot and Dowson in the history of India.<sup>138</sup>

Macauliffe's work was meant to replace Trumpp's work which was not acceptable to the Sikhs because it was highly inaccurate and unidiomatic and which gave 'mortal offence' to the Sikhs.<sup>139</sup> "Whenever he (Trumpp) saw an opportunity of defaming the Gurus, the sacred books and the religion of the Sikhs, he eagerly availed himself of it".<sup>140</sup> Macauliffe wanted to give a simple and accurate translation which would be acceptable to the Sikhs. With this objective in mind he consulted large number of eminent Sikh scholar's like-Bhai Kahan Singh Nabha, Giani Hazara Singh of Amristar and Bhai Ditt Singh of Lahore.

In his work Macauliffe also tried to avoid repetitions which are very common in Trumpp. It is a significant fact that Macauliffe's translation does not cover the entire Guru Granth Sahib. He was keenly conscious of the fact that Orthodox Sikhs did not like the Guru Granth Sahib to be translated into another language because of their apprehensions that the respect which was due to the Guru Granth Sahib would not be accorded to the translated work.

Macauliffe's understanding of Sikhs and their faith was markedly different from Trumpp's.<sup>141</sup> The difference between the attitudes of these two western scholars can be assessed from that fact that whereas Trumpp desecrated the religion by smoking in the presence of the Holy Granth, Macauliffe always paid obeisance to the Holy Book like a humble Sikh. Macauliffe's work received the immediate approval of the Sikh scholars. Trumpp, on the other hand betrayed a prejudiced attitude by describing Sikhism as a waning religion. It is also well known that Macauliffe recited the Japji ten minutes before his death. This makes it amply clear that Trumpp was prejudiced and critical while Macauliffe was sympathetic and faithful.<sup>142</sup> Raising question on the stature of the Gurus, Trumpp presented the view that the compositions

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138. *Ibid.*

139. *Ibid.*

140. *Ibid.*

141. *Ibid.* p.45.

142. Darshan Singh, *Western Perspective on the Sikh Religion* p.94.

of Bhagats showed that there was no difference between them and Gurus. Expressing disagreement with this view Macauliffe, on the other hand, offered the view that Guru Arjun had included 'the compositions of the Bhagats to show the historical development of the Sikh reformation'. In other words, Sikhism, the youngest religion of the world, was not only an extension of but a further revolutionary improvement upon what had been done by others. More importantly, the Sikh Gurus composed their own language to present their views. The sacred hymns of the Gurus can be taken as the most authentic compositions in the world. Moreover, the religion started by the Gurus was original in spirit and free of any Christian influence. It was based on the concept of the singularity of God and rejected the pagan traditions of Hinduism by adopting fresh and new ideas which were propounded in the age of Guru Nanak.<sup>143</sup> Macauliffe accepted the view that the Adi Granth possessed all the elements and features of a new religion.

Macauliffe adopted a particular pattern or style when presenting the lives and teachings of the Sikh Gurus.<sup>144</sup> He tried to correct the view presented by Trumpp.<sup>145</sup> In his discussion of Nirvan, Macauliffe appears to be improving upon Trumpp's view. Nirvan and Sach Khand were practically the same, suggestive of the union of the human soul with the supreme, like light blending with light or water blending with water. Nirvan could be attained through meditation and by conforming one's life to the teachings of the Guru.<sup>146</sup>

The evolution of the Sikh community was a process of a natural growth of the teachings and the institutions established by Guru Nanak.<sup>147</sup> Like Trumpp, Macauliffe also noted many moral and political merits in Sikhism. In Sikhism worship of idols, caste system, the congregation of widows, tobacco-smoking, infanticide, pilgrimages to the sacred rivers and tanks of the Hindus are discouraged and forbidden.<sup>148</sup>

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143. *Ibid.*

144. Fauja Singh, *Historians and Historiography of the Sikhs*, p.183.

145. J.S. Grewal, *Contesting Interpretation of the Sikh Tradition*, p.46.

146. Darshan Singh, *Western Perspective on the Sikh Religion*, p.180.

147. *Ibid*, p.115.

148. *Ibid*, p.180.

Macauliffe's ideas about the teachings of the Gurus on moral life as well as the nature and character of Sikhism are different from Trumpp's. Macauliffe never accepted Sikhism as a branch of Hinduism because Guru Nanak openly opposed the Hindu rituals and ceremonies.

Macauliffe's primary task was only of translating the Guru Granth Sahib.<sup>149</sup> However, when he completed the work of translation, he found it imperative to introduce the Sikh Gurus and Bhagtas whose hymns had been included in the Guru Granth Sahib for the purpose of correct understanding of their writings.

The Janamsakhis are the main source for the study and understanding of the life of the Gurus. These Janamsakhis, also known as biographies of Guru Nanak were written at different times after the death of Guru Nanak and offer details on different aspects of his life. Almost all of these Janamsakhis have episodes narrating stories of miracles and supernaturalism. However, the oldest authentic account about Guru Nanak's life is Bhai Gurdas's Vars. In terms of language, the Meharban's Janamsakhi, seems to be the oldest account about the life of Guru Nanak. Puratan Janamsakhi, Vilayat Wali Janamsaki, written in the first half of the 17<sup>th</sup> century, also presents a detailed account of the life of Guru Nanak. Bhai Bala's Janamsakhi, the most popular Janamsakhi, was dictated by Bhai Bala on the advice of Guru Angad Dev Ji and written by Paira Mokha. Bhai Mani Singh Janamsakhi also known as Gyan Ratnawali, is yet another reliable source about the life of Guru Nanak.

Macauliffe attached greatest importance to Sewa Das's Janamsakhi written in 1588. It was written in Pothohari language and its characters were older than in any other work. Although it is not free from mythological matter yet it is relatively more rational as compared to other works. It is beyond dispute the most trustworthy record in existence.<sup>150</sup> Macauliffe used this Janamsakhi extensively for the completion of his work.

For the part of his works dealing with the life of Guru Gobind Singh he used

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149. J.S. Grewal, *Contesting Interpretation of the Sikh Tradition*, p.46.

150. *Ibid*, p.48.

sources like Bachittar Natak, Bhai Suka Singh's Gurbilas and Bhai Santokh Singh's Suraj Parkash. He also used Bhai Nand Lal's Zindgi Nama. He also took help from the letters of Guru Gobind Singh written to Tilok Singh, Ram Singh and Khafi Khan's work, probably on the basis of Elliot and Dowson's History of India. Several compositions of Guru Gobind Singh have also been used to authenticate his work. He was the first European writer to use such a large number of evidence in composing an account of Guru Gobind Singh.<sup>151</sup>

Macauliffe's references to the Adi Granth appear to reflect the orthodox Sikh position.<sup>152</sup> Guru Gobind Singh was adding the shaloks of Guru Tegh Bahadur and ourselves first time when he dictated the Granth Sahib to Bhai Mani Singh at Talwandi. Bhai Gurdas and Bhai Banno also edited the Granth Sahib. Bhai Gurdas's copy of Granth Sahib still at Kartarpur in the Jalandhar district and Bhai Banno's Granth Sahib's copy at Mangat in the district of Gujrat.

Macauliffe mentions several other objects of his study. His idea that Sikh studies could throw light on the state of society in the middle ages was quite interesting. According to him, Sikh studies could be useful to the student of comparative theology. The administrative sections could formulate correct policies on the basis of a mature understanding of the Sikhs. With the translation of Sikh scriptures into English Sikh religion spread throughout the world and this transformed into a political advantage for the Sikhs. As per these views Macauliffe's work could serve practical as well as academic purposes, to the advantage of both the rulers and the ruled.

Macauliffe's work received immediate acceptance among Sikh scholars and Sikh organizations. A Giani of the Golden temple and two other eminent Bhais wrote that his translation conformed to the religious principles of the Sikhs. The editor of the 'The Khalsa' expected his work to usher in a new era in Sikh history. The Singh

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151. *Ibid*, p.49.

152. *Ibid*. p.50.

Sabha of Amritsar also accepted Macauliffe's work as an accurate version of the Sikh scripture, especially because Trumpp's translation was not only generally incorrect but also injurious to the religion.

Trumpp's work created a possibility of establishing a non-Sikh or anti-Sikh mood but Macauliffe worked effectively to displace this mood. When Dorothy Fields studied the hymns of Guru Nanak and his successors through Macauliffe's work she accepted the novelty in the precepts and principles and accepted Sikh Religion as a separate world religion and not a sect of the Hindus.<sup>153</sup> Guru Nanak was critical of the three cardinal principles of Hinduism, the Vedas, the caste system and priesthood.

Macauliffe gave Sikhs and the world a readable, popularized but very uncritical account of the early evolution of Sikhism.<sup>154</sup> Macauliffe widened the scope of the study of the early Sikh Tradition through a liberal use of original sources, especially Sikh sources. He was not entirely uncritical in approaching these sources as a result of which he rejected several sources as unauthentic. He tried to find a middle ground between his own critical assessment and the orthodox Sikh views.<sup>155</sup>

Macauliffe's work was of profound help in the purpose of formulating correct state policies and for promoting Sikh interests. This work can be seen as reflecting the views and attitudes of the Sikh scholars of his day who were associated with Singh Sabha Movement. These views were categorically different from those of Trumpp. In his work he approached Sikhism as a totally independent world religion and this view was supported by all the distinguished Sikh scholars. His views like the rejection of the current belief that Guru Gobind Singh invoked the Goddess for instituting the Khalsa and Guru Gobind Singh was opposed to the worship of gods and goddesses were accepted by the Sikhs. Like the contemporary Sikh scholars he also accepted the view that there are three recensions of Adi Granth. Macauliffe's writings are acceptable to the Sikh and non-Sikh scholars. His translation of Adi Granth has been

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153. *Ibid*, p.53

154. Fauja Singh, *Historians and Historiography of the Sikhs*, p.184.

155. J.S. Grewal, *Contesting Interpretation of the Sikh Tradition* p.55.

accepted by the mostly scholars as faithful narration of Sikhs scripture.

Macauliffe in his work 'The Sikh Religion', placed before the world a comprehensive picture of Sikhism and its scriptures. He correctly identified the linguistic context within which the Guru Granth Sahib was formed. As the knowledge of ancient languages has increased, the later day scholars have gone beyond him and even corrected his work. The literary style of his translation has been much debated. Macauliffe wrote in a simple and direct style. He did this not only in the interest of clarity but also because he believed that it reflected more accurately the style of the hymns themselves. The complexities of the problems of translation have yet to be finally resolved. Nevertheless, Macauliffe's translation will remain a basic witness to the meaning of the Guru Granth Sahib.

'The Sikh Religion' is considered to be the most comprehensive work on the early Sikh tradition. It also gives a reliable account of the lives of the Gurus. Although Macauliffe has produced an authentic work yet he has also included several stories of miracle particularly in the context of the life of Guru Nanak Dev. As has been discussed Macauliffe depended greatly on the Janamsakhis for Guru Nanak's life and teachings and these Janamsakhi's are replete with miraculous stories and inaccuracies. Although, Macauliffe tried not to incorporate these miraculous stories as far as possible yet he did not totally exclude them. Many incidents related with Guru Nanak's life like the rain of flowers from sky during the time of his birth, the protective shadow of trees and the shadow of snake and many other stories related to the time of his travels are derived from the Janamsakhis. One has to concede that is not possible to write about the life of Guru Nanak without incorporating these incidents but it is also true that these incidents are not based on historical facts. Had Macauliffe not included these stories his account may not have been received as a comprehensive one. Because almost every contemporary source on Guru Nanak made a mention of these incidents their absence in Macauliffe's work would have been considered a major deviation.

A result of hard labour of 16 years, the work is undoubtedly a pioneer work in the Sikh studies and is still considered a dependable reference book to study the unexplored aspects of Sikhism.

The British writings on the Sikhs were basically a result of the British interest in the rise and growth of the Sikhs. The British writers who wrote about Sikhs were not trained in the austerities of the historical discipline. Some of them were just travelers and some of them worked under the dictates of the East India Company. The motive behind these historical writings kept changing from time to time. It can be concluded that although there remain lots of errors or misunderstandings in many of these writings, they are still very useful for the purpose of writing history.



## CHAPTER - II

### EARLY LIFE OF GURU NANAK

The fifteenth century can be described as a period when new religious-political intellectual syntheses came into existence. Both in Europe and India many minds awoke to the consciousness of a new kind of intellectual responsibility. Guru Nanak, the founder of Sikhism was born at a time when not only the Punjab but the entire India was passing through a long period of diffusion and conflict in the fields of culture and religion. Holding all the available Sikh records as evidence, Macauliffe writes that Guru Nanak was born in the early morning of the third day of the light half of the month of Baisakh (April-May) in the year 1469 A.D., Bikrami era of the year 1526.<sup>1</sup> Macauliffe's opinion is based on the Sikh chronicles like Meharban Wali Janam Sakhi, Valiyat Wali Janam Sakhi and Bhai Mani Singh Wali Janam Sakhi or Gian Ratnavali, Sarup Das Bhalla's Mahima Parkash and Santokh Singh's Gur Partap Suraj Granth. It is however noteworthy that Keasar Singh Chibber in his Bansawali Nama and Bhai Bala Wali Janam Sakhi had given Kartik as the month of birth of Guru Nanak.

Macauliffe acknowledges the contradictions in the opinion of historians/writers in the matter of the date of Guru Nanak's birth and argues that "but for convenience sake his anniversary is now observed by the Sikhs on the occasion of the full moon in the month of Kartik (October-November)".<sup>2</sup> Modern historians like Harbans Singh, Surjit Singh Bal, J.D. Cunningham, J.S. Grewal, W.H. Mcleod, Teja Singh, Ganda Singh, G.C. Narang etc. also support the opinion that the month of Baisakh is the actual time of the birth of Guru Nanak. Macauliffe does not delve deeper into the question of convenience and its nature due to which the birthday is observed in the month of Kartik. Moreover, Macauliffe does not describe the place of Guru Nanak's birth in clear terms. The Janamsakhis and several famous or eminent modern

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1 M.A. Macauliffe, *The Sikh Religion*, New Delhi, 1963, Vol., I, p.1.

2 *Ibid.*

historians like Harbans Singh, Surjit Singh Bal, J.D. Cunningham, J.S. Grewal, W.H. Mcleod, Teja Singh, Ganda Singh, G.C. Narang, Karam Singh etc. agree that Rai Bhoi Di Talwandi, named after Rai Bhoi, which is today known as Nankana Sahib is the birth place of Guru Nanak. Meharban wali Janam Sakhi, on the other hand, mentions Chahla Wale in Lahore district as the birth place.<sup>3</sup> Interestingly, the second copy of Meharban Wali Janamsakhi which is preserved in Khalsa College Amritsar, again mentions Talwandi as the birth place of Guru Nanak. It can be concluded that the village Talwandi is accepted by the most of the historians as a birth place of Guru Nanak.

There are many incredible stories famous about the birth time of Guru Nanak which seems to be of an apocryphal nature. These stories are mainly a part of the Janamsakhi's. Macauliffe tries to avoid incorporating these stories probably because of a realization that these stories are work of imagination. These are not based on historical facts. According to Janam Sakhi accounts illustrious and remarkable prodigies attended the event of birth. Light flashed across the mud built room in which the birth took place. The gifted and the wise in the celestial regions and below rejoiced in the fortunate event and stood in obeisance to the superb spirit which had adopted bodily vesture in fulfillment of the divine will.<sup>4</sup>

In his historiographic account Macauliffe goes on to write that the name of Guru Nanak's father was Mehta Kalu. As per Macauliffe's version Mehta Kalu was born in 1440 C.E., which corresponds to 1497 Bikrami Era.<sup>5</sup> After the death of Mehta Kalu's father, Shiv Ram, he became an accountant (Patvari) at the age of about twenty-two in the village of Talwandi in the present Lahore district of the Punjab. His mother's name was Tripta and she was the daughter of Rana.<sup>6</sup> These facts given by Macauliffe are endorsed by most of the Sikh chroniclers and modern historians like Harbans Singh, Surjit Singh Bal, J.D. Cunningham, J.S. Grewal, W.H. Mcleod, Teja

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3 Kirpal Singh, *Janam Sakhi Parampara*, Patiala, 1969, p.58.

4 Harbans Singh, *Guru Nanak and the origins of the Sikh faith*, New Delhi, 1969, p.66.

5 M.A. Macauliffe *The Sikh Religion*, p.1.

6 *Ibid*, (Tripta belonged to village Chahal, in Tehsil and district Lahore, which is situated at 8 miles distance east of Lahore cantonment).

Singh, Ganda Singh, G.C. Narang and Karam Singh.

Macauliffe records that during the time of Guru Nanak's birth the father sat outside tense with expectation when the midwife Daulatan came out and announced the birth of the child.<sup>7</sup> However, Macauliffe in his account does not clearly state whether the announcement also referred to the newly born child being male or female. There are other accounts by Sikh chroniclers like Santokh Singh's *Gur Partap Suraj Granth* and that of Harbans Singh which specify that midwife Daulatan announced that it was the male child.<sup>8</sup>

Macauliffe makes an interesting point when he notes that Daulatan, the midwife described the child's first cry as the laughter of a wise man. On the other hand, Bhai Mani Singh in his *Janamsakhi* has written that Nanak uttered 'Waheguru' at the time of birth. One can argue that as such incidents bear the appearance of being unusual and implausible and attributing such physical abilities like laughing and uttering sacred words to a child is owing to the writers desire to enhance to the appeal of their works and to present Guru Nanak as a figure endowed with miraculous powers.

The first thing for Kalu to do was to call for the family priest so that he could prepare the horoscope according to the stellar formations at the time of birth. S.S. Bal corroborates Macauliffe's account by recording that Kalu walked across to the house of Hardial, the family priest, who was still performing his morning prayers and rituals.<sup>9</sup> Macauliffe writes that the astrologer expressed a desire to see the child, but his mother refused a glimpse owing to the chillness of the weather.<sup>10</sup> On further persuasion the child was brought to him in his swaddling clothes. The astrologer on seeing the child declared that the child would wear the umbrella, the symbol of regal or prophetic dignity in the East.<sup>11</sup> He would be liked by both Hindus and Musalmans

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7 *Ibid.*

8 Bhai Santokh Singh, *Gurpartap, Suraj Granth*, (Edi) Ajit Singh Aulak, Amritsar, Vol. I, 2004, p.56 and Harbans Singh, *Guru Nanak and the origins of the Sikh faith*, p 67

9 S.S.Bal, *Life of Guru Nanak*, Chandigarh, 1984, p.18.

10 M.A. Macauliffe *The Sikh Religion*, p.1

11 *Ibid.*

and his name would resound both on earth and heaven.

Macauliffe in his work discusses the naming of the child as Nanak, but he does not specify after how many days of birth he was given the name. S.S. Bal, in his account writes that after nine days of birth the name giving ceremony was held.<sup>12</sup> Differing with both these accounts, Bhai Bala Wali Janamsakhi states that name giving ceremony was held after 13 days.<sup>13</sup>

Macauliffe does not include the first five years of Nanak's life. Although Macauliffe's work is largely based on Janamsakhis and other Sikh chronicles still it is difficult to understand why he does not deal with the first five years of Guru Nanak's life when all the sources offer a detailed account of these years. The Janamsakhis possess a detailed account of the growth of the child Nanak. Meharban Wali Janamsakhi and Mani Singh Wali Janamsakhi have given a rather dramatic account of the child's growth, "when he was one month of age he could focus his gaze and if the father, mother called out, he could look stably in that direction. When he was two or three months old, he could hold his neck. When he was four, he was given a pelisse to wear and a cradle to lie in. When five, he learned to coo joyously to himself. When he was six months old, he lisped agreeably if anyone who spoke to him. At seven, he could sit up. When he was eight months old, he started creeping on one knee, when nine on both. When he was ten months, he learned to toddle and starting babbling. When he was a year and a half, he prattled freely. When two he started playing with other children of his age. At the age of three he started reading Granths and at the age of four he started serving saints".<sup>14</sup>

Macauliffe writes that at the age of five years Guru Nanak is said to have begun to talk about divine subjects and to have fully understood the meaning of his language. Great trust was reposed in him and both Hindus and Muslims lavished religious adulation on him.<sup>15</sup> Janamsakhis also support this view of Macauliffe. Bhai

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12 S.S. Bal, *Life of Guru Nanak*, p.18.

13 Bhai Bala Wali Janamsakhi (Edi.) Kirpal Singh, *Janam Sakhi Parampara*, Patiala, 1969, p.244.

14 Kirpal Singh, *Janam Sakhi Parampara*, p.59.

15 M.A. Macauliffe, *The Sikh Religion*, p.2.

Bala Wali Janamsakhi and Gur Partap Suraj Granth written by Santokh Singh claim that Nanak threw things out of house at the age of five years.

Mehta Kalu had worldly ambitions for his only son.<sup>16</sup> He wished that he should learn how to read and write and one day take his own place as the revenue official of the village. Macauliffe records that when Nanak was seven years of age, his father asked the village astrologer to select time for the initiation of the boy's education.<sup>17</sup> The astrologer opined that the time had come for Nanak's regular education.

Macauliffe's view that the formal education of Guru Nanak started at the age of 7 finds support in Bhai Bala Wali Janamsakhi and Meharban Wali Janamsakhi. But Bhai Mani Singh Wali Janamsakhi puts the beginning of regular education at five years.<sup>18</sup>

Macauliffe registers that Mehta Kalu in the traditional manner made a formal presentation of rice and betel-nuts (Supari) to Pandit Gopal and entrusted him with the task of teaching Nanak.<sup>19</sup> Bhai Mani Singh in his Janamsakhi mentions the name of the schoolmaster as Brij Nath but some modern historians like Harbans Singh and Surjit Singh Bal cite the name of the schoolmaster as Gopal. Other Janamsakhis are silent about the name of the schoolmaster.

On the first day of formal training the master wrote down the first few letters of the alphabet on a wooden slate and gave it to Nanak to learn. Macauliffe writes that Nanak appears to have continued to attend school for some time. The text narrates an incident when on one day Nanak was not reading books. When the master inquired about the reason for this, Nanak put a question regarding the nature of education that was being imparted to him. At this teacher replied that he possessed knowledge of the *Vedas* and *Shastras* and wanted to instill this knowledge in him.<sup>20</sup> On hearing this Nanak advised him make pursuit of the divine knowledge and composed the

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16 J.D. Cunningham, *A History of the Sikhs*, New Delhi, 1981, p.41.

17 M.A. Macauliffe, *The Sikh Religion*, p.2.

18 *Janam Sakhi Bhai Mani Singh*, (n.d.), p.41.

19 M.A. Macauliffe, *The Sikh Religion*, p.3.

20 *Ibid*, p.8.

following hymn:<sup>21</sup>

*"Burn wordly love, grind its ashes and make it into ink; turn superior intellect into paper. Make divine love thy pen, and thy heart the writer; ask thy guru and write his instruction. Write God's name, write His praises, write that He hath neither end no limit. O master, learn to write this account, So that, whenever it is called for, a true mark may be found thereon".*

The Guru explains to the Pandit thus: - let pure mind be your paper, pure love be your pen, and your ink be formed by burning false love of worldly attachments. Let pure heart and consciousness be the writer and with the Guru's guidance, let your deliberations and writings concentrate on true name. With this background, if you were to write the praises of the Lord, it will be realized that there is no end to his creation.

The story goes that after this the schoolmaster told him to do what he pleased.

Janamsakhis also incorporate this incident of Macauliffe but Harbans Singh narrates this incident in a different way. He writes that one day Nanak filled both sides of the slate with a composition written in his own hand. The teacher, who did not expect a composition of such a high quality from a pupil, was surprised to see Nanak's talent. When Nanak explained the words written by him, the schoolmaster was even more astonished.<sup>22</sup>

Macauliffe suggests that the teacher was still optimistic that Nanak would eventually learn to compute, post ledgers and strike balances so as to be able to adopt his father's vocation.<sup>23</sup> He kept pressing the point upon him. But Guru Nanak's

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21 *Ibid.*

22 Harbans Singh, *Guru Nanak and the origins of the Sikh faith*, p75

23 M.A. Macauliffe, *The Sikh Religion*, pp. 8-9

thoughts lay elsewhere.

Macauliffe writes that Nanak having thus shown his scholastic proficiency and genius, left school and took to private study and meditation. He remained for long periods in the same attitude, whether sleeping or walking and associated continually with religious men. In the words of Macauliffe, “All the Janamsakhi's are unanimous in stating that Nanak's desire was to be either in the forest or in the society of the religious men who frequently visited him”.<sup>24</sup>

Sources like the Janamsakhis and some modern historians write that Father Mehta Kalu was dismayed to see his son come home without mastering the ancestral skill. However, he had not given up hope and wished to put him with Pandit Brij Nath Shastri, the village scholar of classical lore.<sup>25</sup> He thought it might be more in accord with the child's inclinations to read him the religious texts. So Nanak was taken to the Pandit who was pleased to accept him as his pupil. From him he learned Sanskrit, but did not stay long enough to build upon it a worldly career. It is noteworthy that Macauliffe misses this event in his work.

Macauliffe states that Guru Nanak also studied the Persian language.<sup>26</sup> Rai Bular promised that if Nanak learned Persian, in which all state documents and accounts were then written, he would appoint him village accountant in succession to his father.<sup>27</sup> Accordingly, Nanak was sent to the school of a Muslim Maulvi, Rukn-ul-Din to learn Persian and Arabic.<sup>28</sup>

But Harbans Singh and Santokh Singh Gur Partap Suraj Granth have given the name of the Maulvi as Qutb-ud-din.

He gained proficiency in both in a short time and astonished the teacher by his native endowment. Macauliffe does not state at which age Nanak went to learn Persian. On the other hand, Meharban Wali Janamsakhi specifically states that Nanak learnt Persian at the age of 8 years whereas Bhai Mani Singh Janamsakhi gives the

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24 *Ibid.* , p.9.

25 Bhai Santokh Singh, *Gurpartap, Suraj Granth*, (Edi) Ajit Singh Aulak,, p.100.

26 M.A. Macauliffe, *The Sikh Religion*, p.11.

27 *Ibid.*

28 *Ibid.* p.12

age of ten years as the period when Guru Nanak learnt Persian.<sup>29</sup>

There is more authentic testimony that Guru Nanak studied Persian language because some Persian verses composed by Guru Nanak are enshrined in the Granth Sahib.

Macauliffe dwells on the fact that Mehta Kalu pondered over the question of suitable work for Nanak. He felt that Nanak was not well-versed in worldly affairs and not concerned about his future. He, however, sent him to herd buffaloes.<sup>30</sup> There is an incident according to which as Nanak was herding his buffaloes one day, he sat on the ground nearby and fell asleep under a tree.

Valiyat Wali Janamsakhi is also supportive of Macauliffe's version and narrates the same incident. However, Meharban Wali Janamsakhi and Bhai Mani Singh Wali Janamsakhi while describing the incident maintain that Nanak became rapt in his meditation.<sup>31</sup> Some modern historians like Harbans Singh also express the same view.<sup>32</sup> Difference of opinion arises from the conflicting contentions in the Janamsakhis on whether he fell asleep or did meditation. The fact remains that different Janamsakhis give different views about this incident.

Macauliffe goes on to say that the buffaloes broke into a neighbor's field sown with wheat and browsed through it. The owner remonstrated, but Nanak said that God would bless the field.<sup>33</sup> The man was not appeased and he charged Nanak with having laid his crop waste. He insisted on taking him to Rai Bular, the village chief, for justice.

Rai Bular was displeased to hear about Nanak's lapse and thus sent a message to his father Mehta Kalu. Rai Bular also sent his own messengers to inspect the spot. On their return they reported that they could see no damage caused to the crop. Everyone was surprised. The field where this miracle is said to have transpired is

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29 Bhai Mani Singh Wali Janamsakhi, (Edi.) Kirpal Singh, *Janam Sakhi Parampara*, Patiala, 1969, p.363.

30 *Ibid*, p.15

31 Kirpal Singh, *Janam Sakhi Parampara*, p.80.

32 Harbans Singh, *Guru Nanak and the origins of the Sikh faith*, p.80

33 M.A. Macauliffe, *The Sikh Religion*, p.13



marked out for the visitors. It is known as the Kiara Sahib in Nankana Sahib.<sup>34</sup>

This event also possesses the element of miracle in it. The incidence of badly damaged crop being restored to its earlier position involves some kind of supernatural or miraculous intervention. Macauliffe includes this episode in his work without critically examining the facts. Not only Macauliffe but many old and modern historians make a mention of this event in their accounts.

There is confusion about time of this incident also. Meharban Wali Janamsakhi, Bhai Bala Wali Janamsakhi and most of the historians of modern time hold this event took place after the *Janeu* ceremony. Macauliffe on the other hand fixes the time of this event before the *Janeu* ceremony. So there are two different views and it is very difficult to say which one is correct.

According to Macauliffe on Nanak's ninth birthday,<sup>35</sup> Mehta Kalu arranged Nanak's *Janeu* ceremony which used to be a traditional custom. There prevails a quite a lot of ambiguity about the time of the *janeu* ceremony. Janamsakhi Bhai Mani Singh and Meharban wali Janamsakhi concur that *janeu* ceremony was held when Guru Nanak was nine years of age. Surjit Singh Bal, however, maintains that it was solemnized when Guru Nanak was 10 years of age<sup>36</sup> and Harbans Singh fixes the 11<sup>th</sup> year for its consummation.<sup>37</sup> Valiyat Wali Janamsakhi and Bhai Bala Wali Janamsakhi are silent about this event.

Santokh Singh states that Kalu had invited a large number of friends and relatives to his house. Hardial, the family priest, performed the preliminary rites. When the Pandit completed the initial rites, he moved towards Nanak with the *janeu* in his hands but Nanak caught the thread with his hand and asked the priest what he was doing and what advantage would accrue by putting a thread of that description on him. Macauliffe states that the priest replied that, "the *janeu* was the basis of the Hindu religion, that without it a man would only be a *shudhra* and that by putting it

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34 *Ibid.*

35 *Ibid.*, p.16.

36 S. S. Bal, *Life of Guru Nanak.*, p.24.

37 Harbans Singh, *Guru Nanak and the origins of the Sikh faith*, p.76.

on, greatness should be obtained in this world and happiness in the next".<sup>38</sup> On hearing this young Guru uttered the following hymn:<sup>39</sup>

*"Make mercy thy cotton, contentment thy thread,  
continence its knot, truth its twist.  
That would make a janeu for this soul;  
if thou have it, O Brahaman, then put it on me.  
It will not break, or become soiled, or be burned, or lost  
Blest the man, O Nanak,  
who goeth with such a thread on his neck.  
Thou purchasest a janeu for four damris,  
and seated in a square putttest it on".*

The lines can be paraphrased thus: - To show kindness towards all the beings should be the cotton and contentment be the thread; celibacy should form the knots to keep a check on our senses, and the thread should be made stronger with tightness of truth, O Pandit! If you posses any thread with such qualities, then I may be given such a thread which shall never break, or get dirty, neither will it be burnt nor will it be lost.

Macauliffe states that the priest shifted the ground and was nonplussed for a moment.<sup>40</sup> He tried to prevail upon Nanak to accept the *janeu* in the name of religion and while making that argument reminded Nanak of his inexperienced and youthful age. But all his efforts failed and the assembly dissolved. Dalbir Singh Dhillon writes that everyone was in a state of shock, for no one had heard of such a thing happening before.<sup>41</sup> Nanak was known to be a retiring, soft spoken boy. Harbans Singh here adds that none could have imagined him capable of such force of will as to discard an old custom sanctioned both by tradition and religion.<sup>42</sup> This episode involving the traditional *janeu* infuriated Mehta Kalu and holding Nanak's association with Brij

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38 M.A. Macauliffe, *The Sikh Religion*, p.16

39 The *Adi Granth* , p.471.

40 M.A. Macauliffe, *The Sikh Religion*, p.16

41 D.S. Dhillon, *Sikhism: Origin and Development*, New Delhi, 1988, p.68.

42 Harbans Singh, *Guru Nanak and the origins of the Sikh faith*, p.78.

Nath responsible for this outrageous conduct of his son he stopped Nanak's schooling once again.

The refusal to accept the *Janeu* indicates that Guru Nanak was against the ritualistic and obsolete customs of Hindu religion. Hindu Pandits performed many rituals which had been commercialized for monetary advantages. These rituals were highly orthodox in nature and possessed little pragmatic relevance. Due to these costly and useless rituals many Hindu people opted for other religions. The main aim of Guru Nanak's life was to sensitize common people against corrupted and commercialized ritualism. With this objective he gave birth to a new religion which condemned these types of things.

During these years a very important event that of the marriage of Guru Nanak's sister Nanaki with Jairam took place.<sup>43</sup> Macauliffe gives a brief account of the marriage of Jairam and Nanaki and does not even give the details of the time when the marriage was solemnized.

A careful analysis of Macauliffe's work reveals that he is consistent in his neglect of the time and period of several other incidents connected with the life of Guru Nanak.

Macauliffe writes that Jairam who was an employee of Nawab Daulat Khan, the Lodhi Governor of Sultanpur, came to Talwandi on an official visit.<sup>44</sup> The village was within the Nawab's dominion and every year he sent his officer to collect the revenue from the Bhattis. One day when Jairam was surveying a corn-field, he observed Nanaki drawing water from a well. Jairam asked Rai Bular, the local Bhatti chief, who was friendly with Jairam, for his marriage in Kashtriya caste in Talwandi. Rai Bular could only think of Mehta Kalu's family and immediately conveyed the suggestion to Mehta Kalu and strongly urged the merits of Jairam for receiving the hand of his daughter Nanaki. Mehta Kalu and his wife accepted the proposal of Rai Bular. Harbans Singh writes that the following year Jairam came to Talwandi, the

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43 Kirpal Singh, *Janam Sakhi Parampara*, p.228.

44 M.A. Macauliffe, *The Sikh Religion*, p.18

wedding took place at Mehta Kalu's house.<sup>45</sup>

Several stories associated with Guru Nanak involving miracles became current in Talwandi. Two of these are narrated in all the Janamsakhi's with different details. Macauliffe also recounts these stories in his account.

Macauliffe registers that on one occasion, when Nanak lay asleep in the ground, a large cobra watched over him and protected the youthful saint with its hood from Sun's heat. When Rai Bular watched this miracle he congratulated Kalu on being the father of such a son who had miraculous powers.<sup>46</sup>

One day while herding buffaloes, he lay sleep under a tree in the summer afternoon.<sup>47</sup> This was the time when the ripened crops ready for harvest were assessed for taxation. Rai Bular was returning home with his servants after the days work, when he came near the tree under which slept the herdsman, he suddenly reined in his horse and stopped. He saw that the shadow of the tree remained stationary over him while the shadows of the other trees had traveled round with the sun. An ancient gnarled van-tree, which is said to be the one that provided shade to the Guru with its immobile shadow, is preserved in the precincts of another Gurdwara in Nankana Sahib.<sup>48</sup>

When Guru Nanak was fourteen, his father started making plans for his marriage. However, nothing can be confirmed with finality as different writers have offered different versions about the marriage of Guru Nanak. The Puratan Janamsakhi and Meharban Janamsakhi locate the incidence of marriage during Guru Nanak's years in Talwandi, the former when he was twelve and the latter when he was fifteen or sixteen. Notably, Meharban extends Guru Nanak's stay in Talwandi until he was upwards of 35. This exceeds the generally accepted date by seventeen years and if followed, will clash with several historically ascertainable facts. Bhai Bala Janamsakhi and Nanak Prakash place the marriage of Guru Nanak in the period when

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45 Harbans Singh, *Guru Nanak and the origins of the Sikh faith*, p.76.

46 This story is only mentioned by Bhai Bala Janamsakhi not by Puratan and Meharban Janamsakhi's.

47 M.A. Macauliffe, *The Sikh Religion*, p.19

48 Bhai Mani Singh Janamsakhi, Meharban Janamsakhi and Valiyat Wali Janamsakhi accepted the sakhi of not moving the shadow of tree. But in Bhai Mani Sijgh Janamsakhi no reference given about this.

he lived in Talwandi. Macauliffe, while rejecting the Sultanpur theory offers the argument that if the marriage had not been solemnized at an early age, he would not have married at all. Yet, it is not so easily deducible that, left to himself, Guru Nanak would have chosen the path of celibacy. If he had wished to, he could have said no to his parents even as he did when he was given the *janeu* to wear. According to Bhai Mani Singh Janamsakhi, Guru Nanak was married at the age of fourteen. Ganda Singh in 'A short History of the Sikhs' puts it at 18 years and Teja Singh in 'Mahan Kavi Guru Nanak' at 19. Khushwant Singh in 'A History of the Sikhs' reconciles, as it were, the two broad versions by accepting the Puratan statement about Guru Nanak marrying at the age of twelve and asserting that his wife came to stay with him at Sultanpur when he was nineteen. Guru Nanak was betrothed to Lady Sulakani,<sup>49</sup> daughter of Mul Chand,<sup>50</sup> of the Chona sub-caste of the Kashatriyas. Macauliffe records that Mul Chand looked after the lands of the Randhawa Jats of the village Pakhoke and lived in the nearby town of Batala in the present district of Gurdaspur.<sup>51</sup>

It would logically appear that, owing to the distance between Nankana and Batala, which hindered frequent visits and negotiations, the marriage followed very soon after the betrothal. Guru Nanak's sister was present at the wedding, but her husband could not obtain permission to attend the marriage. Mehta Kalu invited a large number of friends from Talwandi. Bala's Janamsakhi mentions names such as those of Lahu, his brother, Indersain, Firanda, Jagatmall, Lal Chand, Jagatrai and Jatmall.<sup>52</sup> Rai Bular sent his love for Nanak through Mehta Kalu. Kalu's father-in-law Rama, with his son Kishna and other relations came from Chanalwala.

Macauliffe incorporates an incident when Guru Nanak became silent, lay

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49 This is the name given in Bhai Mani Singh's Gyan Ratnawali and Bala Janamsakhi. The puratan Janamsakhi refers to her but without giving her any name. The Meharban Janamsakhi calls her at one place as 'Ghumi Mulo dhi Choni,' at another 'Mulo dhi Choni.'

50 The father of Sulakni is referred by various Janamsakhi's as 'Mula' a Chona Khatri (The Puratan Janamsakhi, 'Sakhi 3', p.6.) Mula, a Chona khatri, and Patwari of Pakho ki Randhawa (Bala Janamsakhi, 'Sakhi 15' p.49) and Mulla a Chona khatri of Batala and formerly of the village Pakho di Randhawa (Meharban Janamsakhi, 'Sakhi 11', p.29.)

51 M.A. Macauliffe, *The Sikh Religion*, p.19

52 Harbans Singh, *Guru Nanak and the origins of the Sikh faith*, p.92.

down, ate and drank nothing.<sup>53</sup> The whole family was worried about him and thought of calling a physician. The physician came and began to feel Nanak's pulse. At this Nanak withdrew his arm. Nanak stood up and put a question about what was the physician doing? The physician said that he was diagnosing his disease. Then Nanak told him about worldly pain and uttered the following hymn:<sup>54</sup>

*"I first feel the pain of separation from God, then a pang of hunger for contemplation on him. I also fear the pain which death's powerful myrmidons may inflict. I feel pain that my body shall perish by disease. O ignorant physician, give me no medicine. Such medicine as thou hast, my friend, removeth not the pain I feel or the continued suffering of my body. I forgot God and devoted myself to pleasure; Then this bodily illness befell me. The wicked heart is punished. Ignorant physician, give me no medicine. As sandal is useful when it exhalet perfume, As man is useful as long as he hath breath in his body, So when the breath departeth, the body crumbleth away and becometh useless. No one taketh medicine after that".*

These words can be paraphrased thus:- O Vaid! How could you treat my malady? My main problem is the separation from God and secondly the hunger of perceiving his glimpse. Then there is the constant fear of death and then there is the fear of some disease which may afflict man. To all these problems, you have no answer. O Brother! You have no remedy for my malady as I am suffering from the separation of God and these pains me always.

When physician heard these words he drew back and said that Nanak was not ill.

In the words of Macauliffe: There is very little known regarding Nanak's married life excepting that he had two sons, born in Sultanpur, the elder son Sri

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53 M.A. Macauliffe, *The Sikh Religion*, p.26.

54 *Ibid*, p.27.

Chand born in 1494 and the younger Lakhmi Das born in the year 1496.<sup>55</sup> Bhai Kahan Singh Nabha says the former is known to history as founder of the ascetic order of the Udasis.<sup>56</sup> Lakhmi Das married and raised a family which flourished and has his off-shoots scattered in several parts of the Punjab. The Puratan and Meharban Janamsakhis seem to make out Lakhmi Das as the elder while Bala and Mani Singh explicitly mention Sri Chand as the first born of the two-a view which is supported by family tradition and has been commonly accepted. Two of the Janamsakhis also specify the years of birth. According to Meharban, the first son was born when the guru was twenty seven in 1496 and according to Bhai Bala, when he was twenty two in 1491. On this point, the latter tradition as represented by Tara Singh Narotam (Gur Tirath Sangrah) and Kahan Singh commands general acceptance.

Macauliffe mentions only the names of the two sons of Guru Nanak. He does not state in which year they were born. It can be said that Macauliffe devotes very little space to the family and children of Guru Nanak in his account.

Macauliffe narrative goes on to say that Mehta Kalu desired that his son should lead a mercantile life. He gave him twenty rupees and instructed him to go to Chuharkana in the present district of Gujranwala and buy salt, turmeric and other articles to trade with.<sup>57</sup> Nanak was further told to take along with him the family servant, Bala Sandhu to carry back the purchased articles.<sup>58</sup> When Nanak and Bala left for market town and reached Chuharkana about twenty miles from Talwandi, they met some holy men, who remained naked in all seasons.<sup>59</sup> When Nanak questioned them about their being naked they revealed that they belonged to the Nirbani Persuasion. A long discourse between Nanak and their leader Sant Ren took place.<sup>60</sup> The leader informed Nanak that he and his company required no clothes or food. In order to avoid all luxury they dwelt in forests and not in towns and villages.

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55 *Ibid.*, p.29

56 Bhai Kahan Singh, Mahan Kosh, Punjab, 1960, p.188 and p.791.

57 M.A. Macauliffe, *The Sikh Religion*, p.30.

58 Kripal Singh *Janam Sakhi Parampara*, p.226, Gur Partap Suraj Granth by Santokh Singh also supporting the view that Bhai Bala was going with Guru Nanak.

59 S.S. Bal, *Life of Guru Nanak*, p.34, But Bhai Bala Janamsakhi mentioned that Chahurkana was twelve miles from Talwandi.

60 M.A. Macauliffe, *The Sikh Religion*, p.30.

Nanak gave a hint to Bala to accompany him to the market to purchase food and clothes for them. Bala reminded Nanak of the real motive of their visit to the market as was given by his father. But Nanak paid no attention towards him. A few hours later, he was back among the Sadhus, laden with food and clothes. As the hungry Sadhus prepared their meals, they surely saw in Nanak's tender frame a great soul.

Macauliffe states that as Nanak and Bala tuned their step homewards, Bala asked Nanak about the explanation he would tender to his father. Nanak's reply was that he would frankly confess what he had done by spending the money to fulfill the want of the needy Sadhus. He nevertheless realized the nature of his act and did not go home. Rather, sat under a tree outside the village of Talwandi<sup>61</sup>.

When Bala told Mehta Kalu about the money spent on hungry Sadhus, Mehta Kalu went red with rage, clutched Bala by the arm and hurried to the spot where Nanak still lay dazing. He rudely woke up Nanak and asked him to give an explanation for the aberration. Nanak chose not to reply, but his silence did not save him from the sharp slaps, the first he had received from his father so far.<sup>62</sup> The aged tree under which he sat is still preserved. A wall has been built around it for protection. The tree is known as the Thamb Sahib or the holy trunk.<sup>63</sup>

This episode famous as Sacha Sodha finds mention in almost every work about the life of Guru Nanak Dev such as the Janamsakhis, Gur Partap Suraj Granth, Mehima Parkash, Bansawali Nama and in works of modern historians like J.S. Grewal, Teja Singh, Ganda Singh, J.D. Cunningham. Henry Court, S.S. Bal etc. This incident has immense significance in Sikh history because it is this episode which became the inspiration behind the genesis of the Langer system which embodies one of the essential tenets of the Sikh religion. The tradition started by Guru Nanak Dev is still continues and it has become an embodiment of the essential spirit of the principles of Sikh Religion.

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61 *Ibid.* p 31.

62 Janamsakhi Bhai Bala says that Kalu gave Nanak four slaps.

63 M.A. Macauliffe, *The Sikh Religion*, p.31.



The town of Sultanpur<sup>64</sup> has been closely associated with the life of Guru Nanak. Intimations regarding his stay in this town are unquestionably early and strong.<sup>65</sup> When Rai Bular heard of the fresh estrangement between the father and son, it set him thinking how best to put an end to these family quarrels and how best to secure for the Guru a life where he could freely follow the dictates of his heart and soul.<sup>66</sup> He was convinced that as long as Guru Nanak lived with his well-meaning but worldly wise father, there could be no end to such troubles. It was necessary that Guru Nanak should go somewhere else.

Macauliffe states that Jai Ram who was the husband of Bebe Nanaki and a Diwan at the court of Daulat Khan Lodhi of Sultanpur came to Talwandi during his yearly visits at the close of spring harvest.<sup>67</sup> He heard the bitter complaints of his father-in-law against the idle, squandering habits of Guru Nanak. He heard of the sort of life that Guru Nanak then lived and the high esteem in which many people of the village held him. He also met Rai Bular who complained of the ill-treatment which Guru Nanak got from his father. They put their heads together and decided that Jai Ram should find a job for Guru Nanak at Sultanpur and that he should be sent there.<sup>68</sup>

Jai Ram succeeded in the mission of finding a job for Guru Nanak in Sultanpur. So a messenger arrived from Sultanpur with letters for Nanak and his father Mehta Kalu.<sup>69</sup> Jai Ram had invited Nanak to visit him and urged his father-in-law to allow him to make the journey. It was very common custom in the Hindu families that the kin of a married girl were not allowed to go and stay in her house.<sup>70</sup>

Macauliffe mentions that Mehta Kalu accepted the proposal; in fact, he thought

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64 Sultanpur is situated 16 miles south of Kapurthala, and was founded by Sultan Khan Lodhi, a military commander in the employ of Mahmood Ghaznavi.

65 J.S. Grewal, *Essays in Sikh History*, Amritsar, 1972. p.11.

66 Kirpal Singh, *Janamsakhi Parampara*, p.230.

67 M.A. Macauliffe, *The Sikh Religion*, p.31.

68 *Ibid*, p.32.

69 Harbans Singh, *Guru Nanak and the Origins of the Sikh Faith*, p.87 (Meharban Wali Janamsakhi mentioned that Jai Ram wrote two letters- one to Mehta Kalu and another to Nanak. But Valiyat Wali Janamsakhi and Bhai Bala Wali Janamsakhi's gave the reference of only one letter)

70 *Ibid*.

the change would be good for him.<sup>71</sup> He consulted Rai Bular who also gave his approval. Giani Gian Singh writes that the other members of Nanak's family also unanimously approved of this decision.<sup>72</sup> Nanak's wife made preparations for his journey but while doing so she started weeping.<sup>73</sup> She implored Nanak to take her with him. Guru Nanak promised her that when he got a job there, he will call her.

Macauliffe does not refer to any letter to Nanak or his father Mehta Kalu from Jai Ram. At the same time he does not say anything about Bala who accompanied him during his visit. He also omits other details related to the journey such as the time of reaching Sultanpur and the path they followed. It is noteworthy that almost every Janamsakhi contains details about these aspects.

According to Macauliffe Guru Nanak reached Sultanpur five days after leaving Talwandi travelling nearly a hundred miles.<sup>74</sup> Not much is said authoritatively about when Guru Nanak started from Talwandi and when he joined the services of Daulat Khan Lodhi. Giani Gian Singh in *Tawarikh Guru Khalsa* claims that Guru Nanak started from Talwandi on Sambat 1541.<sup>75</sup> Bhai Bala Wali Janamsakhi differs with this and says that Guru Nanak reached Sultanpur in Sambat 1544.<sup>76</sup> Meharban Wali Janamsakhi, on the other hand, states that Guru Nanak joined the services at Sultanpur when he was thirty five and half year old, which seems to be too late.

Macauliffe leaves out the duration of time on his arrival after which Jai Ram introduced Guru Nanak to Nawab Daulat Khan Lodhi. Janamsakhi Bhai Mani Singh holds that it was the very next day after the arrival of Guru Nanak that Jai Ram introduced Guru Nanak to the Nawab. But *Tawarikh Guru Khalsa* by Giani Gian Singh maintains that after five days of his arrival Guru Nanak asked Jai Ram to find a job for him.<sup>77</sup>

D.S. Dhillon writes that a few days after his arrival at Sultanpur, Diwan Jai

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71 M.A. Macauliffe, *The Sikh Religion* p.32

72 Giani Gian Singh, *Tawarikh Guru Khalsa*, Punjab, Vol. I,1999, p.76.

73 M.A. Macauliffe, *The Sikh Religion* p.32.

74 *Ibid.*, p.89.

75 Giani Gian Singh, *Tawarikh Guru Khalsa*, p.76.

76 Kirpal Singh, *Janam Sakhi Parampara*, p.230.

77 Giani Gian Singh, *Tawarikh Guru Khalsa*, p.76.

Ram took him to the Governor Daulat Khan Lodhi and introduced him as an educated man.<sup>78</sup> Guru Nanak who did not wish to remain in his sister's house without doing any work showed his ready willingness to take up the job. Daulat Khan Lodhi was pleased at the learning, manner, and bearing of the youth.<sup>79</sup> He gave him a dress of honour in token of having engaged him in his service and put him in charge of his Modikhana.<sup>80</sup> Guru Nanak started his career as a government servant in December 1487 at the age of eighteen.<sup>81</sup>

Macauliffe is silent about the date of Guru Nanak joining the government service. Giani Gian Singh in his work mentions that Guru Nanak joined the services of the Nawab on 5 Baisakh Sambat 1542. Bhai Bala also worked with Guru Nanak in the Modikhana.<sup>82</sup> When Mehta Kalu received the happy news at Talwandi that Guru Nanak had got a job in the Modikhana he hastened to Sultanpur with Mardana.<sup>83</sup>

It is a historically acknowledged fact that Mardana remained Guru Nanak's companion throughout his extensive Journeys across the country and abroad. However most of the biographies do not mention his name before the Guru had left Talwandi for Sultanpur. It, however, seems unlikely that Guru Nanak should not have made his acquaintance in his own village. At least one authority, i.e., Prachin Panth Prakash by Rattan Singh Bhangu, lends support to the assumption and says that, as a small boy, Guru Nanak gave Mardana a stringed instrument improvised from reeds to play on while he sang the hymns. In Meharban Wali Janamskhi Mardana is alluded to as accompanying Guru Nanak when he leaves Talwandi for Sultanpur. He is referred to as the Guru's companion from his childhood days and as one who sang to him songs from Kabir, Trilochan, Ravidas, Dhanna and Beni. Mehta Kalu was very happy on seeing his son sitting at the Modikhana.<sup>84</sup>

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78 D.S. Dhillon, *Sikhism, Origin and development*, p.69.

79 Kirpal Singh, *Janam Sakhi Parampara*, p.13.

80 M.A. Macauliffe, *The Sikh Religion*. p.33.

81 Bhai Bala Janamsakhi, 'Sakhi 13', (n.p),(n.d.), p.43, Bhai Mani Singh Janamsakhi,(n.p),(n.d), pp.106-107.

82 Giani Gian Singh, *Tawarikh Guru Khalsa*,p.77.

83 M.A. Macauliffe, *The Sikh Religion* p.33.

84 At that time land revenue was collected in kind of grain. The grain thus collected in a place called Modikhana.From there it was issued out to the ruler's house hold, army etc. and sold to those who would buy. It was such a duty that Guru Nanak did.

Macauliffe makes it amply clear that Guru Nanak did his job in the Modikhana enthusiastically. Yet, it is equally true that Guru Nanak continued to sing 'Gurbani' in the company of Bhai Mardana and other disciples at Sultanpur in the same way as he was doing at Talwandi.<sup>85</sup> Dalip Singh writes that there were two water streams by the name of 'Bein' which flow on the plains of Punjab.<sup>86</sup> One of the streams known as 'Black Bein', which started from the foot of the mountains in Hoshiarpur district, passed near Sultanpur and finally merged in river Sutluj about 10 miles north of Hari-Ke-Pattan. Guru Nanak used to take bath in the 'Black Bein', daily three hours before dawn and there after in the company of Bhai Mardana used to sing Gurbani.<sup>87</sup> Many people used to join Guru Nanak in the singing of the Gurbani at this spot.

Macauliffe carries forward his narrative by adding that Guru Nanak spent the whole day in the Modikhana or store. In those days land taxes were paid to the government in kind in the form of grain.<sup>88</sup> The salaries and allowances of civil and military employees were also partly paid in goods. These transactions were conducted in the Modikhana and Guru Nanak carried out the responsibility he had undertaken very diligently. He showed kindness towards poor and lowly people.

When in weighing<sup>89</sup> out rations, he reached the number thirteen, which in the official Persian language was called *tera*, but the non numerical meaning or which is '*thine*' in Punjabi, he would pause, his face would assume a look of strange intoxication, and he would several times repeat, in his sweet, melodious voice, '*tera han tera, tera, I am Thine, O Thine, O Lord, Thine*'.<sup>90</sup> If this would coincide with the turn of the poor customers, he would go on weighing it out to them and count each weight as *tera* or thirteen.

Bhai Santokh Singh has explored the fact that Guru Nanak's generosity

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85 M.A. Macauliffe, *The Sikh Religion* p.33.

86 Dalip Singh, *Life of Guru Nanak Dev Ji and His teachings*, U.S.A., 2004, p.52.

87 Harbans Singh, *Guru Nanak and the origins of the Sikh faith.*, p.90.

88 M.A. Macauliffe, *The Sikh Religion*, pp. 33-35

89 The weights used by Guru Nanak are still preserved at the Gurdwara Hat Sahib. According to some writers the Guru was indiscriminately squandering the property of the Governor, and others who are more sympathetic introduce misadventures to show that in spite of his lavishness in charity the Guru's accounts showed a credit balance in his favour.

90 M.A. Macauliffe, *The Sikh Religion*, p.33.

towards the poor and his fame among the poor gave birth to jealousy among some people and they began to conspire against Guru Nanak.<sup>91</sup> Within a few months of Guru Nanak's taking his job, some one secretly informed the Nawab that Guru Nanak was a profligate and squandering away the money of the Modikhana. Nawab ordered an inquiry on hearing this.<sup>92</sup>

Malcolm in his 'Sketch of the Sikhs' corroborates the presence of a feeling of jealousy among Guru Nanak's peers and records that on reports reaching the Nawab that Nanak was squandering his stores on unauthorized persons rampantly, he arrested Jai Ram. But, when the account was taken, the balance was found to be good. On this Jai Ram was not only released but also re-instated in the employment and the favour of his master. According to Bala Janamsakhi, this was done by his treasurer Jadu Rai who found the stores full and the accounts correct. Some amount of money was, in fact, reckoned in Nanak's credit. Commenting on the same episode, writer of Tawarikh Guru Khalsa Giani Gian Singh mentions that the inquiry took place on Sambat 1543 and it was found that rupees 135 were due to Guru Nanak from the state. However, Bhai Bala Janamsakhi claims that the credit money was rupees 145. Guru Nanak had given his own money away in charity.

Macauliffe in his account does not deal with the episode related to the complaint against Nanak as well as the inquiry made against him. It is a very important incident related to Guru Nanak but Macauliffe chooses to leave this out in his work. It is not exactly clear why he has excluded this incident when almost every important work on Guru Nanak alludes to it.

After about a year, feeling more secure, Guru Nanak accepted Jai Ram's and Nanaki's suggestion and brought his wife from Batala and began to lead the life of a grahith.<sup>93</sup> Khushwant Singh notes that Guru Nanak was nineteen when Sulakhani joined him at Sultanpur.<sup>94</sup> At Sultanpur they started living in a separate house,

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91 Bhai Santokh Singh, *Shri Guru Nanak Parkash (Trans.)* Dr. Rajinder Singh, Delhi, 2004, p.74.

92 Bhai Mani Singh, *Janamsakhi*, p.107

93 Dalip Singh, *Life of Guru Nanak Dev Ji and His teachings.*, p.54.

94 Khuswant Singh, *A History of the Sikhs*, Vol. I, Princeton, 1963, p.30.

presently known as Gurdwara Guru ka Bag. Owing to his charity and altruism he became popular among the people. When this news reached his In-laws, his mother-in-law Chando Rani came to Sultanpur and asked him to refrain from giving away every thing in charity. She even asked Nanaki to dissuade him from excessive charity. Bhai Bala Wali Janamsakhi gives a detailed account of this event. The other Janamsakhis are silent about this event. Even Macauliffe does not comment on this.

Macauliffe registers that a group of disciples became attached to Guru Nanak in Sultanpur. The old biographies do not record many names, but one who was very popular, was a man called Bhagirath.<sup>95</sup> He was the resident of the neighbouring village of Malsain. He is said to have joined Guru Nanak as a result of a vision that he had. In his quest for spiritual consolation, he had served faqirs and Sadhus and worshipped many Gods and Goddesses. One night, he went to sleep, adoring the stone-idol in his room when he had a dream. A voice spoke to him that all his wanderings would cease if he made a trip to Sultanpur and meet Guru Nanak there. After that he went to Sultanpur to meet Guru Nanak and spent most of his time mixing with the Sangat.

After a few years some people started a fresh campaign against the alleged carelessness of Guru Nanak in accounts.<sup>96</sup> They complained that Nanak was not only mismanaging the Modikhana but also misappropriating money for delivering charity. The Nawab again summoned Guru Nanak and an inquiry was made into the accounts of the Modikhana. The investigation revealed that far from owing anything, Guru Nanak had arrears of three hundred and twenty one rupees due to him. This pleased and satisfied the Nawab. Janamsakhi of Bhai Bala also states that three hundred and thirty one rupees were due to Guru Nanak. Macauliffe is again silent about the second inquiry made into the accounts of Modikhana.

Guru Nanak had served for twelve years in the Modikhana at Sultanpur when the most momentous day of his life came. That day proved to be a turning point in his

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95 M.A. Macauliffe, *The Sikh Religion* p.34.

96 S.S. Bal, *Life of Guru Nanak*, p.39.

life as also in the history of Sikh religion.

According to Macauliffe one day after bathing Guru Nanak disappeared and re-appeared in the forest after three days.<sup>97</sup> There are a lot of distinct versions about this episode connected with Guru Nanak's life and even about the year when it took place. Many accounts put forward the view that Guru Nanak, as usual, went to the river Bein and then suddenly disappeared. His clothes were found on the bank of the river Bein which led everyone to think that he had been drowned in the river.

In a slightly different version the Janamsakhis state that Guru Nanak handed over his clothes to someone and went into the river. When after some time he did not come from the river, this person shouted and told people that Nanak was drowned in the river. Nawab Daulat Khan himself arrived on the scene and his fishermen threw nets into the water to search for the body, but in vain.<sup>98</sup>

The incidence of throwing nets into the water is a part of the Bhai Bala Janamsakhi only. No other Janamsakhi makes a reference to throwing nets into the water. Jai Ram and his relatives were in great distress. Only Nanaki remained calm and kept repeating that her brother would come forth among them again. Nawab Daulat Khan also issued orders to scrutinize the accounts but all the accounts were found correct.

Macauliffe maintains that Guru Nanak reappeared on the third day.<sup>99</sup> Some Janamsakhis like Bhai Mani Singh Wali Janamsakhi hold that Guru Nanak reappeared after eight days. The Puratan and Bala Janamsakhi say that Nanak reappeared after three days. The period of three days however, finds general acceptance. The interval, it is generally agreed upon, was a crucial experience of mystical nature. The Janamsakhis describe it as an occasion of direct communion with God.

*“As the Lord willed. Nanak the devotee, was escorted  
to His Presence. Then a cup filled with amrit(nectar)  
was given him with the command, ‘Nanak, this is the cup*

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97 M.A. Macauliffe, *The Sikh Religion*, p.34.

98 Kirpal Singh, *Janam Sakhi Parampara*, p.19.

99 M.A. Macauliffe, *The Sikh Religion*, p.36.

*of Name-adoration. Drink it.....I am with thee and I do  
bless and exalt thee. Whoever remembers thee will have  
My favour. Go, rejoice in My name and teach others to do  
so.... I have bestowed upon thee the gift of My name. Let  
this be thy calling'. Nanak made the salutation and stood up.*"<sup>100</sup>

According to Macauliffe there started a discourse between God and Nanak. God offered Nanak a cup of nectar. During this time Nanak uttered the following hymn.<sup>101</sup>

*"Thou wise and omniscient, art an ocean;  
how can I a fish obtain a knowledge of Thy limit?  
Where I look, there art Thou; if I am separated from Thee,  
I shall burst. I know neither Death the fisherman nor his net.  
When I am in sorrow, then I remember Thee.  
Thou art omnipresent though I thought Thee distant.  
What I do is patent unto Thee;  
Thou beholdest mine acts, yet I deny them.  
I have not done Thy work or uttered Thy name;  
Whatever Thou givest, that I eat.  
There is no other gate than Thine; to whose gate shall I go?  
Nanak maketh one supplication-  
Soul and body are all in Thy power".*

The Janamsakhis put forward the view that the order was given to the ministers by God that they should take Guru Nanak back to the ferry. Nanak made his appearance on the third day. Some Janamsakhi's say that Guru Nanak made his reappearance from the same spot while some others hold the view that he made his reappearance 1 mile away from that spot where he drowned. Macauliffe simply alludes to the fact that Guru Nanak reappeared in the forest.<sup>102</sup>

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100 Kirpal Singh, *Janam Sakhi Parampara*, p.20.

101 M.A. Macauliffe, *The Sikh Religion*, Vol. 1, p.35.

102 *Ibid*, pp. 35-36.



Guru Nanak took up abode in the jungle and continued unbroken silence for one day. Next day he spoke the following words, 'There is no Hindu and no Musalman'.<sup>103</sup> The Sikh interprets this to mean generally that both Hindus and Muhammadans had forgotten the precepts of their religions. Harbans Singh tell us that on a complaint made by the Nawab's Qazi, or expounder of Muhammadan law, the Guru was summoned before Daulat Khan to give an explanation of his words.<sup>104</sup> But Nanak refused to come.

Macauliffe records that for a second time again a foot troop went and told the Guru that the Governor had requested him to come to him.<sup>105</sup> Guru Nanak, finally, went to the Governor. On his arrival, the Nawab expressed his appreciation by offering him his homage and seating him at his side. Then a conversation started between the Qazi and Nanak on the issue of the statement made by Guru Nanak that 'There is no Hindu and no Musalman.' Qazi questioned Nanak about his words spoken to the people and Nanak gave an explanation which was couched in the following hymn.<sup>106</sup>

*"To be a Musalman is difficult; if one be really so, then one may be called a Musalman. Let one first love the religion of Saints, and put aside pride and self as the file removeth rust. Let him accept the religion of his pilots, and dismiss anxiety regarding death or life; Let him heartily obey the will of God, worship the Creator, and efface himself- When he is kind to all men, then Nanak, shall he be indeed a Muslman".*

The Qazi was greatly astonished on hearing the answers of Guru Nanak.

Macauliffe states that it was now the time for the Muslim afternoon prayer.<sup>107</sup> All arose and went to the Mosque. Guru Nanak also accompanied them. It is stated in

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103 *Ibid*, p.37.

104 Harbans Singh, *Guru Nanak and the origins of the Sikh faith.*, p.98.

105 M.A. Macauliffe, *The Sikh Religion*, p.37.

106 *Ibid*, p.38.

107 *Ibid*, p.39.

some Janamsakhis that when Guru Nanak went into the Mosque, his family members and friends feared that Guru Nanak might accept the Muslim religion. As the Qazi conducted the service, Guru Nanak looked towards him and laughed at him. When the prayer was over, the Qazi complained to the Nawab about Nanak's conduct. Guru Nanak replied that he had laughed because the Qazi's prayer was not accepted to God. The Qazi asked him to give the reason for his comment.

According to Macauliffe Guru Nanak was actually alluding to the fact that the Qazi's mind was constantly wandering in the direction of his new-born filly which he had loosened in the yard before coming to the Mosque.<sup>108</sup> Teja Singh and Ganda Singh concur with this and say that he remembered that there was a well in the enclosure and feared lest the filly should fall into it.<sup>109</sup> His heart was therefore, not in his devotions. Guru Nanak also informed the Nawab that while he was pretending to pray, he was thinking of purchasing horses in Kabul.<sup>110</sup> Both the Qazi and the Nawab admitted the truth of the Guru's statements. They accepted that Guru was favoured by God and fell at his feet. Guru Nanak then uttered the following hymn.<sup>111</sup>

*"He is a Musalman who effaceth himself,  
who maketh truth and contentment his holy creed,  
who neither toucheth what is standing,  
nor eateth what hath fallen,  
Such a Musalman shall go to Paradise".*

When Guru Nanak had uttered this *shabad*, the Sayyids, the sons of Shaikhs, the Mufti, the Nawab, the chiefs and the sardars were all amazed. The Muhammadans then beseeched the Guru to tell them of the power and authority of his God and how salvation could be obtained. Upon this the Guru uttered the following hymn<sup>112</sup> –

*"At God's gate there dwell  
thousands of Muhammads, thousands of Brahmas, of Vishnus and of Shivs;*

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108 M.A. Macauliffe, *The Sikh Religion*, p.40

109 Teja Singh, Ganda Singh, *A Short History of the Sikhs*, Patiala , p.5.

110 Kartar Singh, *Guru Nanak Dev*, Ludhiana, 1969, p.79.

111 M.A. Macauliffe, *The Sikh Religion*, p.40.

112 *Ibid*, pp.40-41.

*Thousands upon thousands of exalted Rams, thousands of spiritual guides, thousands  
of religious garbs;  
Thousands upon thousands of celibates, true men, and Sanyasis;  
Thousands upon thousands of superiors of Jogis;  
Thousands upon thousands of men sitting in attitudes of contemplation,  
All are impure without meditating on the word of the true guru.  
There is one Lord over all spiritual lords, the creator whose name is true.  
Nanak, His worth cannot be ascertained; He is endless and incalculable".*

Daulat Khan was so impressed by what Guru Nanak preached that he fell at his feet and offered him the authority over his state which the Guru refused.<sup>113</sup> It is stated that Daulat Khan was the first disciple of Guru Nanak.<sup>114</sup>

The date on which Guru Nanak had his mystical experience can be taken to be the most important date in the evolution of Sikhism. The time was in 1501 A.D., the very first year of the sixteenth century. The most important date in Sikh theology is the date when Guru Nanak had communion with God. But Janamsakhi accounts betray variances over it. However, this date could actually have been 1501 A.D. This could be so because after the Bein incident Guru Nanak left Sultanpur for his Udasis and many Sikh chronicles give 1501 A.D as the time when Guru Nanak set off on his Udasis. Tawarikh Guru Khalsa, for instance, maintains that Guru Nanak left Sultanpur for his Udasis on 22 Katak, Sambat 1558 which corresponds to 1501 A.D. Bala Janamsakhi states that when Nanak was 32 years old he was at Sultanpur in the office of the Nawab and after a few months he went to take bath in the river Bein. The date given here also corresponds to about 1501 A.D. Shri Meharban Ji Sodhi in his work Meharban Janamsakhi too writes that Guru Nanak left for Udasis in the early years of the sixteenth century. Some later works like 'History of the Sikh Religion' by Khazan Singh, offer the view that the Guru at the Age of 34, i.e. in 1503 A.D. started his

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113 *Ibid*, p. 42, See, Meharban Janamsakhi, (n.p.), (n.d.), p.102.

114 Valiyat Wali Janamsakhi, (n.p.), (n.d.), p.11, M.A. Macauliffe, *The Sikh Religion*, pp. 41-42.

mission, however, Khushwant Singh writes, that Guru Nanak's commune with God occurred in 1499 A.D., after that he left for Udasis. S.S. Bal mentions 1500 A.D. as the time for starting of his mission. On the basis of this evidence it can be concluded here that Guru Nanak started for his mission (Udasis) in the early years of the sixteenth century.

Macauliffe is silent about the day of Enlightenment. He only mentions the incident but does not fix the exact date when it took place.

Janamsakhis also make a mention of the fact that before going on Udasis Guru Nanak gave everything he had to the poor.

Macauliffe writes that some people complained to the Nawab about Nanak's extravagance as storekeeper.<sup>115</sup> When the Governor made an investigation it was found the storehouse was full and all the Guru's accounts were correct. On the contrary, it was discovered that that money was due to him from the state. The Guru refused to receive it and requested the Nawab to distribute it among the poor. Giani Gian Singh specifies that an amount of 760 rupees was due to Guru Nanak from the state.<sup>116</sup>

Bhai Bala Janamsakhi refers to another event which took place before going on the Udasis. He narrates how Nanak sent Mardana to Farinda in district Kapurthala to bring a Rabab from him. Nanak asked Mardana to take money from Nanaki as the cost of the Rabab. Macauliffe is silent about this event also.

From what has been discussed above it is clear that Macauliffe relates all the important events connected with the life of the Guru Nanak like his birth, education, childhood events, marriage and time spent at Sultanpur Lodhi. He devotes reasonable space to the Gurus services at Modi Khana and his benevolence towards the poor and needy persons. He also includes in his historical narrative the enlightenment of Guru Nanak and his dialogue with Nawab Daulat Khan and other religious leaders about the existence of the God and on the issue of attaining salvation.

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115 M.A. Macauliffe, *The Sikh Religion*, p.43

116 Giani Gian Singh, *Tawarikh Guru Khalsa.*, p.82

From the evidence compiled above it is equally clear that Macauliffe leaves out some important events connected with the life of Guru Nanak like the ceremony of name giving, first five years of Nanak's life, education from Pandit Brij Nath Shastri, age of learning of Persian language, details about the persons who participated in the marriage, name of Bala during *Sacha Sodha* etc. Macauliffe offers only partial and incomplete account of some incidents like marriage of Nanaki with Jai Ram, married life of Nanak etc. Macauliffe bases his work mainly on the Janamsakhis, old Sikh chronicles and his predecessors but his account is not derived uncritically. He makes his selections and makes omissions according the larger objectives of his work.

Although Macauliffe produced what can be described as an authentic work yet he re-narrated some stories of miracles associated with the life of Sikh Gurus particularly Guru Nanak Dev. Macauliffe greatly depended on Janamsakhis for Guru Nanak's life and teachings because of the unavailability of other contemporary sources for understanding the life of Guru Nanak. These types of stories are common when lives of great Saints and personalities acquire the form of written literature. Moreover these Janamsakhis were written at a time when there was lot of impact of Hindu mythology on the writers. In Hindu mythology writers often blended fact with fiction in an attempt to enhance the grandeur of their heroes by adding stories of miracles and sensational supernaturalism. It seems that the writers of Sikh sources were influenced by these practices and added apocryphal tales to their otherwise accurate endeavours. Macauliffe, on his part, simply repeated these stories not intending to alter the spirit of the Janamsakhis.

## **CHAPTER - III**

### **TRAVELS AND TEACHING OF GURU NANAK**

#### **I**

During his travels, Guru Nanak visited all important centres of pilgrimage in India and its neighboring countries. Many myths and legends are associated with his travels. Some of the Sakhis even claim to reproduce the actual dialogues of Guru Nanak with many religious persons of his times. Macauliffe with the help of Gurmukhi sources like Janamsakhis, Shri Gur Partap Suraj Granth, Giani Gian Singh's Tawarikh Guru Khalsa etc. has also presented a detailed account of the travels of Guru Nanak. Macauliffe's account is a significant attempt at narrating Guru Nanak's Udasis in detail. However his work is not unanimously accepted as far as its record and version of the places of Guru Nanak's visit are concerned. There are several controversies over the identification of places that he visited, the dates of visit and names of dignitaries he met.

There is considerable disagreement over the issue of the Udasis of Guru Nanak. Different accounts offer different versions about the Udasis of Guru Nanak. There is common and widely accepted belief that Guru Nanak undertook four major Udasis in four directions. Macauliffe in his account does not clearly mention the exact number of Udasis undertaken by Guru Nanak. W.H. McLeod in his work 'Guru Nanak and the Sikh Religion' has tried to critically analyze all the Janamsakhis in order to determine the nature and number of Guru Nanak's Udasis. He writes: "Meharban Janamskhi refers to Nanak having made only two major Udasis, in the East and South, which took twelve years. He then returned to Kartarpur. Guru Nanak's second Udasi was in the north-west which lasted for six years. Nanak finally settled at Kartarpur."<sup>1</sup> The Puratan Janamsakhi refers to four Udasis of Guru Nanak in four different directions. Kirpal Singh and Ganda Singh also refer to four Udasis. A notable aspect of these Udasis was that Guru Nanak is supposed to have returned to Punjab after

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1 W.H. McLeod, *Guru Nanak and the Sikh Religion*, Delhi, 1968, pp.66- 67.

every Udasi and to have started for the next Udasi after a brief stay there. That seems to be improbable, especially in the sixteenth century when there were no efficient means of transportation.

Macauliffe maintains that Guru Nanak started his first Udasi towards Saidpur.<sup>2</sup> Macauliffe writes, "The Guru, in the company with Mardana, proceeded to Saidpur, the present city of Eminabad, in the Gujranwala district of the Punjab. Nanak and his companion took shelter in the house of Lalo, a Carpenter."<sup>3</sup> Bhai Santokh Singh also expresses the same opinion. He further adds that Guru Nanak reached Saidpur after seventeen days.<sup>4</sup> Macauliffe, however, does not specify the date and time when Guru Nanak started his first journey or Udasi nor does he state the number of days after which he reached Saidpur.

It is quite common for Macauliffe to leave out the dates of important incidents. Nevertheless, it is difficult to identify the exact reason as to why Macauliffe evades the mention of specific dates. It can be implied that Macauliffe leaves the dates as there is a lot of disagreement over the dates of the incidents related to Udasis. It is possible that Macauliffe wanted to avoid entering into controversial areas.

Giani Gian Singh in 'Tawarikh Guru Khalsa' gives 22 Katak Sambat 1558 as the date of the starting of the first journey.<sup>5</sup> There is agreement in almost all Janamsakhis that Guru Nanak entered the village Saidpur in his first Udasi.

Macauliffe elaborates that Bhai Lalo, born of a low class, greeted Guru Nanak and on his request he stayed with him for a few days which used to be uncommon for a person of high caste.

At the time of Guru Nanak's visit, Malik Bhago, who owned Saidpur, gave a great feast to all four castes of Hindus.<sup>6</sup> Surjit Singh Bal writes the name of Malik

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2 Babar in his book *Tuzik-i-Baburi* mentions this city as Sayadpur, which was later destroyed by Sher Shah Suri in 16th century and on this place laid the foundation of a village named Shergarh. During the time of Humanyun, Amin Beg who was his general, destroyed the village and established a new city which is known as Eminabad. (Trans. p- 330).

3 M.A. Macauliffe, *The Sikh Religion*, New Delhi, 1963, Vol. I, p.43.

4 Santokh Singh, *Shri Guru Nanak Parkash* (Trans.), Dr. Rajinder Singh, Delhi, 2004, p.142.

5 Giani Gian Singh, *Tawarikh Guru Khalsa*, Punjab, Vol. I, 1999, p.86.

6 M.A. Macauliffe, *The Sikh Religion.*, p.44

Bhago as Bhag Mal.<sup>7</sup> It is held that Guru Nanak refused to attend the feast.

Macauliffe narrates that Malik Bhago was not appeased and charged the Guru, who was the son of a Khatri, for refusing to attend the feast. Upon this the Guru asked Malik Bhago and Lalo to bring their breads.<sup>8</sup> It is believed that the Guru held Lalo's coarse bread in his right hand and Malik Bhago's dainty bread in his left hand and squeezed them both. It is said that Lalo's bread issued milk, while Malik Bhago's bread issued blood.<sup>9</sup> It was clear from this that Malik Bhago had obtained wealth through impure ways.

Tawarikh Guru Khalsa maintains that Guru stayed at Lalo's house for one year.<sup>10</sup> Shri Gur Partap Suraj Granth also subscribes to the opinion that Guru Nanak stayed for one month in the house of Lalo. Macauliffe, in his account does not state the number of days that Guru Nanak stayed with Bhai Lalo. It is said that Lalo gathered many people to listen to Nanak's teachings. Like this he became the first emissary of the Sikh faith.<sup>11</sup>

Santokh Singh narrates that during the period of this stay Mardana went to Talwandi. He also reproduces a detailed dialogue held between Mardana and Mehta Kalu. Santokh Singh further relates that from Saidpur Guru Nanak returned to Talwandi. Macauliffe does not deal with these events. He does not write anything about the dialogue between Mardana and Mehta Kalu and Guru Nanak's return to Talwandi.

Macauliffe writes, "After this the Guru and Mardana proceeded to a solitary forest nowhere entering a village or tarrying on the bank of a river. During this time Mardana felt hungry and Guru asked him to go to the nearby village where Upal Khatri lived."<sup>12</sup> They gave him respect and food. While returning, Mardana tied up the bundles of clothes, food and money. Kirpal Singh in 'Janamsakhi Parampara'

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7 S.S. Bal, *Life of Guru Nanak*, Patiala, 1984, p.47.

8 M.A. Macauliffe, *The Sikh Religion*, p.44

9 *Ibid.*

10 Giani Gian Singh, *Tawarikh Guru Khalsa*, p.89.

11 D.S. Dhillon, *Sikhism: Origin and Development*, New Delhi, 1988, p.74.

12 M.A. Macauliffe, *The Sikh Religion*, p.44.



reveals that Guru Nanak told him to throw them because offerings are like poison and cannot be digested.<sup>13</sup>

Macauliffe goes on to inscribe that, “Guru Nanak and Mardana are said to have visited a notorious robber called Shaikh Sajjan.”<sup>14</sup> He killed his guests for the sake of money. He maintained a mosque as well as a temple for use by Muslim and Hindu travellers and welcomed anyone for a night’s lodging and meal. The sleeping guests were Sajjan’s victims and their goods his property were his bounty. But during Nanak's visit, he was deeply impressed by the following hymns of Guru Nanak.<sup>15</sup>

*Bronze is bright and shining, but, by  
rubbing, its sable blackness appeareth,  
Which cannot be removed even by  
washing a hundred times. They  
are friends who travel with me  
as I go along, And who are found  
standing ready Whenever their accounts  
are called for. Houses, mansions, palaces  
painted on all sides, When hollow within,  
are as it were crumbled and useless.*

On hearing this Shaikh Sajjan felt remorse and contrition for his wrong deeds and turned into a disciple of Guru Nanak. It is said that the first Sikh Gurdwara was constructed on the spot where this incident took place.<sup>16</sup> Meharban wali Janamsakhi, Valiyat Wali Janamsakhi and Bhai Bala Wali Janamsakhi also accept the incidence of Guru Nanak's stay at mosque of Shaikh Sajjan. Giani Gian Singh also recounts this story during the second travel of Guru Nanak.

Macauliffe further writes, “The Guru hearing of a religious fair at Kurukshetra near Thanesar, in the present district of Ambala on the occasion of a solar eclipse

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13 Kirpal Singh, *Janam Sakhi Parampara.*, p.93.

14 M.A. Macauliffe, *The Sikh Religion*, p.45

15 Adi Granth p.729, Suhi Mahalla 1, Ghar 6.

16 M.A. Macauliffe, *The Sikh Religion*, p.47.

desired to visit it with the object of preaching to the assembled pilgrims.” Giani Gian Singh also mentions that Guru Nanak reached Thanesar in Sambat 1561. In the words of Dalbir Singh Dhillon, “Guru Nanak possibly had reached Kurkshetra on 20 September 1503.”<sup>17</sup> Macauliffe, however, is silent about the date of this event.

There used to be a traditional prayer to save the Sun- God from Rahu and Ketu in accordance with an old belief of the Brahmans. The present Gurdwara Siddh Bati, near the sacred tank, is connected with the visit of Guru Nanak to Kurkshetra.

Teja Singh and Ganda Singh write that Raja Jaggat Rai, son of Raja Amrit Rai of Hansi, who had been deprived of his state by the enemies, offered a deer to Guru Nanak, which had been killed by him during hunting.<sup>18</sup> Janamsakhi Bhai Mani Singh on the other hand states that Raja belonged to Patna. This does not seem to be credible as Patna is very far from Kurkshetra. Macauliffe, in his account does not specify the name of the person who presented the deer to Guru Nanak. Macauliffe writes, “Needing refreshment he began to cook a deer which a disciple had presented to him.” Bhai Bala Wali Janamsakhi holds that Guru Nanak cooked a fish there. It is also held that Guru Nanak and Mardana cooked the meat only to provoke the strong protest of the Brahmans. The Brahmans expressed their horror at the use of flesh.<sup>19</sup> Upon this Guru Nanak pacified the Brahman leader Pandit Nanu Chander, with the following hymns.<sup>20</sup>

*"Man is first conceived in flesh, he dwelleth in flesh.  
When he quickeneth, he obtained a mouth of flesh; his  
bone, skin and body are made of flesh. When he is taken  
out of the womb, he seizeth teats of flesh. His mouth is  
of flesh, his tongue is of flesh, his breath is of flesh. When  
he growth up he marrieth, and bringeth flesh home with  
him. Flesh is produced from flesh; all man's relations are  
made from flesh".*

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17 Dalbir Singh, *Sikhism: Origin and Development*, p.74

18 Teja Singh and Ganda Singh, *A Short History of the Sikhs*, Patiala, 2003, p.7.

19 D.S. Dhillon, *Sikhism, Origin and Development.*, p.75.

20 Adi Granth p.1289, Salok Mahalla 1, Var Malar ki 25.

Large number of people became followers of Guru Nanak. It is notable that Kurkshetra is only place which was visited by all ten Gurus and which has ten Gurdwaras in their memories.

The incidence of Guru Nanak taking meat was by no means an attempt to inspire his followers to eat meat. Rather his dialogue with the Pandits was an attempt to shake the pride of the Brahmans, who claimed to be the only exponents of the Vedas. If a Muslim testimony is to be believed, Guru Nanak actually “prohibited his disciples to drink wine and to eat pork,” and he himself abstained from eating flesh and ordered his followers not to hurt any living being.<sup>21</sup>

In the words of Macauliffe, “The Guru next visited Hardwar in pursuance of his mission.”<sup>22</sup> According to Meharban Wali Janamsakhi Hardwar is one of the most important ancient places of Hindu pilgrimage on the banks of the sacred river Ganga and Guru Nanak reached there on the Baisakhi festival, falling on 27 March, 1504.<sup>23</sup> Macauliffe again does not elaborate upon the time when Guru Nanak reached Hardwar and makes no mention of the Baisakhi festival. Meharban Wali Janamsakhi and Bhai Mani Singh Wali Janamsakhi also refer to the Baisakhi festival. Expressing difference with the other versions Giani Gian Singh in *Tawarikh Guru Khalsa* holds that Guru Nanak reached Hardwar on Sambat 1562. Valiyat Wali Janamsakhi and Bhai Bala Janamsakhi are silent about the Guru Nanak's visit to Hardwar. As per a ritualistic practice, the people at Hardwar were pouring water of the Ganges from their hands towards the rising sun in the east as an offering for their ancestors in heaven.<sup>24</sup> Guru Nanak started pouring water in the opposite direction towards west. When people inquired about his act, he replied that he was watering his fields at Sultanpur near Lahore. The people were surprised to hear this and asked Guru Nanak how the water could reach his fields in Lahore. Guru Nanak said that if the water offered by the Brahmans could reach the heavens, why his water would not reach his

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21 D.S. Dhillon, *Sikhism, Origin and Development.*, p.75.

22 M.A. Macauliffe, *The Sikh Religion*, p.50.

23 Meharban Janamsakhi, pp.116-117.

24 M.A. Macauliffe, *The Sikh Religion.*, pp.51-52

fields in the Punjab. At this people become astonished. Guru Nanak told them to recite God's name with true devotion in order to attain salvation. According to Macauliffe there was a dialogue between Guru Nanak and Brahmans on the subject of God and His existence. Here Brahmans pointed out the spiritual advantages of sacrifices, burning of offerings and worship of gods and goddesses. However, Guru Nanak rejected their arguments.

Guru Nanak in his Udasis exposed the vanity of the Brahmans and unraveled the mysterious web of superstitions woven by them. Guru Nanak preached to the Brahmans the efficacy of the love of the Supreme One and the futility of empty religiosity. At Hardwar Guru Nanak satirized those who sought to keep their cooking place pure by drawing a circle around their cooking area to save it from being polluted by the shadow of the fourth *varnas*.<sup>25</sup>

According to Macauliffe Guru Nanak then departed towards Panipat. In the words of Macauliffe, “At that time a successor of Shaikh Sharif was the Muhammadan priest of the place”.<sup>26</sup> As Guru Nanak and Mardana sat near a well, a disciple of the Shaikh named Tatihari came to fetch a pot.<sup>27</sup> From the clothes of Guru Nanak he judged that he was a Persian Darwesh and told his Guru about Guru Nanak. The Shaikh went to meet the Darwesh. There was a dialogue between Guru Nanak and the Shaikh. Guru Nanak uttered the following hymns on this occasion.<sup>28</sup>

*When man hath shaved his mind  
he hath shaved his head;  
Without shaving his mind he  
findeth not the way.  
Let him cut off his head and  
place it before his Guru.  
If he resign his own wisdom,*

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25 Adi Granth, p.91.

26 *Ibid*, p.53

27 Kirpal Singh, *Janam Sakhi Parampara.*, p.13.

28 M.A. Macauliffe's book, *The Sikh Religion*, p.53.

*he shall be saved by the wisdom of his guru.*

*To become the dust of the feet  
of all is to shave the head.*

After visiting Panipat Guru Nanak visited Delhi.<sup>29</sup> According to Macauliffe here Guru Nanak brought a dead elephant to life but when the Emperor asked him to repeat the miracle he refused to do it again and told him that everything happened with the will of God. Here he uttered the following verses.<sup>30</sup>

*It is He who destroyeth and destroying re-animateth;  
Nanak, there is none but the one God.*

Giani Gian Singh mentions that Guru Nanak met with Emperor Sikander Lodhi at Delhi but no other account supports this view. Bhai Bala in his Janamsakhi offers the view that some Hindus complained to the Emperor about the cooking of meat at Kurkshetra, so the Emperor sent his soldiers to arrest the Guru and take him to Delhi.

This account is a blend of imagination and truth. Guru Nanak in his teachings himself told people that he possessed no miracles. If this incident is accepted as true it would be contrary to the teachings and philosophy of Guru Nanak. Guru Nanak himself emphasized that he did not believe in miracles. A true and serious understanding of the teaching and philosophy of Guru Nanak makes one refrain from a credulous belief in gross miracles. Such episodes seem to be a clever work of the authors of the Janamsakhi's and Macauliffe simply repeats them without critically examining the incidents.

Macauliffe writes, "Guru Nanak next proceeded towards Bindraban, where he saw enacted the play called Krishanlila, in which the exploits of Krishan are represented." After Bindraban, Guru Nanak started his journey towards the East. Macauliffe does not mention whether it was his second journey or the part of the first one. He also does not elaborate upon the year in which Guru Nanak started his journey towards the East.

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29 *Ibid*, p.56

30 *Ibid*.

According to Macauliffe during his journey towards the East, Guru Nanak wore a mango coloured jacket, over which he threw a white sheet.<sup>31</sup> On his head he carried the hat of a Musalman Qalandar. He also wore a necklace of bones and imprinted a saffron mark on his forehead in the style of Hindus. W.H. McLeod and Valiyat Wali Janamsakhi express the same opinion about Guru Nanak's visit to the East. During this journey Guru Nanak and Mardana saw Shaikh Wajid, whose disciples served him.<sup>32</sup> A discussion took place between Guru Nanak and Mardana on the subject of God. Upon this Nanak told Mardana that present life is the result of the deeds of a person in the former life.<sup>33</sup>

Macauliffe holds that Guru Nanak reached Gorakhmata twenty miles North of Pilibhit, in the United Provinces of India.<sup>34</sup> It was evidently a Nath centre. The members of the sect sought to persuade Guru Nanak to join their sect, but ended by hailing him as one exalted. It is said that the Siddhas were greatly impressed by him and thought that he should be won over to inject fresh vigour into the cult and spread it around. Therefore, they requested the Guru to become a yogi and be emancipated from the strains of life. However Guru Nanak taught virtues of a true yogi which could not be cultivated by merely adorning external symbols. Thus the yogis were enlightened by the hymns of Guru Nanak and made their salutation in reverence to him. It is said that Guru Nanak's teaching in this region salvaged many from superstitious belief systems. Groups of people are still there who call themselves Nanak panthis or followers of Guru Nanak. They are in direct descent from communities of disciples which came into being in his time, although they remain unacquainted with the subsequent Sikh development. It is said that the Guru sat under a tree which was withered from a long time, but when the Guru sat under it, it suddenly became green. Then a discourse between the Sidhs and Guru Nanak took place.<sup>35</sup>

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31 *Ibid*, p.55.

32 W.H. McLeod, *Guru Nanak and the Sikh Religion*, p.39.

33 Kirpal Singh, *Janam Sakhi Parampara.*, p.16.

34 M.A. Macauliffe, *The Sikh Religion*, p.59.

35 *Adi Granth*, p.730, Suhi Mahalla 1.

*What is the scale? What the weights?  
 What weighman shall I call for Thee?  
 Who is the guru from whom I should receive  
 instruction, and by whom I should appraise  
 Thy worth? O my Beloved, I know not  
 Thy limit. Thou fillest sea and land, the  
 nether and upper regions;  
 It is Thou Thyself who art contained  
 in everything.*

According to Macauliffe, Guru Nanak and Mardana then proceeded towards Banaras, the centre of the Hindu religion and the birth place of Bhagat Kabir.<sup>36</sup> Macauliffe inscribes that Kabir was dead at the time of Guru Nanak's visit. Not subscribing to this view, Meharban Wali Janaksakhi and Tawarikh Guru Khalsa maintain that Guru Nanak met with Kabir at Banaras. However, other Janamsakhis are silent over the question of Guru Nanak's meeting with Kabir. Tawarikh Guru Khalsa states that Guru Nanak met with Kabir near Kashi. Valiyat Wali Janamsakhi and Macauliffe both allude to the dialogue between Guru Nanak and Chatur Das, a disciple of Bhagat Kabir. Chatur Das tried to impress the Guru but failed and at last fell at the Guru's feet. Giani Gian Singh holds that this event took place at Kashi and not at Banaras.<sup>37</sup> Macauliffe also records Guru Nanak's meeting with Krishan Lal and Har Lal, two eminent young Pandits of Banaras.<sup>38</sup>

Macauliffe further writes, "From Banaras the Guru proceeded to Gaya, the famous place of pilgrimage, where Buddha in days long past made his great renunciation and formed his memorable penance".<sup>39</sup> But Macauliffe again does not mention the time of Guru Nanak's visit to Gaya. Tawarikh Guru Khalsa specifies that Guru reached Gaya on Sambat 1563.<sup>40</sup>

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36 M.A. Macauliffe, *The Sikh Religion*, p.61.

37 Giani Gian Singh, *Tawarikh Guru Khalsa.*, p.104.

38 M.A. Macauliffe, *The Sikh Religion.*, p.64.

39 *Ibid*, p.64.

40 Giani Gian Singh, *Tawarikh Guru Khalsa.*, p.111.

During their visits Guru Nanak and Mardana reached the house of a grain-dealer. A child was born in his house.<sup>41</sup> Not concurring with this view, Valiyat Wali Janamsakhi states that Guru Nanak visited the house of a *Vanjara*. The people congratulated the grain dealer. Mardana also went there to congratulate him but he came back empty handed. W.H. Mcleod further elaborates that the next morning the newly born child died and happiness turned into sorrow. Guru Nanak told Mardana that the child had come for a short period.<sup>42</sup>

Macauliffe goes on to record that during their journeys Guru Nanak and Mardana were once ambushed by robbers. They wanted to rob the Guru Nanak and Mardana. But Guru Nanak advised them to leave the profession and adopt profession of agriculture. It is believed that the robbers accepted Guru's proposed.

Macauliffe further writes, "The Guru Nanak and Mardana went to Kamrup, a country whose women were famous for their skill in incantation and magic".<sup>43</sup> Kamrup was governed by a queen Nurshah. This name is mentioned only in the Valiyat Wali Janamsakhi, no other Janamsakhi refers to this. Nurshah with several of her female followers tried to impress Guru Nanak but all her efforts failed. Then the Guru uttered the following verses:<sup>44</sup>

*You buy saline earth, and want musk  
into the bargain: Without good works,  
Nanak, how shall you meet your spouse?  
The virtuous wife enjoyeth her husband;  
Why doth the bad one bewail?  
If she become virtuous, then shall too  
go to enjoy her husband.  
My spouse is an abode of sweetness;  
Why should He enjoy other women?*

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41 M.A. Macauliffe, *The Sikh Religion.*, p.65.

42 M.H. McLeod, *Guru Nanak and the Sikh Religion.*, p.40.

43 M.A. Macauliffe, *The Sikh Religion.*, p.73.

44 Adi Granth p.349, Asa Mahalla 1.



At last she fell at the Guru's feet.<sup>45</sup> Janamsakhi Bhai Mani Singh relates a miraculous story with this incident. According to him Mardana went inside the city in search of food, but was converted into a lamb with magic and incantation. Then Guru Nanak went inside the city for the rescue of Mardana.<sup>46</sup> Giani Gian Singh in *Tawarikh Guru Khalsa* holds that this event transpired near Dakha.

In the words of Macauliffe, "The Guru on leaving Kamrup entered into a wilderness".<sup>47</sup> W.H. McLeod writes that there they (the Guru and Mardana) met Kaljug.<sup>48</sup> When Mardana saw Kaljug, he got frightened. There was a discourse between Guru Nanak and Kaljug. Harbans Singh remarks that Kaljug offered Guru wealth and other pleasures of life but failed to impress him.<sup>49</sup>

Macauliffe records that Guru Nanak visited Jagannath Puri.<sup>50</sup> Macauliffe again does not write about the date when Jagannath Puri was visited by Guru Nanak. Giani Gian Singh specifies that Guru reached Jagannath in Sambat 1565.<sup>51</sup> This visit was undertaken to engage in dialogues with the Vaishnavities. Here too, Guru Nanak uttered a few hymns which were aimed at condemning the superfluous rituals of the votaries of the Vaishnava faith. This event is not mentioned in *Valiyat Wali Janamsakhi* and *Bhai Bala Wali Janamsakhi*. *Meharban Wali Janamsakhi* mentions this place as Rameshvaram. *Bhai Mani Singh Wali Janamsakhi* expresses the same opinion about this visit of Guru Nanak.

Macauliffe goes on to say, "The Guru and Mardana after their travels in Eastern India returned to the Punjab".<sup>52</sup> *Valiyat Wali Janamsakhi* and *Bhai Bala Wali Janamsakhi* end Guru Nanak's first Udasi at this point and they are shown to return to Sultanpur. *Meharban Wali Janamsakhi* and *Bhai Mani Singh Wali Janamsakhi* however, express the opinion that from Jagan Nath Puri Guru Nanak turned towards

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45 Kartar Singh, *Guru Nanak Dev*, Ludhiana, 1969, p.134.

46 Kirpal Singh, *Janam Sakhi Parampara.*, p.353.

47 M.A. Macauliffe, *The Sikh Religion.*, p.78.

48 W.H. McLeod, *Guru Nanak and the Sikh Religion.*, p.41.

49 Harbans Singh, *Guru Nanak and Origin of the Sikh Faith.*, p.126.

50 Guru Nanak's visit to Jagan Nath Puri is mentioned in the *Meharban Janamsakhi*, p.200.

51 Giani Gian Singh, *Tawarikh Guru Khalsa.*, p.126.

52 M.A. Macauliffe, *The Sikh Religion.*, p.84.

South and it seems to be more plausible.

According to Macauliffe after their return to Punjab, they reached Ajodhan, which is now called Pak Pattan.<sup>53</sup> Kartar Singh mentions that a saint called Shaikh Brahm (Ibrahim) was then the incumbent of the shrine.<sup>54</sup> There was a dialogue between Shaikh Brahm and Guru Nanak. Hari Ram Gupta remarks that at night when they remained together in the forest, a villager gave them a basin full of milk.<sup>55</sup> In the morning when he came to take his basin, he found the basin full of gold coins. There is also a mention of a discourse between Guru Nanak and the Shaikh. Macauliffe says, “Then the people brought bread, but Shaikh Brahm said he had already dined. The people were annoyed that their offerings were thus spurned”.<sup>56</sup>

Macauliffe writes, “The Guru after his pleasant visit with Shaikh Brahm and his district, where he made several converts, proceeded to a country called Bisiar, probably the state of Bushahir in the Himalayas, where he was ill received”.<sup>57</sup> However, a carpenter named Jhanda, took them to his house and treated them with hospitality. Harbans Singh maintains that later he also joined the Guru in his travels.<sup>58</sup>

According to Macauliffe the Guru and his companions then directed their steps towards East. They went to an Island in the ocean where there was scarcity of food. Here Guru Nanak composed Jugawali, a poem on the four ages of the world.<sup>59</sup>

In the words of Macauliffe, “Not long after they found themselves in lonely desert”.<sup>60</sup> Mardana felt hungry and asked the Guru for food. The Guru then pointed out to a tree and told him to eat the fruit. He warned Mardana that he could not take along any fruit with him. However, Mardana took some fruit with him. W.H. Mcleod also alludes to the incident by writing that during his travel when he felt hungry he ate

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53 *Ibid*, pp. 85-86.

54 Kartar Singh, *Guru Nanak Dev.*, p.120.

55 Hari Ram Gupta, *History of the Sikhs*, New Delhi, Vol. I, p.62.

56 M.A. Macauliffe, *The Sikh Religion.*, p.92.

57 *Ibid*, p.93.

58 Harbans Singh, *Guru Nanak and Origin of the Sikh Faith*, p.128.

59 M.A. Macauliffe, *The Sikh Religion.*, p.93.

60 *Ibid*. p.94

those fruits.<sup>61</sup> As he ate them he fell down on the ground. When the Guru inquired what had happened, Mardana confessed his mistake. The Guru told him that the fruit was poisonous but the Guru had blessed it for the occasion. The Guru then put his foot on Mardana's forehead and he was at once revived.

Mardana then proposed to the Guru to return home and Guru accepted his proposal. According to Macauliffe Guru Nanak and Mardana then turned their steps towards Talwandi after twelve years.<sup>62</sup> Giani Gian Singh offers a different version by asserting that Guru Nanak first reached Sultanpur in Sambat 1566 and then moved towards Talwandi. Valiyat Wali Janamsakhi and Meharban Wali Janamsakhi also make a mention of Guru Nanak's return to Talwandi after 12 years. Bhai Mani Singh in his Janamsakhi says that Guru Nanak told his parents about his visits of the East and South. These Janamsakhi's combine the journey of East and South but they present different itineraries of the Udasis. Macauliffe does not specify when Guru Nanak ended his first journey and returned to his native place Sultanpur in the Punjab. It is a general tradition that Bhaktas or Yogis normally visit their houses after 12 years of wandering and preaching. However, it is a very general tradition without any great authenticity. It can be said that Guru Nanak returned to his native place after 12-13 years. Taking the different accounts into consideration it can be said that Nanak left for Udasis in 1501 A.D. and returned in 1513 A.D.

Macauliffe registers that Guru Nanak sat three miles from the village in the forest and asked Mardana to go home and inquire about the people.<sup>63</sup> But W.H. McLeod says Guru Nanak stopped in the jungle at a distance of two Kos from the village.<sup>64</sup> Guru also advised him to go to his father's house but not to inform anyone about him and return quickly. The Guru's mother followed Mardana when he returned back from her house and reached the place where Guru Nanak stayed. Guru Nanak showed respect to his mother. After some time his father Mehta Kalu also came there.

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61 W.H. McLeod, *Guru Nanak and the Sikh Religion.*, p.43.

62 M.A. Macauliffe, *The Sikh Religion.*, p.35.

63 *Ibid.*

64 W.H. McLeod, *Guru Nanak and the Sikh Religion.*, p.43.

Both father and mother advised him to return home. But all their efforts failed. Guru Nanak replied with the following<sup>65</sup> –

*The pleasure of the Name is as mansions  
and places; Thy favouring glance,  
O Lord, is as family for me.  
To please Thee is mine empire;  
To say more were altogether useless.  
Nanak, true is the King; He decideth  
without taking others counsel.  
Father, other intercourse affordeth ruinous  
happiness; by indulging in it the  
body is pained, and sin entereth the mind.*

Macauliffe registers that during their second travel Guru Nanak and Mardana went to the West but does not mention the time when they started their second journey, nor does he mention when they ended their second journey. Giani Gian Singh specifies that they started the second travel in Sambat 1567(1510 A.D.).<sup>66</sup> During their second journey they crossed the rivers Ravi and Chanab and reached Pak Pattan once again. Bhai Mani Singh in his Janamsakhi also narrates that Guru Nanak visited Pak Pattan two times. Valiyat Wali Janamsakhi and Meharban Wali Janamsakhi also state that Guru Nanak crossed the rivers Ravi and Chenab and reached Pak Pattan. They sat down to rest about four miles from the city.<sup>67</sup> Shaikh Kamal who was a disciple of Shaikh Brahm went to take wood for fire from the forest. There he heard the hymns of Guru Nanak which he sang at that time. When he returned and repeated the hymns for Shaikh Brahm. Shaikh Brahm realized that Guru Nanak had returned. He went to meet Guru Nanak in the forest. They held a friendly conversation there.

There seems to be little doubt that Guru Nanak must at sometime have met

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65 M.A. Macauliffe's book, *The Sikh Religion*, p.98.

66 Giani Gian Singh, *Tawarikh Guru Khalsa.*, p.139.

67 M.A. Macauliffe, *The Sikh Religion*, p. 101.

Sheikh Ibrahim, the contemporary incumbent of the Sufi line descending from Sheikh Farid. Pak Pattan was within easy reach and Sheikh Farid's reputation would certainly have exercised a powerful attraction. Even without the testimony of the Janamsakhis such a meeting might well be regarded as likely. There are evident inconsistencies in the Janamsakhis' descriptions of the encounter, but they are in substantial agreement as far as the principal details are concerned. It may be assumed that the discourse which they record owes more to imagination than to an actual knowledge of the event, but there is nothing which suggests that the event itself is open to doubt. Accordingly, it may be accepted as a strong probability that the tradition concerning a meeting in Pak Pattan with Sheikh Ibrahim, a contemporary successor of Sheikh Farid, which finds expression in the different Janamsakhis is a creditable one.

W.H. McLeod writes that after that Guru Nanak visited Dipalpur, Kanganpur, Kasur and Patti in the Lahore district.<sup>68</sup> Surinder Singh Kohli mentions that they also proceeded to Windpur in the Amritsar district.<sup>69</sup> When the Khatri of that place saw Guru Nanak dressed like a faqir, they asked him to quit the place immediately. Macauliffe also makes a mention of this visit of Guru Nanak in Lahore district.

In the words of Macauliffe, "The Guru thence proceeded to a village on the site of the present Goindwal, where he desired to stay, but no one except a poor leper would receive him or allow him to remain there".<sup>70</sup> The Guru blessed him and the leper was cured. Guru also traveled to Sultanpur and they reached a place Kari Pathandi in the Amritsar district. They also visited Batala in the Gurdaspur district. Macauliffe writes that after this he reached Saidpur and met Bhai Lalo for the second time. It was during this meeting that Lalo complained to him about the oppression of the Pathans. A Brahman came to Guru and offered him a basket of fruits. The Guru bade him to take his family three miles away from the place because Babar was coming to invade Saidpur.<sup>71</sup> Babar devastated Saidpur very badly in 1521 A.D. and

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68 W.H. McLeod, *Guru Nanak and the Sikh Religion*, .p. 43.

69 Surinder Singh Kohli, *Travels of Guru Nanak*, Chandigarh, 1978, p.15.

70 M.A. Macauliffe, *The Sikh Religion*,. p.107.

71 *Ibid.* p.110.

imprisoned people along with the Guru and Mardana. According to Macauliffe, while working in imprisonment they performed several miracles. In the words of Macauliffe, “Guru’s bundle was raised a cubit over his head without any apparent support, and that the horse entrusted to Mardana followed him while he played sacred music on the rebeck”.<sup>72</sup> Mir Khan Governor of the jail informed about these incidents to Babar.<sup>73</sup> W.H. McLeod mentions that Babar came to the jail to see Guru Nanak and during their conversation Babar fell at Nanak's feet and offered him a present but Nanak refused and asked the Emperor to release the people of Saidpur.<sup>74</sup>

Macauliffe and almost all the Sikh chronicles refer to the sack of Saidpur, modern Eminabad, by Babar and Guru Nanak’s dialogues with Babar. However, the Muslim chronicles are silent about these dialogues. The Guru’s visit to Saidpur is of great historical significance. Some of his hymns composed there allude to the suffering of poor people and inability of the ruler to protect his subjects. Guru Nanak makes a direct reference to Babar to condemn the devastation wrought by his army.

Macauliffe further writes that one day Mardana asked the Guru to explain the cause of the Saidpur massacre. The Guru pointed out a tree and asked Mardana to sleep under it. When he woke up he himself got his answer. Mardana slept under that tree and a drop of honey fell on his naked chest. As he slept, ants came to drink it and the Mardana half unconsciously crushed them all.<sup>75</sup> When he woke up the Guru remarked that only one ant had bitten him but he killed all. In the same way the people of Saidpur were killed.

After that another meeting was held between Babar and Guru Nanak. Guru Nanak remained there for three days. On the third day he asked Babar to release the prisoners.<sup>76</sup> Babar agreed on the condition that the Guru bless him that his Empire would continue for a long period. Thus, the Guru blessed him. Babar even asked the Guru to embrace Islam. But Guru Nanak asked Babar to attain salvation through true

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72 *Ibid.* p.113.

73 *Ibid.* p.110.

74 W.H. McLeod, *Guru Nanak and the Sikh Religion.*, p.44.

75 M.A. Macauliffe, *The Sikh Religion.*, p.118.

76 *Ibid.*, p.119.

devotion and replied the following.<sup>77</sup>

*There are hundreds of thousands of  
Muhammads, but only one God.  
The Unseen is true and without anxiety.  
Many Muhammads stand in His court.  
So numberless they cannot be reckoned.  
Prophets have been sent and come into the world.  
Whenever He pleaseth He hath them  
arrested and brought before Him.  
The slave Nanak hath ascertained.  
That God alone is pure and all else impure.*

Macauliffe remarks that the long composition of Guru Nanak described as ‘Baburvani’ clearly establishes that he must have personally witnessed the devastation caused by Babar’s troops.<sup>78</sup> The date of Saidpur incident can be traced to around 1520 A.D. during the third incursion of Babar in India.<sup>79</sup>

Macauliffe says, “The Guru then departed for Pasrur and thence to Sailkot the fortress of the Sail tribe, now a cantonment in the northern part of the Panjab.”<sup>80</sup> He rested under a wild caper tree, which still exists outside the city. It is said that the Guru sent Mardana to the market to buy truth of a paisa and falsehood of a paisa. However, nobody in the city understood its meaning. There was a Mula, who was a Karar, or petty shopkeeper. He said that death was true and life was false. Mardana returned with this message. After that a friendship developed between Guru Nanak and Mula. Guru Nanak also visited Kabul. Giani Gian Singh writes that on second occasion when Guru Nanak visited Sialkot, Mardana went to Mula's house.<sup>81</sup> His wife, thinking that he would again leave her, told Mardana that he was not at home. At the same time a snake bit Mula and he died. Giani Gian Singh mentions this story

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77 Adi Granth, pp 417-18.

78 M.A. Macauliffe, *The Sikh Religion.*, p.119.

79 BaburNama, p.429.

80 M.A. Macauliffe, *The Sikh Religion.*, p.122, Kirpal Singh, *Janam Sakhi Parampara.*, p.113.

81 Giani Gian Singh, *Tawarikh Guru Khalsa.*, p.96.

during Nanak's first travel.<sup>82</sup>

After Sialkot they moved towards the south of the Punjab to Mithankot, in the present district of Dera Ghazi Khan. Mian Mitha, a famous Muhammadan priest, resided there. The Guru stayed at a garden near the town. There was a long conversation between Guru Nanak and Mian Mitha.<sup>83</sup> The Guru here uttered the following.<sup>84</sup>

*The present are favoured; the absent are not.*

*Faith is a friend, want of faith an infidel;*

*Pride is ruin, wrath is unlawful;*

*Concupiscence is Satan, conceit is infidelity;*

*The slanderer's face is black.*

*The man without faith is unclean;*

*He who is tenderhearted is pure.*

*Knowledge is gentleness.*

*The non-avaricious are holy;*

*The avaricious are impatient.*

According to Macauliffe the Guru then turned towards river Ravi and reached Lahore and met Duni Chand. Duni Chand was an employee of the Emperor in Lahore.<sup>85</sup> He was performing the ceremony of Sharadh for his father. He took the Guru to his house. When the ceremony of Sharadh started the Guru said to Duni Chand that he had fed one hundred Brahmans but his father was hungry from the last two days.<sup>86</sup> When Duni Chand asked where his father was the Guru replied that he had become a wolf and was at a six miles distance from there. He had become a wolf because he died with a desire of meat.

Writing about the incident Harbans Singh adds that when the Guru saw seven flags over his door, Guru gave him a needle and asked him to keep it till the next

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82 Kirpal Singh, *Janam Sakhi Parampara.*, p.288.

83 W.H. McLeod, *Guru Nanak and the Sikh Religion.*, p.45.

84 Adi Granth, p.25, Sri Rag Mahalla 1.

85 M.A. Macauliffe, *The Sikh Religion.*, p.129

86 *Ibid.*



life.<sup>87</sup> However when this wife explained that nothing would go with him in the next life, Duni Chand fell at the Guru's feet. In abidance with the advice of the Guru he distributed all his wealth among the poor.

Macauliffe further inscribes that the Guru went in the north east direction and sat on the bank of the Ravi. He became very popular there. The people came to visit him. When a millionaire official came to know about the Guru, he took his horse to take action against him.<sup>88</sup> However, when he tried to sit on the horse, he immediately fell down. Then his companions asked him to go on foot and pay obeisance to the Guru. He followed their advice and when the millionaire saw the Guru he fell at his feet. The Guru was pleased and made him his guest for three days. The millionaire founded the village Kartarpur in honour of Guru Nanak. It is situated on the margin of the Ravi. The millionaire even built a Sikh temple there.<sup>89</sup> Macauliffe leaves the mention of the date of the foundation of Kartarpur. Giani Gian Singh specifies that the foundation of the village was laid on Sambat 1572.<sup>90</sup> Valiyat Wali Janamsakhi holds that Guru Nanak laid the foundation of this city when he returned after his first journey of 12 years. Meharban Wali Janamsakhi maintains that Guru Nanak laid the foundation of this city after the visit of Mecca and Madina.

There can be no doubt that Kartarpur, if not positively founded by or for Guru Nanak, was at least transformed from insignificance to importance by his arrival there. The tradition that he actually founded the village, or it was founded for him, appears to be much stronger than the alternative accounts. The Janamsakhis are here dealing with an issue which has a local setting and which should evidently be placed in the last two decades of the Guru's life. The land for such a village would have had to be procured in some manner and there is nothing which leads us to doubt the story that it was donated by a wealthy Sikh. To this simple statement of the village's origin miraculous elements were subsequently added in its oral transmission. Stripped of

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87 Harbans Singh, *Guru Nanak and Origin of the Sikh Faith.*, p.141.

88 M.A. Macauliffe, *The Sikh Religion.*, p.131.

89 *Ibid*, p.132.

90 Giani Gian Singh, *Tawarikh Guru Khalsa.*, p.185.

them the story offers no difficulties and can be accepted.

Macauliffe recounts that the Guru recited hymns everyday. A seven years old boy used to come to listen and stand behind him. When the singing was over he quietly departed. One day Guru Nanak asked his disciples to catch the boy as he wanted to know his object.<sup>91</sup> The boy replied that he had been afraid of early death. The Guru was very much pleased with the wisdom of boy. That boy was Bhai Budha who lived till the installation of the fifth Guru.

After the founding of the city of Kartarpur, Guru Nanak lived there for small periods of time. There he spent his time in reciting the name of God. The Guru educated people about true devotion towards God through which they could attain salvation. Guru also composed here the poem on twelve months of year i.e. Bara Mah. A part of this poem is reproduced here:<sup>92</sup>

*Hear Thou, O God – according to men’s  
acts in previous states of existence.  
The weal or woe which Thou givest to  
each individual is just.  
O God, the Creation is Thine;  
what is my condition?  
I cannot live for a moment without Thee.  
I am miserable without my Beloved;  
I have no friend; yet from the Guru’s  
instruction I drink nectar.*

Macauliffe further writes, “Meanwhile the Guru made a journey to the South of India. He wore wooden Sandals, took a stick in his hand, twisted a rope round his head as a turban, and on his forehead put a patch and a steak”.<sup>93</sup> Macauliffe describes that during this visit Saido and Ghelo of the Jat tribe were with the Guru. According to Kirpal Singh they traveled towards Madras.

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91 M.A. Macauliffe, *The Sikh Religion.*, p.134.

92 *Ibid*, p.138.

93 M.A. Macauliffe, *The Sikh Religion.*, p.147.

Macauliffe also narrates the story of Guru Nanak's visit to Jain temple. The priest Narbhi turned into a disciple of Guru Nanak during the conversation. The Guru also visited an island in the ocean which was governed by a tyrant. The tyrant wanted to kill them. However, when the Guru and his companion sang the hymns, he turned into a Sikh of Guru Nanak. Macauliffe also makes a mention of the meeting of the successor of Pir Makhdum Baha-ul-Din Qureshi and Guru Nanak.<sup>94</sup>

Macauliffe writes, “The Guru then turned his thoughts towards Ceylon succeeded in reaching that country, where he took his seat in Raja Shivnabh’s garden”.<sup>95</sup> Guru sat in a barren garden but soon after the arrival of the Guru it became green. Surinder Singh Kohli mentions that when Raja Shivnabh came to know about him, he reached the garden.<sup>96</sup> According to W.H. McLeod during this time Guru composed Pransangali and Saido and Gheho wrote it.<sup>97</sup> The following are its opening verses.<sup>98</sup>

*The supreme state is altogether a void, all people say;  
In the supreme state there is no rejoicing of mourning;  
In the supreme state there are felt no hopes or desires;  
In the supreme state are seen no castes or caste-marks;  
In the supreme state are no sermons of singing of hymns;  
In the supreme state abideth heavenly meditation;  
In the supreme state are those who know themselves;  
Nanak, my mind is satisfied with the supreme state.*

Macauliffe goes on to inscribe that when Guru returned to India he heard of the fair of Shivrat at Achal Batala.<sup>99</sup> There a dialogue between the Guru and Bhangarnath, a leader of the Jogis took place. During his long discussion the leader asked the Guru

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94 *Ibid.* p.153.

95 *Ibid.* p.155..

96 Surinder Singh Kholi, *Travels of Guru Nanak.*, pp.83-84.

97 W.H. McLeod, , *Guru Nanak and the Sikh Religion.*, p.35.

98 *Adi Granth*, p.992.

99 M.A. Macauliffe, *The Sikh Religion.*, p.156.

to become jogi. On this occasion the Guru composed the Sidh Gosht.<sup>100</sup>

According to W.H. McLeod during his journey to the north, the Guru wore leather shoes and twisted a rope round his body and stamped a saffron tilak on forehead. During this journey, there were Hassu, a smith and Sihan, a calico-printer with the Guru.<sup>101</sup> Macauliffe records that the Guru was spending sometime in Srinagar in Kashmir. Brahm Das, who was eminent among Kashmiri Pandits went to Guru with two donkeys and loads of Sanskrit books. There engaged in a long discussion. At the completion of the dialogue, he fell at the Guru's feet.

Macauliffe writes down that the Guru then traveled through the Himalayan mountains and reached Mount Sumer.<sup>102</sup> He met with several renowned Sidhs there. There held discussions between them. From Mount Sumer, Guru returned to the plains of the Punjab, traveled in the North West direction and reached Hasan Abdal. There lived a priest known as Bawa Wali of Kandhar. The Guru required water and sent Mardana to bring water from the Wali, but he refused. Second time Mardana again tried but failed to get water from him. Then Guru bore a hole and immediately issued water from it. At this Wali's well dried up and Wali threw a hillock upon the Guru, but the Guru raised his right arm to protect himself. The impression of the palm of the Guru's hand was left on the hillock, which is now known as Panja Sahib.<sup>103</sup>

Thereafter the Guru reached Goarkh Hatri. There is an ancient temple of Goarknath. There also he held discussions with the Jogis.

Macauliffe states, "After his successful discussion with the jogis the Guru decided to visit Makka, the pole star of Muhammadan devotion".<sup>104</sup> Khushwant Singh states that he disguised himself in the blue dress of a Mohammadan pilgrim, took a faqir's staff in his hand, a collection of his hymns under the arm and a carpet where on to pray.<sup>105</sup> He was accompanied by Mardana. The Guru was joined by a

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100 *Ibid*, p.163.

101 W.H. McLeod, *Guru Nanak and the Sikh Religion.*, p.48.

102 M.A. Macauliffe, *The Sikh Religion.*, p.169.

103 *Ibid*, p.172.

104 *Ibid*. p.174.

105 Khushwant Singh, *A History of the Sikhs*, Delhi, Vol. I, p.34.

Mohammadan faqir and at night they held spiritual conversations among themselves.<sup>106</sup> Macauliffe recounts that when they proceeded on the road to Macca, a cloud accompanied them on their heads. When the faqir noticed it, he told the Guru that Hindus did not go to Macca and as such he could not travel with him. The Guru told the faqir to go ahead alone. When the faqir turned round to see the Guru, he found neither the Guru nor the cloud. He realized that he was God who traveled with him.<sup>107</sup>

Although the tradition that Guru Nanak visited Macca was summarily dismissed by Trumpp as legend almost all subsequent writers have accepted it and most have regarded it as the terminus of his Western travels. Some popular accounts claim that he continued on to Egypt and adjacent African countries, and a few take him into Europe. However most of the writers end the westward journey at Macca and Madina.<sup>108</sup>

Guru Nanak's uncommon behavior often led to interesting situations. One such occurred at Macca while he was sleeping with his feet towards Macca.<sup>109</sup> Giani Gian Singh writes that he was rudely shaken by some Muslim devotees because never before had anyone put his feet towards Kaaba, a revered place for them.<sup>110</sup> A Qazi enquired from the Guru the meaning of his sacrilegious act.<sup>111</sup> The Guru responded coolly and asked the Muslim to put his feet in a direction away from the 'house of God'.<sup>112</sup> Thus, the Qazi was made to understand the narrowness of his approach and to realize that God exists everywhere. Guru Nanak also visited Madina<sup>113</sup> and Baghdad. During his visit to Baghdad the Guru showed the upper and lower regions described in the Japji to the son of priest Dastgir.<sup>114</sup>

The portion which must be rejected consists of the miraculous events, in

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106 Harbans Singh, *Guru Nanak and Origin of the Sikh Faith.*, p.165.

107 M.A. Macauliffe, *The Sikh Religion.*, p.174.

108 W.H. McLeod, *Guru Nanak and the Sikh Religion.*, p.123.

109 Puratan Janam Sakhi, p.51, Mehorban Janam Sakhi, p.449.

110 Giani Gian Singh, *Tawarikh Guru Khalsa.*, p.244.

111 According to Janamsakhi Qazi name was Rukandin. But Maculiffe was silent about it.

112 Santokh Singh, *Shri Guru Nanak Parkash.*, pp. 210-211.

113 *Ibid*, pp. 214-215.

114 Giani Gian Singh, *Tawarikh Guru Khalsa.*, p.269.

varying forms, with the Macca visit. These include an instantaneous journey to Macca, a cloud which followed the Guru, an issue of fresh water in the wells of the city, and a moving *miharab*.

Macauliffe states that after having accomplished his mission in the west, the Guru returned to the Punjab. While on the way back he stopped at Multan.<sup>115</sup> On his return journey towards Punjab, he visited some places on the way before reaching Kartarpur, where he decided to settle for the rest of his life. Giani Gian Singh mentions that Guru Nanak reached Kartarpur on Sambat 1578.<sup>116</sup> But Macauliffe does not mention when Guru Nanak reached Kartarpur.

## II

Macauliffe in his work, 'The Sikh Religion' refers to the Bani or Hymns of Guru Nanak. He gives a detailed account of the Bani or Hymns of Guru Nanak. He mentions The Japji, The Rahiras, The Sohila, Asa Ki War and Sri Rag.<sup>117</sup> After that he offers a detailed account of the Hymns of Guru Nanak composed on different occasions or at different places. In these hymns Guru Nanak disseminates spiritual and social teachings. In spiritual teachings he talks about characteristics of – oneness of God, superiority to God, true devotion towards God, need of Guru for Mukti, truth, peace and harmony etc. The social teachings deal with various problems of the society like – idol, icon and images worship, intoxicants, empty rituals and ceremonies, social inequality, caste system, misunderstanding of religious text etc.

It has been observed from the life of Guru Nanak that Guru Nanak's teachings are totally universal in nature, applicable to all, everywhere under all conditions. Guru Nanak gave God's message to humanity. Guru Nanak taught that God uttered a *word* or *sabad*, which turned into *light* (Jot) and became the cause of all creation. The *light* shed by God pervades everywhere in the creation and creatures. This *light* or *sabad* created *space* and other Four Elements, Air, Energy, Water and Mud and Rocks,

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115 M.A. Macauliffe, *The Sikh Religion*, p.180.

116 Giani Gian Singh, *Tawarikh Guru Khalsa*, p.291.

117. M.A. Macauliffe, *The Sikh Religion*, p.195.

which in turn created various worlds, oceans and heavenly bodies as planned, thus created the Universe. We all human comprise Life-Giving Divine Light and the material body, which is animated by the Divine abiding in us. The Divine present in everyone is called Sat Guru- The True Teacher, the Life Giver and the Sustainer of Life.<sup>118</sup> It is through His Light or Sabad present in persons that they meet with God.

Theology is the correct word to use in this connection. The whole of Guru Nanak's thought revolves around his understanding of the nature of God. It was entirely appropriate that Guru Arjun should place a declaration of the nature of God at the very beginning of the Adi Granth and thus it should be called the Mul Mantra, the Basic Credal Statement of all Sikh scripture. None is more important than Guru Nanak's Japji and in this work of surpassing beauty the theme of God, the One whom men must praise and who yet far exceeds the most exalted conception which the mind of man can form. It is theology which we find in the Sabads and Sloks of Guru Nanak and it is theology of a refined quality.

God has created Man in His image. His Light present in Man is the source of his existence. Man's body is the Temple of God, wherein He abides. Although God is present in Man's material body, which is his source of existence, yet the Divine remains aloof from the persons' emotional material life created through his material body.<sup>119</sup> Guru Nanak taught the world, fatherhood of God. He is All wise, without Fear and Favour, the Real Doer in all, yet remains aloof from the creatures. He abides in all equally, yet the creatures remain disunited from Him.

Macauliffe in his work, after the life of Guru Nanak, describes 'The Japji'. He gives an account of 'The Japji' in twenty two pages. In the present study, an attempt will be made to discuss some important aspects of his Bani or Hymns. In 'The Japji' Macauliffe talks about One God, who is true and the only creator of the whole world. He is free from any type of fear and he is immortal, unborn, self existent. In the

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118. *Ibid.*

119. *Ibid.*, p.223.

starting of the 'Japji' there comes 'Mool Mantra'.<sup>120</sup>

*"IK- Oankaar  
Sat-Naam  
Kartaa-Purakh  
Nirbhau Nirvair  
Akaal-Moorat  
Ajoonee Saibhang  
Gur-Parsaad."*

At no point is Guru Nanak's quality of terseness better illustrated than in the Mul Mantra, the basic theological statement with which the Adi Granth opens.

In 'Mool Mantra' Guru Nanak describes the nature of the God. Macauliffe mentions that God is one and he is Unique Being, who pervades everywhere and in all His creation, sustains them and dissolves them. He is consistent and unchanged Being. He is a veritable Reality, and is known by many names - The creator or the Doer. The Guru revealed that God's light pervades all and everywhere.<sup>121</sup> God is fearless. He is the only creator of all. There is no rival of Him. Time has no affect on His form. He always remains in Bliss. The Creator ever remains unchanged, ever in Bliss. He is not a creature. He never incarnates or dies. He is self-existent. He himself creates Himself, expands in creation and dissolves it. He is the Primal Guru of all. He manifests Himself in Creation through His Word or Light (Jot),<sup>122</sup> present in all creatures and creation, which creates them and sustains them. It is through His word union with Him takes place by His Grace.

Through the 'Mool Mantra' Guru Nanak describes the Nature of God.<sup>123</sup> Guru Nanak lays emphasis on the recitation of God's name. According to Macauliffe, when Guru Nanak was at Talwandi an argument took place between Guru Nanak and a Sanyasi named Samangir.<sup>124</sup> Here Guru Nanak told him the advantage of repeating

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120. *Ibid*, p.195

121. *Ibid*, p.196.

122. *Ibid*, p.249.

123. W.H. McLeod, *Guru Nanak and the Sikh Religion.*, p.163.

124. M.A. Macauliffe, *The Sikh Religion.*, p.264.



God's name. Guru Nanak affirmed that with the repeating of God's name Man could get happiness. We cannot attain God by performing thousands of ceremonies. These are useless without repeating God's name with true devotion. Guru Nanak even uttered few lines to show the advantage of repeating God's name:<sup>125</sup>

*"My heart is penetrated by God's name;  
What else shall I reflect upon?  
Happiness cometh to him who meditateth  
On the Word; Perfect happiness to him  
Who is imbued with God.  
Few there are who obtain understanding  
by admonishing their hearts through their guru.  
Nanak, they who forget not the Name,  
and who act according to the word shall be delivered".*

Macauliffe further elucidates that Guru Nanak guided the people in his teachings to find God through devotion. We can find God through true devotion. Guru Nanak gave the example of a woman whose life is worthless without her husband. In that sense human being's life is worthless without God. To show the superiority of devotion Guru Nanak uttered the following hymns:<sup>126</sup>

*"We see mansions painted and whitewashed  
with ornamental doors.  
They were constructed to give pleasure to  
the heart, and through love and regard  
for wordly things, but they shall fall to ruin.  
So the body which is empty within and  
possesseth no love, shall fall and become a  
heap of dust".*

Guru Nanak affirms that without true devotion we cannot get happiness. Guru

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125. *Ibid*, p.273.

126. *Ibid*, p.275.

Nanak taught the people that God lived in the heart of everyman and there is no need to find him here or there. Man can get it through true devotion. No religious work is superior to true devotion. Through true devotion and repetition of God's name man could attain salvation.

Macauliffe also expatiates on Guru Nanak's stress on Religious teacher or true Guru<sup>127</sup> because without a true Guru or Religious teacher man could not get God or salvation.<sup>128</sup> Guru can become a path if we follow that path we can get salvation. Guru Nanak told that man's mind is impure until it has not got a Guru or religious teacher. Till the man's mind is impure his body, tongue, mouth heart also remain impure. It is through Guru's instructions that we can purify our mind, heart, body, mouth and tongue. If a person is pure only then he can repeat God's name with true devotion. Guru Nanak describes this world as a dangerous ocean and the Guru acts like a boat which can take him away from this world's ocean. Guru Nanak mentions Guru as a life giving tree whose fruit is divine knowledge and through this fruit a man can get salvation.<sup>129</sup> Guru Nanak revealed that man is like an elephant who is wandering in a big forest and it is the Guru who instructed him to get his right path. To show the greatness of Guru Macauliffe reproduces the following words of Guru Nanak.<sup>130</sup>

*"Man shall not be emancipated without the  
Guru's instruction; see and ponder upon this.  
Even though man performed hundred's of  
thousands of ceremonies, all would still be  
darkness without the Guru".*

Guru Nanak mentions God as a true friend of man but we can reach him only through Guru.

Macauliffe asserts that Guru Nanak in his Bani or Hymns laid great stress on salvation. During his travels a Qazi and a Pandit asked the Guru about how they could

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127. *Ibid*, p.301.

128. Kartar Singh, *Guru Nanak Dev*, pp. 318-319.

129. J.S. Grewal, *Guru Nanak in History*, Chandigarh, 1998, p.241.

130. M.A. Macauliffe, *The Sikh Religion.*, p.302

get salvation. Guru replied that we got salvation through Guru and Guru gave us knowledge of true devotion. Through the following lines Guru Nanak instructed people about the path to salvation.<sup>131</sup>

*"Where man is proud there art Thou not;  
Where Thou art, there no pride is. O men  
Of divine knowledge, understand this riddle-  
the story of the Ineffable One is in the heart".*

Guru Nanak eulogized the man who is without *haumai* because *haumai* destroyed true devotion.<sup>132</sup> Macauliffe in the Bani of Guru Nanak elaborates upon love and service for God because God can be attained through it. Guru Nanak guided the mankind about the fact that God is not pleased with ceremonies or idol worship; He can be pleased through love and service.<sup>133</sup>

Guru Nanak describes that external purification or purification of body is useless until our inner-self is pure. This tenet finds expression in the following hymns of Guru Nanak cited by Macauliffe.<sup>134</sup>

*"Man washeth his clothes and his body, and  
mortifieth himself.  
Knowing not of the filth attaching to his heart,  
he rubbeth and cleanseth himself externally.  
Being blind he is led astray, and falleth  
Into Death's noose.  
Nanak, when pride is dispelled under the Guru's  
instructions, man meditateth on God's name".*

The people in the world indulge in purifying the external body parts but don't pay attention to wash their heart. It is washed when we destroy our pride; speak truth and renounce worldly pleasures. Salvation can be achieved only through true

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131 *Ibid*, p.267

132 J.S. Grewal, *Guru Nanak in History.*, p.268.

133 M.A. Macauliffe, *The Sikh Religion.*, p.339.

134 *Ibid*, p.280.

devotion.

Guru Nanak in his Bani or Hymns affirms that everything in this world is mortal except God.<sup>135</sup> Guru Nanak told the people that Kings ruled the kingdoms but their rule did not endure. Big cities are full of shops and bazaars but all are subject to destruction. It is the God who destroys all these things. Everything happens with the will of God. A lot of people take pride in wisdom but not wisdom is useful at the last moment. The storehouses of the rich people are loaded or full with wealth but at last moment all these would become empty. The Kings and rich people have chariots, camels, elephants, big houses, gardens and properties, but these things too would vanish one day. Nothing could remain forever. It is the God who remains there and never vanishes. So Guru Nanak instructed the people to worship or repeat the name of the God who always remains present in this world.

Macauliffe further elaborates that Guru Nanak in his Bani instructed people to remain fearless.<sup>136</sup> Guru Nanak told the people that fearlessness is a great virtue.<sup>137</sup> Man's wisdom is very limited in comparison to God. Guru Nanak instructed people to concentrate on God's name which is true. This idea finds expression in the following hymns of Guru Nanak.<sup>138</sup>

*"By fear the word is fashioned and decorated what is fashioned without fear is altogether worthless. Useless is the mould and useless the stroke thereon. In the minds of many there is a desire to fashion the word without fear; But even though they perform a thousand artifices they shall not succeed".*

Guru Nanak in his Bani taught that Death is truth and life is false. Man must get reward or punishment according to his deeds.<sup>139</sup> During his travels he had even sent Mardana to a village to purchase truth worth one *paisa* and false worth one *paisa*.

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135 *Ibid*, p.282.

136 *Ibid*, p.313.

137 Kartar Singh, *Guru Nanak Dev.*, pp. 372-73.

138 M.A. Macauliffe, *The Sikh Religion.*, p.290.

139 *Ibid*, p.329.

A Mullah of the city instructed Mardana that Death is true and life is false. There is also a story of two shopkeepers who get reward and punishment according to their deeds of former life. Guru Nanak also recited the following hymns.<sup>140</sup>

*"Death must come to all and all must part company;  
Go and ask the wise if men shall meet here after or not.  
They who have forgotton my God shall suffer great pain.  
Certainly praise that true Being".*

Macauliffe explains that in Guru Nanak's Bani there is a clear elucidation that man must be responsible for his deeds. Guru Nanak believed in Karma theory. He even uttered the following hymns.<sup>141</sup>

*"Creation was by God's order; in His court the truth is  
accepted. The Lord will call for man's account; O man,  
stray not on beholding the world. Nanak, God will keep an  
account of the love and affection of him. Who watcheth  
over his heart, and is a pure minded darwesh".*

According to Guru Nanak every man got reward or punishment for his deeds. If he did not get it in this life, then he must get in the next life.

According to Macauliffe, Guru Nanak also referred to the evils of the society like miserable condition of women, intoxicants, empty rituals and ceremonies, caste system, misunderstanding of religious texts, exploitation by Brahmans and Jogis, idol worship, rigid belief in astrology, wandering life etc.<sup>142</sup> During his travels Guru Nanak criticized these problems of the society. During a dialogue with a Brahman he pointed out the futility of idol worship, Janeu ceremony, Sharadh, pilgrimages, astrology etc. During his travels in the Himalayan region, when he entered into a conversation with Jogis he taught them about the real mean of Jog. Guru Nanak urged the people to spend a life which ensured equality to all. He spoke against greed for wealth, and rejected the rigidity of caste system.

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140 *Ibid.*

141 *Ibid*, p.369.

142 *Ibid*, p.344.

In the life story of Guru Nanak, Macauliffe writes that when the Guru entered the ninth year of his life, his father Mehta Kalu arranged a Janeu ceremony in the house.<sup>143</sup> When the priest tried to put the Janeu on Guru Nanak's head, he caught it and asked him to list the advantages of the Janeu.<sup>144</sup> He further asked him to give him that Janeu which could preserve his soul from worldly pleasures.<sup>145</sup> On this occasion Guru Nanak recited the following hymns:<sup>146</sup>

*"Make mercy thy cotton, contentment thy  
thread, continence its knot, truth its twist.  
That would make a Janeu for the soul; if  
thou have it, O Brahman, then put it on me."*

These hymns are a clear indication that for Guru Nanak the Janeu ceremony performed in Hindu's families was a useless ritual. There was a need to wear a Janeu that protected the soul. This worldly Janeu was destroyed after the death of a person and there was need of a Janeu which protected the soul. So Guru Nanak criticized the Janeu ceremony of the Hindus.

Macauliffe also narrates the story of an employee of the Governor named Duni Chand who performed Sharadh for his father.<sup>147</sup> Kirpal Singh writes that he also invited Guru Nanak to attend the Sharadh and take food.<sup>148</sup> On that occasion Guru Nanak told him that although he provided food to the Brahmans but his father, whose soul was now in a wolf, was hungry. On that occasion of this Sharadh Guru Nanak recited the following hymns.<sup>149</sup>

*"All are within Thy ken, O Lord; Thou seest all,  
and Thou movest them beneath Thy glance.  
God himself bestoweth greatness; He himself causeth  
men to do good works".*

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143 *Ibid.*, pp. 237-238.

144 S.S. Bal, *Life of Guru Nanak*, p.24.

145 Harbans Singh, *Guru Nanak and Origion of the Sikh Faith*, p.77.

146 M.A. Macauliffe, *The Sikh Religion.*, p.238.

147 *Ibid.* p.241.

148 Kirpal Singh, *Janamsakhi Parampara*, p.101.

149 M.A. Macauliffe, *The Sikh Religion.*, p.241.

Macauliffe states that Guru Nanak in his Hymns urged people not to indulge in intoxicants because this evil kept the man away from God. Intoxicants are capable of making man forget the truth. A drug addict cannot get salvation. Guru Nanak recited the following hymns to give expression to these ideas:<sup>150</sup>

*“The Giver gave man a pill of the intoxicant illusion. In his intoxication he forget death and enjoyed pleasure for four days. The abstrainers obtained truth to kept them in God’s court”.*

Guru Nanak was highly critical of the caste system. He believed that in the pursuit of God caste system and social position are an obstruction. Guru Nanak criticized caste system in the following hymns:<sup>151</sup>

*“Castes are folly, names are folly;  
All creatures have one shelter, that of God.  
If a man call himself good,  
The truth shall be known, O Nanak, when his  
account is accepted”.*

There are a lot of examples to prove that Guru Nanak treated both the rich and the poor equally. During his travels he lived at the house of Bhai Lalo, a carpenter.<sup>152</sup> On another occasion he accepted the food of a person who watched gram field. Thirdly Guru Nanak on one occasion spent a night at a leper’s house. So from all these examples it is clear that Guru Nanak eschewed the caste system. He preached the people that all are equal in the eye of God. There is no discrimination in His court.

Guru Nanak also asserted that God could not be found through pilgrimages. He emphasized that with wanderings a person could not reach God. It is through true devotion that one gets God. During his travels also, he instructed the people about the worthlessness of pilgrimages. At Hardwar<sup>153</sup> when people were pouring water towards

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150 *Ibid*, p.261.

151 *Ibid*, p.278

152 D. S. Dhillon, *Sikhism: Origin and Development*, p.73.

153 Giani Gian Singh, *Tawarikh Guru Khalsa*, p.99.

the Sun, he taught them about the futility of these ceremonies. Similarly at Banaras,<sup>154</sup> when he saw a temple decorated with lighting he disapproved of it. Guru Nanak rejected this way of worshipping of Gods and Goddesses.<sup>155</sup> During his travels he expressed his disapproval of the wandering and making pilgrimages without devotion. In those days people believed in bathing at sixty eight places of pilgrimage.<sup>156</sup> But Guru Nanak told the people that if a person was bereft of devotion, he could not achieve God. Guru Nanak also instructed the people to remember God because those who forgot God lost His favour.

Macauliffe further elaborates that Guru Nanak disapproved of the hypocritical Jogis.<sup>157</sup> He said that Jogis were full of pride. They believed in supernatural tricks. Their wandering in forests and a merely formal asceticism was useless in the pursuit of God. There was great need of true devotion towards God. A simple person also got salvation through true devotion. Apart from the Jogis the Guru also criticized the Brahman's who performed lot of ceremonies and collected wealth from the people. During an address to a selfish Brahman the Guru uttered the following hymns:<sup>158</sup>

*“He who serveth the Guru knoweth the Lord;  
His pain is erased who recognized the True word.  
Repeat God’s name, my friends and companions.  
On serving the true Guru yet shall behold God  
with your eyes”.*

In Guru Nanak's Hymns there is severe criticism of idol worship.<sup>159</sup> He told the people that Rama, Krishna, Vishnu were not God; they were the messengers sent by God to end evils in the society. So is disapproved of making sketches of these messengers and advocated the worship of the real God who is One. Guru Nanak also

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154 Santosh Singh, *Shri Guru Nanak Parkash*, (N.P.) p.149.

155 Teja Singh & Ganda Singh, *A Short History of Sikhs*, p.7.

156 M.A. Macauliffe, *The Sikh Religion.*, p.331.

157 *Ibid*, p.314.

158 *Ibid*, p.316.

159 *Ibid*, p.323.



composed the following hymns against idol worship:<sup>160</sup>

*“If the heart be made the scraper, the Name  
sandal, And good acts be mixed with it as kungu, that  
shall be the real worship of God in the heart”.*

Guru Nanak was critical of Brahmanical ceremonies like offering of milk to God. Guru Nanak advised people to give up these ceremonies. Brahmans wasted lot of money on ceremonies but these are not the true ways for attainment of salvation. Guru Nanak further asserted that Vedas were holy but there was need to understand them. Brahmans merely repeated the hymns of Vedas without interpreting and understanding them. So it was important to understand the teachings of Vedas and then implement them in life. To show the uselessness of idol worship Guru Nanak used the following words.

*“My brethren, you worship goddesses and gods; what can  
you ask them? and what can they give you? Even if a stone  
be washed with water, it will again sink in it.”*

Macauliffe further elaborates that Guru Nanak in his Bani urged people to spend a true life and to always remain honest in dealing with people. He also urged them to discard parochialism and narrowness of thought. He asked the pundits to abjure astrology He used the following words to express these ideas:<sup>161</sup>

*“Thou calculatest auspicious movements, but  
reflectest not That God is beyond auspicious  
movements. He who meeteth the Guru knoweth  
them. When there is the Guru’s instruction man  
man recognizeth God’s will  
Speak not falsehood; O Pandit, tell the truth”.*

The central point of the Guru Nanak’s teachings is equanimity and equilibrium in relation to Spiritual and Mental Health. Guru Nanak taught that God is the creator

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160 *Ibid.*

161 *Ibid*, p.352.

and all that takes place is in accordance with His commands.<sup>162</sup> No one is out of the purview of His jurisdiction. Man's body functions as long as the Divine Light abides in it, and when it leaves, it is reduced to dust. Thus God alone is the maker and the unmaker of Man. God is omnipotent and omnipresent. He is self-existent and pure. He is maker of the universe. God is very near to his followers. He is approachable and everywhere. He recognizes no caste, creed and geographical barriers. He loves all human being. Guru Nanak strongly condemned the empty rituals and ceremonies because he had something more valuable to offer.

Guru Nanak's dialogues with the leaders of various religious sects are clear indications of his keen consciousness of the great evils of his time; "Not only were the Hindus divided into four castes, but the Muhammadans were divided into four sects, and while the Hindus worshipped the Ganges, Banaras, the Muhammadans addressed their devotions to Makka and Kaaba. The devil fascinated the members of both religions; they forgot their holy books; they went astray on every road; and truth was the one thing they failed to discover".<sup>163</sup> He also seems to have felt that there was no true Guru or religious guide in the country. Guru Nanak tried to supply that want. After the great mystic experience at Sultanpur he went about all over the country to fight the sectarian divisions. After settling down at Kartarpur, he continued to disseminate his ideas among his close associates settled down at Kartarpur and his potential disciples on occasional visits to Kartarpur. Having confidently assumed the role of a teacher with a message, he treated the kings and the beggars as equals and taught them the concept of universal brotherhood.<sup>164</sup>

### III

Guru Nanak spent the last part of his life at Kartarpur. The Janamsakhi accounts maintain that Guru Nanak actually founded the town of Kartarpur, on the

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162 Dalip Singh, *Life of Guru Nanak Dev Ji and His Teachings*, U.S.A., 2004, p.301.

163 M.A. Macauliffe, *The Sikh Religion*, p.355.

164 *Ibid.* p.181.

bank of the river Ravi, and settled there for the rest of life.<sup>165</sup> Macauliffe states, “During Guru Nanak’s stay at Kartarpur he continued to compose hymns which diffused spiritual light and dispelled mental darkness.”<sup>166</sup> In the words of Macauliffe, “He ever conversed on religious subjects, and divine measures were ever sung in the presence. The Sodar and the Sohila were chanted in the evening and the Japji repeated at the ambrosial hour of morning.”<sup>167</sup> As a result people from nearby villages came to see him. Kartar Singh writes that Guru Nanak settled at Kartarpur in 1522 A.D.<sup>168</sup> However, Macauliffe does not assign any date to the period when Nanak settled at Kartarpur.

The wife and sons of Guru Nanak were living at Kartarpur since the foundation of that city. He now lived among his family and friends. He put away his extraordinary costume which he had donned when going on his tours and dressed himself in the ordinary clothes of a householder.<sup>169</sup>

Macauliffe recounts that Mardana played the rabab for the Master as he had always done at home and abroad. The Guru continued to recite the sacred verses. At Kartarpur he composed some of his major compositions.<sup>170</sup> S.S. Bal mentions that here Guru Nanak also firmly established the custom of singing the holy hymns as parts of morning and evening service. Mardana and his son Shahzada provided the music.<sup>171</sup>

Guru Nanak started the institution of langar at Kartarpur.<sup>172</sup> In Guru's camp everyone engaged himself in one task or another. The common food was eaten by all inmates and visitors alike, sitting in rows together signifying surrender of caste scruples and affirming their new sense of community. It is notable that Macauliffe

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165 Guru Nanak settled at Kartarpur is unanimously stated by the Sikh chronicles. Regarding the foundation of the town, some of the Sikh chronicles are silent. See Meharban Janamsakhi, p.516, Gyan Ratnawali, p.401.

166 M.A. Macauliffe, *The Sikh Religion*, p.181.

167 *Ibid.*

168 Kartar Singh, *Guru Nanak Dev.*, pp.261-262.

169 Dalip Singh, *Life of Guru Nanak Dev Ji and His Teachings.*, p.195.

170 M.A. Macauliffe, *The Sikh Religion.*, p.181.

171 S.S. Bal, *Life of Guru Nanak.*, pp.130-131.

172 Harbans Singh, *Guru Nanak and Origin of the Sikh Faith.*, p.180.

misses this very important event of Guru Nanak's life in his account.

Macauliffe describes Guru Nanak's day and night activities held at Kartarpur very briefly. The Guru had made numerous disciples during his vast travels and Sangats had been set up at several places. All visitors were expected to take part in the congregational prayers and eat in the langar in the company of others. The Guru himself joined the assembly after his mornings devotions. Two of Guru's compositions 'Japji' and 'Asa di Var', were repeated during the time of prayer.<sup>173</sup>

Bhai Kahan Singh Nabha states that in 1522, both of Guru Nanak's parents died.<sup>174</sup> Father Mehta Kalu was then eighty two years old. According to Bhai Mani Singh Janamsakhi, Mother Tripta died a few days after Baba Kalu.<sup>175</sup> Macauliffe, however, is silent about the death of the parents of Guru Nanak.

Macauliffe writes, "There lived in a town called Khadur a Sikh named Jodha who used to repeat God's name while the rest of the inhabitants worshipped Durga. One day when Jodha was repeating Guru Nanak's Japji, Lehna heard him and inquired whose composition it was".<sup>176</sup> He was a worshipper of the Goddess Durga and led every year a batch of devotees from Khadur to her temple at Jawalamukhi. When Lehna heard Guru Nanak's Hymns from him he felt deeply impressed.<sup>177</sup> On his way to Jawalamukhi, he paused at Kartarpur. He was so impressed with Guru Nanak that he became his disciple.

Macauliffe registers that at Kartarpur, Mardana who was now in his seventy sixth years fell ill.<sup>178</sup> He grew weak and hope of recovery was lost. Born of a Muslim family, he had deeply attached himself to Guru Nanak. The Guru asked him how he wished his body to be disposed off.<sup>179</sup> Mardana replied that he was to be disposed off as the Guru wished. The Guru asked him to fix his mind on the Creator. The following morning, at an hour before day Mardana passed away. The Guru consigned

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173 M.A. Macauliffe, *The Sikh Religion.*, p.181.

174 Kahan Singh Nabha, *Mahan Kosh*, Punjab, 1960, p.243 and p 455.

175 Dr. Kirpal Singh, *Janam Sakhi Parampara.*, p.399.

176 M.A. Macauliffe, *The Sikh Religion.*, p.182.

177 *Ibid.*

178 *Ibid*, p.181.

179 *Ibid.*

his body to the River Ravi.<sup>180</sup> Giani Gian Singh mentions that Mardana died on Sambat 1581.<sup>181</sup> Macauliffe does not give the date of Mardana's death. Guru Nanak asked his family members not to weep for him as he had returned to his heavenly home.

The Guru was now advanced towards his last years and he decided to appoint his successor to continue his mission. According to Macauliffe a Jogi went to visit Guru Nanak and congratulate him on the large number of disciples he had. The Guru replied that he had only a few real Sikhs.<sup>182</sup> The Guru and Jogi determined to proceed into the forest and there they made a trail of the Sikh converts who accompanied them in large numbers. As the order was made, the ground became covered with copper coins. Many of the followers picked the coins and went away. Further on, the ground was covered with silver coins. Many took the silver coins and went away. Still further on, the ground was covered with gold mohurs. Whoever had remained took the gold mohurs and went away. Only two disciples were left with the Guru. As they went forward, they saw a funeral pyre with four lamps burning.<sup>183</sup> A dead body lay beside it covered over with a sheet and it gave an offensive smell. Kartar Singh states that then Guru Nanak asked his disciples to eat it. But second disciple turned his face and went away.<sup>184</sup> But Lehna who remained took the order and stepping forward asked the Guru that from which side he would start. When he lifted the sheet he saw a dish of sacred food instead of the corpse. Upon this Guru Nank told the Jogi that he should be his successor and gave a new name Angad to Bhai Lehna i.e. part of his body.<sup>185</sup>

Macauliffe writes, "The successor of Pir Baha-ul-Din, the Musalman prelate of Multan, accompanied by several of his followers went to visit Guru Nanak." He said to Guru Nanak, "Do something for me-that is, pray that I may have a successful

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180 Ibid, (Mardana died on the bank of the river Kurram in Afganistan, where Guru Nanak performed his last rites. In Mani Singh Janamsakhi (p.497) there is an indirect reference to Mardana's tomb being in 'Khwmā' country which may have suggested the place mentions in 'Mahan Kosh'. According to Mani Singh itself, Mardana died in Kartarpur. All evidence except Mahan Kosh supports this view.

181 Giani Gian Singh, *Tawarikh Guru Khalsa.*, p.297.

182 M.A. Macauliffe, *The Sikh Religion*, p.183.

183 *Ibid*, p.184.

184 Kartar Singh, *Guru Nanak Dev.*, p.164.

185 M.A. Macauliffe, *The Sikh Religion.*, p.185.

journey to the next world." On this occasion the Guru recited the following hymns.<sup>186</sup>

*"He who filleth the sack shall load it on himself;  
the will of God is over all".*

*Nanak, they who have acted honestly shall depart with bright faces.*

*Wealth, youth, and flowers are guests only for four days;*

*They wither and fade like the leaves of the water lily.*

*Enjoy God's love, O dear one, in the freshness of youth.*

Macauliffe registers that the Guru knowing that his end was approaching appointed Angad his successor. But his sons were not happy with this decision. When people knew that Guru Nanak was about to die large number of Hindus and Musalmans followers of the Guru came to bid him farewell.

The Hindus and Musalmans gathered around him and sang the songs. The Musalman said that they would bury him after his death<sup>187</sup> and Hindus insisted that they would cremate him. Guru Nanak solved the problem by giving them a suggestion that both Hindus and Musalmans should place flowers on both sides of him. The group whose flowers were found fresh in the morning may dispose his body as they liked. The Guru drew a sheet over him and uttered Waheguru.<sup>188</sup>

When the sheet was removed next morning, there was nothing was found beneath it. The flowers of both sides were in bloom. All the Sikhs saluted the spot on which the Guru had lain. According to Macauliffe Guru Nanak took his last breath on the tenth day of the light half of the month of Assu, Sambat 1595 at Kartarpur in Punjab.<sup>189</sup> The Puratan Janamsakhi also accepts the same date of death.<sup>190</sup> Bhai Mani Singh wali Janamsakhi gives Assu 10, Sambat 1596 as the date of Guru Nank's death.<sup>191</sup> Giani Gian Singh accepts the date given by Bhai Mani Singh.<sup>192</sup>

The Sikhs made a shrine and the Muhammadans a tomb in the honour of Guru

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186 *Ibid*, pp. 186-187, also see. S.S. Bal, *Life of Guru Nanak*, p.133.

187 *Ibid*, p.190

188 *Ibid*.

189 *Ibid*, p.191.

190 Kirpal Singh, *Janam Sakhi Parampara.*, p.57.

191 *Ibid*, p.401.

192 Giani Gian Singh, *Tawarikh Guru Khalsa.*, p.308.

Nanak on the margin of Ravi. However, both sides have been washed away by the river, perhaps providentially, so as to avoid idolatrous worship of the Guru's last resting place.<sup>193</sup>

Macauliffe's work 'The Sikh Religion' is considered to be the most comprehensive work on the early Sikh tradition. It also gives a reliable account of the lives of the Gurus. Macauliffe gives a comprehensive description of the teachings and travels of Guru Nanak. But there are different views about many incidents especially about the dates assigned by Macauliffe to the teachings of Guru Nanak. It is notable that he even does not mention the time of many incidents. The reason behind this seems to be a desire for avoidance of controversy. Macauliffe builds his account on the basis of the accounts given in the Janamsakhis, old Sikh chronicles and the chronicles of his predecessors. However, his approach remains selective as at some places he leaves out some very important events which were included in the earlier records. It has to be conceded that there remain lot of errors or misunderstandings in these writings but still they are very useful for the purpose of understanding Sikh history.

The Janamsakhis, which profess to be biographies of Guru Nanak, were actually written at different times after the death of Guru Nanak and they often contain very different and contradictory details pertaining to his life. All of them carry records of miraculous acts and supernatural conversations. They can be held as testimony of the extent to which 'pious fiction' can fabricate details of the lives of religious teachers in all ages and countries.

In the words of W.H. Mcleod, "The Janamsakhis are hagiographic accounts of the life of Guru Nanak, each consisting of a series of separate incidents or chapters, entitled Sakhis or Gosts. In spite of their manifest shortcomings we are bound to rely on the Janamsakhis for almost all of our information concerning these events, for there is nothing to replace them and little to supplement them".

Generally speaking Macauliffe does not include miraculous stories but on

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193 M.A. Macauliffe, *The Sikh Religion.*, p.191.

some occasions it must have been almost impossible to distinguish and separate these from historical facts. This may particularly have posed a great difficulty while presenting a historical account of Guru Nanak, a spiritual saint and founder of the youngest religion. As far as other Gurus are concerned there are very few stories of miracle associated with their life. Had Macauliffe chosen to completely expunge these stories from his accounts it may not have been possible to write a cohesive account about Guru Nanak's life and teachings in a comprehensive manner.



## CHAPTER - IV

### LIFE AND TIME OF 2ND, 3RD, AND 4TH GURU

#### I

The nomination of Angad to the guru-ship is a fact of great significance in Sikh history. Bhai Lehna, who later became Guru Angad was the son of a petty trader, named Pheru, who belonged to Trehan sub cast of Khattris. Bhai Lehna was born on 11th of Baisakh in the Sambat year 1561 (1504 A.D.)<sup>1</sup> in Matte di Sarai, a village about six miles from Muktsar in the Ferozepur district of the Punjab.

Different historians have offered different view about the location of of Matte di Sarai. Harbans Singh in his book *'The Heritage of the Sikhs'* writes that Sarai Naga is sixteen kilometers from Muktsar in Faridkot district.<sup>2</sup> Harnam Das Sahrai in *'Dujji Patshahi'* writes that it was nine miles from Muktsar.<sup>3</sup> Giani Gian Singh in *"Tawarikh Guru Khalsa"* Vol.I, offers the view that Matte Di Sarai was 3 miles from Muktsar.<sup>4</sup> Bhai Santokh Singh in *'Gur Partap Suraj Granth'* opines that Bhai Bhai Lehna was born in Sambat 1567 at Harike.<sup>5</sup> Kesar Singh Chibber the author of *'Bansawali Nama'* states that Sarai Naga was the birth place of Bhai Bhai Lehna<sup>6</sup> and the author is also supported by I.B. Banerjee's *'Evolution of Khalsa'* and Harbans Singh's, *'The Heritage of The Sikhs'*. The fact is that Matte Di Sarai and Sarai Naga are the two names used for the same spot.

According to Macauliffe, his mother's name was Ramo, but after marriage she was called Daya Kaur.<sup>7</sup> Macauliffe states that Bhai Lehna got married with Khivi, a native of Matte Di Sarai. Bhai Lehna's wife gave birth to a daughter called Amro and two sons named Dasu and Datu. In the words of Macauliffe, "When Matte Di Sarai

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1 M.A. Macauliffe, *The Sikh Religion*, Vol. II, New Delhi, 1985, p.1.

2 Harbans Singh, *The Heritage of the Sikhs*, New Delhi, 1983, p.32.

3 Harnam Das Sahrai, *Dujji Patshahi*, Amritsar, 1955, p.23.

4 Giani Gian Singh, *Twarikh Guru Khalsa*, Vol. I, Punjab, 1999, p.309.

5 Santokh Singh, *Shri Gur Partap Suraj Granth*, Vol. III, Ajit Singh Aulakh (ed.), 2006, p.53.

6 Giani Gian Singh, *'Tawarikh Guru Khalsa'*, Vol.I, p.309.

7 M.A. Macauliffe, *The Sikh Religion*, Vol. II, p.1

was sacked by the Mughals and Baloches Pehru Mal's family first shifted to Harike and then to Khadur.”<sup>8</sup>

Giani Gian Singh in '*Tawarikh Guru Khalsa*' writes the name of Bhai Lehna's mother as Sabhrai (Nihal Kaur). Bhai Kahan Singh Nabha and Bhai Mohinder Singh Josh stick with the name Daya Kaur. One can conclude that Daya Kaur seems to be correct as it is a name reiterated by several historians.

As the view of different historian will establish there is very little consensus regarding the issue of Bhai Lehna's children. Harbans Singh in '*The Heritage of the Sikhs*' endorses Macauliffe's view and makes a mention of only one daughter. Bhai Santokh Singh in '*Gur Partap Suraj Granth*' giving a different view refers to two sons of Angad and does not mention anything about his daughter. On the other hand in '*Tawarikh Guru Khalsa*' Giani Gian Singh refers to two daughters of Bhai Lehna.

Macauliffe refers to the fact that during his stay at Khadur, Bhai Lehna with his family organized a yearly pilgrimage to Jawalamukhi, a sacred place of Durga in the lower Himalayas, where fire erupts from the mountains.<sup>9</sup>

Harbans Singh and G.S. Chhabra corroborate Macauliffe and write that Bhai Lehna went to Jawalamukhi every year.<sup>10</sup>

Macauliffe elaborates that when Bhai Lehna lived in Khadur a Sikh called Jodha recited the Japaji and Asa Ki War every morning. One day Bhai Lehna heard a voice which awakened his emotions as he sung the following:<sup>11</sup>

*Ever remember that Lord by worshipping  
whom thou shalt find happiness.  
Why hast thou done such evil  
deeds as thou shalt suffer for?  
Do absolutely nothing evil; Look well  
before thee.*

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8 *Ibid.*

9 *Ibid.*

10 G.S. Chhabra, *Advanced History of the Punjab*, Vol. I, Jalandhar, 1968, p.118.

11 The Adi Granth 'Asa Ki War', pp.783-784.

*So throw the dice that thou mayest not  
lose with the Lord,  
Nay, that thou mayest gain some profit.*

As Bhai Lehna listened his mind felt at peace. He asked Jodha who had composed these hymns. Jodha informed him about Guru Nanak. Bhai Lehna expressed a desire to meet Guru Nanak.<sup>12</sup>

Puratan Janamsakhi reveals that Bhai Lehna was introduced to Guru Nanak by a Sikh of Guru Nanak living in Khadur.

Elucidating upon this, Macauliffe says that during his visit to Vaishno Devi, Bhai Lehna stopped near Kartarpur to pay a visit to Guru Nanak.<sup>13</sup> According to Macauliffe when Bhai Lehna met the Guru he was profoundly impressed with the discourse and cancelled his journey to Jawalamukhi.

Harbans Singh supports Macauliffe and relates the same story. The author of *Tawarikh Guru Khalsa* Giani Gian Singh recounts this story in another way. According to him when Bhai Lehna reached a jungle near Kartarpur, Guru Nanak came to accompany him.<sup>14</sup> Janamsakhi Bhai Bala elaborates that Bhai Lehna was going on a horse and Guru Nanak on feet.<sup>15</sup> When they reached the Guru's abode, Guru Nanak sat on the Gaddi, when Bhai Lehna saw this, he felt ashamed realizing that he was unable to recognize the Guru.

Macauliffe further inscribes that when Bhai Lehna paused in the course of his journey his companions dissuaded him and said that by doing so he committed a great sin. Bhai Lehna replied that he was prepared to suffer every calamity that might occur to him. Bhai Lehna decided to stay with the Guru. Khushwant Singh states that Guru Nanak on observing his consistently growing devotion advised him that he should first go home and settle his domestic affairs and then return back.<sup>16</sup>

But Bhai Santokh Singh in '*Shri Gur Partap Suraj Granth*' offers the view that

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12 M.A. Macauliffe, *The Sikh Religion*, Vol. II, p.2

13 *Ibid.*

14 Giani Gian Singh, '*Tawarikh Guru Khalsa*', Vol. I, pp.310-11.

15 *Janamsakhi Bhai Bala* (ed.) Surinder Singh Kohli, Chandigarh, 1990, p.305.

16 Khushwant Singh, *A History of the Sikhs*, Vol. I, New Delhi, 1999, p.49.

after meeting with Guru Nanak, Bhai Lehna returned home and did not mention anything about his stay at Kartarpur.<sup>17</sup> Macauliffe and several other writers concur with the first story of Bhai Lehna's stay at Kartarpur for some days.

Macauliffe inscribes that Bhai Lehna returned to Khadur and told his wife about his spiritual transformation. After a stay of some days at home Bhai Lehna arranged new clothes for himself and a bag of salt for the Guru's free kitchen. Macauliffe further elaborates that Bhai Lehna was accompanied by his nephew when he left for Kartarpur.<sup>18</sup>

On arriving at the Guru's house, he was respectfully received by Mata Sulakhani, Guru Nanak's wife. Macauliffe states she told Bhai Lehna that Guru Nanak was in the fields and if he desired to meet him, he might go to the fields. In the fields Guru Nanak collected three bundles of grass for the cows and desired to take the bundles home.<sup>19</sup>

But Santokh Singh differs with Macauliffe and says that Sulakhani was unable to identify him and even asked him who he was and where he belonged to. In addition to this, Santokh Singh and Mahima Parkash refer to only one bundle of grass. Harbans Singh too mentions the bundles without specifying the number. Gopal Singh in '*History of the Sikh People*' supports Macauliffe and refers to about three bundles.<sup>20</sup>

Macauliffe further states that due to wet grass and mud ordinary Sikhs, even Guru's sons slunk away from the task. But Bhai Lehna took this task upon himself. On the way the dripping of the mud from the grass soiled his new clothes.<sup>21</sup>

*Mehima Parkash's* writer adds another dimension to this account; he mentions that before picking up the bundles, Bhai Lehna even helped Guru Nanak in plucking grass from rice fields.

Macauliffe magnifies the account with more details by saying that when Guru's wife saw this, she remarked that it was not good to take work from the guest. Then

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17 Santokh Singh, *Shri Gur Partap Suraj Granth*, Vol. II, p.564.

18 M.A. Macauliffe, *The Sikh Religion*, p.4.

19 *Ibid.*

20 Gopal Singh, *History of the Sikh People*, New Delhi, 1988, p.148.

21 M.A. Macauliffe, *The Sikh Religion*, Vol. II, p.5.

Guru replied that God had put the bundles on the head of the man who was fit to carry them and this was not mud but it is the saffron of God's court.<sup>22</sup>

This story is reinscribed in Valiyat Wali Janamsakhi, Bhai Bala Wali Janamsakhi and Bhai Mani Singh Wali Janamsakhi.

Macauliffe states that during this stay at Kartarpur, Bhai Lehna spent most of his time in the service of Guru Nanak.<sup>23</sup> There are many famous stories linked with this phase of time. It is said that Guru Nanak rose early everyday and went to take bath in the river Ravi. He was always attended by Bhai Lehna, who took charge of his clothes. Three other Sikhs - Bhai Bhagirath, Bhai Budha and Bhai Sudhara with ingratiating attitudes were too eager to impress the Guru with some form of service.<sup>24</sup> It was winter season and they proceeded in the early morning to the bank of the river to wait for Guru Nanak. As black clouds gathered, cold winds began to blow and hails began lash. The three were unable to bear the cold and returned back but Bhai Lehna stayed there.

Only Bhai Lehna had the realization that the Guru was alone, performing his duties even in great cold. He felt that it was not right that his servant should remain in comfort. He also went into the water and emerged at sun rise. However, by this time his body was nearly frozen whereupon Guru Nanak provided him warmth by touching his body.

Like other accounts different historians present the episode with some alterations in the details and context. Santokh Singh in '*Shri Gur Partap Suraj Granth*' recounts this story in another way. According to him once during the winter season it rained heavily. Due to heavy rain Bhai Lehna's clothes got drenched and his body froze with cold and he fell unconscious. When Guru Nanak came out from the river, he touched his body with his feet and revived him by providing him heat.<sup>25</sup>

Macauliffe writes about another set of circumstances. According to him one

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22 *Ibid.*

23 *Ibid.*

24 *Ibid.*

25 Santokh Singh, *Shri Gur Partap Suraj Granth*, Vol. II, p.585.

winter night it was raining heavily and a part of the house wall collapsed.<sup>26</sup> Guru Nanak asked his sons to repair it, but they refused. When Guru Nanak asked Bhai Lehna, he was ready to repair it. Bhai Lehna restored the wall but Guru Nanak was not satisfied and asked him build it again. Bhai Lehna obeyed his master's order and built it three times over.

Giani Gian Singh in '*Tawarikh Guru Khalsa*' expresses the opinion that Bhai Lehna built the wall four times.<sup>27</sup> G.S.Chhabra in '*Advanced History of the Punjab*' concurs with Giani Gian Singh and writes that Bhai Lehna built the wall four times. Mani Singh Wali Janamsakhi states that Bhai Lehna continued working for four days and nights but does not say anything about how many times the wall was actually built.

Macauliffe states that Guru Nanak's sons and some disciple grew jealous of Bhai Lehna's unflinching devotion. Observing this, Guru Nanak advised Bhai Lehna to go to Khadur and spend some time there.<sup>28</sup>

Santokh Singh corroborates Macauliffe's version and re-inscribes the same story. But Giani Gian Singh in '*Tawarikh Guru Khalsa*' narrates a different version. He writes that after appointing Bhai Lehna as second Guru, Guru Nanak sent him to Khadur primarily due to the jealousy of his sons.

According to Macauliffe when Bhai Lehna reached Khadur, the head of the city Takht Mal came to visit him. Bhai Lehna gave him religious instructions.<sup>29</sup> He repeated to him the following hymns of Guru Nanak:<sup>30</sup>

*God will regenerate those in whose hearts there is love;*

*He will make them happy with gifts, and cause*

*them to forget their sorrows.*

*There is no doubt that He will assuredly save them.*

*The Guru cometh to meet those for whom such*

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26 M.A. Macauliffe, *The Sikh Religion*, Vol. II, p.6.

27 Giani Gian Singh, '*Tawarikh Guru Khalsa*', Vol. I, p.309.

28 M.A. Macauliffe, *The Sikh Religion*, Vol. II, p.7

29 *Ibid.*

30 *Ibid.*, pp.7-8.

*destiny hath been recorded,  
And will give them for their instruction  
God's ambrosial Name.  
They will walk as it pleaseth the true Guru,  
And never wander a begging.*

At Khadur, Bhai Lehna started Langar for visitors. When Guru Nanak came to know about Bhai Lehna's excellence as a devotee, he even went to visit him. With the passing of time Guru Nanak paid his second visit to Khadur and was so pleased with the devotion and services of Bhai Lehna that he gave him the name Angad which signified that he was a part of the Guru's body and took him to Kartarpur.<sup>31</sup>

Giani Gian Singh in '*Tawarikh Guru Khalsa*' maintains that this episode took place during his stay at Kartarpur.

Macauliffe elucidates that at Kartarpur Guru Nanak found time to practice agriculture. He sowed several fields of corn to supply for Langar. Macauliffe reveals that once there was an unusual crowd of visitors and rain continued unabated for three days. Thus it was not possible to cook food for all the guests. Guru Nanak took his sons to the field and asked them to climb the Kiker tree and shake it. He ordained that on doing so it shall rain fruits and sweets.<sup>32</sup> His sons replied that the bore nothing except thorns and bitter fruits. Guru Nanak then asked Angad to do the same. When he shook the Kiker, sweets and fruits fell from it which satisfied the hunger of the guests.

Bhai Santokh Singh holds that the Kiker tree was outside the house not in the fields.<sup>33</sup>

Macauliffe recounts that on one occasion at midnight; the Guru called his sons and asked them to wash his clothes. However, they replied that it was night and all wells had stopped running and moreover that it would not be possible to dry the clothes as night. Angad followed the Guru's instructions. He took up the clothes and

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31 *Ibid*, Vol. II, p.7

32 *Ibid*.

33 Santokh Singh, *Shri Gur Partap Suraj Granth*, Vol. II, p.581.

found that wells were in motion. He, then, washed and dried his master's clothes. Everybody was astonished on seeing him return after a short period of time.

'*Tawarikh Guru Khalsa*'s writer Giani Gian Singh narrates this story in another way. He states that one night Guru Nanak told his sons that it was morning time so they should go to the well to wash his clothes. The sons argued that it was mid night and ascribed the misjudgment to his senility and his inability to sleep.<sup>34</sup> When the Guru said the same thing to Bhai Lehna he at once went to wash his clothes. It is said that he even saw the afternoon sun.

Macauliffe inscribes another story of Angad's spiritual test. One day when Guru Nanak was washing his hair, the cup he used slipped from his hand and fell into a deep sink. When the Guru asked his sons to retrieve it, they refused as according to them the water was dirty.<sup>35</sup> However, when Angad put his hand into sink, the cup rose to the surface of the water.

G.S.Chhabra expresses concurrence with Macauliffe and repeats the same story. But Giani Gian Singh in '*Tawarikh Guru Khalsa*' offers the explanation that Angad himself went into the sink and brought the cup out. Bhai Santokh Singh also supports the view that Angad went into the sink.<sup>36</sup> Henry Court, in his book, '*History of the Sikhs*', also endorses Santokh Singh's view.<sup>37</sup>

Macauliffe records that after these tests, at last Guru Nanak appointed Angad as his successor by placing five paise and a coconut in front of him and asked Bhai Budha to put a tilak on his fore head.<sup>38</sup> Bhai Gurdas thus describes the succession of Guru Angad.<sup>39</sup>

*Angad got the same tilak, the same umbrella over his head,  
and was seated on the same true throne as Guru Nanak.  
The seal in Guru Nanak's hand entered Guru Angad's.*

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34 Giani Gian Singh, '*Tawarikh Guru Khalsa*', Vol. I, pp.310-11.

35 M.A. Macauliffe, *The Sikh Religion*, Vol. II, p.10.

36 Santokh Singh, *Shri Gur Partap Suraj Granth*, Vol. II, p.617.

37 Henry Court, *History of the Sikhs*, Calcutta, 1959, p.12.

38 M.A. Macauliffe, *The Sikh Religion*, Vol. II, p.11

39 *Ibid*, p 12



*and proclaimed his sovereignty.*

*He left Kartarpur, and went and lit the*

*Guru's lamp in Khadur.*

*What was sown in the beginning hath germinated in this world;*

*to offer another opinion were false cleverness.*

*Lahina obtained the gift from Nanak, and it must*

*descend to the house of Amar Das.*

Guru Nanak sent Angad to Khadur due to the opposition of his son Shri Chand and few other Sikhs. Giving further details Macauliffe writes that after few days of the appointment of Angad as successor, Guru Nanak took his last breathe on 1539 A.D.

Macauliffe holds that at Khadur Angad lived into the house of a Jat girl called Nihali.<sup>40</sup> Angad instructed Nihali to lock his room from outside and told her that he required nothing to eat or drink except a pot of milk everyday. Guru Angad remained in a state of perpetual meditation. It is said that six months passed in this manner.

G.S. Chhabra also confirms that the name of the girl was Nihali. However, Giani Gian Singh in '*Tawarikh Guru Khalsa*' mentions the name of the girl as Bhirayi<sup>41</sup> and Santokh Singh subscribes to Giani Gian Singh's version. On the other hand, Giani Gian Singh in '*Tawarikh Guru Khalsa*' maintains that one and half or two years passed in the state of meditation. G.S. Chhabra and I.B. Banerjee concur with the opinion.

One day Bhai Lalo, Bhai Saido, Bhai Ajitta and other Sikhs asked Bhai Budha to tell them where they would find his successor.<sup>42</sup> K.S. Duggal documents that Bhai Budha fixed his thoughts on the Guru and in his vision saw Guru Angad sitting in the house of Nihali near Khadur.<sup>43</sup> Next day Bhai Budha along with some Sikhs reached at the house of Nihali. In the beginning she refused to divulge information but Bhai

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40 *Ibid*, p.10.

41 Giani Gian Singh, '*Tawarikh Guru Khalsa*', Vol. I, p.316.

42 M.A. Macauliffe, *The Sikh Religion*, Vol. II, p.12

43 K.S.Duggal, *The Sikh Gurus: Their Lives and Teachings*, New Delhi, 1980, p.57.

Budha said that just as there could be no darkness after the sun had arisen, in the same way a Guru could not be hidden. On seeing Bhai Budha, Guru Angad uttered the following sloks:<sup>44</sup>

*Die before the dear one thou loves;  
to live after him in the world is a curse to life.*

After a pause the Guru resumed:—

*Cut off the head which boweth not to the Lord.  
Nanak, take and burn the wretched body  
which feeleth not the pain of separation.*

Macauliffe elaborates further that Guru Angad asked Bhai Budha about how he had obtained his name Budha. Then Bhai Budha told him that he was the boy who watched the little sticks burning first and the large sticks after wards.<sup>45</sup> Bhai Budha related another story that once Emperor's troops cut down his father's young crop and he begged his father to protect the fields. His father replied that he was powerless against them. Bhai Budha thought that if his father was powerless against the Emperor's troops, how could he save him from death. Then he went into Guru Nanak's protection. After listening to his story Guru Nanak gave him the name Budha (old man).

Macauliffe documents that after this on the request of Bhai Budha Guru Angad ascended the gaddi.<sup>46</sup> After assuming the position of the Guru, Guru Angad continued preaching, singing and recitation of the name as in Guru Nanak's time and the practice of Langar continued in the old fashion.

Dalip Singh reveals that Guru Angad listened to the stories of Guru Nanak from Bhai Bala and in Sambat 1602 got them compiled from Bhai Pedha.<sup>47</sup>

Macauliffe also documents a few small stories related with Guru Angad such as the discourse with Jogis, the story of Jiva, the cook of the Guru's kitchen, the story

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44 The Adi Granth, Sri Rag Ki War, pp.1013-1014.

45 M.A. Macauliffe, *The Sikh Religion*, Vol. II, p.14

46 *Ibid.*

47 Dalip Singh, *Eight Divine Guru Jots*, Amritsar, 2004, pp.14-15.

of a black smith named Gujjar, the story of barber named Dhyinga, the story of Paro of Julka tribe and the story of a Mughal officer named Malu Shah.<sup>48</sup>

These stories are narrated by many other chronicles like Bhai Santokh Singh's '*Shri Gur Partap Suraj Granth*', Giani Gian Singh's '*Tawarikh Guru Khalsa*' etc.

Macauliffe then presents a detailed account of the story of Humanyun's meeting with Guru Angad.<sup>49</sup> When Humanyun was defeated by Sher Shah, he was ready to leave Hindustan. Hari Ram Gupta states that when he came to know about Guru Angad's spiritual sovereignty, he went to visit him.<sup>50</sup> He had to wait for sometime as Guru Angad was in a deep trance, minstrels were playing and singing the Guru's praise. Macauliffe records that Humanyun became angry and put his hand on the sword. On this, Guru Angad opened his eyes and asked why he had not used his sword against Sher Shah. He further added that if he had not put his hand on the sword, he would have got his kingdom at once but now he would get back his kingdom after 12 years.<sup>51</sup>

Gopal Singh and G.S. Chhabra subscribe to Macauliffe's view and write that Guru was in deep trance. But Bhai Santokh Singh and Sarup Das Bhall opine that when the Emperor came, Guru Agnad was playing with children and paid him no attention.<sup>52</sup>

Macauliffe narrates another story of a Sikh called Mana, who worked in Guru Angad's kitchen. He always claimed that he was the Guru's Sikh and would follow only his orders.<sup>53</sup> When the other Sikhs complained to the Guru against him, he asked Mana to go to the jungle, gather some firewood and burn himself. When fire broke, Mana got afraid. Then a thief came there and when he came to know the whole story, he asked Mana to take gems from him in lieu of Guru's order. The thief cremated himself and went to Guru's feet. But Mana was caught by cops and hanged to death.

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48 M.A. Macauliffe, *The Sikh Religion*, Vol. II, p.18

49 *Ibid.* p 23

50 Hari Ram Gupta, *History of the Sikhs*, Vol. I, New Delhi, 1984, p.115.

51 M.A. Macauliffe, *The Sikh Religion*, Vol. II, p.24

52 Santokh Singh, *Shri Gur Partap Suraj Granth*, Vol. II, p.81.

53 M.A. Macauliffe, *The Sikh Religion*, Vol. II, p.20

Giani Gian Singh in *'Tawarikh Guru Khalsa'* narrates this story in another way. He writes that when the thief jumped into the fire, a King came and saved him. When he told him his story, the king adopted him as his son. Later both became Guru's Sikhs. Santokh Singh also corroborates the same version.

Macauliffe relates another story of Balwand(Balwant) and Satta who sang hymns.<sup>54</sup> It so happened that these two grew conceited and started demanding higher wages. On one occasion at the marriage of their daughter, they demanded five hundred rupees. Guru refused to pay the amount immediately as a result of which they left the service. They were replaced by some other persons in their duties. When they realized their mistake they approached Bhai Ladha of Lahore to settle their quarrel. Through his intervention and efforts Guru Angad again took them into service.

There are several disagreements about the episode related to Satta and Balwand also. Some chroniclers express the opinion that they were in the service of Guru Arjun. Some hold that Satta was the son of Balwand. Sarup Das Bhalla's *'Mahima Parkash'* recounts this story in another way.<sup>55</sup> His version mentions only Balwand. He says that he sang only for the Guru, but the Guru was not happy with his performance. When the Guru expressed his dissatisfaction with Balwand, he left the job. However, on realizing his mistake he returned back.

G.S. Chhabra documents this story in another way.<sup>56</sup> He writes that Satta and Balwand developed the belief that it was their musical skill, rather than any personal quality of the Guru which attracted crowds to him. They decided to stay out for some time to bring the fact home to the Guru. The Guru even sent a message but they paid no attention. On this the Guru threw them out of the service.

Macauliffe records how an arrogant Choudhary of Khadur placed himself in opposition to Guru Angad. Once, his son who always used to drink wine fell ill with fever and epilepsy.<sup>57</sup> When his friends and relatives told him about Guru Angad, he

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54 *Ibid.* p.27.

55 Sarup Singh Bhalla, *Mahima Parkash*, p.47.

56 G.S. Chhabra, *Advanced History of the Punjab*, Vol. I, p.120.

57 M.A. Macauliffe, *The Sikh Religion*, Vol. II, p.60.

went to the Guru. Guru advised the patient to give up wine, serve holy men and recite God's name and he should be cured.

A religious man known as Tapa who lived in Khadur claimed that it was due to his prayers that the patient was cured. After one year the patient again took to drinking wine and began abusing the Guru. At that moment his epilepsy made a recurrence and he fell on the ground from the top story of his house and immediately died.<sup>58</sup>

But Giani Gian Singh in '*Tawarikh Guru Khalsa*' is of the opinion that it was the Choudhary named Maluka who suffered from epilepsy and not his son.<sup>59</sup> Santokh Singh also endorses Giani Gian Singh's version and relates the same story.

Macauliffe documents that once Guru Angad visited Harike and many people came to pay homage. The owner of the village also came and sat at the head of the couch. As soon as he did so he felt giddy and fell from his seat.<sup>60</sup> Macauliffe also states that once there was no rain and Tapa prevailed upon the villagers that if Guru Angad left the village, rains would come. The villages requested Guru Angad to leave the village and he did so.<sup>61</sup> When Amar Das came to know about this, he told the villagers that everything happened with the will of God and Tapa had no power to bring rain. When the villagers were satisfied with Amar Das, they punished Tapa.<sup>62</sup>

When Guru Angad came to know about Amar Das's advice to the villagers he became angry with Amar Das and asked him to obtain peace, forbearance and forgiveness. At this Amar Das fell at the Guru's feet and asked for pardon.<sup>63</sup>

Macauliffe also documents some other stories of Guru Angad and Amar Das. Guru Angad used to distribute turban of honour to his Sikhs on half yearly basis. When Amar Das received it he wore it on his head and when he received another, he tied it on the top of the last.<sup>64</sup> Not completely concurring with this account, Santokh

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58 *Ibid.* p.29.

59 Giani Gian Singh, '*Tawarikh Guru Khalsa*', Vol. I, p.323.

60 M.A. Macauliffe, *The Sikh Religion*, Vol. II, p.29.

61 *Ibid.*, p.35.

62 *Ibid.*, p.36.

63 *Ibid.*

64 *Ibid.*, p.35.

Singh writes, that Guru Angad gave turbans every year and not on half yearly basis.<sup>65</sup>

Macauliffe and some other chroniclers of Sikh history narrate the story of a rich Sikh, who presented a costly dress to the Guru. Somehow a drop of blood fell on it; when the washer man was unable to remove it, Amar Das sucked the blood from the dress.

On another occasion Guru Angad's sore foot gave him great pain. When Guru Angad told Amar Das about it, he sucked the sore which gave him immediate relief.

Macauliffe recounts an episode in which on the 14th of the month of Chet when there was no moon Guru Angad asked for water.<sup>66</sup> When his sons did not obey he asked Amar Das to fetch water. When he returned and reached near a colony of weavers, his foot got struck in a peg of Karir wood. On hearing the noise the weavers shouted. But when they observed that it was someone reciting Japaji, one of the weaver's wife spoke insultingly about Amar Das and Guru Angad. Amar Das could not brook disrespectful words against his Guru. So he told the weaver's wife that she had gone mad. It is said that weaver's wife at once went mad. They consulted several physicians but everything was in vain.<sup>67</sup>

When they came to Guru Angad Dev, he ordained them when the peg of Karir wood shall grow green, the weaver's wife shall recover.<sup>68</sup>

After that the Guru brought five paise and a coconut, bathed Amar Das and clothed him in a new dress and put it in the Guru's feet. He placed the five copper coins and the coconut before him while Bhai Budha affixed the tilak of Guruship on his forehead. Thereafter, he ordered Amar Das to live in Goindwal.

Guru Angad Dev finally breathed his last on the fourth day of the light half of Chet Sambat 1609 (1552 A.D.), having held the Guruship for twelve years six months and nine days. Guru Angad Dev was cremated in Khadur Sahib near the tree which sprang out of the Karir peg.<sup>69</sup>

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65 Santokh Singh, *Shri Gur Partap Suraj Granth*, Vol. II, p.126.

66 M.A. Macauliffe, *The Sikh Religion*, Vol. II, p.40.

67 *Ibid.*

68 *Ibid*, p.41.

69 *Ibid*, p 44

## II

Macauliffe inscribes that Amar Das was born on the 14th of the light half of Baisakh in the Sambat year 1536 (1479 A.D.)<sup>70</sup> in the village Basarka. Macauliffe derives information from Giani Gian Singh's *Tawarikh Guru Khalsa* for citing the birth year of Guru Amar Das. Many modern writers like Khazan Singh, Jodh Singh, Teja Singh, Ganda Singh, Khushwant Singh subscribe to Macauliffe's view. Bhai Kahan Singh Nabha also expresses the same opinion. The rest of the sources do not seem to agree about the date of Guru Amar Das's birth. *Mehima Parkash* cites Sambat 1524, *Gur Partap Suraj Granth* cites 1525/1526, Mohd. Latif and Cunningham mention Sambat 1566, Kesar Singh Chibber records Sambat 1568 as the date of birth of Amar Das. Bhai Vir Singh cites Sambat 1526 as the birth year of Guru Amar Das. However, Macauliffe does not mention the day on which Amar Das was born. On the other hand '*Tawarikh Guru Khalsa*' by Giani Gian Singh cites the day of Friday 27th of Baisakh as the day of birth.<sup>71</sup> Although Macauliffe borrows the Sambat year from Giani Gian Singh's work but he does not reproduce the date and day of the birth from that work. Macauliffe further writes that his father's name was Tej Bhan and mother's name was Bakht Kaur.<sup>72</sup> G.S. Chhabra concurs with Macauliffe and mentions the same names. Giani Gian Singh, however, mentions his mother's name as Lakhshmi or Lakho. *Shri Gur Partap Suraj Granth* by Santokh Singh cites the name as Roop Kaur and Jodh Singh as Sulakhani. Amar Das was the eldest son among the four sons of his parents. Macauliffe is silent about the names of his brothers. Macauliffe greatly depends on Giani Gian Singh's or Santokh Singh's work and as these two writers do not mention the names of his brothers so Macauliffe also does not refer to their names. It is a characteristic trait of Macauliffe as a writer that he does not court controversy. He either leaves the details which he suspects to be subject to disagreement and controversy or he chooses to give his own observations about that event.

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70 *Ibid*, p.30.

71 Giani Gian Singh, '*Tawarikh Guru Khalsa*', Vol. I, p.335.

72 M.A. Macauliffe, *The Sikh Religion*, Vol. II, p.30.

Macauliffe further elaborates that at the age of twenty three years and ten months he was married to Mansa Devi. G.S. Chhabra corroborates Macauliffe on the year of marriage and the name of Guru Amar Das's wife. But Giani Gian Singh holds that Amar Das got married with Ram Kaur and later changed her name to Mansa Devi, on 11 Magh Sambat 1598.<sup>73</sup> On the other hand, Mehima Parkash mentions Guru Amar Das's wife's name as Mali and Gur Partap Suraj Granth as Ramo. It seems that the date given by Giani Gian Singh is not correct because going by other records by this time Amar Das was nearly 62 years old. As such one may not accept the date as a plausible one. Dalip Singh in his book, 'Guru Amar Das' refers to Sambat 1559 as the marriage year of Guru Amar Das.<sup>74</sup> Kesar Singh Chibber writes that Amar Das married in Sambat 1589 and Santokh Singh gives Sambat 1571 as the date of marriage.

From his wife Amar Das got four children - two sons named Mohri and Mohan and two daughters named Dani and Bhani.<sup>75</sup> There is some disagreement about this also. Macauliffe, Bhai Santokh Singh and Sarup Das Bhalla mention two sons and two daughters, but Kesar Singh Chhibber, Tara Singh Narotam, Giani Gian Singh and Gulab Singh refer to only two sons and one daughter.

Macauliffe does not mention when these children were born because only Giani Gian Singh gives particular dates but the dates given by Giani Gian Singh seems to be incorrect. So Macauliffe omits these controversial details. Giani Gian Singh in '*Tawarikh Guru Khalsa*' does give the dates of the birth of Amar Das's children. He writes that Bhani was born in Sambat 1590, Mohan in Sambat 1595, Mohri in Sambat 1598 and Dhani in Sambat 1601. Kesar Singh Chibber documents that Mohri was elder than Mohan. Sarup Das Bhalla also reiterates the same.

Macauliffe and G.S. Chhabra both maintain that Amar Das's profession was agriculture-cum-trade. Amar Das was a believer of Vaishnav faith and went every

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73 Giani Gian Singh, '*Tawarikh Guru Khalsa*', Vol. I, p.335.

74 Dalip Singh, *Guru Amar Das*, Patiala, 1980, p.2.

75 Gurdev Singh, *Guru Amar Das: Jeevan Te Bani*, Patiala, 2005, p.5.



year to Ganga.<sup>76</sup> When he was returning from Ganges for the twentieth time, he lay down to sleep outside the village Mihar.

Macauliffe documents that Amar Das met a monk and they cooked for each other. The monk on seeing Amar Das's merit asked him which Guru had taught him such piety and wisdom.<sup>77</sup> When Amar Das replied that he had no Guru, the monk said he has committed a great sin to have eaten from the hands of a man who has no Guru.<sup>78</sup> After this Amar Das began to search for the Guru.<sup>79</sup> G.S. Chhabra endorses Macauliffe and narrates the same story.

Macauliffe further records that early one morning Amar Das heard hymns, which were being sung in his brother's house by his brother's daughter-in-law named Bibi Amro, the daughter of Guru Angad Dev. Macauliffe reveals that on hearing the hymns Amar Das became deeply absorbed in devotion and asked her to sing the hymns again.<sup>80</sup> G.S. Chhabra narrates that after hearing the hymns Amar Das immediately went to Bibi Amro. But Giani Gian Singh writes that Amar Das went to Bibi Amro on the second day and asked her to repeat the hymns.<sup>81</sup>

According to Macauliffe Amar Das questioned Bibi Amro about whose hymns she was singing? She replied that they were his father's hymns.<sup>82</sup> Amar Das asked her to take him to her father. Macauliffe mentions that after some days Bibi Amro and Amar Das went to Khadur and on seeing the Guru, Amar Das fell on his feet.

Macauliffe inscribes that one day they met on dinner and flesh was served. Guru Amar Das thought, "*If the Guru is a searcher of hearts, he must know that I am a Vaishnva and do not touch flesh*". The Guru knowing this ordered that Dal be served to him.<sup>83</sup> Amar Das told the cook that if the Guru was kind enough to give him meat, he would partake it. The Guru on hearing this knew that superstition was

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76 M.A. Macauliffe, *The Sikh Religion*, Vol. II, p.30.

77 *Ibid.*

78 Narian Singh, *The Life Sketch of Guru Amar Das Ji*, Amritsar (n.d.), p.13.

79 M.A. Macauliffe, *The Sikh Religion*, Vol. II, p.31.

80 *Ibid.*

81 Giani Gian Singh, '*Tawarikh Guru Khalsa*', Vol. I, p.337.

82 M.A. Macauliffe, *The Sikh Religion*, Vol. II, p.32

83 *Ibid.*

departing from Amar Das's heart and he handed him his own dish. When he ate it he felt at peace.

‘*Tawarikh Guru Khalsa*’, *Mahima Parkash* and ‘*Shri Guru Partap Suraj Granth*’ hold that this dinner story was partaken on the same day, when Amar Das met the Guru.

But the incident of serving meat in the Guru’s kitchen is not accepted by many historians. Satta and Balwand were very close to the Guru and they wrote several hymns about the Guru's life and teachings. They make references to the Langar system, but there is no mention of meat being served. People of all four castes took food together from the Guru's Langar. If meat was served in the Langar, then Hindu's would not have taken food there. So the incident of serving meat in the Langar seems to be incorrect.

Macauliffe then documents the founding of Goindwal. During his stay at Goindwal, Guru Amar Das gave religious and spiritual instructions to his followers. All the visitors first ate from the Guru's kitchen and then met the Guru.<sup>84</sup>

Macauliffe writes that lots of people came to Goindwal to visit the Guru, so there was shortage of houses for people.<sup>85</sup> He writes that some Sikhs met Guru Amar Das about this problem. The Guru ordered his nephew Sawan Mal to proceed to Haripur in the Kangra district, cut down pine trees and cedars and float them in the river Beas.<sup>86</sup>

Macauliffe writes that Haripur King extended a warm welcome to them and even sent his men to cut down pine trees and cedars. The Raja and his family even came with Sawan Mal to visit the Guru.

Macauliffe holds that when Sawan Mal returned, the King and his family also came with him to meet the Guru. When they met the Guru, one of his wives did not remove her veil. She became insane with Guru's normal words.<sup>87</sup> According to

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84 *Ibid.*

85 *Ibid.* p.92.

86 *Ibid.*

87 *Ibid.*, p.62.

Macauliffe when King's wife got mad, she went into the forest and remained there in a naked state. Once she bit a man named Sachansach. He went to the Guru. Guru gave him his slipper and asked him to touch her with it. Fauja Singh inscribes that next day when she came Sachansach touched her and she immediately recovered.<sup>88</sup>

Macauliffe relates the story of Datu, who hit the Guru with his foot.<sup>89</sup> After this Guru left Goindwal and went to Basaika. A.C. Banerjee adds that after the request from the Sikhs, the Guru again came to Goindwal.<sup>90</sup> As per Macauliffe, this event is mentioned by all the major Sikh chroniclers.

Macauliffe further writes that once Guru Amar Das visited Kasur and it was a time of excessive heat. The Governor of the city was a Khatri, so the Guru sent a messenger to request him for the permission to pitch his tent in his garden. The Governor not only refused but also spoke harsh words for the Guru. Then the Guru pronounced that one day a Sikh ruler will take Kasur under his possession. The Guru's words came true when Ranjit Singh occupied Kasur.<sup>91</sup>

The event of Muhammadan's battle with Sanyasis and imprisonment is referred to by the most of the historians in Sikh chronicles.<sup>92</sup> Bhai Paro's story is also narrated by almost every chronicle in the same manner as has been done by Macauliffe.

Macauliffe makes a mention of a Bairagi named Mai Das. Once he came to the Guru but refused to take food from the Guru's kitchen. As the Guru met only those who took food, he returned without meeting with the Guru. He prayed to his God for food. It is said that a person came with food in his hands, but he again refused because it was cooked in impure water. He again prayed, this time he saw a person with sweets.<sup>93</sup> He again refused. At this he reflected that it was not possible for an ordinary people to bring food in the jungle. It occurred to him that may be God is trying to help him. At this he started praying to God to appear before him. It is said that a voice

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88 Fauja Singh, *Guru Amar Das, Life and Teachings*, New Delhi, 1979, p.68.

89 M.A. Macauliffe, *The Sikh Religion*, Vol. II, p.64.

90 A.C. Banerjee, *The Sikhs Guru and the Sikh Religion*, p.161.

91 M.A. Macauliffe, *The Sikh Religion*, Vol. II, p.75.

92 Balbir Singh Dil, *Teeji Patshahi Shri Guru Amar Das Ji*, Ferozepur, 1987, p.190.

93 M.A. Macauliffe, *The Sikh Religion*, Vol. II, p.94.

spoke to him that first he should take food from Amar Das's kitchen only then he could see him.<sup>94</sup>

Macauliffe recounts that once a rich man was giving a religious feast because a child was born in his house. However, Brahmans declared the place impure and refused to take food. This man then went to Guru Amar Das and the Guru ordered his Sikhs to take part in the feast and uttered the following hymns:<sup>95</sup>

*The love of mammon is mental impurity.  
By which men are led astray in doubt  
and suffer transmigration.  
The impurity of the perverse never departeth.  
Until they become saturated with the Word  
and with God's name.  
Whatever taketh the form of worldly  
love is all impurity:  
On this account man dieth and is  
born again and again.*

Macauliffe says that Guru Amar Das constructed a Bawli. When the Sikhs were digging very deep, a large stone came in their way which hindered their progress. Guru asked his Sikhs to come forward and remove this stone but at the same time also made them aware about the danger which comes after breaking the stone.<sup>96</sup> At this, Manak Chand came forward and broke the stone. O.P. Rahlan describes that as soon as the stone cracked there came a sharp stream of water and drowned Manak Chand.<sup>97</sup>

When next morning Manak Chand's wife and mother were weeping, Guru called Manak Chand and he immediately emerged on the surface.<sup>98</sup> When Guru touched his body he became alive. G.S. Chhabra corroborates Macauliffe and narrates

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94 *Ibid.*

95 *Ibid.*, p.76.

96 *Ibid.*, p.94.

97 O.P. Ralhan, *The Great Gurus of the Sikhs*, New Delhi, 1997, p.25.

98 M.A. Macauliffe, *The Sikh Religion*, Vol. II, p.94.

the same story.

Macauliffe registers that after completing the Bawli the Guru pronounced that whoever should recite the Japaji with reverence on every step would escape from wandering in the wombs of the eighty four lakh species of living creatures. The water of Bawli acquired a reputation for healing virtues which stimulated the urge for pilgrimage of Goindwal.<sup>99</sup>

Macauliffe also records the event of Akbar's meeting with Guru Amar Das during his visit to Lahore.<sup>100</sup> Akbar took food from Guru's kitchen. Akbar even gave rent free land to Bibi Bhani.

There is also the story of a proud Tapa who refused to take food from the Guru's kitchen. However, when the Guru offered five rupees to those who took food he sent his son to take food. But when his son tried to cross the wall, he slipped from the wall and his leg was broken. On this incident Bhai Jetha composed the following:<sup>101</sup>

*He is not a Tapa whose heart is greedy and  
who ever wandereth begging for mammon.  
When he was first called, he would not accept the  
proffered money; afterwards repenting he brought his  
son and seated him in the midst of the assembly.  
The village elders all began to laugh, saying that the wave  
of greed had overcome the Tapa.*

Macauliffe registers that there was, however, no uninterrupted peace for the Sikhs of Goindwal. The Khatri and Brahmins of Goindwal, jealous of the Guru's growing influence and resentful of his unorthodox views and practices, complained to the Emperor seeking his intervention against the innovations. Macauliffe documents that Gobind who gave land for Goindwal died. After his death his son and the person, from whom Guru purchased land for the Bawli, complained to the Emperor that the

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99 *Ibid.* p.96.

100 *Ibid.*

101 *Ibid.* p 99.

Guru had forcibly usurped their land. However, the Emperor dismissed their complaints.

Macauliffe elaborates that at first the complaint was summarily dismissed. The Brahmins then made a special complaint.<sup>102</sup> Akbar requested the Guru's attendance at his court. The Guru sent his son-in-law Bhai Jetha. His replies to the accusations convinced the Emperor that there was no hostility to Hinduism in the Guru's activities. Bhai Jetha then repeated the following composition of his own:<sup>103</sup>

*God's name is God's treasure; clasp it to thy  
heart under the Guru's instruction.  
Be the slave of God's slave; subdue  
pride and evil passions.  
They who have won the prize of human birth  
shall by the Guru's favour never know defeat.  
Blest, blest and very fortunate are they,  
Nanak, who under the Guru's instruction  
deem God the essence of all things.  
God, God, God is the treasury of excellences.  
Meditate on God, God under the Guru's instruction,  
then shalt thou obtain honour in God's court.*

Fauja Singh writes that in order to divert the wrath of the Hindus he expressed a desire that the Guru should make a pilgrimage to the Ganges and no tax should be levied on the Guru's party.<sup>104</sup>

Macauliffe documents further that on the advice of the Emperor Guru Amar Das paid a yearly visit to the Hindu pilgrimage Hardwar. Having crossed the Satluj he went to Pahowa, a place of pilgrimage not far from Thaneswar or Kurkshetara. There a dialogue took place between Guru Amar Das and a Pandit. At this time Guru uttered

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102 *Ibid*, p.105.

103 *Ibid*, p.107.

104 Fauja Singh, *Guru Amar Das, Life and Teachings*, p.74.

the following hymn:<sup>105</sup>

*O, father, dispel such doubts.  
It is God who doeth whatever is done;  
all who exist shall be absorbed in Him.  
What is the effect of the union of female  
and male without the interposition of God?  
The different forms, O God, which appear  
are ever Thine, and at the last they shall  
all be resolved in Thee.*

Macauliffe narrates the story of a Sikh named Prema who lived in the village of Talwandi about seven Kos from Goindwal.<sup>106</sup> He was lame, yet was able to walk with the aid of a crutch. He used to take a pitcher of milk every day to the Guru. One day there was rain but Prema was walking on his crutch. Then a man from his village jeered at him and said if his Guru was such a wonder worker then does he not cure his leg. Almost immediately with the Guru's favour his leg was cured. This seems to be a miracle story but Macauliffe on several occasions incorporates such stories while dealing with the lives of the Gurus.

The sons of Guru Amar Das Mohan and Mohri felt jealous of Bhai Jehta. On account of this the Guru asked Bhai Jetha to construct a building on the land which was given by Emperor Akbar and then dug a tank which became a pilgrim for Sikhs.<sup>107</sup>

According to Macauliffe Bhai Jetha established himself twenty five miles away from Goindwal and also started digging of a tank. Many people and labourers built huts for themselves.<sup>108</sup> Guru Amar Das asked Bhai Jetha to construct two tanks one was known as Santokhsar at Guru's Chakk and the second was at Amritsar in the east.

Macauliffe writes that Guru Amar Das's elder daughter was married to a man

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105 M.A. Macauliffe, *The Sikh Religion*, Vol. II, p.110

106 *Ibid*, p.136.

107 *Ibid*, p 141

108 *Ibid*, p.136.

called Rama. Rama besides performing the usual Sikh worship used to work in the Guru's kitchen. One day Guru Amar Das held a test of their devotion, humbleness and obedience.

The Guru went to the Bawli and ordered Bhai Jetha and Rama to build platforms beside it, one on which he might sit on in the morning and other in the evening. He who did better work should receive the greater honour.<sup>109</sup> Bhai Jetha and Rama began their labour. When the platforms were completed the Guru went to inspect them. Fauja Singh states that first Guru went to Rama and told him that the platform was not straight and that he should build it again. Rama built it again but the Guru was still not satisfied.<sup>110</sup> So he asked Rama to build it once again. Rama argued with the Guru and even used objectionable words and refused to build it the third time. On the other hand Bhai Jetha built the platform seven times. The Guru was very impressed with his obedience and patience. The Guru blessed him and said that he had obeyed his order seven times, so his seven generations would sit on the gaddi.<sup>111</sup>

Some chronicles relate this story in another way. '*Tawarikh Guru Khalsa*' writer Giani Gian Singh writes that the Guru tested several other Sikhs with Bhai Jetha and Rama. Macauliffe, however, refers to only about Bhai Jetha and Rama. Giani Gian Singh does not clearly mention how many times Bhai Jetha rebuilt the platform. He does not even specify the blessing that seven generations would sit on the gaddi. Santokh Singh writes that Rama refused to build the platform the third time but does not enumerate the number of times Bhai Jetha built the platform.<sup>112</sup>

Macauliffe writes that Bibi Bhani after her marriage continued to attend on her father. She used to fan him, draw water and also work in the kitchen. One night, as the Guru was absorbed in deep meditation, she noticed that a part of one leg of his couch was broken off. Fearing that the meditation would be disturbed, she put her hand under the broken leg so as to keep the couch leveled. When the Guru arose he saw

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109 *Ibid*, p.142.

110 Fauja Singh, *Guru Amar Das, Life and Teachings*, p.166.

111 M.A. Macauliffe, *The Sikh Religion*, Vol. II, p.143.

112 Santokh Singh, *Shri Gur Partap Suraj Granth*, Vol. III, p.428.



what she had done. The Guru was pleased and invited her to ask a favour.<sup>113</sup> Her request was that the Guruship should remain in her family. The Guru blessed her saying.

Some chroniclers like Santokh Singh write that when Bibi Bhani placed her hand under the couch, the supply of the blood stopped and her arm became blue.<sup>114</sup>

Macauliffe writes that Bhai Jetha always remained busy in the service of Guru Amar Das. Once Bhai Jetha's relatives were coming after bathing in the Ganga and visited Goindwal. When they knew about Bhai Jetha's work they were displeased and ashamed for his deeds. But Bhai Lehna did not take it seriously.<sup>115</sup>

Macauliffe inscribes that the Guru being now old began to think of his death. The Guru tested Bhai Jetha and found him to be perfect. He ordered Bhai Ballu to send for a coconut and five paise.<sup>116</sup> The Guru then summoned his two sons and many prominent Sikhs. They asked Bhai Jetha to take a bath and wear new clothes.<sup>117</sup> Guru Amar Das asked Bhai Budha to put tilak on Bhai Jetha's forehead and placed the coconut and five paise before him and named him Ram Das. Upon this Guru Amar Das uttered the following hymns:<sup>118</sup>

*Why keep properly entrusted to another?  
A man is happy when hath returned it.  
The Guru's instruction resteth with the Guru;  
it shineth from no other source.  
When a blind man findeth a gem,  
he taketh it from house to house to sell;  
But people cannot essay it,  
and he cannot get an eighth of a paise for it.*

Macauliffe states that the date of Guru Ram Das's appointment was the 13th

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113 M.A. Macauliffe, *The Sikh Religion*, Vol. II, p.144.

114 Santokh Singh, *Shri Gur Partap Suraj Granth*, Vol. III, p.494.

115 M.A. Macauliffe, *The Sikh Religion*, Vol. II, p.144.

116 *Ibid*, p.145

117 Fauja Singh, *Guru Amar Das, Life and Teachings*, p.168.

118 M.A. Macauliffe, *The Sikh Religion*, Vol. II, p.147.

day of the light half of Bhadon, Sambat 1631 (1574 A.D.).<sup>119</sup> The following lines refer to the occasion.<sup>120</sup>

*The true Guru who desireth happiness for,  
and is merciful to souls, hath given the greatness  
of the Name to Guru Ram Das.  
Guru Ram Das hath now obtained greatness so as  
to save the Sodhis and the whole world.*

Some Sikh chronicles give another date for the appointment of Guru Ram Das as the fourth Guru. Giani Gian Singh in *Tawarikh Guru Khalsa*' mentions that Guru Amar Das appointed Bhai Jetha as Guru Ram Das on Sambat 1627 on the 7th of Baisakh. He even writes that Guru Amar Das founded Ramdaspur for the newly appointed Guru primarily due to the jealousy of his sons.

After appointing Guru Ram Das as Guru, Guru Amar Das departed at ten o'clock in the morning of the full moon day in the month of Bhadon, Sambat 1631 (1574 A.D.).<sup>121</sup>

Mohri had a son called Anand and Anand's son was Sunder Das who afterwards at the request of Guru Arjun wrote the following account of the death of Guru Amar Das.<sup>122</sup>

*God is the Benefactor of the Universe;  
He loveth the saints and filleth the three worlds.  
They in whose hearts the Guru's instruction  
is contained know none besides God;  
Under the Guru's instruction they know none besides;  
they meditate on the one Name.  
By the favour of Nanak and Guru Angad,  
Amar Das obtained the supreme position.*

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119 *Ibid.*

120 *Ibid.*

121 *Ibid.*, p.151

122 *Ibid.*

*When the message came for him to depart,  
he was absorbed in God's name.*

### III

A Khatri of the Sodhi tribe named Thakar Das lived in the vicinity of Lahore called Chuni Mandi. He was married to a lady called Jaswant.<sup>123</sup> Satbir Singh in his book '*Poori Hoi Kramat*' writes that Thakar Das was born on Sambat 1531 but Macauliffe does not mention his date of birth. A son was born to them who was named Hari Das. Macauliffe leaves out the mention of Hari Das's birth date also, but Satbir Singh gives 1500 A.D. as the date of his birth<sup>124</sup> Hari Das was afterwards married to Anup Devi.<sup>125</sup> After her marriage she was generally known as Daya Kaur. G.S. Chhabra refers to Anup Devi but does not give the dates of her birth and marriage. The couple worshipped one God, served Saints and recited God's name. Their prayer ever was that a son might be born to them who will be the light of their family and whose glory will shine like the sun.<sup>126</sup>

As the result of their prayer and devotion, after twelve years of married life, in the early morning of Thursday, the second day of the dark half of the month of Kartik, in the Sambat year 1591 (1534 A.D.) a son was born to them. Santokh Singh in '*Shri Gur Partap Suraj Granth*' writes that Ram Das was born in Sambat 1581.<sup>127</sup> He was called Ram Das but was generally known as Bhai Jetha, a name which means first born. Most of the Sikh chronicles subscribe to Macauliffe's version about the birth date, place and parents of Ram Das.

Macauliffe does not allude to any other children of Hari Das but Satbir Singh maintains that after two years of the birth of Bhai Jetha Hari Dyal was born followed by Ram Dasi. Harnam Das Sahrai in his book '*Chothi Patshahi*' also writes about Bhai Jetha's brother and sister.

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123 *Ibid.* p.87.

124 Satbir Singh, *Poori Hoi Kramat : A Biography of Guru Ram Das*, Jalandhar, 1981, p.27.

125 M.A. Macauliffe, *The Sikh Religion*, Vol. II, p.88.

126 Harish Dhillon, *The Lives and Teachings of the Sikhs Gurus*, p.96.

127 Santokh Singh, *Shri Gur Partap Suraj Granth*, Vol. III, p.304.

According to '*Tawarikh Guru Khalsa*' by Giani Gian Singh his mother died during his childhood and when Bhai Jetha was seven year old his father also died.<sup>128</sup> Then his maternal grandmother took him to Basarka. Sahib Singh in his book 'Life of Shri Guru Ram Das' also supports '*Tawarikh Guru Khalsa*' and narrates the same sequence of events. Satbir Singh differs with this version and expresses the opinion that when Bhai Jetha was seven years old his mother died and after that his father died.<sup>129</sup> Macauliffe, however, does not mention anything about these incidents in Ram Das's life. Giani Ishar Singh in his book '*Guru Ram Das Parkash*' writes that Bhai Jetha's mother died in the early years of his life.<sup>130</sup>

Macauliffe reveals that Bhai Jetha grew up in the company of holymen. A poor man who used to sell boiled pulses lived near their house.<sup>131</sup> O.P. Rahlan holds that at his suggestion, his mother boiled pulses, put it into a basket and gave it to Ram Das to sell so that he might begin to do something profitable.<sup>132</sup> Bhai Jetha went off with his basket to the river Ravi. There were hungry holy men present there who asked him to supply them with necessities. Bhai Jetha gave them the whole contents of his basket and went home.<sup>133</sup>

Macauliffe, in his account writes that Hari Das asked Bhai Jetha to do something for livelihood. His mother gave him boiled pulses. When Ram Das gave them to hungry saints, his father became angry and scolded him. So he started weeping.<sup>134</sup> Giani Ishar Singh Nara and Macauliffe supports Santokh Singh and mentions the same account.

Macauliffe also mentions the event of Bhai Jetha's going to Goindwal in the company of holy men.<sup>135</sup> There he met the Guru and began to serve him. Bhai Jetha was of such sweet temper that even if anyone spoke harshly to him, he would never

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128 Giani Gian Singh, '*Tawarikh Guru Khalsa*', Vol. I, p.364.

129 Satbir Singh, *Poori Hoi Kramat : A Biography of Guru Ram Das*, p.30.

130 Gyani Ishar Singh Nara, *Light of Guru Amar Dass Ji*, p.25.

131 M.A. Macauliffe, *The Sikh Religion*, Vol. II, p.88

132 O.P. Ralhan, *The Great Gurus of the Sikhs*, p.39.

133 M.A. Macauliffe, *The Sikh Religion*, Vol. II, p.87.

134 *Ibid*, p.88

135 *Ibid*, p.90

retaliate. Macauliffe then narrates the events connected with Bibi Bhani's marriage. Most of the chronicles reiterate the account of marriage given by Macauliffe. The Guru ordered his followers to search for a boy for Bibi Bhani. Bibi Bhani's mother saw a boy outside her door carrying articles. She asked the agent to look for a boy like this youth for Bibi Bhani.<sup>136</sup> Satbir Singh writes that they expressed a desire for a boy who always remained in God's service.<sup>137</sup> Then the Guru proposed to examine the youth. The Guru interrogated him on matters related to marriage.<sup>138</sup> On being satisfied with the boy's answers, the Guru sent marriage presents with him to his father Hari Das in Lahore.<sup>139</sup>

Most of the Sikh chronicles narrate the same story. Macauliffe also writes about the Guru sending presents to Hari Das, father of Bhai Jetha at Lahore. But Giani Gian Singh holds that Hari Das died during Bhai Jetha's marriage and that he did not even live in Lahore. He lived in Basarka in his maternal house.

According to Macauliffe after early negotiations Guru Amar Das wrote a letter to Hari Das that the twenty second of Phagan, Sambat 1610, would be a suitable time for marriage.<sup>140</sup> But Santokh Singh differs with this view and maintains that the Guru called Ram Das's parents for discussion. He does not refer to any letter.<sup>141</sup>

Giani Gian Singh in '*Tawarikh Guru Khalsa*' writes that Bhai Jetha married Bibi Bhani on 16 Phaghan Sambat 1599.<sup>142</sup> But Satbir Singh cites 1552 A.D. as the marriage year. So it is clear that there are different views about Bhai Jetha's marriage year.

According to Macauliffe Pirthi Chand was born at Bhai Jetha's home in the month of Assu Sambat 1614, Sambat 1617 in the month of Haarh Mahadev was born and on Tuesday, the seventh day of the dark half of Baisakh, Sambat 1620, a third son

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136 *Ibid*, p.91.

137 Satbir Singh, *Poori Hoi Kramat : A Biography of Guru Ram Das*, p.34.

138 Harman Das Sahrai, *Choti Patshahi*, Amritsar, 1995, p.43.

139 M.A. Macauliffe, *The Sikh Religion*, Vol. II, p.91.

140 *Ibid*, p.92.

141 Santokh Singh, *Shri Gur Partap Suraj Granth*, Vol. III, p.307.

142 Giani Gian Singh, '*Tawarikh Guru Khalsa*', Vol. I, p.364.

Arjun was born.<sup>143</sup>

But Giani Gian Singh in 'Tawarikh Guru Khalsa' gives another set of dates for the birth of Bhai Jetha's sons. According to him Pirthi Chand was born in Asu, Sambat 1605, Mahadev 4 Haarh, Sambat 1608 and on 18 Baisakh Sambat 1610 Arjun was born.<sup>144</sup> Santokh Singh supports Giani Gian Singh and mentions the same dates. But Giani Ishar Singh Nara writes that Pirthi Chand was born in Sambat 1615, Mahadev in Sambat 1617 and Arjun in Sambat 1620.<sup>145</sup>

'Tawarikh Guru Khalsa' goes on to specify that Pirthi Chand got married on 3 Baisakh, Sambat 1613 to Karam Kaur. Mahadev had no interest in worldly affairs. So he married in old age in Khadur.

Macauliffe inscribes that after marriage, Bhai Jetha's parents asked him to live with them and perform all his duties. But Bhai Jetha considered the Guru his God and himself his worshipper.<sup>146</sup> Thus, he returned to Goindwal, where he served the Guru and worked as a laborer during the construction of Bawli. According to Macauliffe when Guru Ram Das got the gaddi, the minstrel Satta dedicated the following hymns which is inscribed in the Granth Sahib:<sup>147</sup>

*Hail! hail Guru Ram Das! God who created  
thee hath decorated thee.  
Complete are the miracles which the creator  
Himself performed.  
The Sikhs and their congregation bowed to  
thee since God was with thee.  
Thou art immovable, unfathomable, unequalled;  
thou hast no end or bounds.  
Thou didst save those who worshipped  
thee with love.*

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143 M.A. Macauliffe, *The Sikh Religion*, Vol. II, p.93.

144 Giani Gian Singh, 'Tawarikh Guru Khalsa', Vol. I, p.364.

145 Gyani Ishar Singh Nara, *Guru Ram Das Parkash*, p.56.

146 M.A. Macauliffe, *The Sikh Religion*, Vol. II, p.96.

147 *Ibid*, p.253.

Macauliffe states that once the Sikhs asked the Guru to expatiate upon the advantages of pilgrimages and recitation of the Name. The Guru explained that those who nurtured the love of God in their hearts, they would obtain salvation and they don't need to go to pilgrimages. The Guru then quoted the following hymn of Guru Nanak:<sup>148</sup>

*Shall I go to bathe at a place of pilgrimage?  
God's name is my place of pilgrimage.  
My places of pilgrimage are the Word,  
contemplation, and the divine knowledge within me.  
The divine knowledge given by the Guru is  
the true place of pilgrimage where the ten auspicious  
times for bathing and the Dasahra are always present.  
I ever beg for God's true name; grant it me, O God,  
Sustainer of the earth.*

Macauliffe remarks that Sri Chand, the elder son of Baba Nanak had long hair, wandered like a naked hermit and established the sect of the Udasis.<sup>149</sup> He would not go to meet either Guru Angad or Guru Amar Das, but when Ram Das arrived at Goindwal the Guru offered Sri Chand sweets and five hundred rupees.

Santokh Singh maintains that the Guru even offered Shri Chand a horse and five hundred rupees.<sup>150</sup> Macauliffe, however, refers to only sweets and five hundred rupees and does not say anything about a horse.

During a dialogue Shri Chand asked Guru Ram Dass why he had grown a long beard. Guru replied that he had grown a long beard to wipe his feet. Shri Chand was very much pleased with these words. Giani Gian Singh and Santokh Singh also present the same narrative of their meeting.

Macauliffe also documents the meeting of Bhai Gurdas with Guru Ram Das.

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148 *Ibid.* p.254

149 M.A. Macauliffe, *The Sikh Religion*, Vol. II, p.257.

150 Santokh Singh, *Shri Gur Partap Suraj Granth*, Vol. III, p.479.

The Guru asked him to go to Agra and impart religious instructions to the people.<sup>151</sup> Many people from Agra came to visit the Guru.<sup>152</sup> The Guru at that time composed the following hymns to give religious instructions to the Sikhs.<sup>153</sup>

*Let him who calleth himself a Sikh of the true Guru,  
rise early and meditate on God;  
Let him exert himself in the early morning,  
bathe in the tank of nectar,  
Repeat God's name under the Guru's  
instructions and all his sins and transgressions  
shall be erased.  
Let him at sunrise sing the Guru's hymns,  
and whether sitting or  
standing meditate on God's name.  
The disciple who at every breath meditateth  
on God, will please the Guru's heart.*

There is another famous story about a magistrate and his five daughters. This story is mentioned by most of the chronicles. They have narrated this story in different ways with several differences in details. Macauliffe writes that a revenue collector lived in a town called Patti which came under Lahore district. He had five daughters.<sup>154</sup> Four of them were married but one was unmarried. Macauliffe does not elucidate upon the names of daughters but Giani Amar Singh states that the name of the fifth daughter was Rajni. Once they went to a garden, when they returned they met a company of saints. The four married went home but the youngest one remained to hear the shaloks. Saints said that God is great and he gave everybody food, power, happiness and sadness.

When she returned home, she recited the God's name. When her mother heard

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151 M.A. Macauliffe, *The Sikh Religion*, Vol. II, p.264

152 A.C. Banerjee, *The Sikhs Guru and the Sikh Religion*, p.177.

153 M.A. Macauliffe, *The Sikh Religion*, Vol. II, p.264.

154 *Ibid*, p.257.



her she became angry and informed her husband. He summoned all her daughters and asked them who gave them food and drink. The four married daughters said it was their parents but the youngest one said that it was God.<sup>155</sup>

Macauliffe registers that after some time the angry father married his daughter to man afflicted with leprosy. One day her husband expressed a desire to go for a pilgrimage. When they were coming back from the pilgrimage, they reached at a spot which the third and fourth Guru had marked out as the site of the tank of nectar.<sup>156</sup> Giani Amar Singh writes that she made her husband sit under a *ber* tree and went to the nearest village to beg their daily meal.<sup>157</sup> The leper saw two crows fighting for bread, but the bread fell into the pool. While trying to retrieve it, they entered the pool. When they came out, they had turned into Swans. The leper left his basket and immersed his body in the water except a finger with which he held the branch of the tree and he recovered.<sup>158</sup>

When his wife returned, she saw a healthy person in place of her husband. He tried to explain the story but she did not listen to anything. When some villagers saw this, asked him to go to Guru Ram Das, who was sitting under a tree not at great distance.<sup>159</sup>

The Guru then told them about the healing powers of the tank. The Guru asked the leper to put his finger into the water. As soon as he did so, he was completely recovered. The *ber* tree is still on the spot, under which the lady left her crippled husband. The place is now called Dukh Bhanjani, or destroyer of sorrow.<sup>160</sup> Guru on that occasion composed the following hymn:<sup>161</sup>

*God is very dear to the hearts of those who  
have met the society of the saints and  
whose souls are fancinated by the Word.*

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155 *Ibid*, p.266.

156 *Ibid*.

157 Giani Amar Singh, *Baitha Sodhi Patshah Ram Das Sat Gur Kahave*, p.68.

158 M.A. Macauliffe, *The Sikh Religion*, Vol. II, p.268.

159 *Ibid*.

160 *Ibid*, p.269.

161 *Ibid*, p.270.

*Repeat God's name, meditate on God;  
it is He who conferreth gifts on all.  
O my brethren, God fancinateth my soul.  
I sing God's praises; His servant is honoured by  
meeting the Guru and the society of saints.  
The service of God under the Guru's instruction  
is an ocean of happiness; through it wealth, prosperity,  
and supernatural power fall at man's feet.*

When the magistrate came to know about this, he adopted the man as his son because he had no son and gave him his property. He went on to serve the Guru.

Macauliffe does not mention the name of the magistrate but Giani Gian Singh refers to him as Duni Chand Khatri.<sup>162</sup> He also writes that only one crow came and took a dip in the tank and turned into a Swan. Giani Gian Singh giving the specific date writes that they reached the spot on Sambat 1637.

Macauliffe further remarks that although the Guru's Sikhs, followers and admirers of every class came to assist in the excavation of the tank, yet money was necessary to pay for the laborers and maintenance of the Guru's kitchen.<sup>163</sup>

According to necessity the Guru sent his agents, to different countries to propagate the Sikh religion and also collect the offerings of the faithful people. Such agents were called Masands.<sup>164</sup> For sometime after their appointment they sent large sums to the Guru, but afterwards they became generally a dishonest body of men, not contributing to the Guru's treasury and grasping power as opportunity offered.

Macauliffe elaborates that while the tank was being excavated, dwellings arose in the vicinity for the accommodation of the Guru's Sikhs, visitors and workmen, and in process a beautiful city was constructed, which was at first called Ramdaspur or the city of Ram Das and finally came to be called Amritsar.<sup>165</sup>

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162 Giani Gian Singh, '*Tawarikh Guru Khalsa*', Vol. I, p.369.

163 M.A. Macauliffe, *The Sikhs Religion*, Vol. II, p.268.

164 *Ibid*, p.271.

165 *Ibid*, p.276.

Giani Gian Singh in '*Tawarikh Guru Khalsa*' states that on 7 Sambat 1630 work of the excavation of the tank was started and on 4 Sambat 1635 the work was completed.

Macauliffe further reveals that Sahari Mal, the Guru's first cousin, came from Lahore specially to invite him for the marriage of his son.<sup>166</sup>

Santokh Singh inscribes that Sahari Mal brought sweets for the Guru.<sup>167</sup> Giani Gian Singh in '*Tawarikh Guru Khalsa*' cites Baisakh Sambat 1637 as the time of his arrival.

According to Macauliffe the Guru apprised him of his difficulties and his inability to go to Lahore but promised to send one of his sons.<sup>168</sup> The Guru first approached Pirthi Chand but he made an excuse saying that he had never been separated from his father. Gopal Singh elaborates that it was also necessary for him to attend to the Guru's kitchen and take care of the strangers.<sup>169</sup> The Guru then suggested to Pirthi Chand that some other Sikhs could perform his duties. Pirthi finally urged that he dreaded the turmoil of weddings and should feel unhappy if he went. Pirthi had two main motives for refusing to go. He was incharge of the offerings and was able to furtively set aside much wealth for himself. If he went to Lahore this illicit gain would go to someone else. The time was also near for the selection of a successor, if he had gone someone else may have been appointed the successor.<sup>170</sup>

Macauliffe registers that the Guru then asked his second son Mahadev but he replied that he had no relations in the world.<sup>171</sup> Gobind Singh writes that the Guru then addressed to his youngest son, Arjun.<sup>172</sup> The Guru asked him to go to Lahore and after the marriage remain at the temple there to give religious instructions to the Sikhs and not return until he had received a written invitation.<sup>173</sup>

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166 *Ibid.*

167 Santokh Singh, *Shri Gur Partap Suraj Granth*, Vol. III, p.479.

168 M.A. Macauliffe, *The Sikh Religion*, Vol. II, p.276.

169 Gopal Singh, *A History of the Sikh People*, p.173.

170 M.A. Macauliffe, *The Sikh Religion*, Vol. II, p.277.

171 *Ibid.*

172 Goind Singh Mansukhani, *Guru Ram Das Jeevan, Bani te Falsafa*, Amritsar, p.46.

173 M.A. Macauliffe, *The Sikh Religion*, Vol. II, p.277

Before his departure his mother went to call him early morning and addressed him the following lines:<sup>174</sup>

*Ever repeat the name of that God  
who hath no end or limit;  
By remembering Him all sin is removed  
and ancestors are saved.  
O my son, this is thy mother's blessing.  
May God never forget thee for a moment,  
and do thou ever repeat the name of the  
Lord of the world.  
May the true Guru be merciful to thee  
and mayest thou love the saints!  
May God's preservation of thine honour  
be thy raiment, and singing His praises thy daily food!*

After passing many days Arjun expressed the pain that he felt after separation from his father. He wrote a letter to his father and addressed him in the following lines:<sup>175</sup>

*My soul longeth for a sight of the Guru;  
It crieth like the chatrik for raindrops.  
My thirst is not quenched, and I have no  
rest without a sight of the dear saint.  
I am a sacrifice, I am a sacrifice to a sight  
of the Guru, the dear saint.*

Arjun sent his letter through a messenger, but when he reached Amritsar, the Guru was busy in his afternoon prayer. Pirthi Chand took the letter from him, and when he read it he felt jealous.<sup>176</sup> He feared that if the Guru saw this letter, he might appoint Arjun as his successor. So he placed the letter in his pocket and sent a verbal

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174 *Ibid.*

175 *Ibid.*, p.278.

176 M.A. Macauliffe, *The Sikh Religion*, Vol. II, p.279

reply in his father's name, telling Arjun to remain in Lahore.

Giani Gian Singh in '*Tawarikh Guru Khalsa*' writes that after passing a few months, when Arjun did not receive any message from his father, he went on the roof and sometimes stood on the road which came from Lahore dejectedly in desperate wait for a message.<sup>177</sup> At the end he wrote a letter. Gopal Singh in his book '*A History of the Sikh People*' claims that Arjun wrote a letter after one month.<sup>178</sup>

Macauliffe states that after the first letter when the messenger gave Arjun a verbal reply, he understood that it was Pirthi Chand's work. Then he wrote the second letter and directed the messenger to deliver it to the Guru himself. He wrote the following lines:<sup>179</sup>

*Thy face is beautiful, the sound of  
thy words giveth composure.  
It is long since I have seen my lord.  
Blest is the land where thou dwellest,  
O my saint, friend and Lord.  
I am a sacrifice, I am a sacrifice to the holy Guru,  
my friend and Lord.*

Macauliffe again does not specify the time between the two letters but Giani Gian Singh in '*Tawarikh Guru Khalsa*' writes that after twenty days Arjun wrote another letter to his father. Gopal Singh maintains that after one month Arjun wrote another letter.<sup>180</sup>

Macauliffe registers that Pirthi Chand was waiting for the letter and when the messenger came he forcibly took the letter from him. Pirthi Chand again asked the messenger to give a message to Arjun from his father that he should remain there in Lahore.<sup>181</sup> When messenger reached Lahore and told Arjun about the whole incident. Arjun then wrote the third letter and wrote no. 3 on it, so that his father might know

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177 Giani Gian Singh, '*Tawarikh Guru Khalsa*', Vol. I, p.378.

178 Gopal Singh, '*A History of the Sikh People*', p.173.

179 M.A. Macauliffe, '*The Sikh Religion*', Vol. II, p.279.

180 Gopal Singh, '*A History of the Sikh People*', p.173.

181 M.A. Macauliffe, '*The Sikh Religion*', Vol. II, p.279

about the previous two letters.

Giani Gian Singh in '*Tawarikh Guru Khalsa*' again cites a period of 20 days between the two letters.<sup>182</sup> Arjun wrote the following lines to his father:<sup>183</sup>

*When I was separated from thee for a ghorī,  
it seemed an age. When shall I now meet thee,  
O my beloved lord?  
I cannot pass the night and sleep cometh  
not without beholding the Guru's court.  
I am a sacrifice, I am a sacrifice to that court  
of the true Guru.*

Arjun on this occasion gave urgent instructions to the messenger that the letter should only be handed to the Guru himself.

Macauliffe writes that Pirthi Chand was waiting for the messenger but when he went into his private room the messenger gave the letter to the Guru. When the Guru started reading the letter and noticed letter no. 3 written on it. Then messenger told the Guru the whole story. Pirthi Chand also arrived there at that time.<sup>184</sup>

But Santokh Singh claims that when Guru Ram Das came to know about the previous two letters, Pirthi Chand was taking bath at the well. The Guru then sent his Sikh to summon Pirthi Chand.

Macauliffe states that when the Guru asked him about the previous two letters, he replied that he did not know where he had put them. The Guru asked him thrice to bring the letters, but he thrice swore by the Guru's holy feet that he had no knowledge of them. The Guru read Pirthi's secret thoughts and came to know that letters were placed in his coat's pocket. Then the Guru sent a servant to Pirthi's home and asked his wife to give his coat. Finally, they found the missing letters from his coat's pocket.<sup>185</sup>

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182 Giani Gian Singh, '*Tawarikh Guru Khalsa*', Vol. I, p.378.

183 M.A. Macauliffe, *The Sikh Religion*, Vol. II, p.280.

184 *Ibid.*

185 *Ibid.*, p.281.

Santokh Singh also narrates the same story but he also claims that Pirthi Chand spoke harsh words to the Guru.

Giani Gian Singh in '*Tawarikh Guru Khalsa*' writes that when Guru Ram Das asked Pirthi Chand about letters, he said that he did not know anything about the letters.<sup>186</sup> Pirthi Chand even shouted on the Guru and used foul words. When the Guru checked his clothes, they recovered both letters from his shirt. Pirthi Chand even accused that Guru by saying that he himself had put these letters in his shirt to recover them later. He said that he had the right to sit on the gaddi and the Guru was forfeiting his right. He issued a threat that if the Guru tried to give gaddi to someone else, he would go to the Emperor for his right. He also left the Guru.<sup>187</sup>

Macauliffe, however, does not subscribe to this view and maintains that when Guru Ram Das appointed Arjun as fifth Guru, Pirthi Chand used offensive words against him but it did not happen before appointment of Arjun.

Macauliffe elaborates that after this incident the Guru bade Bhai Budha to go to Lahore and bring back Arjun.<sup>188</sup> After his arrival Guru asked Arjun to write the fourth letter so that the hymns might be completed. On this he extemporized the following:<sup>189</sup>

*It is my good fortune to have met the holy Guru,  
And I have found the Immortal God in my own home.  
May I serve thee and never again be separated  
from thee for an instant! Nanak is thy slave.  
I am a sacrifice, and my soul is a sacrifice unto thee:  
Nanak is thy slave.*

Giani Gian Singh writes that Guru sent Bhai Budha and five other Sikhs to go to Lahore. Giani Gian Singh even writes that Guru Ram Das appointed Arjun his successor on Bhado Sambat 1638. But Macauliffe does not give any date of

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186 Giani Gian Singh, '*Tawarikh Guru Khalsa*', Vol. I, p.380.

187 *Ibid.*

188 M.A. Macauliffe, *The Sikh Religion*, Vol. II, p.283.

189 *Ibid.*

appointing of Arjun as his successor.

Guru Ram Das sent five paise and a coconut to Arjun and asked Bhai Budha to put the tilak on his forehead.

When Pirthi continued use offensive language for the Guru, he ordered him to go out of his sight. He further said that the Sikhs will not obey him. Guru told his family members and Sikhs that his end was near and that he would go to die in Goindwal. At Goindwal Guru Ram Das closed his eyes on the third day of the light half of the month of Bhadon, Sambat 1638 (1581 A.D.).<sup>190</sup> The bard Mathura composed the following in his death.<sup>191</sup>

*Guru Ram Das who was pleasing to God,  
went to God's city;  
God have him a throne and seated him on it.  
The demigods on receiving thee, O Ram Das,  
were pleased, and sang victory to thee.  
During thy life sins of the demons trembled  
within them and they fled.  
The sins of those who received Guru Ram Das's  
instruction were cut away.  
He gave the umbrella and sovereignty of  
the earth to Guru Arjun.*

The lives of 2<sup>nd</sup>, 3<sup>rd</sup> and 4<sup>th</sup> Gurus have also been dealt with comprehensively by Macauliffe. In exhaustive narratives he has attempted to cover all the important incidents related to their life and teachings. However, the dates given by Macauliffe, the names of several places and persons have remained a matter of much discussion and debate. There are occasions when he misses out on some very crucial events concerned with the life of Sikh Gurus. One example of this is that Macauliffe omits the mention of the establishment of Manji system. It also seems that Macauliffe

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190 *Ibid*, p.285.

191 *Ibid*.



deliberately avoids the mention of some dates or names of the persons and places which appear to be controversial in nature.

He also sought considerable help from the contemporary Sikh scholars like Bhai Kahan Singh Nabha and Bhais and Granthis. He also kept in his mind the Sikh traditions which could not be ignored while writing about Sikhism. Although Macauliffe has given a detail description of the life of Sikh Gurus, but sometimes either intentionally or ignorantly he ignored some important issues even leaving out some dates and locations of the events connected with the lives of Sikh Gurus. It seems, perhaps, that these are strategies of omitting highly controversial issues in Sikh history and Religion.

Macauliffe's work 'The Sikh Religion' is considered to be the most comprehensive work on the early Sikh tradition. It also gives a reliable account of the lives of the Gurus. It is quite remarkable that author made extensive use of evidence in the form of contemporary sources. Apart from the Sikh sources he also used some well known Persian works like—Dabistan-i-Mazahib, the Khulasat ut-Tawarikh and the Siyar ul-Mutakhirin. Although, Macauliffe presents a detailed description of the life of 2<sup>nd</sup>, 3<sup>rd</sup> and 4<sup>th</sup> Gurus, yet there are several disagreements about many incidents specially with regard to the dates given by Macauliffe. It is important to note that he omits specifying the exact time of several important incidents. The most obvious reason that can be ascribed to this seems to be that Macauliffe does not mention the date which are subject to controversies. Although there remain lot of errors or misunderstandings in these writings but they are very useful for the purpose of forming a sound understanding of history. From the evidence compiled above it is equally clear that Macauliffe also leaves out some important events connected with the lives of Gurus. Macauliffe offers only partial and incomplete accounts of some incidents. Macauliffe bases his work mainly on the Janamsakhis, old Sikh chronicles and his predecessors but his account is not derived uncritically. He makes his selections and makes omissions according the larger objectives of his work.

## CHAPTER - V

### GURU ARJUN: THE GREAT CONTRIBUTOR

Some events related with Guru Arjun's birth, early life and his appointment as Guru have already been discussed in the last Chapter 'Life and Times of 2<sup>nd</sup>, 3<sup>rd</sup> and 4<sup>th</sup> Guru'. Macauliffe also gives the details of these incidents in the II<sup>nd</sup> volume of his work 'The Sikh Religion'. Macauliffe narrates an incident when Guru Amar Das was in deep meditation and Arjun, who was then a child, reached Guru Amar Das's bed.<sup>1</sup> His mother ran to get hold of him as disturbing Guru Amar Das was considered to be a serious aberration.<sup>2</sup> However, by that time Guru Amar Das had already been awakened by Guru Arjun and Guru Amar Das ji is known to have said, "Yih mera dohita bani ka bohita howega".<sup>3</sup>

Macauliffe then inscribes the event of Guru Arjun's marriage. Guru Arjun was married to Ganga, the daughter of Krishan Chand, a resident of Meo village in the Philor sub collectorate of the present district of Jalandhar.<sup>4</sup> Macauliffe does not write about the date of many incidents in his work. As has been argued before, it seems that Macauliffe does this to evade controversies as there were a lot of disagreements about the dates of many incidents. Thus while dealing with the marriage of Guru Arjun, he does not specify the date.

Many historians have given different dates of Guru Arjun's marriage. Pashaura Singh writes that Guru Arjun's marriage was held at the age of 16 in 1579 C.E. (Harh 23, Sambat 1636) and he presents an account of one marriage only. Giani Gian Singh in 'Tawarikh Guru Khalsa' writes that Arjun had two marriages.<sup>5</sup> He writes that first Guru Arjun got married to Ramdehi, the daughter of Chandan Das Sodhi, a resident of Mour village in Sambat 1622. She bore no child and she died in Sambat 1641. Kesar

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- 1 M.A. Macauliffe, *The Sikh Religion, its Gurus Sacred Writings and Authors*, Vol. III, New Delhi, 2009, p.1
  - 2 Satbir Singh, *Partakh Har*, Jalandhar, 1977, p.11
  - 3 M.A. Macauliffe, *The Sikh Religion*, Vol. III, p.1
  - 4 *Ibid.*
  - 5 Giani Gian Singh, *Tawarikh Guru Khalsa*, Vol I, Punjab, 1999, p.383

Singh Chibber in 'Bansawali Nama Dasan Patishahian Ka'<sup>6</sup> also gives a similar account. As per these sources, Guru Arjun got married on Haar 3, Sambat 1646 for the second time with Ganga, the daughter of Krishan Chand Katri, a resident of village Meo in the Phillor district. Kesar Singh Chibber in 'Bansawali Nama' cites the date of marriage with Mata Ganga as Haar, Sambat 1643.<sup>7</sup> Kartar Singh, in his narrative, writes that Ganga belonged to Meo village of Jalandhar District. Sahib Singh alludes to just one marriage in Sambat 1646. Bhai Kahan Singh Nabha also writes about just one marriage. Without a reference to any earlier marriage Bhai Kahan Singh Nabha describes a marriage Haar 23, Sambat 1636 with Kirshan Chand's daughter Ganga Devi, a resident of Meo village.

Macauliffe writes that Guru Ram Das died in Goindwal. After his death, according to ancient custom, Mohri a maternal uncle of Guru Arjun, bestowed on him a turban as his father's heir.<sup>8</sup> It is said that Pirthia remonstrated that as he was the eldest son he should receive the turban. Guru Arjun conferred turban on Pirthia and returned to Amritsar.

Some Gurmukhi works like 'Gur Partap Suraj Granth' even claim that Pirthia accused Guru Arjun of serving poison to Guru Ram Das for the Gaddi.<sup>9</sup>

Macauliffe also writes that Pirthia made complaints against Guru Arjun to Sulahi Khan, a revenue officer of the province of Lahore and also to the Chaudharies of Amritsar that he and his brother had been left without maintenance.<sup>10</sup>

Macauliffe records that Guru Amar Das and Guru Ram Das began the work of the excavation of the tanks of Santokhsar and Amritsar and laid the foundation of the city.<sup>11</sup> After the death of Guru Ram Das, Guru Arjun went to the site everyday and used to sit under a shisham tree, which is today known as Tahali Sahib.

Macauliffe narrates an incident according to which in the process of excavating

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6 Kesar Singh Chibber, *Bansawali Nama Dasan Patshahiyen Da*, Chandigarh, 1972, p.39

7 *Ibid*, p.40

8 M. A. Macauliffe, *The Sikh religion*, Vol III, p.1

9 Bhai Santokh Singh, *Gur Partap, Suraj Granth*, (edi) Ajit Singh Aulak, Vol. IV, 2004, p.12

10 M. A. Macauliffe, *The Sikh Religion*, Vol. III, p.2

11 *Ibid*

the tank of Santokhsar, Sikhs discovered a hut in which a naked Jogi was seated. Guru Arjun clothed him and restored him to consciousness. He then put several questions to Guru Arjun, which were replied through the following hymns :-<sup>12</sup>

*A Player playeth his part  
And representeth many characters;  
But when he taketh off his disguises  
The play is brought to an end,  
And he assumeth his original appearance.  
What character appeared and disappeared!  
Whither did they vanish and whence did they come?  
Many waves are formed in the water,  
And ornaments of many fashions are made of gold  
I have seen seeds of various kinds sown  
When the produce ripeneth,  
the seed reappeared in its original shape.*

Macauliffe goes on to write that the work of the excavation was completed on the first of Phagan, Sambat 1645 (1588 A.D.).<sup>13</sup> Guru Arjun promptly started the construction of the Amritsar tank and appointed his most trustworthy Sikhs- Bhai Budha, Salo, Bhagtu, Paira, Bahlo, Kaliana to superintend the work and also made arrangements of lime, bricks and all other necessary materials.<sup>14</sup>

Historians disagree on dates of the completion of the tank. Giani Gian Singh writes that the tank was completed in Sambat 1646. Sahib Singh in his book 'Life of Shri Guru Arjun Dev Ji' cites the date as 1587-88 A.D. 'Bansawali Nama' by Kesar Singh Chibber states that work of the Amritsar tank started in Sambat 1633 and was completed in Sambat 1634.<sup>15</sup> This account does not seem to be creditable as it would not be plausible to say that the work was completed in one year only. Bhai Kahan

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12 *Ibid*, p.3

13 *Ibid*.

14 *Ibid*.

15 Kesar Singh Chibber, *Bansawali Nama*, p.36

Singh writes that Guru Ram Das started the work of the Amritsar tank in Sambat 1634 and Guru Arjun Dev completed it in Sambat 1643. Giani Gian Singh and Bhai Kahan Singh Nabha mention a small incident of a Sikh named Bhai Santokh, who came to Guru Arjun and requested to bless him with a child. He even made a present of two hundred fifty mohar's. Giani Gian Singh and Bhai Kahan Singh Nabha even maintain that the tank was made with the money given by Bhai Santokh and later the tank was also named after Bhai Santokh.

Guru Arjun wanted to complete the work of the construction of Amritsar tank which was started by Guru Ram Dass.<sup>16</sup> There are different views about the way the land of Amritsar was procured. Bhai Santokh Singh in Guru Partap Suraj Granth writes that Akbar gave this land to Guru Amar Das and later the tank of Nectar was constructed at the spot. Ganda Singh writes that according to the Amritsar Gazetteer this land was purchased by Guru Ram Das after giving 700 rupees to the Zamindars of Tung village.

Macauliffe narrates that one day Guru Arjun said that they needed more money to complete the work.<sup>17</sup> Guru Arjun even sent Bhai Kaliana to the hill chiefs in an endeavour to obtain money. Kaliana went to the state of Mandi. The king of Mandi was a follower of Krishna. On the occasion of Janam Ashtami, the king passed an order that all the inhabitants of the state should observe fast during the day. As Kaliana did not observe the fast, the Raja summoned him. Kaliana advised the Raja not to worship the stones and repeated the following hymns of Guru Arjun.<sup>18</sup>

*Did God put aside all the other days of the month.*

*That He should have been born on the eighth?*

*Man led astray by error uttereth nonsense.*

*God is not subject to birth and death.*

*Man taketh cakes and giveth them*

*secretly to an idol to eat.*

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16 I.B. Banerjee, *Evolution of Khalsa*, Vol I, Calcutta, 1972, p.192

17 M. A. Macauliffe, *The Sikh Religion*, Vo. III, p.4

18 *Ibid.*

*O, brute of an infidel, God is not born,  
Nor doth He die.*

Macauliffe notes that the Raja was not pleased with his words and gave orders to punish him.<sup>19</sup> Sometime after the passing of the order the Raja fainted. The efforts made by the royal doctor to revive him went in vain. Some men from the royal court approached Kaliana with a request to heal the Raja. After Kaliana's prayer to God, Raja recovered from his illness. After recovering completely the Raja along with his family went to Amritsar to pay a visit to Guru Arjun and became a Sikh of the Guru.<sup>20</sup>

Bhai Santokh Singh and Satbir Singh here add another story related to the Raja's dream in which he saw that after his death he took birth in the family of a chandal and performed his duties. Giani Gian Singh also mentions the name of the king as Harisen.<sup>21</sup> He also provides more details by adding that Kaliana visited Mandi in Sambat 1647. He further states that when Harisen met Guru Arjun, he offered to pay for the expenses of cementing the tank of Amritsar.

Macauliffe narrates another incident which transpired during the excavation of tank of Amritsar. Manj, a Muhammadan Pir who was a follower of Sakhi Sarwar came to visit Guru Arjun when he heard about the Guru's fame.<sup>22</sup> When he met the Guru he made the following request.<sup>23</sup>

*O Guru, heal my three fevers,  
Make me a Sikh, and,  
Deeming me thy servant,  
Save me and remove the great  
pain of transmigration.*

Then Guru Arjun gave him the following reply:<sup>24</sup>

*Thou hast made Sakhi Sarwar thy priest.*

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19 *Ibid.*, p.6

20 *Ibid.*

21 Giani Gian Singh, *Tawarikh Guru Khalsa*, Vol I, p.397

22 M. A. Macauliffe, *The Sikh Religion*, Vol. III, p.7

23 *Ibid.*

24 *Ibid.*

*His way is easy: Sikhism on the contrary is  
difficult. In it thou canst not put thyself  
forward or assert thyself. Thou canst not  
embrace it without being ready to sacrifice  
without a groan thy life on its behalf.*

He was very so much impressed with Guru's instructions that he became a Sikh.

Macauliffe gives an account in which Ganga Ram, a Brahman merchant of Bathinda, came with corn to visit Guru Arjun and stayed there for some days.<sup>25</sup> During his stay Guru's kitchen became empty so he gave his corn to cook the food. On Baisakhi when Guru Arjun got large offerings, he tried to give some of them to Ganga Ram but he refused and sought the Guru's blessings.

Macauliffe does not give the date of this incident and does not clarify the number of days Ganga Ram stayed at Amritsar. However, Giani Gian Singh mentions that Ganga Ram visited the Guru in Sambat 1645 and he stayed there for two months.<sup>26</sup>

Macauliffe writes that when the tank had been excavated, some Sikhs asked Guru Arjun to build a temple of God in the middle of the tank with a proposal that it should stand higher than the neighbouring buildings.<sup>27</sup> Guru Arjun differed with this view and expressed a conviction that the proposed temple should be lower than other buildings and its doors should open in all directions. Macauliffe records that the foundation of Har Mandar was laid on Ist Magh Sambat 1645(1589 A.D.).<sup>28</sup>

The accuracy of this date is testified by Hari Ram Gupta, Pashaura Singh and O.P. Ralhan. Giani Gian Singh in *Tawarikh Guru Khalsa*, however, differs with this version and writes that the foundation was laid on 5th Katak Sambat 1645.<sup>29</sup> Sahib Singh and Kartar Singh Suri follow Giani Gian Singh and reiterate Gian Singh's version. On the other hand, Satbir Singh gives the date as October 1588.

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25 *Ibid*, p.9

26 Giani Gian Singh, *Tawarikh Guru Khalsa*, Vol. I, p.395

27 M. A. Macauliffe, *The Sikh Religion*, Vol III, p.9

28 *Ibid*, p.10

29 Giani Gian Singh, *Tawarikh Guru Khalsa*, Vol I, p.399

Macauliffe inscribes the historically significant fact that Guru Arjun laid the first brick of the foundation of Har Mandir but some time afterwards a mason accidentally displaced the brick.<sup>30</sup> Foreboding a message in this accident Guru Arjun prophesied that this place would be rebuilt. His words were subsequently fulfilled when Ahmad Shah Abdali in Sambat 1819 destroyed the temple and the tank and two years after its destruction, the Sikhs reconstructed it.

Macauliffe also takes note of the fact that Guru Arjun had given orders to the Masands that only kiln-dried bricks should be used. Some Masands cheated Guru Arjun and used sun dried bricks.<sup>31</sup> Guru Arjun warned them on three occasions but they disregarded his orders every time. Guru then dismissed them and declared that when he comes again in the physical form of the tenth Guru he would visit them with condemning punishment.

Macauliffe then narrates the story of Raja Birbar who tried to collect tax from Guru Arjun.<sup>32</sup> Raja Birbar was Akbar's Prime Minister and jealous of the Guru's increasing popularity. Once Akbar sent him to fight against Yusufzais and even gave him a written letter authorizing him to collect tax of a rupee each from the house of every Khatri. The Guru refused to pay tax on the ground that they were Sikhs and not Khatri. When Raja Birbar (Birbal) came to know about it, he sent his soldiers to summon Guru Arjun. He warned that if the Guru did not come to meet him, he would destroy the whole city.<sup>33</sup> Meanwhile another order from the Emperor telling the Raja to march his forces against Yusufzais also arrived. Birbar ordered his staff to remind him of the Guru on his return. This could never happen as during the battle Birbar died.<sup>34</sup>

Macauliffe does not give specific date for Birbar's arrival in Punjab. Sahib Singh cites the date as 1585 A.D. Bhai Santokh Singh in *Gur Partap Suraj Granth* states that Mughal forces even took Langer from the kitchen of the Guru but

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30 M. A. Macauliffe, *The Sikh Religion*, Vol III, p.10

31 *Ibid.*

32 *Ibid.*, p.15

33 *Ibid.*

34 *Ibid.*, p.17



Macauliffe does not refer to any such incident.

Macauliffe describes that Pirthi Chand forged an alliance with Sulahi Khan, a revenue officer of Lahore, and started making complaints against Guru Arjun. Wazir Khan, who was Assistant to the Prime Minister of the Emperor, inquired into the matter and ordered that a compromise between the two brothers be reached.<sup>35</sup> Actually, Wazir Khan was a follower of the Guru on account of his personal experience. Once when he was suffering from dropsy he was restored to perfect health when he listened to the Sukhmani from a Sikh.<sup>36</sup>

Macauliffe notes that Pirthia continued his belligerence towards the Guru. So the Guru left Amritsar in order to tour Majha. He first visited Khadur and Goindwal and then moved towards a village called Sarhali. A Sikh of Bhaini village invited the Guru and on his arrival his wife prepared a dish of broken bread mixed with butter and sugar. The Guru was pleased with this dish and said this village would be known as Cholha which means a tit-bit or dainty dish. On this occasion he composed the following hymns:—<sup>37</sup>

*I am a sacrifice to my Guru who  
implanted God's name in my heart;  
who pointed out to me the straight  
road when I was in a great wilderness  
and darkness. God is my life;  
He feeleth anxiety for me regarding  
everything in this world and the next.  
By remembering him I obtain all treasure,  
respect, greatness and perfect honour.*

From Cholha the Guru moved towards village Khanpur whose people laughed at Guru Arjun and his Sikhs. There was a devotee of Guru Arjun named Hema who served the Guru and his Sikhs. After the Guru's departure the Emperors forces

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35 *Ibid.*

36 *Ibid*, p.18

37 *Ibid*, p.21

attacked the village and massacred its chief inhabitants.

Macauliffe further writes that thereafter Guru Arjun moved towards village Khara whose people gave him a warm welcome. Guru even obtained land from the village on which he laid the foundation of a city named Taran Taarn.<sup>38</sup> Macauliffe writes that the Guru laid the foundation of the city on 1590 A.D.<sup>39</sup> Nur-ul-Din, the local Muhammadan Governor seized the land for the construction of a seraglio designed by the Emperor for public use. Macauliffe further says that in Sambat 1832 Sardar Khushal Singh Faizullapuria and Jassa Singh Ramgarhia destroyed Nur-ul-Din's edifice and used these bricks for the construction of a tank.

Pashaura Singh also narrates the same incident. Bhai Santokh Singh writes that the Guru purchased the land from the villagers by paying one lakh and fifty seven coins.<sup>40</sup> The Sikhs even constructed a tank there. Pashaura Singh cites the date as April 1590. Giani Gian Singh, in his account, writes that the Guru laid the foundation on 17 Baisakh Sambat 1647<sup>41</sup> and in Sambat 1648 the Guru excavated the tank. He goes on to say that in Sambat 1653 the Sikhs prepared baked bricks for the tank but Nurdin the son of Amirdin forcibly confiscated the bricks and used them for the construction of his haveli.<sup>42</sup> Differing from this account, Bhai Santokh Singh writes that Nurdin constructed a Serai.<sup>43</sup> After these developments, the Guru averred that God had not yet ordered the tank to be made. Giani Gian Singh leading yet to another interpretation writes that Sardar Budh Singh Faizullapuria destroyed the Mahal of Nurdin.<sup>44</sup> Bhai Santokh Singh gives voice to an entirely distinct view by saying that this incident occurred after the compilation of Guru Granth Sahib, but no other source supports Bhai Santokh Singh, so it does not seem to be correct.

Macauliffe states that after this Guru Arjun went to Jalandhar district where he

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38 *Ibid*, p.25

39 *Ibid*.

40 Bhai Santokh Singh, *Gur Partap Suraj Granth*, Vol IV, p.745

41 Giani Gian Singh, *Tawarikh Guru Khalsa*, Vol I, p.400

42 *Ibid*.

43 Bhai Santokh Singh, *Gur Partap Suraj Granth*, Vol IV, p.750

44 Giani Gian Singh, *Tawarikh Guru Khalsa*, Vol I, p.400

purchased land to build another city to be called Kartarpur.<sup>45</sup> There he constructed a well which is called Gangsar. Macauliffe does not specify the date of the foundation of this city. Macauliffe relates a story related with the well of Gangsar. According to him a man called Baisakhi once bathed in the Ganges, where a vessel slipped from his hands and drowned into the water of the Ganges.<sup>46</sup> On his way back he visited Guru Arjun at Kartarpur. When he told the Guru about the whole incident, the Guru to his great astonishment produced the vessel from the well. Thereafter the well at Kartarpur was called Gangsar.

Sahib Singh gives a version in which he maintains that Guru Arjun laid the foundation of the city on Sambat 1650 (1593 A.D.).<sup>47</sup> Giani Gian Singh offers a different account according to which the Guru went to Jalandhar district, where the Subedar of Jalandhar Sayad Azim Khan gave him land to construct a village<sup>48</sup> and the foundation of Kartarpur was laid on 21st Maghar, Sambat 1615. It can be argued that the date given by Giani Gian Singh does not seem to be plausible.

Macauliffe relates that on the request of the Sikhs, Guru Arjun visited Lahore.<sup>49</sup> There he came across Jogi Sambhunath and the Hindu saints Kahna and Chhajju. There held a conversation between them and Guru Arjun uttered the following hymns.<sup>50</sup>

*O wise men, think of the Lord in your hearts.  
The true King, the Releaser from bondage,  
dwelleth in the heart by the mind's affection.  
Nothing is equal in value to the sight of God.  
Thou art the pure Cherisher; Thou Thyself art the  
Lord great and incomparable.*

Macauliffe puts on record that the Subedar of Lahore was highly impressed

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45 M.A. Macauliffe, *The Sikh Religion*, Vol III. p.26.

46 *Ibid.*

47 Sahib Singh, *Life of Shri Guru Arjun Dev Ji*, p.31

48 Giani Gian Singh, *Tawarikh Guru Khalsa*, Vol I, p.403

49 M.A. Macauliffe, *The Sikh Religion*, Vol III, p.27

50 *Ibid.*

with the Guru and he offered to bear the whole expense of the excavation of Bawali (Bowli).<sup>51</sup>

Giani Gian Singh in 'Tawarikh Guru Khalsa' maintains that the Guru visited Lahore in Sambat 1656.<sup>52</sup> By way of further detail he adds that Pirthia made complaints against the Guru to the Subedar of Lahore. The Subedar asked the highly placed people of Lahore to call the Guru to Lahore and ended the quarrel. However, Giani Gian Singh relates another story. According to him Guru Arjun resolved the quarrel of a Pathan and Chajju Mal which arose due to a dispute over money. In return they gave money for the excavation of Bawali.<sup>53</sup>

Macauliffe writes that after Lahore the Guru visited Dehra Baba Nanak in Gurdaspur district before visiting Barath to meet Shri Chand<sup>54</sup> after a conversation with Shri Chand Guru Arjun returned to Amritsar.

Macauliffe inscribes that when Guru returned to Amritsar, Pirthia's wife Karmo felt jealous of the Guru's respect and status. Pirthia tried to explain to her that the Guru had no son and he loved their son Meharban very much, so after him he would sit on the gaddi.<sup>55</sup>

When Guru's wife came to know about this, she complained to the Guru by means of the following hymns:—<sup>56</sup>

*Oh my soul, grasp the shelter of the supreme  
and Omnipotent God. Repeat the name  
of God who supporteth the regions of the  
earth and the universe. O saint of God,  
abandon thine intellectual Pride, understand  
the will of God, and thou shalt be happy.  
Accept the act of God as good: in weal and*

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51 *Ibid.*

52 Giani Gian Singh, *Tawarikh Guru Khalsa*, Vol I, p.409

53 *Ibid*, p.412

54 M.A. Macauliffe, *The Sikh Religion*, Vol III, p.27

55 *Ibid*, p.29

56 *Ibid*, pp. 28-29

*woe meditate on him.*

Through these words the Guru's wife implored him to grant her a son. On hearing her supplication, the Guru said that if she desired a son, she should go to Bhai Budha, who lived in a forest and was always engaged in worship. He only ate what he received from the Guru's Kitchen. If he pleased, he will bless her with a son.<sup>57</sup>

Macauliffe recounts that after receiving this piece of advice from Guru Arjun, his wife took sweets for Bhai Budha, which were carried by many male and female servants in carriages and palkis.<sup>58</sup> When Bhai Budha heard the noises and saw a cloud of dust he is said to have remarked, "Is there a stampede in Amritsar that the inhabitants have left the city and sought shelter here?"

Bhai Budha refused to accept the delicacies that had been brought as offering. It seemed that her journey had brought her a curse instead of a blessing. She had to return disappointed.<sup>59</sup> The Guru on hearing the outcome of his wife's religious venture quoted to her the following hymns of Guru Amar Das:<sup>60</sup>

*O man, be not proud of thy knowledge;  
Because pious and humble.  
Within thee are ignorance and pride of  
Intellect: by the true word wash away this filth.  
Be humble before the true Guru and allow not  
thyself to be at all noticed.*

The Guru advised her that the saints and the true Guru are not pleased with ostentation and display. Thus, in order to please the saint she would have to go on foot and alone in a simple dress.

Macauliffe narrates that the second time the Guru's wife prepared food with her own hands and also took onions. Bhai Budha ate the food with great relish and

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57 *Ibid*, p.30

58 *Ibid*,

59 Bhai Santokh Singh, *Guru Partap Suraj Granth*, Vol IV, p.247

60 M.A. Macauliffe, *The Sikh Religion*, Vol III, p.31

became very happy.<sup>61</sup> He blessed her for every bite of food and gave her the blessing of a son who would adorn two swords. Bhai Budha further ordained that as he crushed the head of onions, he would crush the heads of Mughals. By virtue of these blessing she became pregnant after some time.

Giani Gian Singh offering a different version writes that after the advice of the Guru, his wife started serving Bhai Budha and served him food everyday.<sup>62</sup> Bhai Santokh Singh in *Gurpartap Suraj Granth* offers the view that on Asu 21, Sambat 1651 Bhai Budha blessed the Guru's wife with a son.

Macauliffe goes on to state that when Karmo, Pirthia's wife came to know about the pregnancy of the Guru's wife, she felt jealous. Pirthia conspired with Sulahi Khan and sent a strong force to plunder Amritsar.<sup>63</sup> When the Guru came to know about this attack, he took shelter in a village called Wadali, a village six or seven miles from Amritsar.

Giani Gian Singh in yet another version of the same issue recounts that Karmo, Pirthia's wife, regularly entered into quarrels with the Guru's wife. So Bibi Bhani and Mata Ganga advised the Guru to shift to another place. At this time some people of Wadali came and invited the Guru to accompany them to their village. Giani Gian Singh writes that Wadali was three miles from Amritsar.<sup>64</sup> It is further stated that Bhai Bhagu the Choudhary of the village gave his house to the Guru's family.

Macauliffe offers more details. He writes that due to the imminent danger that Sulahi Khan posed, a faithful Sikh of the Guru took him to a tract of barren land near Wadali which was called Raur. It is commonly held that after the Guru's arrival, the land became green and Wadali became prosperous.<sup>65</sup> As a consequence of this sudden prosperity the neighbouring villagers grew jealous and attacked Wadali routing the people of the village. At this the Guru assumed the responsibility of a mediator and

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61 *Ibid*, p.34

62 Giani Gian Singh, *Tawarikh Guru Khalsa*, Vol I, p.405

63 M.A. Macauliffe, *The Sikh Religion*, Vol III, p.34

64 Giani Gian Singh, *Tawarikh Guru Khalsa*, Vol I, p.406

65 M.A. Macauliffe, *The Sikh Religion*, Vol III, p.35

resolved the matter.<sup>66</sup>

Delving deeper on the period of the Guru's stay in Wadali, Macauliffe writes that when there was scarcity of water in Wadali the Guru dug a well, which was worked by six Persian wheels and it was afterwards called Chhiharta. Macauliffe also notes that Har Gobind was born on the 21<sup>st</sup> of the month of Haar in Sambat 1652 (1595 A.D).<sup>67</sup>

Bhai Santokh Singh corroborates Macauliffe's version and writes that the Guru dug the well before the birth of Hargobind. Giani Gian Singh offers a different opinion about the circumstances leading to the digging of the well. He argues that after the birth of Hargobind Guru was greatly pleased and dug a well which was known as Chhiharta.<sup>68</sup> Bhai Santokh Singh and Bhagat Singh also endorse Macauliffe and give the same date as given by him. Giani Gian Singh, on the other hand, writes that Hargobind was born on Ist Haar Sambat 1652.<sup>69</sup> Kesar Singh Chibber in 'Bansawali Nama' gives Haar Sambat 1647 as the date of Har Gobind's birth<sup>70</sup> whereas Gulab Singh fixes it at Haar Sambat 1653. The general disagreement is evident from different dates being suggested by Pashaura Singh who cites 19 June 1595 C.E. Haar 7 Sambat 1652 as the date of Har Gobind's birth.

Macauliffe makes a mention of the fact that Pirthia's wife Karmo tried to kill the newly born child and in order to realize her goal she sent an old nurse to kill the child.<sup>71</sup> Macauliffe observes that Karmo offered her one hundred rupees and a shawl in return for the work. Macauliffe also states that Hargobind was not well at that time and was unable to suck. When the nurse came to the Guru's house, Mata Ganga asked her to treat the child.<sup>72</sup> However when she tried to administer poison to child, she collapsed and fell down on the ground.

Giani Gian Singh discusses only the money. Bhai Santokh Singh notes that

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66 *Ibid.*

67 *Ibid.*

68 Giani Gian Singh *Tawarikh Guru Khalsa*, Vol I, pp. 406-07

69 *Ibid.*

70 Kesar Singh Chibber, *Bansawali Nama Dasan Patshahian Da*, Chandigarh, 1972, p 36

71 M.A. Macauliffe, *The Sikh Religion*, Vol III, p.38

72 *Ibid.*

Karmo gave one hundred silver coins to the nurse.<sup>73</sup> Bhai Kesar Singh Chibber differs with this and maintains that Karmo gave her two hundred rupees. The nurse applied poison on her nipples and asked the child to suck. In the course of this effort she herself fainted due to the effect of the poison and like this exposed the ugly intentions of Pirthia and his wife. Giani Gian Singh adds another detail according to which after the death of the nurse her relatives with the help of Pirthia registered a case against the Guru.

According to Macauliffe Pirthia made another effort to kill the child. This time he sent a snake charmer. Macauliffe writes that this effort also failed because Hargobind killed the snake.<sup>74</sup>

But Giani Gian Singh in *Tawarikh Guru Khalsa* specifies that this event transpired when Hargobind was two years of age and the Guru's family had shifted to Amritsar.<sup>75</sup> Bhai Santokh Singh and Satbir Singh corroborate Macauliffe and narrate the same event sequence of events.

Macauliffe writes that when Hargobind was two years of age, the inhabitants of Amritsar came to the Guru and requested him to come to Amritsar. It was on their request that the Guru along with his family shifted to Amritsar.

Macauliffe also observes that Karmo felt jealous of the Guru's increasing glory at Amritsar. According to him, she instigated Pirthia to do something to check the Guru's renown. Pirthia issued a curse that Hargobind shall fall victim to small pox. After this, Hargobind exhibited some feverish symptoms.<sup>76</sup> On the third day after this small pox of a very virulent type had made an occurrence. The people of the city advised the Guru to make an offering to the goddess of small pox and appease her by worshipping a young virgin. The Guru rejecting the advice of his Hindu friends addressed them the following<sup>77</sup>:-

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73 Bhai Santokh Singh, *Gur Partap Suraj Granth*, Vol IV, p.282

74 M.A. Macauliffe, *The Sikh Religion*, Vol III, p.39

75 Giani Gian Singh, *Tawarikh Guru Khalsa*, Vol I, p.407

76 M.A. Macauliffe, *The Sikh Religion*, Vol III, p.42

77 *Ibid*, p.43



*God is my sole prop ; I have  
Relinquished other hopes.  
God, the perfect Lord of excellences.  
Is powerful over all.  
The Name is the support of God's  
Slave who entereth his protection.  
Reliance on God is in the Saints hearts.  
He himself preserveth; He himself  
Bestoweth; He himself cherisheth.  
The compassionate to the poor, the ocean  
of favour rememberath us  
At every breath we draw.*

After this the child gradually began to show signs of recovery.

The authors of the 'Gur Bilas' express the opinion that Guru's wife went to worship in the temple of Durga, performed the Hindu ceremonies and her son recovered. However, if the Guru's hymn is held as evidence of his mental make up it does not seem to be correct. The hymns do not bear out a superstitious attitude. It is only the 'Anand' of Guru Amar Das which was repeated on the occasion.

Macauliffe goes on to narrate that after this incident Pirthia offered five hundred rupees to Hargobind's male nurse, who was a Brahman, to kill the boy.<sup>78</sup> He gave half the money in advance and promised to give the other half after the task was done. Macauliffe recounts that the Brahman tried to give poison to the child by mixing it in the milk. The Brahman tried to make the child consume the milk forcibly but he resisted and began to cry. Then Guru Arjun came and took the child into his arms and offered him milk but once again the child refused to drink it. The Guru then began to suspect and gave a portion of the milk to a dog and it died immediately. The Brahman confessed that he did it at Pirthia's behest.<sup>79</sup>

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78 *Ibid*, p.46

79 *Ibid*, p.47

Giani Gian Singh in 'Tawarikh Guru Khalsa' mentions that Pirthia offered money to Hargobind's caretaker.<sup>80</sup> Bhai Santokh Singh also supports this view and writes that money was offered to a Brahman caretaker and not to a male nurse. But Giani Gian Singh writes that caretaker mixed poison in the cruel. Bhai Santokh Singh relates this incident in a slightly different way. According to him, Guru Arjun's wife heard the child crying and sent her servant to find out what the matter was. The servant after finding the child in trouble reported the matter to the Guru. Bhai Santokh Singh incorporates a miraculous story here which holds that after making the confession Brahman experienced pain in his stomach and soon died. However, the Guru brought him back to life by touching his foot to his body.

Taking his historical account further Macauliffe writes that Pirthia decided to take his family to Delhi to make a complaint against the Guru to Emperor Akbar. Before going to Delhi, Pirthia paid a visit to village Hehar where his friend Sulahi Khan lived.<sup>81</sup>

Bhai Santokh Singh claims that Pirthia made a complaint to Jahangir.<sup>82</sup> The account however does not seem to be creditable.

On the same issue, Bhai Santokh Singh in *Gur Partap Suraj Granth* writes that Hehar was Sulahi Khan's village and Sulahi Khan gave it away to Pirthia. Offering a different interpretation, Giani Gian Singh in 'Tawarikh Guru Khalsa' writes that Hehar was Pirthia's in-laws village.<sup>83</sup> Sahib Singh also makes a reference to the episode of complaint but he refers to this after Beerbal's death.<sup>84</sup>

Macauliffe observes that Pirthia built a tank at Hehar for public use like the one at Amritsar.<sup>85</sup> It is also stated that Guru Arjun sent Bhai Gurdas to Pirthia to bring him back who was greeted with abusive language and sent back.

Later Guru Arjun Dev went to his own brother Mahadev for Hargobind's

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80 Giani Gian Singh, *Tawarikh Guru Khalsa*, Vol I, p.408

81 M.A. Macauliffe, *The Sikh Religion*, Vol III, p.48

82 Bhai Santokh Singh, *Gur Partap Suraj Granth*, Vol. IV, p.366

83 Giani Gian Singh, *Tawarikh Guru Khalsa*, Vol I, p.408

84 Sahib Singh, *Life of Shri Guru Arjun Dev Ji*, p.44

85 M.A. Macauliffe, *The Sikh Religion*, Vol III, p.48

education. Mahadev suggested the name of Bhai Budha because he was senior. Initially, Bhai Budha also refused on the grounds that he himself was uneducated.<sup>86</sup> However, soon he was prevailed upon and he began giving lessons to Hargobind. In a short span of time Hargobind learnt the Gurmukhi alphabet. He was then trained in the use of both offensive and defensive weapons, riding, swimming, chemistry, astronomy, medicine, agriculture, administration and other sciences.<sup>87</sup>

Macauliffe adds to the details by writing that Guru Arjun then started to collect the bani of the Gurus. First of all he summoned Paira and bade him to bring Parasangali which was composed by Guru Nanak during his visit to Ceylon but was left there only.<sup>88</sup> Paira reached Ceylon with great difficulty and brought back Paransangali to Amritsar.

Bhai Santokh Singh observes that Guru Arjun gave a Hukamnama to Paira. Giani Gian Singh even provides the name of King of Ceylon who according to him was Shivnab.<sup>89</sup> Bhai Santokh Singh also adds that Paira took Paransangali to his house and read it. He even extracted some pages from it and kept them in his house. When the Guru came to know about it, he asked him to bring them back. It is believed that he gave these pages to the Guru. Giani Gian Singh in 'Tawarikh Guru Khalsa' gives the information that Guru dispatched Hukamnamas to several Sikhs commanding them to bring the portions of bani in their possession.

Macauliffe also inscribes that Bhai Gurdas went to Goindwal to meet Mohan, the elder son of the third Guru, with the objective of bringing back the volumes containing the Guru's compositions. Gurdas however failed to impress Mohan and returned to Amritsar.<sup>90</sup>

Then Bhai Budha went to Mohan but he also failed. After this the Guru himself went and called Mohan but he gave no answer. Then Guru addressed the following

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86 *Ibid*, p.49

87 *Ibid*,

88 *Ibid*. p.53

89 Giani Gian Singh, *Tawarikh Guru Khalsa*, Vol I, p.418

90 M.A. Macauliffe, *The Sikh Religion*, Vol III, p.53

lines partly to God and partly to Mohan<sup>91</sup>:—

*O Mohan, loftly is thy mansion and  
matchless thy place:  
O Mohan, Saints adorn the doors of  
thy temple.  
In thy temple they ever sing the praises  
Of the infinite and merciful God.  
Where the company of the Saints assemble,  
There they meditate on thee.  
Show compassion and kindness, O compassionate  
Lord; be merciful to the poor.  
Nanak representeth, I am thirsting for  
A sight of thee, grant it to me, and all  
Happiness shall be mine.*

On hearing this, Mohan opened the door to find that the Guru himself had come to visit him and handed over the hymns to the Guru.

During his journey to Amritsar Guru stayed at Khadur and met Datu who had kicked Guru Amar Das. Guru Arjun healed his foot which had been injured by robbers. Macauliffe writes that after his return to Amritsar, he made plans for the compilation of the Granth Sahib.<sup>92</sup> He fixed a spot for this purpose where Jand, Wild Caper, Indian fig and Pipal trees yielded agreeable shade, while green herbage gratified the eye and afforded a pleasant carpet for the feet. Gokul Chand Narang states that tents were fixed for the accommodation of the Guru and his minstrels.<sup>93</sup> The Guru decided to construct a tank there and gave it the name Ramsar. After the completion of the tank Guru uttered the following hymns:<sup>94</sup>

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91 *Ibid*, p.56

92 *Ibid*, p.59

93 Gokul Chand Narang, *Glorious History of the Sikhism*, New Delhi, 1972, p.47

94 M.A. Macauliffe, *The Sikh Religion*, Vol III, p.60

*Ever bathe in God's tank;  
Stir it up and drink the great nectarous juice.  
God's name is holy water;  
He who batheth in it shall have all his desires fulfilled.  
Where God's spoken of in the company of the saints,  
The sins of millions of births are erased.*

The hymns are arranged according to the Rags or musical measures.<sup>95</sup> The hymns of the first Guru are referred to as Mahalla I and those of the second Guru as Mahalla II and so on.<sup>96</sup> After the compositions of the Gurus, the hymns of Bhagats or Indian Saints who had conceived reformatory ideas are also included. Several Saints and Bhagats approached the Guru with their Bani and Guru Arjun heard their compositions. If he found them to be suitable he incorporated their Bani in the Guru Granth Sahib.

Macauliffe records that after much time and labour the volume was completed on the first day of the light half of Bhadon, Sambat 1661(1604 A.D).<sup>97</sup> This date has been endorsed by most of the historians like Pashaura Singh, Kirpal Singh, Giani Gian Singh, Bhai Santokh Singh, A.C. Banerjee etc.

The Guru then wrote the Mundawani as a conclusion and affixed his seal.<sup>98</sup> The Mundawani is as follows:<sup>99</sup>

*Three things have been put into the vessel-  
Truth, patience and meditation.  
The ambrosial name of God the support  
Of all hath also been put therein.  
He who eateth and enjoyeth it shall be saved.  
This provision should never be abandoned  
Ever clasp it to your hearts.*

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95 Amrit Lal Pal, *Guru Arjun Dev: Jeevan Te Bani*, Samana, 2005, p.43

96 M.A. Macauliffe, *The Sikh Religion*, Vol III, p.63

97 *Ibid*, p.64

98 Giani Gian Singh, *Tawarikh Guru Khalsa*, Vol I, p.419

99 M.A. Macauliffe, *The Sikh Religion*, Vol III, p.64

The Guru collected Sikhs and distributed sacred food among them as a thanksgiving for the completion. Guru Arjun then deposited the volume in the Har Mander Sahib and made Bhai Budha the incharge.<sup>100</sup>

Macauliffe writes that Bhai Bhano who lived at Mangat in the Gujrat district of the Punjab, took a keen interest in the work and went with a large number followers to see it.<sup>101</sup> He requested the Guru to loan the holy book to him so that he could show it to his people. In the beginning the Guru did not accept his request but then he gave it with a condition that Bhai Bhano would not detain it in his village for more than one night. There is another story which holds that the Granth Sahib was entrusted to Bhai Bhano to have it bound in Lahore and that in taking it there, he had prepared an unauthorized copy.<sup>102</sup>

Giani Gian Singh in *Tawarikh Guru Khalsa* narrates the second story about the preparation of another copy of Granth Sahib.<sup>103</sup> Bhai Santokh Singh refers to both the stories.

According to Macauliffe numerous stories about the miraculous powers of the Guru are related by the author of the *Gur Partap Suraj Granth*. A Sikh called Tiloka an officer in the Kabul army once killed a female deer and when he opened the stomach of the animal he discovered two embryos in it. He was so moved by the enormity of his crime that he decided to eschew hunting in future and started wearing a wooden sword. Once when the king happened to examine the officer, with Guru's blessings, Tiloka's sword changed into polished steel and thus he escaped punishment.<sup>104</sup>

Once a Kataru, the King's weightman from Kabul in accordance with the Gurus instructions started using true weights and performing his duties honestly.<sup>105</sup> A bania with evil intent substituted false weights for his true weights and complained to the King. When the King came to inspect, by Guru's blessings, everything was found

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100 *Ibid.*, p.65

101 *Ibid.*, p.66

102 *Ibid.*

103 Giani Gian Singh, *Tawarikh Guru Khalsa*, Vol I, p.420.

104 M.A. Macauliffe, *The Sikh Religion*, Vol III, p.67

105 *Ibid.*

to be in order.

Macauliffe then recounts an account involving Chandu Shah. Chandu Shah, who was the Financial Minister or Diwan of the Emperor and a native of Punjab,<sup>106</sup> had a young daughter seven years of age called Sada Kaur. On the advice of his wife, Chandu Shah sent his family priest and his barbar in search of a suitable match for his daughter. They searched in every city and found no suitable match, so they returned back and informed their master. They had apparently failed in their mission. If they found a handsome boy the family was not good enough and if his family was good, then the boy was not good enough.<sup>107</sup> Chandu Shah's wife once again asked her husband to look for a boy for their daughter. Once again Chandu sent his family priest and his barbar. This time again, they were unable to find a suitable boy but they heard a good report about Guru Arjun's son in Amritsar.<sup>108</sup> They found Hargobind suitable in all respects and returned to consult Chandu.

Giani Gian Singh in *Tawarikh Guru Khalsa* and Bhai Santokh Singh in *Gur Partap Suraj Granth* make a mention of only one visit of the Priest and the Barbar.<sup>109</sup>

On hearing of the prospective match Chandu Shah was not pleased and said Guru Arjun's caste was inferior to him. He felt that Guru in reality was only a beggar while he was the Emperor's minister. Such a match would be akin to putting an ornamental tile of the top story into a gutter. Finally after his wife's advice he agreed for the marriage and dispatched the presents to Amritsar.

Giving more details of the episode, Macauliffe writes that when the Sikhs of Delhi came to know about Chandu Shah's derogatory comments they decided to inform the Guru about this matter. They wrote a letter to the Guru apprising him of the whole matter and appealing to him not to forge an alliance with Chandu Shah. The Guru accordingly rejected the marriage presents. Then one Narian Das, a grandson of Bhai Paro, a native of Dalla approached the Guru for Hargobind's marriage with his

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106 *Ibid*, p.71

107 *Ibid*.

108 *Ibid*, p.72

109 Giani Gian Singh, *Tawarikh Guru Khalsa*, Vol I, p.427

daughter and Guru accepted the proposal.

Bhai Santokh Singh in *Gur Partap Suraj Granth* maintains that the Pandit and the Barbar reached before the letter of the Sikhs of Lahore. As such the Guru first accepted the offer brought by the Pandit and the Barbar and even confirmed the day of engagement from a pandit.

A little later another Sikh named Hari Chand approached the Guru and requested offered his daughter's hand for Hargobind. Initially the Guru was not in favour of the second marriage for his son but later accepted his request too.<sup>110</sup> Santokh Singh agrees with Macauliffe's version and refers to the two incidents. But Giani Gian Singh in *Tawarikh Guru Khalsa* leaves these incidents out.

Macauliffe specifies that Guru Arjun fixed the seventh day of the light half of the month of Magh, Sambat 1661 for Narain Das's daughter's marriage with Hargobind.<sup>111</sup>

While Macauliffe gives the date of Narain Das's daughter's marriage he leaves out the date of Hari Chand's daughter's marriage.

Macauliffe further elaborates that the Priest and the Barbar narrated everything that happened at Amritsar to Chandu Shah. He wrote a letter to the Guru to accept his daughter for his son and offered a large dowry if he accepted his matrimonial alliance.<sup>112</sup> He also made pointed references to his position and approach and the Guru's enmity with Pirthia. He dispatched this letter through the hands of the Brahman.<sup>113</sup>

When Guru read the letter, he observed that it was full of pride and added that if he has once rejected the proposal it would not be accepted again. The Priest returned with the message.

Macauliffe offers more information on the Guru's inimical brother. He writes that Pirthia approached the Qazis and Pandits who were not happy with Guru Arjun

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110 M.A. Macauliffe, *The Sikh Religion*, Vol III, p.77

111 *Ibid.*

112 *Ibid.*

113 *Ibid.*, p.80



on account of his compilation of the Granth. At around this time Emperor Akbar arrived in Punjab and reached Gurdaspur.<sup>114</sup> Pandits and Qazis with the mediation of Chandu Shah and Pirthia made several complaints to the Emperor. They alleged that the Guru had written against the Qazis and the Pandits in this Granth. Emperor Akbar summoned the Guru after listening to these reports.<sup>115</sup> Guru Arjun sent Bhai Budha and Bhai Gurdas as his representatives.

Giani Gian Singh in *Tawarikh Guru Khalsa* maintains that Akbar came to Punjab in Sambat 1662 and he stopped at Batala. Hari Ram Gupta in *History of the Sikhs* reiterates the same.<sup>116</sup> Giani Gian Singh adds that the Guru also sent five or seven Sikhs with Bhai Budha and Bhai Gurdas.<sup>117</sup> When the Emperor asked Bhai Gurdas to read the Granth, he read the following hymns<sup>118</sup>:—

*From earth and light God made the world  
The sky, earth, trees and water are God's creation.  
O man, Whatever the eye can behold is perishable.  
The world is an eater of carrion,  
Neglectful of God and greedy of mammon.  
Like an ogre or a beast it killeth  
And eateth forbidden food.  
Restrain thy heart, or the Omnipotent  
Will take and punish thee in hell.  
When Azrail shall seize thee, of what avail.*

Emperor was elated on hearing this. The Qazis and Pandits objected by saying that the hymn was a predetermined selection for the purpose of pleasing the Emperor and asked Bhai Gurdas to read some portion at random. At this the Emperor himself turned over the pages and asked Gurdas to read from a particular section. Emperor was once again impressed with the hymn. Macauliffe notes that Chandu Shah raised

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114 *Ibid.* p 81

115 *Ibid.*

116 Hari Ram Gupta, *History of the Sikhs*, Vol I, New Delhi, 1984, p 143.

117 Giani Gian Singh, *Tawarikh Guru Khalsa*, Vol I, p 431.

118 M.A. Macauliffe, *The Sikh Religion*, Vol III, p 81.

another objection claiming that Gurdas was speaking from memory and was not reading what was inscribed. In order to give more testimony, Chandu Shah then asked Sahib Dayal who knew Gurmukhi to read the Guru Granth Sahib. When the Emperor heard the hymn, he was full of admiration and said that this Granth is full of love and devotion of God and it neither praises nor blames anyone.<sup>119</sup> Hari Ram Gupta points out that he then made an offering of fifty one gold mohars and gave Bhai Budha and Bhai Gurdas shawls of honour for themselves and a third one for Guru Arjun.<sup>120</sup> Macauliffe further writes that Akbar promised to visit Amritsar on his return from Lahore.<sup>121</sup>

Macauliffe further records that when Akbar returned from Kabul, he visited Amritsar. Akbar was happy to see Har Mander and also listened to hymns recited by the Guru. The Emperor prayed to Guru Arjun offered to make a contribution to its large expenditure<sup>122</sup> but the Guru asked the Emperor to remit the revenues of the Punjab because there was a severe famine. Emperor readily acceded to the Guru's suggestion. According to Macauliffe, Baduni has stated that Akbar once again visited the Guru at Goindwal.

Giani Gian Singh provides more details by writing that in Asu Sambat 1662 Mata Bhani died, in Kattak Sambat 1662 Mahadev died and on 27Maghar, Sambat 1662 Pirthi Chand died.<sup>123</sup> Differing with these dates, Santokh Singh writes that Mahadev died in Sambat 1662 and Pirthi Chand died in Baisakh Sambat 1663.<sup>124</sup>

Macauliffe records the changing political scenario by telling us that after Akbar's death Jahangir succeeded him but Jahangir's son Khusro revolted against him.<sup>125</sup> Hari Ram Gupta writes that Jahangir sent the royal army against him to Agra but he escaped and fled towards Afghanistan.<sup>126</sup> According to Macauliffe on his way

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119 *Ibid*, p 83

120 Hari Ram Gupta, *History of the Sikhs*, Vol I, p 144

121 M.A. Macauliffe, *The Sikh Religion*, Vol III, p 83

122 *Ibid*, p 84.

123 Giani Gian Singh, *Tawarikh Guru Khalsa*, Vol I, p 433

124 Bhai Santokh Singh, *Gur Partap Suraj Granth*, Vol IV, p 909

125 M.A. Macauliffe, *The Sikh Religion*, Vol III, p 84

126 Hari Ram Gupta, *History of the Sikhs*, Vol I, p 147

he visited the Guru at Tarn-Taran and begged for a grant of money.

Giani Gian Singh in *Tawarikh Guru Khalsa* states that Khusro asked the Guru to give him one lakh rupees and some Sikhs and that when he defeated Jahangir, he would give Punjab to the Guru.<sup>127</sup>

Macauliffe probes the episode further to say that Guru Arjun turned down Khusro's request saying that he had money for the poor, but not for a prince. Khusro reiterated his request with great humility and said that in that case he himself was very poor, needy and friendless and did not have even travelling expenses.<sup>128</sup>

According to Macauliffe the Guru finally gave him five thousand rupees for his journey to Kabul.<sup>129</sup> The royal troops seized him when he was crossing river Jhelum and took him in chains to his father.

Giani Gian Singh in *Tawarikh Guru Khalsa* states that the royal troops arrested Khusro from a mosque near Jhelum and killed him in Lahore.<sup>130</sup> Mehima Parkash, in a different version, states that the Guru gave only food to Khusro and not any money. Bhai Vir Singh, Elfinstone and Karam Singh Historian, on the other hand, write that Khusro never met the Guru. R.C. Muzzumdar in 'An advanced History of India' and Eliot maintain that Khusro was arrested with his friends Hussian Beg and Abdul Aziz while crossing the river Chenab.

Kesar Singh Chibber in *Bansawali Nama* does not say anything about this incident. Sarup Das Bhalla makes a mention only of financial help extended to Khusro.<sup>131</sup> J.D. Cunningham does not say anything about financial help but holds that the Guru only prayed for Khusro.<sup>132</sup>

Macauliffe goes on to state that Pirthia and Sulahi Khan made plans against the Guru. In the mean while Sulahi Khan took leave from the Emperor to collect revenue

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127 Giani Gian Singh, *Tawarikh Guru Khalsa*, Vol I, p 434

128 M.A. Macauliffe, *The Sikh Religion*, Vol III, p 85

129 *Ibid.*

130 Giani Gian Singh, *Tawarikh Guru Khalsa*, Vol I, p 434

131 Sarup Das Bhalla, *Mehima Parkash*, Vol I, Punjab, 1999, p 143

132 J.D. Cunningham, *History of the Sikhs*, New Delhi, 1981, p 47

from Punjab. On his way he visited Pirthia in his village Kotha.<sup>133</sup>

Giani Gian Singh places this event before the arrest of Khusro and also writes that Sulahi Khan met Pirthia at Hehar village.<sup>134</sup> He also writes that Sulahi Khan was going to Amritsar to divide the property of Guru Arjun. Santokh Singh, on the other hand, places this incident after the marriage of Hargobind and before Khusro's visit to Guru Arjun. He writes that Sulahi with a heavy army moved towards Amritsar but stopped at village Kotha.

One day Pirthia took Sulahi Khan to visit some brick- kilns he had made. There Sulahi Khan's horse accidentally fell down into a Kiln and both died. On hearing of this the Guru composed the following:<sup>135</sup>

*If anyone flout the poor by stroking his beard at them,  
The supreme God will burn Him in the fire,  
The Creator who protecteth His servant  
Hath administered perfect justice.  
Before and through the ages His glory was manifest.  
The calumniator died in great agony.  
None saveth him who is accursed of God.*

Macauliffe recounts that after this incident Chandu Shah wrote a letter to Pirthia asking him to convince the Guru about his daughter's marriage with Hargobind failing which he would take revenge from the Guru.<sup>136</sup> Pirthia already looking for a chance wrote to Chandu Shah that Guru Arjun had deprived him of his rights and that he should use his influence with the Emperor to bring him justice. On receiving his letter Chandu Shah summoned Pirthia to Delhi and made a plan for the visit of the Emperor to Punjab.

Bhai Santokh Singh observes that Pirthia also took Meharban with him to introduce him to Chandu Shah. However, differing from this version Giani Gian

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133 M.A. Macauliffe, *The Sikh Religion*, Vol III, p 85

134 Giani Gian Singh, *Tawarikh Guru Khalsa*, Vol I, p 429

135 M.A. Macauliffe *The Sikh Religion*, Vol III, p 88

136 *Ibid*, p 87

Singh in *Tawarikh Guru Khalsa* writes that after Prithia's death his son Meharban and Diwan Chandu Shah made a complaint to the Emperor about Guru Arjun. He does not even say anything about Jahangir's visit to Punjab.<sup>137</sup>

Macauliffe writes that after a short time the Emperor proceeded to Punjab. Chandu Shah represented before the Emperor that he had a rival in the Punjab by the name of Guru Arjun, who entertained thieves and who had stolen some of Emperor's property and exercised independent authority.<sup>138</sup> The Emperor asked Sulabi Khan the nephew of late Sulahi Khan to write to the Guru to stop these evils. But Chandu Shah, on his own account, wrote to Sulabi Khan to try to persuade the Guru for marriage alliance and also to grant a more liberal distribution of property.

When the Sikhs heard of Sulabi Khan's intentions, they proposed to kill him but Guru stopped them. On Sulabi's journey to Amritsar his party fell in with a Saiyid, who was accompanied by several Pathans.<sup>139</sup> These Pathans used to work under his uncle Sulahi Khan and their last year salary was due. Sulabi Khan tried to put them off with excuses but during this conversation the Pathans attacked Sulabi and killed him.

Macauliffe writes that after this incident Chandu Shah misled the Emperor by making him believe that this was the work of the Guru's people and also added that the Guru had deprived his elder brother Pirthia of Guruship. He narrated a fabricated account that Pirthia had even complained to late the Emperor who had promised to summon the Guru but could not spare time for the interview. He tried to influence the Emperor into believing that the time had come to complete the task.<sup>140</sup> The Emperor bade Chandu to summon Pirthia but he died due to a cramp in the stomach at Taran-Taaran.

Hari Ram Gupta writes that after Pirthia's death his son Meharban made plans with Chandu Shah against the Guru. Chandu informed the Emperor that Guru had

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137 Giani Gian Singh, *Tawarikh Guru Khalsa*, Vol I, p.435

138 M.A. Macauliffe, *The Sikh Religion*, Vol III, p.89

139 *Ibid.*

140 *Ibid.*

blessed Khusro and promised him that he would become Emperor.<sup>141</sup> The Qazis and the Pandits also complained to the Emperor. Finally because of such accusations the Emperor summoned Guru Arjun.

Macauliffe puts forth the view that the Guru now felt that his enemies closing in on him and that his end was near. Before his departure to Lahore he appointed his son Hargobind his successor with all the traditional ceremonies and formalities.<sup>142</sup>

Santokh Singh even mentions that Jahangir sent Guru Arjun a letter and demanded two lakh rupees. The writer of *Tawarikh Guru Khalsa*, Giani Gian Singh writes that on the 7th Jeth Sambat 1663 Guru Arjun appointed Hargobind his successor.<sup>143</sup>

Macauliffe writes that Guru took with him Bhai Bidhi Chand, Bhai Langaha, Bhai Paira, Bhai Jetha and Bhai Pirana.<sup>144</sup> At the first sight when the Emperor beheld the Guru, he showed him some respect. However, soon Chandu maligned the Guru by asserting that he had helped his enemy Khusro with money. The Guru replied that he helped Khusro because he was poor and needy and not because he was the Emperor's enemy. The Emperor passed the orders that the Guru had to pay two lakh rupees and also erase the hymns from Guru Granth Sahib which were opposed to Hindu and Muslim religions. The Guru replied that he had plenty of money for the poor and if he demanded it in the form of fine, he would not give even a Kauri and also refused to erase any hymn for Guru Granth Sahib.<sup>145</sup>

The Emperor made no reply but a magistrate informed Guru Arjun that he must pay the fine or be imprisoned in default. The Sikhs of Lahore even offered to collect the requisite money but Guru stopped them. After the Guru's refusal the authorities put him into jail.

Giani Gian Singh in 'Tawarikh Guru Khalsa' writes that when Guru refused to the bidding of the court Chandu took Guru Arjun with him to his Haweli and asked to

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141 Hari Ram Gupta, *History of the Sikhs*, Vol I, p.149

142 M.A. Macauliffe, *The Sikh Religion*, Vol III, p.91

143 Giani Gian Singh, *Tawarikh Guru Khalsa*, Vol I, p.435

144 M.A. Macauliffe, *The Sikh Religion*, Vol III, p.91

145 *Ibid*, p.92

accept his proposal of alliance and write some hymns in the praise of Mohammadans.<sup>146</sup> Thereafter Chandu asked the soldiers not to give anything to drink or eat to Guru Arjun. Santokh Singh also corroborates the same sequence of events.

According to Macauliffe the soldiers began to torture Guru in various ways. They poured burning sand on him, seated him in red-hot cauldron and bathed him in boiling water.<sup>147</sup> The Guru bore all these tortures and never showed any sign of pain. On this occasion the Guru Arjun repeated the following:<sup>148</sup>

*The egg of superstition hath burst;  
The mind is illumined;  
The Guru hath cut the fetters off the  
Feel and freed the captive.  
My transmigration is at an end.  
The heated caldron hath become cold;  
The Guru hath given the cooling Name.  
Since the holy man hath been with me,  
Death,s myrmidons, who lay in wait for me,have left me.  
I have been released from him who restrained me;  
what shall the judge do to me now?*

Macauliffe states that many Jogis and Saints met Guru Arjun in the jail. Mian Mir a Muslim saint of Lahore also went and appealed to the Emperor for his release but the Guru stopped them.<sup>149</sup> A daughter-in-law of Chandu, who was the daughter of a Sikh, came to know about the Guru's persecution and that the Guru had not eaten or drunk anything from several days. She prepared some sharbat and went to the Guru's prison. When the guards stopped her, she gave them jewellery. When she requested the guru to drink the Sharbat, Guru Arjun said that he could not take food from Chandu's house. The lady then told the Guru that she had no desire to live any longer

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146 Giani Gian Singh, *Tawarikh Guru Khalsa*, Vol I, p.437

147 M.A. Macauliffe, *The Sikh Religion*, Vol III, p 94

148 *Ibid*, p 93

149 *Ibid*, p 94

and the Guru replied that after a few days she will accompany him.<sup>150</sup>

Macauliffe states that Guru Arjun suffered tortures for five days and then asked permission to take bath in the river Ravi with his five Sikhs.<sup>151</sup> Macauliffe inscribes that Chandu Shah sent with his prisoner an escort of soldiers armed with swords and matchlocks. The soldiers received orders not to interrupt Guru Arjun while he was bathing or drying himself.

Giani Gian Singh offers a different view point. He maintains that the Guru alone escorted by two soldiers went to river Ravi.<sup>152</sup> Chandu granted him permission because he thought that after bathing the Guru might accept his proposal.

On arriving, taking very slow and painful steps at the Ravi the Guru took up some cold water and bathed his feet and hands. He then went into the water and bathed his whole body. While bathing he recited the Japji. After his devotions the Guru addressed his Sikhs and said that they should go to Hargobind and ask him to sit fully armed on the throne and maintain an army to the best of his ability.<sup>153</sup>

Macauliffe narrates that after this the Guru invited his minstrel to sing the Guru's hymns.<sup>154</sup> Macauliffe incorporates in his account a supernatural incident. He writes that heavenly hosts congratulated the Guru on his victory over torture.

Macauliffe states that Guru Arjun's death occurred on the fourth day of the light half of the month of Jeth, Sambat 1663 (June 1606 A.D.)<sup>155</sup> O.P.Rahlan corroborates Macauliffe and describes the same sequence of event. Hari Ram Gupta writes that Guru died on 30 May 1606 A.D. which finds endorsement from Satbir Singh. He also writes that Guru died on 22 Jeth Sambat 1662 Friday in Lahore. When Chandu Shah's daughter-in-law heard the news of the Guru's death, she also abandoned her body.

Giani Gian Singh in *Tawarikh Guru Khalsa* writes that after the Guru's death

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150 *Ibid*, p 98

151 *Ibid*

152 Gian Gian Singh, *Tawarikh Guru Khalsa*, Vol I, p 438

153 M.A. Macauliffe, *The Sikh Religion*, Vol III, p.99

154 *Ibid*.

155 *Ibid*, p.100



the Sikhs consigned his body to the waters of the river.<sup>156</sup> J.D. Cunningham in his account claims that Guru Arjun went into the river for bathing but never came back.<sup>157</sup> Another writer Henry Court, in his book, 'History of the Sikhs' reiterates the same version.<sup>158</sup> Santokh Singh supports Giani Gian Singh and writes that Sikhs consigned the Guru's body to the waters of the river. He also writes that before his death the Guru had asked his Sikhs to consign his body to the river and not cremate it. Mehima Parkash expresses difference with this version and puts forth the view that the Sikhs cremated the Guru's body. Satbir Singh and Rattan Singh Bhangu on the other hand assert that the Mughal's dropped the Guru's body into the river.

Macauliffe's work is considered to be the most comprehensive work on the early Sikh tradition. It also gives a reliable account of the lives of the Gurus. It is quite remarkable that the author has made use of a lot of evidence to make it an original piece of research and a legitimate work of history. Apart from the Sikh sources he also used the well known Persian works. Although Macauliffe gives a detailed description about the life of Guru Arjun Dev, there are disagreements about many incidents particularly about the dates given by Macauliffe about the life of Guru Arjun Dev. He also avoids mentioning the time of many incidents. The reason behind this seems to be that Macauliffe left out specifying the dates which were embroiled in controversies and about which there is very little consensus. Although there remain lot of errors or misunderstandings in these writings but still they are very useful for the purpose of writing and forming a sound understanding of history.

The British writings about the Sikhs were a result of the British interest in the rise and growth of the Sikhs. The British writers who wrote about Sikhs were either dilettanti or not trained in the austerities of historical discipline, some of them were just travelers and some of them worked under East India Company. The motive behind these historical writings changed from time to time. But Macauliffe is free from these types of restrictions or bias. Although there are also some misconceptions

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156 Giani Gian Singh, *Tawarikh Guru Khalsa*, Vol I, p.438

157 J.D. Cunningham, *History of the Sikhs*. p.48

158 Henry Court, *History of the Sikhs*, Calcutta, 1959, p.24

regarding his writings but still his work is very useful for the purpose of understanding the history of Sikh Gurus.

Macauliffe gave Sikhs and the world a readable, popularized but very uncritical account of the early evolution of Sikhism. Macauliffe widened the scope of the study of the early Sikh tradition because of his reliance on the original sources, especially Sikh sources. However, his reliance was not uncritical as he rejected several sources as unauthentic. He tried to find a middle ground between his own critical assessment and the orthodox Sikh views.

Macauliffe in his work 'The Sikh Religion' has placed before the world a comprehensive picture of Sikhism and its scriptures. He identifies quite accurately the linguistic context within which the Guru Granth Sahib was formed. As the knowledge of ancient language has expanded, the later day scholars have even gone beyond him and corrected his work. The literal style of his translation has been much debated. Macauliffe wrote in a simple and direct style. He did this not only in the interest of clarity but also because he believed that it complemented more accurately the style of the hymns themselves. However, the complexities of the problems of translation have yet to be finally solved. It can be said that Macauliffe's translation will remain a basic witness to the meaning of the Guru Granth Sahib.

## CONCLUSION

British connection with the Sikhs can be traced back to the 17<sup>th</sup> century. In one of the earliest references to the Sikhs Father Jerome Xavier wrote about the execution of Guru Arjun Dev by Mughal authorities in 1606 A.D. Likewise, it can be argued that a well organized polity had begun to acquire shape as Sikh religion evolved from a purely spiritual movement in the early period of Sikhism. With the passage of time Sikhism became a blend of religious philosophy and doctrine and a strongly felt political purpose aimed at religious and political self assertion. The Sikh Gurus also took upon themselves the responsibility of fighting political and religious oppression and injustice which was endemic during the Mughal period. As to the nature of this polity its more evolved form found manifestation in the leadership and rebellion of Banda Bahadur (1707-1716) against the Mughals. The rise of the significance of the Sikhs coincided with the rise of the British. Through their success in the Battle of Plassey in 1757 and due to the policy of territorial expansion East India Company's power began to come closer to the land of five rivers.

For this very reason the significance of Sikh Studies assumed great importance for the British conquerors both in the military and diplomatic areas. It can be said that curiosity gave way to necessity. It also needs to be distinctly understood that it was not only the British interest per se but sometimes European administrators were in the employment of some courts like Delhi or Awadh which had to fight against the rising Sikh powers. Thus the overall situation prompted many European officers in the East India Company to make an organized effort to investigate and study the Sikh people.

In one of his lectures in 1961 renowned historian E.H. Carr made a significant intervention by saying that one must study the historian before one begins to study his facts. This statement can be used as the starting point for an analysis of the beginning of Sikh Studies by some eminent Western scholars such as Polier, Browne and Forster during the 18<sup>th</sup> Century. Furthermore, it might be useful in studying the growth and

evolution of these studies later in the works of writers like Malcolm, Princep, Murray, Cunningham, Lepel Griffin, Ernest Trumpp and Macauliffe during the 19<sup>th</sup> Century.

Many factors were responsible for drawing British attention towards Sikh community and faith. There were some obvious political reasons to begin with. British took notice of the Sikhs when they were emerging as a formidable political power in the North Western part of India in the last two decades of the 18<sup>th</sup> century.

In the beginning individuals related with the East India Company began to collect information about the Sikhs. Theirs are, by no means systematic accounts, but their only merit is their being pioneering nature. Early writings cannot be accepted as authentic interpretations of the Sikh religion because of their ignorance of the language and an apparent lack of familiarity with the culture. However, later writings are relatively more dependable than these early ones.

The topic of the present thesis is *M.A. Macauliffe's - The Sikh Religion (Volume I to III): An Historical Analysis*. The entire academic exercise involves efforts to critically examine Macauliffe's milestone in Sikh studies *The Sikh Religion* with the help of different primary and secondary sources which trace different meanings and connotations in the work.

This thesis is divided into five chapters. The subject of the first chapter comprises the study of British interest in writing Sikh history and the work done by different European writers. This chapter is divided into three parts. In first part is a scrutiny of the life and works of different European writers who wrote before Macauliffe. The second part is an overview of the details of Macauliffe's life and the third part of Macauliffe's work.

Antonie Louis Henri Polier was the first European who started collecting information about the growing power of the Sikhs. It was during his job in Lucknow that he got interested in Indian history and religion. He presented a number of research papers at various meetings and forums. His paper 'The Siques' or 'History of the Seeks' was read on December 20, 1787 before the members of Asiatic Society of

Bengal. This paper touches upon almost all the important aspects of the contemporary Sikh society, its origin and progress of its faith, its struggles for independence, its religious and civil institutions, its dress and diet, occupations etc. Even the strong anti-Sikh prejudices of Polier could not prevent him from viewing some of the remarkable features of the Sikh society and Sikh polity.

After Colonel Polier, Charles Wilkins observed Sikh Gurdwara and Sanget at Patna and wrote a letter to the secretary Asiatic Society about the Sikhs. This letter is also an evidence of the western interest in the Sikh religion.

Major James Browne, agent of Warren Hastings at the Court of Shah Alam II was the first Englishman who was asked to collect all possible information about the Sikhs by the authorities.

Browne submitted two papers first entitled 'Description of the Jungle Terry Districts' on June 20, 1787 and second entitled 'History of the Origin and Progress of the Sikhs' on September 17, 1787 to John Motteux, Chairman of the Court of Directors. These were later published by the order of the Court under the title 'India Tracts' in 1788. This later work is of paramount importance as this shows Browne's views about the Sikhs as well as British administration's keenness to acquire knowledge about them. Historiographically, Browne's work marks the beginning of modern historical writings on the Sikhs. In his work Browne also gives a clear picture of what was going on in Delhi as well as in the minds of the officials of East India Company.

George Forster was a contemporary of Colonel Polier and Major James Brown. Forster was a civil servant of the East India Company and was an adventurous and highly learned person. Forster has produced an account of the Sikhs in the form of detailed letters written from Kashmir in 1783 addressed to Mr. Gregory at Lucknow. These letters were later published in two volumes in 1798 under the title 'A Journey from Bengal to England'. His account has found favour among the Sikhs as an objective and sympathetic description. Forster's account begins with the origin of the

Sikh faith but his comments on the contemporary religious and civil institutions, the character of the Sikhs, the strengths and weaknesses of the community are more enlightening. Forster's account can be taken as an improvement over the earlier accounts of Colonel Polier and Major Browne.

By the end of 18<sup>th</sup> century Punjab, under different Sikh misls, was acquiring shape as the great Sikh Empire which was to be set up by Maharaja Ranjit Singh. It was the work of an administrator like John Malcolm which put Sikh studies into prominence. Malcolm's *Sketch of the Sikhs* in 1809 shed tremendous light on the importance of Sikh Scriptures in the political life of the Sikhs. His important works are 'History of India' Memories, Reports on the Central Provinces and the English translation of Bakhat Mal's 'Khalsa Nama'.

In the process of writing this work Malcolm was able to collect a large number of manuscripts. He used important sources like the Adi Granth, the Dasam Padshah Ka Granth, the Vars of Bhai Gurdas, the Janamsakhi of Bhai Bala, the Siyar-ul-Mutakhirin and Forster's Travels. He also took the help of a Sikh priest of Nirmala sect named Atma Ram of Calcutta. John Leyden who had great command over the oriental languages also helped Malcolm in translation.

M'Gregor is the first western writer to have written a complete and detailed history of the Sikhs from the birth of Guru Nanak to the annexation of Kot Kangra by the Britishers. The first edition of his book was sold within a few months and the second edition appeared in 1847 without any revision. In this book M'Gregor discusses the life and contribution of Guru Nanak and his successors. As far as this phase of history is concerned, it can be argued that M'Gregor does not add anything to the information on Sikhism already available except some gross misrepresentations of some highly significant events and turning points of the Sikh history as the martyrdom of Guru Arjun Dev.

But with the arrival of J.D. Cunningham's *A History of the Sikhs from the Origin of the Nation to the Battles of the Sutlej* in 1849 A.D., the illusions put in place

by the British imperialistic prejudices were removed. The British could not stand to bear their true motivations being exposed by a person who belonged to their own fraternity. The result was an unceremonious expulsion of Cunningham from his job. It is pertinent to note that Cunningham was addressing the British nation and trying to establish that in British relation with the neighboring Indian states, the character of agent was as much an important factor as the policy itself. He was unique among the British historians of the Sikhs to appreciate the role of Sikh ideology in shaping Sikh History.

Robert Cust wrote many books on the religions and languages of the world. He also wrote a book on Guru Nanak Dev entitled 'The Life of Baba Nanak, the Founder of the Sikh Sect' and published it in 1859-60. The book was later reprinted in 1863. He offered a comprehensive account about the life of Baba Nanak and the nature of his mission. This account is largely based on the Sikh chronicles and the information collected by Cust during his stay in Punjab. It is noteworthy that Cust did not enter into any controversial issue in writing his account. After the annexation of Punjab, the Britishers wanted Cust to translate *Adi Granth* and *Dasam Granth*. However, he was unable to take this project.

This was a period when the importance of Sikh Scriptures became more pronounced. Such realizations also created a situation where great importance began to be attached to the project of translating Holy Granths of the Sikhs. This idea of the translation of Sikh scriptures first came to R.N. Cust while he was in London in 1857. After coming to India, he proposed this idea through D.F. Mcleod to the Government of India. Mcleod's proposals were accepted and both the *Adi Granth* and *Dasam Granth* were acquired by the British with the purpose of getting them translated into a European language. Consequently, the Holy books of the Sikhs were sent to England in 1859 by the Government of India.

The project in itself entailed a study of the evolution of the theological spirit and viewpoint of Sikhs. It was only in 1869 that Ernest Trumpp was employed to get

the Sikh Scriptures translated into English language. But more importantly the publication of the *Adi Granth* in 1857 became a catalyst in the formation of Singh Sabha and ultimately the involvement of M.A. Macauliffe in the Sikh Studies. Almost as a direct upshot of this publication the Sikhs created uproar over the derogatory remarks by Ernest Trumpp through the Singh Sabha movement. The Singh Sabha wanted someone from the British administration who would translate their scriptures in true light of the Sikh ethos and principles. Hence Macauliffe was chosen for this task.

Macauliffe's own interest in Sikh religion once sparked by the Great Diwali of Amritsar in the 1880s kept burning till the end of his life. His writings over three decades between 1880 and 1909 happen to be the most crucial phase in the evolution of Sikh studies. It was owing to such developments that in the last quarter of 19<sup>th</sup> century and beginning of 20<sup>th</sup> century, English knowing intelligentsia in Lahore and Amritsar become aware of Sikh identity issues. As a result of this both Sikh politics and the writing of Sikh history had acquired a new significance and cogency by 1893.

Macauliffe's articles such 'Diwali at Amritsar' (1880), 'Rise of Amritsar and Alterations of the Sikh Religion' (1881), 'The Sikh Religion under Banda And its present condition' (1881), 'Holy Writings of the Sikhs' (1898), 'The Sikh Religion : A Symposium' (1903), 'How the Sikhs became a Militant People' (1905), 'The Holy Scriptures of the Sikh' (1910) and ultimately his magnum opus *The Sikh Religion* in six volumes in 1909 A.D. can be taken as the trajectory of his long journey in the sphere of Sikhism and Sikh studies and also as an important point in the development of its modern interpretations.

The evolution of his own convictions along the lines of Singh Sabha's ideology made him quiet critical and vocal against Ernest Trumpp. His own letters to British Government can be taken as testimony of the agony caused to Sikh people by Trumpp's translation. He was gravely concerned about how such a translation could be kept at 'considerable distance' from one's study and lamented that 'useless labour



and the large amount of money was spent in vain’.

Time and again requests were made by Sikh representatives to get British Government’s formal approval for the translation to be done under Macauliffe. Unlike other western scholars of the day, Macauliffe exhibited humility and caution in claiming authority either in Sikh history or in Sikh scriptures. Keenly aware of his shortcomings, he established intimate and sustained contacts with some of the leading Sikh scholars like Bhai Kahan Singh, Professor Gurmukh Singh and Bhai Ditt Singh in addition to intelligentsia and aristocracy of his times. He studied a number of Indian and related languages in order to extend his reach to the linguistic complexities and nuances of the Guru Granth Sahib. He was aware of the fact that there were not many people during his time who could offer an elaborate exegesis of the Sikh Scriptures.

In addition to this Macauliffe was conscientious in his approach and used every source very prudently. He used to send printed proofs of his translation of Sikh Scriptures to selective Sikhs in different parts of the province with a request for their opinion and critical suggestions. His house used to be a meeting ground of eminent Sikh theologians and exponents of Sikh teachings. Macauliffe submitted his each one of his line to the scrutiny of his council. Only the best and most plausible of all the translations were chosen by him. It was an arduous and time consuming exercise involving lots of expenditure, yet, Macauliffe’s adherence was reserved only for the authentic and true meanings and their translations.

Macauliffe adopted a particular pattern of organization and style when presenting the lives and teachings of the Gurus. Popular tales about each Guru were pieced together in a clear fashion, interspersed with prayers and scriptures from the Granth.

Eventually, Macauliffe also realized that he could not do justice to his work of translation due to himself being a full time government administrator. He resigned his job in 1893 after he was convinced that he would be monetarily compensated for his

financial loss. Apart from this, the Singh Sabha leaders assured him of the British Government's aid and sanction within one or two months.

Macauliffe made earnest efforts to get the support of his government towards his cause. However, he failed to enlist their support. His own financial difficulties and disillusionment with Government as well as with the Sikh intelligentsia and leaders acted as a discouragement. Nothing much transpired in terms of financial help either by Government or by the Rulers of Nabha and Patiala. The lakhs of rupees which were promised to him were not delivered. Small grants kept him alive and were stretched to cover contingencies but these were grossly inadequate. In March 1898, the Chief of Nabha did not even permit Bhai Kahan Singh to join him. So much so that Sunder Singh Majithia and Amritsar Singh Sabha refused him services of Sardar Sadhu Singh in his translation work. Showing perseverance and determination, Macauliffe approached the Government with fresh documents and requests. He also complained to his friends about the indifference of the Sikh elite as well as the British Government.

In 1907, Macauliffe left for England and after two trips to that place along with Bhai Kahn Singh Nabha he was ready with the translation which now encompassed lives of Gurus and those of other Sikhs whose writings were enshrined in the Granth Sahib. He returned to India in 1909. Macauliffe and his writings had a providential escape when he was on his way back. On his return trip to India, the cabin of Macauliffe caught fire due to an electric wire. The ships officers came immediately and extinguished the fire. Had the rescue got delayed by five minutes his whole printing work could have perished. Years of toil had ultimately paid in the form of "The Sikh Religion" which was published for the first time by Oxford University at Clarendon Press in 1909 in six Volumes. Unfortunately, the completion of a work of such great importance was not enough to bring any happiness to Macauliffe. Rather his experience with Sikh leaders and rulers had left him disenchanted. These religious leaders and rulers refused to acknowledge his work because the Punjab Government

had refused to support Macauliffe. The Punjab Government and the Government of India refused to sanction the cost of published work and it was much later that an offer of a small contribution of Rs. 5000/- was made. This offer was indignantly rejected by Macauliffe as paltry in the extreme.

Macauliffe did not marry and considered Bhai Kahan Singh Nabha as his family. He even bequeathed his property to Bhai Bhagwan Singh Ji (only child of Bhai Kahan Singh Nabha), though this was refused by the eminent savant of Sikh theology.

His work too did not remain above reproach. Macauliffe's work was denounced by certain section as being too sectarian and parochial and which posed the danger of tearing away the Hindus from the Sikhs. Others criticized it for being too traditional and couched on an archaic idiom. There were still others who blamed it for inventing or circulating unauthorized apocryphal stories in order to inculcate conformism among the Sikhs so that they remained loyal towards the British Government.

Macauliffe went back to England and died there on 15<sup>th</sup> March, 1913. He died as a Sikh yet his death failed to elicit a befitting tribute from those very people for whom he had dedicated his lifetime. Even the recognition that he received posthumously in 1913 at Sikh Educational Conference at Ambala was grossly inadequate and insufficient in comparison with the assiduous and painstaking work performed by M.A. Macauliffe to introduce and propagate Sikhism as a religion in the whole world.

The second chapter of the present study takes up as its subject the birth and early life of Guru Nanak. In his work, Macauliffe has meticulously presented details of almost all the important events related to the life of Guru Nanak. Macauliffe maintains that Guru Nanak was born in the month of Baisakh 1469 A.D. Evidently, Macauliffe's view about the birth of Guru Nanak is based on the Sikh chronicles like different Janam Sakhis, Mehima Parkash, Gur Partap Suraj Granth etc. Macauliffe

further mentions that “but for convenience sake his anniversary is now observed by the Sikhs on the occasion of the full moon in the month of Kartik (October-November)”. Macauliffe, however, chooses not to elaborate upon the term convenience used by him owing to which Sikhs celebrated Guru Nanak’s birth in the month of Kartik. Macauliffe also does not offer a detailed account of the birth place of Guru Nanak. There are other sources of Sikh history which maintain that Guru Nanak was born at Rai Bhoie.

Macauliffe writes down the name of Guru Nanak’s father as Mehta Kalu and mother’s name as Tripta. These facts are corroborated by most of the Sikh chronicles. Macauliffe describes the newly born child as Nanak but does not make a mention of the number of days after which Guru Nanak was given the name.

Macauliffe also misses the first five years of Nanak's life. Although Macauliffe’s work is largely based on Janamsakhi’s and other Sikh chronicles still it is difficult to understand why he avoids dealing with the first five years of Guru Nanak’s life when other contemporary and extant sources contain a detailed account of these years. The most plausible reason that can be attributed to this is that since Janamsakhi accounts are full of stories involving demonstration of supernatural and divine powers Macauliffe tries distance himself from these.

Macauliffe further documents that at the age of seven years Mehta Kalu sent Guru Nanak to receive education from Pandit Gopal. It is historically important to note that there is little consensus about the name of the first teacher of Guru Nanak. Macauliffe mentions the name as Pandit Gopal but Bhai Mani Singh in his Janamsakhi mentions the name of the schoolmaster as Brij Nath. Available historical accounts also suggest that after Pandit Gopal Guru Nanak received education from Pandit Brij Nath Shastri but Macauliffe does not mention this event in his account.

Macauliffe, however, does state that Guru Nanak also studied the Persian language from Maulvi Rukndin. There are sources which write the name as Qutb-ud-din. Another difference that can be traced in Macauliffe’s account is that he does not

mention the age at which Guru Nanak learnt Persian whereas Janamsakhis mention it as the age of 8 years. Yet, another difference is that whereas Macauliffe writes that when Mehta Kalu sent Guru Nanak to herd buffaloes the Guru fell asleep under a tree there are other sources which express the belief that Guru Nanak was rapt in meditation.

Lack of agreement is again evident in the question of Guru Nanak's age when the *Janeu* ceremony was held. Whereas it is generally held that this ceremony was performed at the age of 9 years some sources hold it to be 10 years and some even 11 years. The next important event in the life of Guru Nanak was that of the marriage of his sister Nanaki with Jairam. Macauliffe gives a small account of the marriage of Jairam with Nanaki but does not mention the time or year when it was solemnized. Macauliffe also writes about the event of the marriage of Guru Nanak. There are again differences in the views about the age at which Nanak got married.

Macauliffe also reinscribes the momentous *Sacha Sodha* event which finds a mention in almost every source. Macauliffe goes on to write about Guru Nanak's visit to Sultanpur. Macauliffe does not make a reference to any letter of invitation to Nanak or his father Mehta Kalu from Jai Ram. He does not mention Bala who accompanied Guru Nanak during his visit and does not offer precise details about time at which they set off for their journey and when they reached Sultanpur. He also leaves untouched the details of the path which they took to reach Sultanpur and the number of days they took. The peculiarity is quite conspicuous as almost every Janamsakhi has given a detailed account of this journey.

Macauliffe is different from others in his dealing with several other aspects of Guru Nanak's life also. Macauliffe does not mention the number of days after which Jai Ram introduced Guru Nanak with Nawab Daulat Khan Lodhi. Janamsakhi Bhai Mani Singh mentions that the very next day after the arrival of Guru Nanak, Jai Ram introduced Guru Nanak with Nawab. But *Tawarikh Guru Khalsa* by Giani Gian Singh offers the view that it was after five days that Guru Nanak asked Jai Ram to find a job

for him. D.S. Dhillon, on the other hand, puts it differently by saying that a few days after his arrival to Sultanpur, Diwan Jai Ram took him to Governor Daulat Khan Lodhi and introduced him as an educated man. Macauliffe is also silent about the date when Guru Nanak joined government service.

The complaint that some people made before the Nawab about Guru Nanak's accounts form an important event in the narrative of the Guru's life but Macauliffe in his account does not refer to the complaint against Nanak and also about the inquiry made against him. It is a very important incident linked with Guru Nanak's life but quite strangely Macauliffe leaves this out in his work. There is no valid explanation for this omission when almost every important work on Guru Nanak offers an account of it. Macauliffe is also silent about the event when Guru Nanak's mother-in-law comes to Sultanpur and asks him to refrain from giving everything in charity. Bhai Bala Wali Janamsakhi contains detail about this event.

Macauliffe is again silent about the second inquiry made into the accounts of Modikhana as described in the Janamsakhis.

Macauliffe includes in his work the episode of Guru Nanak's disappearance when he went to take a bath in the river Bein. There are different views about the place where Guru Nanak reappeared after three days. Janamsakhis maintain that Guru Nanak made his reappearance at the same spot from where he disappeared while there are other sources that say that he made his reappearance from about a 1 mile away from that spot. Macauliffe seems to sideline this issue and merely says, "After three days the Guru came forth from the forest". There are major disagreements about the number of days after which Guru Nanak reappeared among the various sources.

The third chapter of the present study deals with Guru Nanak's travels, teachings and settlement at Kartarpur. This chapter is divided into three parts. The first part deals with the travels of Guru Nanak. There is no disputing the fact that Macauliffe has offered a comprehensive account of the travels of Guru Nanak. During his travels, Guru Nanak visited all the important centers of pilgrimage in India and its

neighborhood. Many myths and legends are associated with his travels. Some of the Sakhis claim to reproduce the actual dialogues of Guru Nanak with noted religious figures of his time. However, inconsistencies in the various accounts have raised several controversies over the places that he visited and the periods of visit.

Historical sources contain ample evidence of controversies and disagreements about the very important subject of the Udasis of Guru Nanak. Different historical accounts have presented different accounts of the Udasis of Guru Nanak. There is a common and widely accepted belief that Guru Nanak made four major Udasis in the four directions. Macauliffe in his account leaves the question unresolved as he does not clearly state the number of Udasis Guru Nanak undertook. Nor does Macauliffe unambiguously give the precise temporal and geographical details of these journeys. It is significant that W.H. Mcleod in his work 'Guru Nanak and the Sikh Religion' has tried to critically analyze all the Janamsakhis. Mcleod's considered opinion is as follows, "Meharban Janamskhi referred to Nanak having made only two major Udasis, one in the east and south, which took twelve years. He then returned to Kartarpur. Guru Nanak's second Udasi was in the north-west which lasted for six years. Nanak finally settled at Kartarpur. The Puratan Janamsakhi mentions four Udasis of Guru Nanak in four different directions."

On the subject of his travels Macauliffe observes that Guru Nanak started his journey towards Saidpur. During his travels he visited many important places like – Pehowa, Kurukshetra, Hardwar, Panipat, Delhi, Brindaban, Gorakhmata, Benaras, Gaya, Kamrup, Jagan Nath Puri, Ajodhan, Bisiar, Pak Pattan, Dipalpur, Kanganpur, Kasur, Patti, Windpur, Goindwal, Batala, Saidpur, Sialkot, Kabul, Mithankot, Lahore, Madras, Srinagar, Mount Sumer, Hasan Abdal, Goarkh Hatri, Ceylon, Macca, Madina, Baghdad and etc.

While narrating the details of the itineraries Macauliffe at many places excludes the mention of precise dates thus not giving a clear chronology of the travels. On the other hand some works especially Giani Gian Singh's Tawarikh Guru

Khalsa lay great importance on the chronological details. It has to be accepted that Macauliffe's accounts remain vague as far as the chronological details of the travels are concerned and retain their focus more on the itineraries. No clear reason can be assigned to this narrative choice. It can only be conjectured that Macauliffe leaves the dates because he tries to evade the controversies and disputes that are often attached to the dates of the incidents related to the Udasis.

Another very important dimension of Macauliffe's work is that it can be understood to be an amalgam of imagination and facts. Rational thought and a rejection of superstition was an integral part of Guru Nanak's sermons. Often in the course of his discourses he categorically denied that he possessed any magical powers. A widespread valorization of incidents believed to have been effected through magic stands in opposition to the basic spirit of the teachings and philosophy of Guru Nanak. However, it remains a fact that miraculous incidents are integral to the narration of Guru Nanak's life as described in the Janasakhis and Macauliffe seems to be simply and respectfully repeating what is contained in the Janamsakhis in deference to the spirit of the author.

The second part of the third chapter takes as its subject the sacred Bani or Hymns of Guru Nanak. Macauliffe tries to present a detailed account of the Bani or Hymns of Guru Nanak. He includes in his account The Japji, The Rahiras, The Sohila, Asa Ki War and Sri Rag. He also traces the association of the Hymns of Guru Nanak to different occasions and different places. As per Macauliffe, the significance of these hymns lies in their imparting spiritual as well as social teachings. In the spiritual teachings Guru Nanak lays emphasis on – One Supreme God, the value of unflinching devotion towards God, Guru's indispensability for attainment of Mukti, truth, peace and harmony etc. On the other hand, the social teachings deal with various chronic problems of a conservative and orthodox society like – idol, icon and image worship, indiscriminate consumption of intoxicants, ritualism and ceremonies, social inequality, caste system, misinterpretation of religious text etc.



It can be observed that the teachings of Guru Nanak are universal in nature and scope and they are relevant to the entire humanity irrespective of incidental differences of custom and climate. Guru Nanak passed on the message of God to humanity. Guru Nanak's philosophy encapsulates the idea that God uttered a *word* or *sabad*, which turned into *light* (Jot) and became the cause of all creation. The *light* shed by God pervades everywhere and the creation and creatures are suffused with it. This *light* or *sabad* created *space* and other Four Elements, Air, Energy, Water and Mud and Rocks, which in turn created various worlds, oceans and heavenly bodies as ordained thus leading to the creation of the Universe. We the human beings comprise Life-Giving Divine Light and the material body, which is animated by the Divine light abiding in us. The Divine present in everyone is called Sat Guru- The True Teacher, the Life Giver and the Sustainer of Life. It is through His Light or Sabad present in persons, they meet with God.

God has created Man in His image. His light present in man, is the source of his existence. Man's body is the Temple of God, where He abides. Although God is present in Man's material body, which is his source of existence, yet the Divine remains aloof from the persons' emotional and material life created through his material body. Guru Nanak taught the world about the supremacy of God. His conception of God as revealed in his verses is that He is All wise, without Fear and Favour, the Real Door in all, yet He remains aloof from the creatures. He abides in all equally, yet the creatures remain disunited from Him.

The third part of this chapter deals with the time when Guru Nanak finally settled at Kartarpur. Macauliffe again leaves out some important episodes of the last phase of the Guru's life. For instance, he does not mention the date when Guru Nanak finally settled at Kartarpur. During this period, many people came to visit him and turned into his disciples. During the stay at Kartarpur, the parents of Guru Nanak died but Macauliffe excludes this event from his account. Here Guru Nanak appointed Bhai Lehna his successor and even subjected him to some tests in order to sound his

character and to be reassured of his candidature. Finally Guru Nanak took his last breath in Sambat 1595. There are different versions about the time of Guru Nanak's death.

The fourth chapter of the present study deals with the life and works of 2<sup>nd</sup>, 3<sup>rd</sup> and 4<sup>th</sup> Gurus. This chapter also is divided into three parts. The first part deals with the life and works of Guru Angad Dev Ji. Macauliffe gives quite a comprehensive account about the birth of Guru Angad Dev. According to Macauliffe Lehna was born in the Sambat year 1561(1504 A.D.) However, Bhai Santokh Singh in his account has given Sambat 1567 as the year of his birth.

The name of Bhai Lehna's mother as suggested by Macauliffe also becomes a ground for disagreement and controversy. In the words of Macauliffe, "His mother's maiden name was Ramo, but after her marriage she was called Daya Kaur".

Although Macauliffe covers the event of Lehna's marriage but does not give the precise date. The account of Macauliffe about the children of Lehna is also not universally acceptable. He says that Lehna's wife gave birth to one daughter Amro and two sons Dasu and Datu. Here again Macauliffe is silent about the dates of their birth.

Macauliffe deals with the journey of Lehna to Jawalamukhi. He describes how during the journey he went to meet Guru Nanak at Kartarpur and turned into his disciple and stayed there. On the advice of Guru Nanak Lehna went home to settle down the family affairs. Second time Lehna met Guru Nanak in the fields and he carried three bundles of wet grass. However, different historical accounts by different writers present different opinions about the number of bundles.

Macauliffe goes on to narrate the story of Humanyun's meeting with Guru Angad. According to him Humanyun had to wait for sometime as Guru Angad was in a deep trance, minstrels were playing and singing the Guru's hymns. So he became angry and put his hand on the hilt of his sword with the intention on striking the Guru. The Guru then addressed, "*When thou oughtest to have used thy sword against Sher*

*Shah, thou didst not do so.*" In the account of Bhai Santokh Singh and Sarup Das Bhall Guru Angad was playing with children and paid him no attention to the emperor when he came to visit him .

Dealing with another important episode of the Guru's life, Macauliffe writes about the city of Goindwal which was constructed by a man called Gobind who was involved in a lawsuit with his relatives. He solicited the Guru's blessings and gave his word to construct a city in honour of the Guru if he won the lawsuit.

Macauliffe gives an exhaustive account of the services rendered and challenges faced by Bhai Lehna before finally Guru Nanak appointed him as his successor. Macauliffe again makes a glaring omission in his historical account by leaving out the date of succession.

Macauliffe offers a full fledged account of the events connected with Bhai Lehna's life after he was anointed the second Guru. Macauliffe narrates an episode in the Guru's life connected with a conceited Choudhary of Khadur who had a son. This son was intemperate and used to drink wine excessively and once fell ill with epilepsy. When he meets Guru Angad, Guru asks him to recite God's name that he should be cured. But the details of this episode are subject to dispute as Giani Gian Singh and Santokh Singh maintain that it was the Choudhary who fell ill with epilepsy and not his son.

Macauliffe further writes that "On the third day of the light half of the month of Chet in the Sambat year 1609(1552 A.D.), he prepare for his final departure".

The second part of this chapter deals with the life and works of Guru Amar Das Ji. Macauliffe writes that Guru Amar Das was born in 1479 A.D. However some primary and secondary sources give different dates of the birth of the Guru. The names of the parents of the Guru as given by Macauliffe have been subjected to doubt and contestation. Macauliffe writes that Guru Amar Das got married to Mansa Devi at the age of twenty three years and ten months. According to Macauliffe two sons Mohri and Mohan and two daughters Dani and Bhani were born to Guru Amar Das

and his wife.

The name of Guru's wife and year of marriage have been held up to raise questions about Macauliffe's writings. Moreover, Macauliffe is also silent about the dates of the birth of the Guru's children. Giani Gian Singh however, gives the details of these births and writes that Bhani was born in Sambat 1590, Mohan in Sambat 1595, Mohri in Sambat 1598 and Dani in Sambat 1601.

Macauliffe states that Bibi Amro, who was the daughter of Guru Angad Dev, got married to the son of Guru Amar Das's brother. Once, Amar Das chanced to hear the hymns of Guru Angad Dev from Bibi Amro. He was so impressed with these hymns that he asked Bibi Amro to take him to the Guru. It was Bibi Amro who introduced Guru Amar Das to Guru Angad Dev.

In the words of Macauliffe, "One day the Guru had a meat dinner prepared. Amar Das said, 'If the Guru is a searcher of hearts, he must know that I am a Vaishnav and do not touch flesh'. The Guru knowing this, ordered that dal should be served him". The incident of serving meat in the Guru's kitchen has not received acceptance from several historians.

Satta and Balwand were very close to the Guru and they wrote several hymns about Guru's life and teachings. They do make an elaborate mention of the Langar system, but there is no mention of meat being served. People belonging to all four castes used to partake food at the Guru's Langar. If meat were being served in the Langar, then Hindu's would certainly not take the food. Based on the assumption it can be said that the incident of serving meat in the Langar seems to be incorrect.

Mehma Parkash, Gur Partap Suraj Granth and other Sikh sources mention that Guru Amar Das established the Manji System. They aver that as the Guru was very old, he was unable to go to far off places. So he established 22 Manjis. It is however a little strange that Macauliffe is silent about this development.

There are some stories dealing with miracles that are linked to the life of Guru Amar Dass and which become a part of Macauliffe's account. He writes how during

the excavation of Bawali at Goindwal a large stone came in the way and halted the work. A person by the name of Manak Chand came to break it but he got drowned in a strong current of water and died. However the next day the Guru brought him back to life. There are many historians who do not lend credence to such stories.

Macauliffe records in his account that after completing the Bawali the Guru declared that whoever should recite the Japaji with reverence on every step would escape from wandering in the wombs of the eighty four lakhs of living creatures. Thereafter the water of Bawali acquired a reputation for possessing healing powers which stimulated the urge for pilgrimage of Goindwal.

Macauliffe also narrates the event of Akbar's meeting with Guru Amar Das during his visit to Lahore. Akbar took food from the Guru's kitchen. Akbar even gave rent free land to Bibi Bhani. Macauliffe does not give details of the precise year of Akbar's meeting with the Guru.

Guru Amar Das's son Mohan and Mohri felt jealous of Jetha. It was owing to this that the Guru asked Jetha to make a house on the land which was given by Emperor Akbar and later dug a tank there which became a pilgrim for Sikhs. Jetha established himself twenty five miles away from Goindwal and also started digging a tank. Many people and labourers built huts for themselves at this location. Guru Amar Das instructed Jetha to construct two tanks. One was known as Santokhsar at Guru's Chakk and the second was at Amritsar in the east.

The date given by Macauliffe of the appointment of Ram Das as the fourth Guru in 1574 A.D. is also a matter of controversy. Guru Amar Dass, being now old, had begun to think of his death. Guru put Jetha to test and found him to be perfect. Macauliffe narrates how the Guru ordered Bhai Ballu to send for a coconut and five paise. Macauliffe writes that Guru Amar Das took his last breath in 1574 A.D. which is accepted as a fact by almost every source.

The third part of this chapter deals with the life and works of Guru Ram Das. The date given by Macauliffe for the birth of Guru Ram Das in 1534 A.D. is again not

accepted by all. Bhai Jetha's (early name of Guru Ram Das) parents had died in his childhood and he spent his childhood in the company of his maternal grandmother.

Macauliffe gives an elaborate account of the marriage of Guru Ram Das. According to him the marriage was held in Sambat 1610 but there are different historical versions which offer different dates. Giani Gian Singh, for instance, writes that Guru Ram Das married in Sambat 1599. Macauliffe also gives the birth dates of the children of Guru Ram Das. Here again there is a complete lack of agreement. According to Macauliffe Pirthi Chand was born in the month of Asu, Sambat 1614, Mahadev took birth in Sambat 1617 in the month of Haarh and Arjun was born on Tuesday, the seventh day of the dark half of Baisakh, Sambat 1620.

On the other hand, according to Santokh Singh Pirthi Chand was born in Asu, Sambat 1605, Mahadev 4 Haarh, Sambat 1608 and on 18 Baisakh Sambat 1610 Arjun was born.

The meeting of Baba Sri Chand with Guru Ram Das is also discussed by Macauliffe. It is written that Sri Chand, the elder son of Baba Nanak, had long hair, wandered like a naked hermit and established the sect of the Udasis. He would not go to meet either Guru Angad or Guru Amar Das, but when Ram Das became the fourth Guru, he arrived at Goindwal. Guru offered him sweets and five hundred rupees.

The episode of presenting gifts to Sri Chand by the Guru however is unanimously accepted. Santokh Singh further writes that Guru offered Shri Chand a horse and five hundred rupees.

Macauliffe also narrates the well known story of a Magistrate who was a revenue collector and lived in town Pati which came under Lahore district. He had five daughters. Four of them were married but one was unmarried. The Magistrate married his daughter with a man afflicted with leprosy. One day her husband asked her to accompany him on a pilgrimage. When they were coming back from the pilgrimage, they reached at a spot which the third and the fourth Guru had marked out as the site of the tank of nectar. The leper immersed his body into the water and was

cured of his disease. The place became famous by the name of Dukh Bhanjani, or destroyer of sorrow. Although Macauliffe includes this story he does not mention the names of the Magistrate and his daughter.

Macauliffe writes that although the Guru's Sikhs which comprised followers and admirers of every class came to assist in the excavation of the tank, yet money was necessary to pay for the laborers and maintain the Guru's kitchen. In order to meet these requirements the Guru sent his agents to different countries to propagate the Sikh religion and also collect the offerings of the faithful people. Such agents were called masands. For sometime after their appointment they sent large sums to the Guru, but afterwards they became generally a dishonest body of men, not contributing to the Guru's treasury and grasping power as opportunity offered.

These episodes are followed by the one of sending Arjun to Lahore to attend a marriage festival. From Lahore Arjun wrote three letters to his father. The dates when these letters were written and the duration of time between these letters are also not discussed in Macauliffe's work. Macauliffe further writes that the Guru then bade Bhai Budha to go to Lahore and bring back Arjun.

Macauliffe writes about the passing away of Guru Ram Dass, "At Goindwal Guru Ram Das closed his eyes on the third day of the light half of the month of Bhadon, Sambat 1638 (1581 A.D.)."

The fifth chapter of the present study deals with Guru Arjun. Macauliffe includes in his account Guru Arjun's marriage with Ganga but he does not mention the date of marriage. Giani Gian Singh in 'Tawarikh Guru Khalsa' writes that Arjun had two marriages. There is little consensus about the name of the Guru's wife as different writers offer different versions about the name of the Guru's wife.

Macauliffe writes that Guru Ram Das died in Goindwal. After his death, according to ancient custom, Mohri a maternal uncle of Guru Arjun, bestowed on him a turban as his father's heir. But Pirthia urged that as he was the eldest son so he should receive the turban. Guru Arjun accordingly conferred the turban on Pirthia and

returned to Amritsar. According to Macauliffe's account Pirthia made complaints against Guru Arjun to Sulahi Khan, a revenue officer of the province of Lahore and also to the Chaudharies of Amritsar that he and his brother had been left without maintenance.

As has been mentioned above, Guru Amar Das and Guru Ram Das had begun the work of the excavation of the tanks of Santokhsar and Amritsar and had laid the foundation of the city. After the death of Guru Ram Das, Guru Arjun went to the site everyday and used to sit under a shisham tree. This tree is today known as Tahali Sahib.

Macauliffe writes that excavation of the tank of Santokhsar was completed in 1588 A.D. but there are many historians who differ and give different dates.

There are also different versions about the land of Amritsar. Macauliffe writes that Akbar gave this land to Guru Amar Das who later resolved to construct the tank of Nectar there. Ganda Singh however writes that according to Amritsar Gazetteer this land was purchased by Guru Ram Das after giving 700 rupees to the Zamindar's of Tung village.

Macauliffe also presents a detailed account about the visit of Ganga Ram, a Brahman of Bathinda without giving details of the time when Ganga Ram visited the Guru and of how many days he stayed with the Guru.

Macauliffe writes that when the tank was excavated, some Sikhs urged Guru Arjun to build a temple of God in the middle of tank and that it should stand higher than neighbouring buildings. To this Guru Arjun replied that it should be lower than other buildings and its doors should open in all directions. Macauliffe says that the foundation of Har Mandar was laid on Ist Magh Sambat 1645(1589 A.D.) But on this also there is little agreement and other historical accounts give different dates for the laying of the foundation of Har Mandar Sahib.

Macauliffe inscribes in his account that Guru Arjun laid the first brick of the foundation of Har Mandar but afterwards a mason accidently displaced the brick. At



that time Guru Arjun said that this place would be rebuilt. His words were subsequently fulfilled when Ahmad Shah Abdali in Sambat 1819 destroyed the temple and the tank and after two years Sikhs reconstructed it.

As Pirthia continued his quarrel with the Guru Arjun, the Guru left Amritsar and made a tour in Majha. During this tour he visited Khadur, Goindwal, Taran Taarn, Jalandhar, Kartarpur and Lahore.

Macauliffe writes that during the tour the Guru obtained land from village Khara on which he laid the foundation of a city named Taran Taaran in 1590. Pashaura Singh corroborates this episode in his work. Bhai Santokh Singh has also written that the Guru purchased land from the villagers by paying one lakh and fifty seven coins. Sikhs even constructed a tank there.

Macauliffe further writes that after this Guru Arjun went into Jalandhar district where he purchased land to build another city named Kartarpur. There he constructed a well which is called Gangsar. Macauliffe leaves out the date of the foundation of this city in his account.

With the blessings of Bhai Budha, Guru's wife became pregnant. Hargobind was born in 1595 A.D. but some other accounts give different dates of birth. Karmo the wife of Pirthi Chand made many efforts to kill the newly born child but all her efforts were in vain. The persons hired by Karmo and the money given to them to kill the child are also a matter of discussion.

Macauliffe describes that due to the danger posed by Sulahi Khan a faithful Sikh of Guru took him to a tract of barren land near Wadali. When there was scarcity of water, Guru dug a well, which was worked by six Persian wheels and it was afterwards called Chhiharta. Macauliffe writes that Har Gobind was born on the 21<sup>st</sup> of the month of Haar in Sambat 1652 (1595 A.D).

But Giani Gian Singh differs with Macauliffe in fixing the date of Hargobind's birth. He maintains that Hargobind was born on Ist Haar Sambat 1652. Kesar Singh Chibber in 'Bansawali Nama' writes that Hargobind was born on Haar Sambat 1647

whereas Pashaura Singh mentions the date as 19 June 1595 C.E. Haar 7 Sambat 1652.

Thereafter, Macauliffe goes on to give a comprehensive account of the events related to the compilation of Guru Granth Sahib. In the words of Macauliffe, " Guru Arjun dictated the hymns of Gurus and asked Gurdas to write them. He ordered that they should afterwards be translated by learned men into Indian and foreign languages, so that they might extend over the whole world."

Macauliffe writes that after much time and labour had been expended the volume was completed on the first day of the light half of Bhadon, Sambat 1661(1604 A.D). This date has been endorsed by most of the historians like Pashaura Singh, Kirpal Singh, Giani Gian Singh, Bhai Santokh Singh, A.C. Banerjee and etc.

It is also mentioned that Chandu Shah who was Diwan of Mughal Emperor sent a Priest and a Barbar to find a suitable boy for his daughter. Visits made by Priest and Barbar to find the boy also added confusions. Macauliffe is silent about the time of the death of Mata Bhani, Mahadev and Pirthi Chand.

Macauliffe however makes a record of the fact that Khusro visited Guru Arjun and Guru helped him. Historians hold different views about the details of the Rupees, Tilak and Ardas offered in favour of Khusro by Guru Arjun.

Whereas according to Macauliffe Guru gave him five thousand rupees for his journey to Kabul, Kesar Singh Chibber in Bansawali Nama does not mention this incident. Sarup Das Bhalla writes about only financial help. Giani Gian Singh in Tawarikh Guru Khalsa writes that the Guru gave Khusro 5,000 rupees. On the other hand J.D. Cunningham does not write about financial help but only writes that Guru only prayed for Khusro.

Macauliffe further states that Chandu Shah made a representation before the Emperor that he had a rival in the Punjab by the name of Guru Arjun who entertained thieves guilty of having stolen some of Emperor's property. They also claimed that the Guru exercised independent authority. Chandu Shah informed the Emperor that the Guru had blessed Khusro and promised him that he would become Emperor. Later the

Qazis and Pandits also made similar complaints to the Emperor. It was at the behest of such people and as a consequence of such fallacious accusations that the Emperor summoned Guru Arjun.

Mughal arrested the Guru and subjected him to inhuman and brutal tortures and finally on June 1606 Guru Arjun took his last breath. The details related to the date of death and his last ceremonies are not accepted by all.

Macauliffe in his work 'The Sikh Religion' has placed before the world a comprehensive picture of Sikhism and its scriptures. He identifies quite accurately the linguistic context within which the Guru Granth Sahib was formed. As the knowledge of ancient language has expanded, the later day scholars have even gone beyond him and corrected his work. The literal style of his translation has been much debated. Macauliffe wrote in a simple and direct style. He did this not only in the interest of clarity but also because he believed that it complemented more accurately the style of the hymns themselves. However, the complexities of the problems of translation have yet to be finally solved. It can be said that Macauliffe's translation will remain a basic witness to the meaning of the Guru Granth Sahib.

Macauliffe gave Sikhs and the world a readable, popularized but very uncritical account of the early evolution of Sikhism. Macauliffe widened the scope of the study of the early Sikh tradition because of his reliance on the original sources, especially Sikh sources. However, his reliance was not uncritical as he rejected several sources as unauthentic. He tried to find a middle ground between his own critical assessment and the orthodox Sikh views.

Macauliffe's work stood the test of time and remained invaluable for the purpose of formulating correct state policies and for promoting Sikh interests. This work can be seen as reflecting the views and attitudes of the Sikh scholars of his day who were associated with Singh Sabha Movement. As is well known these views stood in clear opposition to those held by Trumpp. In his work he projects Sikhism as a totally independent world religion and this view has been endorsed by the Sikh

scholars of great distinction. Macauliffe's writings are acceptable to the Sikhs and non-Sikh scholars alike. His translation of Adi Granth has been received by a majority of the scholars as a faithful narration of Sikhs scripture. Macauliffe's work has also enjoyed acceptance among Sikh scholars and Sikh organizations. The Singh Sabha of Amritsar also accepted Macauliffe's work as an accurate version of the Sikh scripture, especially because Trumpp's translation was not only generally incorrect but also injurious to the religion.

Although Macauliffe produced what can be described as an authentic work yet he re-narrated some stories of miracles associated with the life of Sikh Gurus particularly Guru Nanak Dev. Macauliffe greatly depended on Janamsakhis for Guru Nanak's life and teachings because of the unavailability of other contemporary sources for understanding the life of Guru Nanak. These types of stories are common when lives of great Saints and personalities acquire the form of written literature. Moreover these Janamsakhis were written at a time when there was lot of impact of Hindu mythology on the writers. In Hindu mythology writers often blended fact with fiction in an attempt to enhance the grandeur of their heroes by adding stories of miracles and sensational supernaturalism. It seems that the writers of Sikh sources were influenced by these practices and added apocryphal tales to their otherwise accurate endeavours. Macauliffe, on his part, simply repeated these stories not intending to alter the spirit of the Janamsakhis.

The Janamsakhis, which profess to be biographies of Guru Nanak, were actually written at different times after the death of Guru Nanak and they often contain very different and contradictory details pertaining to his life. All of them carry records of miraculous acts and supernatural conversations. They can be held as testimony to the extent to which 'pious fiction' can fabricate details of the lives of religious teachers in all ages and countries.

In the words of W.H. Mcleod, "The Janamsakhis are hagiographic accounts of the life of Guru Nanak, each consisting of a series of separate incidents or chapters, entitled Sakhis or Gosts. In spite of their manifest shortcomings we are bound to rely

on the Janamsakhis for almost all of our information concerning these events, for there is nothing to replace them and little to supplement them”.

The lives of 2<sup>nd</sup>, 3<sup>rd</sup> and 4<sup>th</sup> Gurus have also been dealt with comprehensively by Macauliffe. In exhaustive narratives he has attempted to cover all the important incidents related to their life and teachings. However, the dates given by Macauliffe, the names of several places and persons have remained a matter of much discussion and debate. There are occasions when he misses out on some very crucial events concerned with the life of Sikh Gurus. One example of this is that Macauliffe omits the mention of the establishment of Manji system. It also seems that Macauliffe deliberately avoids the mention of some dates or names of the persons and places which appear to be controversial in nature.

Generally speaking Macauliffe does not include miraculous stories but on some occasions it must have been almost impossible to distinguish and separate these from historical facts. This may particularly have posed a great difficulty while presenting a historical account of Guru Nanak, a spiritual saint and founder of the youngest religion. As far as other Gurus are concerned there are very few stories of miracle associated with their life. Had Macauliffe chosen to completely expunge these stories from his accounts it may not have been possible to write a cohesive account about Guru Nanak's life and teachings in comprehensive manner.

Macauliffe's work 'The Sikh Religion' is considered to be the most comprehensive work on the early Sikh tradition. It also gives a reliable account of the life and teachings of the Sikh Gurus. Apart from the Sikh sources he also made liberal use of well known Persian works like—Dabistan-i-Mazahib, the Khulasat ut-Tawarikh and the Siyar ul-Mutakhirin. He also sought considerable help from the contemporary Sikh scholars like Bhai Kahan Singh Nabha and Bhais and Granthis. He also kept in his mind the Sikh traditions which could not be ignored while writing about Sikhism. Although Macauliffe has given a detail description of the life of Sikh Gurus, but sometimes either intentionally or ignorantly he ignored some important issues even leaving out some dates and locations of the events connected with the

lives of Sikh Gurus. It seems, perhaps, that these are strategies of omitting highly controversial issues in Sikh history and Religion.

The British writings about the Sikhs were a result of the British interest in the rise and growth of the Sikhs. The British writers who wrote about Sikhs were either dilettanti or not trained in the austerities of historical discipline, some of them were just travelers and some of them worked under East India Company. The motive behind these historical writings changed from time to time. But Macauliffe is free from these types of restrictions or bias. Although there are also some misconceptions regarding his writings but still his work is very useful for the purpose of understanding the history of Sikh Gurus.

It can be concluded that *The Sikh Religion* is historically significant for several reasons. It is, first and foremost, an important piece of evidence of a tradition of writing that emerged from the contiguity of Sikh power with Mughal power and the British presence in India. It is also evidence of the importance of Sikh Gurus, Sikh religion and Sikh thought during those times. Secondly, the book can also be taken as a refined account based on the contemporary and available historical resources which can be said to have considerably influenced the contents and orientation of the book. It can be argued and the issue has been emphasized in the present work also that the book is a rational, objective and comprehensive account of the importance and contribution of the Sikh Gurus and philosophy in the context of the needs of the socio-religious and political realities of those times. The historical study of Macauliffe presents an accurate perspective of how Sikh religion played a socially constructive role by opposing and exposing Brahminical orthodoxies as well as political oppression. However, it can also be asserted that just like any other work this work also suffers from some deficiencies which is most conspicuously evident in its omission of some important events as well as avoidance of reference to exact dates of historically significant events connected with the lives of the Gurus.

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**ABSTRACT**

**ON**

**M. A. MACAULIFFE'S THE SIKH RELIGION  
(VOLUME I TO III): AN HISTORICAL ANALYSIS**

Submitted for Ph.D Degree  
in the Faculty of Social Sciences  
in the Subject of History

2014

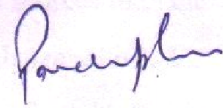
**Supervised by**



**Dr. Kulbir Singh Dhillon**

Professor and Dean, Student Welfare  
Punjabi University, Patiala

**Submitted by**



**Pardeep Singh**

**DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY  
PUNJABI UNIVERSITY,  
PATIALA**

The British authorities after the annexation of Punjab were interested to translate the Guru Granth Sahib in English because they were curious to know the contents of their text which inspired the Sikhs and infused in them cultural and moral qualities. M. A. Macauliffe was leading orientalist known throughout Europe for his original work on Grammar and Philosophy. He was appointed India's Deputy Commissioner in February 1864. Macauliffe during his services devoted himself to the study of Sikhism and its literature. His interest in Sikhism first appeared when he published some articles in the 'Calcutta Review, during 1875 and 1881. He had established deep and continuing contact with leading Sikh scholars and mastered the linguistic tools. He studied a number of Indian and related languages in order to master the linguistic complexities of the Guru Granth Sahib like – Sanskrit, Prakrit, Persian, Turkish, Marathi, Gujrati and Punjabi in its various dialects.

Without getting any favorable help from the British Government Macauliffe completed the work of translation and published it under the title of 'The Sikh Religion – its Gurus, Sacred Writings and Authors' in 1909 in six volumes. Macauliffe used maximum number of available primary sources more than of his predecessors. Much of the original evidence comes from Gurumukhi sources like- the Adi Granth, the Dasam Granth, the works of Bhai Gurdas, the Janamsakhis, the Gurbilas Patshahi Chhevin and Dasvin and the Suraj Parkash of Bhai Santokh Singh. Among his Sikh contemporaries Macauliffe used the works of Giani Gian Singh, Bhai Kahan Singh Nabha and many others. He also used the well known Persian sources like Dabistan-i-Mazahib, the Khulasat-ut-Tawarikh and Siyar-ul-Mutakhirin, apart from the works translated by Elliot and Dowson in the 'History of India'.

The present study deals with the first three volumes of 'The Sikh Religion'. The first volume contains about twenty nine pages of 'Preface and about forty pages of introduction. The rest of the volume is devoted to the life and teachings of Guru Nanak Dev. The second volume deals with the second, third and fourth Gurus life and compositions. In the third volume life, martyrdom and hymns of Guru Arjun Dev is mentioned.

### **Aims and Objectives**

1. To analyse the various sources before using them for the research.
2. To critically examine the M.A. Macauliffe's – The Sikh Religion with Janamsakhis and other sources.
3. To establish the effect of Macauliffe's writings on Sikh history.
4. To examine the interpretation of Western Historians and Indian Historians regarding M.A. Macauliffe's work 'The Sikh Religion'.
5. Also to find out the controversies and misunderstandings which Macauliffe had made in his study.
6. To find out the Incidents which Macauliffe had missed in his study.

### **Tentative Chaperisation**

1. Historical Milieu
2. Early life of Guru Nanak
3. Teaching and Travels of Guru Nanak
4. Life and Time of II, III and IV Gurus
5. Guru Arjun, a Great Contributor
6. Conclusion

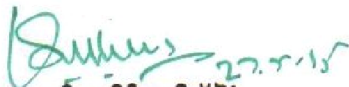
ਸਾਰ

ਮੈਕਸ ਆਰਥਰ ਮੈਕਾਲਿਫ 'ਦਾ ਸਿੱਖ ਰਲਿਜ਼ਨ' (ਭਾਗ I TO III):  
ਇਤਿਹਾਸਿਕ ਪਰਿਪੇਖ

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ਖੋਜ ਨਿਬੰਧ ਦਾ ਸੰਖੇਪ ਸਾਰ

2014

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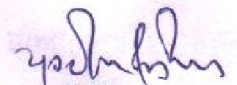


ਡਾ. ਕੁਲਬੀਰ ਸਿੰਘ ਢਿੱਲੋਂ

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ਪੰਜਾਬੀ ਯੂਨੀਵਰਸਿਟੀ, ਪਟਿਆਲਾ

ਪੰਜਾਬ ਨੂੰ ਜਿੱਤਣ ਤੋਂ ਬਾਅਦ ਅੰਗਰੇਜ਼ ਅਧਿਕਾਰੀ ਗੁਰੂ ਗ੍ਰੰਥ ਸਾਹਿਬ ਨੂੰ ਅੰਗਰੇਜ਼ੀ ਭਾਸ਼ਾ ਵਿੱਚ ਅਨੁਵਾਦ ਕਰਨ ਲਈ ਇਛੁੱਕ ਹੋਏ, ਕਿਉਂਕਿ ਉਹ ‘ਗੁਰੂ ਗ੍ਰੰਥ ਸਾਹਿਬ’ ਦੇ ਵਿਸ਼ਾ-ਵਸਤੂ ਨੂੰ ਜਾਨਣ ਲਈ ਉਤਾਵਲੇ ਸਨ, ਜੋ ਸਿੱਖਾਂ ਲਈ ਸੱਭਿਆਚਾਰਕ ਅਤੇ ਨੈਤਿਕ ਵਿਸ਼ੇਸ਼ਤਾਵਾਂ ਦਾ ਪ੍ਰੇਰਨਾ ਸ੍ਰੋਤ ਸੀ। ਮੈਕਸ ਆਰਥਰ ਮੈਕਾਲਿਫ, ਜੋ ਕਿ ਪੂਰਬੀ ਭਾਸ਼ਾ ਅਤੇ ਸੰਸਕ੍ਰਿਤੀ ਦਾ ਗਿਆਨੀ ਸੀ, ਸਾਰੇ ਯੂਰਪ ਵਿੱਚ ਵਿਆਕਰਨ ਅਤੇ ਦਰਸ਼ਨ ਸ਼ਾਸਤਰ ਦੇ ਗਿਆਨ ਨਾਲ ਸਬੰਧਤ ਕੀਤੇ ਕੰਮ ਲਈ ਜਾਣਿਆ ਜਾਂਦਾ ਸੀ। ਉਸ ਨੂੰ ਫਰਵਰੀ 1864 ਵਿੱਚ ਭਾਰਤ ਦਾ ਡਿਪਟੀ ਕਮਿਸ਼ਨਰ ਬਣਾਇਆ ਗਿਆ। ਮੈਕਾਲਿਫ ਆਪਣੀ ਨੌਕਰੀ ਦੌਰਾਨ ਸਿੱਖੀ ਅਤੇ ਸਿੱਖ ਸਾਹਿਤ ਦੇ ਪ੍ਰਤਿ ਸਮਰਪਿਤ ਹੋ ਗਿਆ। ਸਿੱਖੀ ਵਿੱਚ ਉਸਦੀ ਰੁਚੀ ਉਦੋਂ ਸਾਹਮਣੇ ਆਈ ਜਦੋਂ ਉਸ ਨੇ ਕੱਲਕਤਾ ਰਿਵਿਊ ਵਿੱਚ 1875 ਅਤੇ 1881 ਵਿੱਚ ਆਪਣੇ ਲੇਖ ਪ੍ਰਕਾਸ਼ਿਤ ਕਰਵਾਏ। ਉਸ ਨੇ ਪ੍ਰਮੁੱਖ ਸਿੱਖ ਸਾਹਿਤਕਾਰਾਂ ਨਾਲ ਆਪਣੇ ਡੂੰਘੇ ਸਬੰਧ ਬਣਾਏ ਅਤੇ ਉਹਨਾਂ ਦੀ ਮੱਦਦ ਨਾਲ ਭਾਸ਼ਾਈ ਸਾਧਨਾਂ ਦਾ ਗਿਆਨ ਪ੍ਰਾਪਤ ਕੀਤਾ। ਉਸ ਨੇ ਬਹੁਤ ਸਾਰੀਆਂ ਭਾਰਤੀ ਅਤੇ ਹੋਰ ਸਬੰਧਤ ਭਾਸ਼ਾਵਾਂ ਜਿਵੇਂ ਕਿ ਸੰਸਕ੍ਰਿਤ, ਪ੍ਰਾਕ੍ਰਿਤ, ਫਾਰਸੀ, ਤੁਰਕੀ, ਮਰਾਠੀ, ਗੁਜਰਾਤੀ ਅਤੇ ਕਈ ਸਥਾਨਕ ਪੰਜਾਬੀ ਭਾਸ਼ਾਵਾਂ ਦਾ ਅਧਿਐਨ ਕੀਤਾ ਤਾਂ ਕਿ ਗੁਰੂ ਗ੍ਰੰਥ ਸਾਹਿਬ ਦੀਆਂ ਭਾਸ਼ਾਈ ਮੁਸ਼ਕਿਲਾਂ ਨੂੰ ਸਮਝਿਆ ਜਾ ਸਕੇ।

ਮੈਕਾਲਿਫ ਨੇ ਬ੍ਰਿਟਿਸ਼ ਸਰਕਾਰ ਦੀ ਮੱਦਦ ਲਏ ਬਿਨਾਂ ‘ਗੁਰੂ ਗ੍ਰੰਥ ਸਾਹਿਬ’ ਦਾ ਅਨੁਵਾਦ ਕੀਤਾ ਅਤੇ ਇਸ ਨੂੰ ‘ਦਾ ਸਿੱਖ ਰਿਲੀਜ਼ਨ-ਇਟਸ ਗੁਰੂਅਸ, ਸੈਕਰਡ ਰਾਈਟਿੰਗ ਐਂਡ ਆਥਰ’ ਦੇ ਸਿਰਲੇਖ ਹੇਠ ਛੇ ਭਾਗਾਂ ਵਿੱਚ 1909 ਵਿੱਚ ਛਪਾਇਆ। ਇਸ ਦੇ ਲਈ ਮੈਕਾਲਿਫ ਨੇ ਆਪਣੇ ਪੂਰਵਜਾਂ ਤੋਂ ਜ਼ਿਆਦਾ ਮੁੱਢਲੇ ਸ੍ਰੋਤ ਵਰਤੇ। ਉਸ ਦੇ ਬਹੁਤੇ ਸ੍ਰੋਤ ਗੁਰਮੁਖੀ ਦੇ ਸਨ ਜਿਵੇਂ ਕਿ - ‘ਆਦਿ ਗ੍ਰੰਥ’, ‘ਦਸਮ ਗ੍ਰੰਥ’, ‘ਭਾਈ ਗੁਰਦਾਸ ਦੀਆਂ ਵਾਰਾਂ’, ‘ਜਨਮ ਸਾਖੀਆਂ’, ‘ਗੁਰ ਬਿਲਾਸ ਪਾਤਸ਼ਾਹੀ ਛੇਵੀਂ’ ਅਤੇ ‘ਦਸਵੀਂ’ ਅਤੇ ਭਾਈ ਸੰਤੋਖ ਸਿੰਘ ਦਾ ‘ਗੁਰ ਪ੍ਰਤਾਪ ਸੂਰਜ ਗ੍ਰੰਥ’। ਆਪਣੇ ਸਮਕਾਲੀਨ ਵਿਅਕਤੀਆਂ ਵਿੱਚੋਂ ਉਸ ਨੇ ਭਾਈ ਕਾਹਨ ਸਿੰਘ ਨਾਭਾ, ਗਿਆਨੀ ਗਿਆਨ ਸਿੰਘ ਅਤੇ ਹੋਰਾਂ ਦੇ ਕੰਮਾਂ ਦੀ ਮੱਦਦ ਲਈ। ਅਨੁਵਾਦ ਲਈ ਉਸਨੇ ਫਾਰਸੀ ਭਾਸ਼ਾ ਦੇ ਸ੍ਰੋਤਾਂ ਜਿਵੇਂ ਕਿ ‘ਦਬਿਸਤਾਨ-ਏ-ਮਜਾਹਿਬ’, ‘ਖੁਲਾਸਤ-ਉਤ-ਤਵਾਰੀਖ’ ਅਤੇ ‘ਸਿਆਰ-ਉਲ-ਮੁਤਾਖਰੀਨ’ ਦੀ ਮੱਦਦ ਵੀ ਲਈ। ਇਸ ਤੋਂ ਇਲਾਵਾ ਉਹਨਾਂ ਨੇ ਇਲੀਅਟ ਅਤੇ ਡਾਊਸਨ ਦੁਆਰਾ ਅਨੁਵਾਦ ਕੀਤੇ ਗਏ ‘ਭਾਰਤ ਦੇ ਇਤਿਹਾਸ’ ਦੀ ਵੀ ਮੱਦਦ ਲਈ।

ਵਰਤਮਾਨ ਅਧਿਐਨ ‘ਦਾ ਸਿੱਖ ਰਿਲੀਜ਼ਨ’ ਦੇ ਪਹਿਲੇ ਤਿੰਨ ਭਾਗਾਂ ਨਾਲ ਸਬੰਧਤ ਹੈ। ਪਹਿਲੇ ਭਾਗ ਵਿੱਚ 29 ਪੇਜ਼ਾਂ ਦਾ ਮੁੱਖ ਬੰਧ, 42 ਪੇਜ਼ਾਂ ਦੀ ਭੂਮਿਕਾ ਅਤੇ ਬਾਕੀ ਪੇਜ਼ ਗੁਰੂ ਨਾਨਕ ਸਾਹਿਬ ਦੇ ਜੀਵਨ ਅਤੇ ਸਿੱਖਿਆਵਾਂ ਨਾਲ ਸਬੰਧਤ ਹਨ। ਦੂਜਾ ਭਾਗ ਦੂਜੇ, ਤੀਜੇ ਅਤੇ ਚੌਥੇ ਗੁਰੂ ਸਾਹਿਬਾਨਾਂ ਅਤੇ ਜੀਵਨ ਰਚਨਾਵਾਂ ਨਾਲ ਸਬੰਧਤ ਹੈ। ਤੀਜੇ ਭਾਗ ਵਿੱਚ ਗੁਰੂ ਅਰਜਨ ਦੇ ਜੀਵਨ, ਸ਼ਹੀਦੀ ਅਤੇ ਬਾਣੀ ਦਰਜ ਹੈ।

### ਉਦੇਸ਼ ਅਤੇ ਪ੍ਰਯੋਜਨ

1. ਸ਼੍ਰੋਤਾਂ ਨੂੰ ਵਰਤਨ ਤੋਂ ਪਹਿਲਾਂ ਉਹਨਾਂ ਦਾ ਅਧਿਐਨ ਕਰਨਾ ।
2. ਮੈਕਾਲਿਫ ਦੇ ਕੰਮ 'ਦਾ ਸਿੱਖ ਰਿਲੀਜ਼ਨ' ਦਾ ਜਨਮ ਸਾਖੀਆਂ ਅਤੇ ਹੋਰ ਸ਼੍ਰੋਤਾਂ ਨਾਲ ਤੁਲਨਾਤਮਕ ਅਤੇ ਆਲੋਚਨਾਤਮਕ ਅਧਿਐਨ ਕਰਨਾ।
3. ਮੈਕਾਲਿਫ ਦੇ ਕੰਮ ਦਾ ਸਿੱਖ ਇਤਿਹਾਸ ਤੇ ਪ੍ਰਭਾਵ ਦੱਸਣਾ।
4. ਮੈਕਾਲਿਫ ਦੇ ਕੰਮ ਦੇ ਸਬੰਧ ਵਿੱਚ ਵਿਦੇਸ਼ੀ ਅਤੇ ਦੇਸੀ ਇਤਿਹਾਸਕਾਰਾਂ ਦੇ ਕੰਮਾਂ ਦਾ ਅਧਿਐਨ ਕਰਨਾ।
5. ਮੈਕਾਲਿਫ ਦੇ ਕੰਮ ਵਿੱਚ ਵਰਣਿਤ ਵਿਵਾਦਿਤ ਅਤੇ ਗਲਤ ਫਹਿਮੀਆਂ ਨੂੰ ਲੱਭਣਾ।
6. ਮੈਕਾਲਿਫ ਦੁਆਰਾ ਛੱਡੀਆਂ ਗਈਆਂ ਘਟਨਾਵਾਂ ਨੂੰ ਲੱਭਣਾ।

### ਤੱਤਕਰਾ

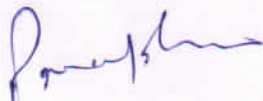
1. ਇਤਿਹਾਸਕ ਮੀਲੀਊ।
2. ਗੁਰੂ ਨਾਨਕ ਦਾ ਮੁੱਢਲਾ ਜੀਵਨ।
3. ਗੁਰੂ ਨਾਨਕ ਦੀਆਂ ਸਿੱਖਿਆਵਾਂ ਅਤੇ ਉਦਾਸੀਆਂ।
4. ਦੂਜੇ, ਤੀਜੇ ਅਤੇ ਚੌਥੇ ਗੁਰੂ ਦਾ ਜੀਵਨ ਅਤੇ ਸਮਾਂ।
5. ਗੁਰੂ ਅਰਜਨ, ਇੱਕ ਮਹਾਨ ਯੋਗਦਾਨੀ।
6. ਸਿੱਟਾ।



## ***DECLARATION***

I, hereby affirm that the work presented in this thesis entitled '**M.A. Macauliffe's The Sikh Religion (Volume I To III): An Historical Analysis**' in the present form for the award of the degree of Doctor of Philosophy is exclusively my own.

Date *10/8/14*.....

  
**Pardeep Singh**

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***Declaration***

***Preface***

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## PREFACE

Many factors were responsible for attracting British attention towards the Sikh community and faith. Political reasons were the most important for generating the interest of the British. The origin of Western interest in Sikhism might be traced back to 18<sup>th</sup> century mainly owing to intellectual curiosity and political compulsions. The Sikh studies had several different phases of evolution.

British took notice of the Sikhs when they were emerging as a political power. Study of Sikh manners and lifestyle assumed great significance when East India Company became a paramount power in India. Polier was the first European who collected information about the Sikhs. Brown was the first administrator scholar who gave expression to the inborn relation of the Sikhs to religion and politics and the strength derived therein. It was the work of an administrator named John Malcolm which put Sikh studies into prominence. Malcolm's Sketch of the Sikhs in 1809 showed the central importance of Sikh scriptures in the political life of the Sikhs.

In the next phase of the evolution of Sikh Studies the focus remained on Lahore Kingdom, its ruler Maharaja Ranjit Singh and its nobility. This is amply reflected in H.T. Prinsep's work. With Cunningham Sikh studies entered a new phase as he wrote as a professional historian. Sikh history reminded Cunningham about the rise of Christianity in England during the middle ages. He advised the British to handle the Sikhs and the Kingdom of Lahore with great care. Also, he attached a great importance to the original Sikh authors and writings particularly the Bani of the Sikh Gurus and their elaborations by the Sikh scholars. Thus, Hukumnamas, Adi Granth, Dasam Granth, Rahitnamas, Writings of Bhai Gurdas and Bhai Mani Singh had a great importance in his writings.

Events of 1857 further enhanced the military and political significance of the Sikhs and Punjab in the eyes of British administrators and statesmen. Trumpp was engaged by the India Office to translate Sikh scriptures which he did partially between 1869 and 1877. This endeavor and more so its failure had become politically significant as Kuka Movement by 1871-72 brought Namdharis into direct confrontation with British Government. Lepel Griffin responded to this situation through his books particularly in his article "Sikhism and Sikhs".

At this stage because of Western Education and constitutional development, Sikh intelligentsia and educated Sikhs also realized the need to know about their religion and cultural roots. As a result, the issue of Sikh identity got sharpened. Leaders of Singh Sabha started looking for a European scholar to correct the wrong done to them by people like Trumpp. After a hectic search, Mr. Max Arthur Macauliffe, an Irishman, was persuaded to undertake this task on behalf of the Sikh community in 1882. M.A. Macauliffe chose to write on Sikh history and tradition out of curiosity but gradually he became one of its important students as well as an upholder.

In 1862 he cleared the examination of Indian Civil Services and was assigned to the land of five rivers, Punjab where he joined his appointment in February 1864 and by 1882 reached the grade of Deputy Commissioner. In 1884 he became a Divisional Judge. In 1875, Macauliffe wrote an article 'The Fair of Sakhi Sarwar' which was published in the Calcutta Review. From 1880-81 he published three articles in the Calcutta Review titled 'The Diwali at Amritsar', 'The Rise of Amritsar and Alterations of the Sikh Religion' and 'The Sikh Religion under Banda and its Present Condition'.

The paper titled 'The Holy Writings of the Sikhs' was read by him before the Aryan Section of the Congress of Orientalists in Paris and published in Asiatic Quarterly Review in 1898. His selected translations of Japji, Rehiras, Anand and Shabad of Amar Das, The Aarti and Sohilla of the Sikhs and Asa Di Var were published between 1897 and 1902. He published 'The Life and Teachings of Guru Nanak' in 1903 and also 'Life of Guru Teg Bahadur' in 1903.

His lecture on the topic The Sikh Religion was published as 'The Sikh Religion and its Advantages to the State' in 1903 in the Journal of United Service Club, Shimla along with 'How the Sikhs become a Militant People'. Macauliffe completed his magnum opus i.e. *The Sikh Religion* in six volumes in three books after sixteen years of hard labour. It was published at Clarendon Press in 1909. In 1910, his 'Holy Scriptures of the Sikhs' was published in the Asiatic Quarterly Review.

Macauliffe showed keen interest in Sikh tradition at a time when the Singh Sabha was entering its vigorous phase by early 1880s.

For this work of translation, he got the help from princely States such as Nabha State, Patiala State, Jind State and Baroda State. He employed Gianis and Writers to learn

Punjabi dialects. Macauliffe associated himself with the Singh Sabha to give Sikh educational movement strength and legitimacy. However, the politicalization of identity issue created a problem for the loyalist ideology of Singh Sabha as the competition for jobs and patronage among the Hindus, Muslims and Sikhs sharpened and took communal shades. Macauliffe's problem was how to face or reconcile Sikh loyalism to the idea of Indian Nationalism. He wrote consciously for British administrators and statesman and also for the Sikh intelligentsia in order to strengthen the empire and the Sikh middle classes.

In the process of writing *The Sikh Religion* Macauliffe used a large number of available primary sources like- the Adi Granth, the Dasam Granth, the works of Bhai Gurdas, the Janamsakhis, the Gurbilases and the works of Bhai Santokh Singh. He also used Persian sources like- Dabistan-i-Mazahib, the Khuasat-ut-Tawarikh and the Siyar-ul-Mutakhirin. For his work Macauliffe resigned a lucrative job. The Government refused to patronize his work during the years 1898-1909.

The topic of the present thesis is *M.A. Macauliffe's - The Sikh Religion (Volume I to III): An Historical Analysis*. The study is delimited to the period till the death of Guru Arjun Dev as this phase is characterized by the peaceful progress of the Sikh religion before a period of transformation in Sikh religion begins. The entire academic exercise involves efforts to critically examine Macauliffe's milestone in Sikh studies *The Sikh Religion* with the help of different primary and secondary sources which trace different meanings and connotations in the work. I take the opportunity to express my sincere thanks to all authorities of Dr. Ganda Singh collection, Reference Library and Main Library, Punjabi University, Patiala; Central State Library, Patiala; Library of Punjab Historical Studies Department, Punjabi University, Patiala; Sikh Reference Library, Khalsa College, Amritsar and Library of Punjab University, Chandigarh who extended all possible help in completing this work.

It is my duty to express my sincere gratitude and indebtedness to Dr. Kulbir Singh Dhillon, Professor, Department of History, Punjabi University, Patiala for his benevolence and guidance in the task of writing my doctoral thesis. I am thankful to him from the core of my heart for his encouragement which helped me to complete my thesis. I am highly beholden to Dr. Jaspal Kaur Dhanju, Professor and Head, Department of

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One debt that would always remain is towards my Grandfather S. Jarnail Singh Batth and my Grandmother Mrs. Dalip Kaur Batth for making me capable of pursuing higher studies and being the role models who inspired and supported me through out my life. I am grateful to my father S. Tek Singh Batth, mother Mrs. Sukhwinder Kaur and mother-in-law Mrs. Sukhpal Kaur for their encouragement and co-operation. I owe my gratitude to my wife Mrs. Taranjeet for being the biggest support of my life and my daughter Tehzeeb Batth for her patience and understanding during the course of the completion of this research. All thanks to my sister Parjeet, brother-in-law Rajandeep and sister-in-law Sukhdeep who were with me throughout my research work.

I shall fail in my duties if I do not acknowledge the timely guidance, cooperation and help given by Mr. Paramjeet Singh, Office Incharge of Department of History. I am thankful to Mr. Sachin Kumar (Tanya's Documentation, Opp. Punjabi University, Patiala) for putting in his best efforts in bringing out this manuscript in the present form.

Date:

Place:

( Pardeep Singh )