

**A**  
**HISTORY OF PANJABI LITERATURE**

(1100—1932)

**A brief Study of Reactions between Panjabi Life & Letters based largely on  
Important MSS. & rare & select, representative Published Works**

*Thesis Approved in 1933 for the Degree of Doctor of Literature  
in the University of the Panjab, Lahore*



**WITH A NEW SUPPLEMENT**

*BY*

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When I am tired of earnest men,  
Intense and keen and sharp and clever,  
Pursuing fame with brush or pen  
Or counting metal disks forever,  
Then from the halls of shadowland  
Beyond the trackless purple sea  
Old Martin's ghost comes back to stand  
Besides my desk and talk to me.

\* \* \* \*

Some people ask : What cruel chance  
Made Martin's life so sad a story ?  
Martin ? Why, he exhaled romance  
And wore an overcoat of glory.  
A fleck of sunlight in the street,  
A horse, a book, a girl who smiled,—  
Such visions made each moment sweet  
For this receptive, ancient child.  
Because it was old Martin's lot  
To be, not make, a decoration  
Shall we then scorn him, having not  
His genius of appreciation ?  
Rich joy and love he got and gave ;  
His heart was merry as his dress,  
Pile laurel wreaths upon his grave  
Who did not gain, but was, success.

JOYCE KILMER

# An Introduction to Panjabi Literature

(800 to 1951 A. D.)

## OPINIONS

**Prof. Jules Bloch, Paris :**

..... I see new reasons to admire his scholarship and energy and enthusiasm and disinterestedness, which cannot affect but for good a teaching career. The book itself, when compared to the old thesis (*A History of Panjabi Literature*), gives new matter, new views, and the plan and development in it are much clearer.....have pleasure in sending you at once expression of approval and admiration. It is not given to all to have done so much at the age of fifty, having at the same time more work ready for publication (I hope the means for it will be found).

**Dr. Betty Heimann, London :**

I too am impressed by his maturity of thought, his apparent excellent training in Western and Eastern scholarship, his broadmindedness in acknowledging the various inheritance, his humane approach to all current problems, his lucid and poetical diction, his genuine mystic gifts, and his subtle sense for linguistic problems. All these unite to produce a mature and accomplished introduction to Panjabi Literature. Also the Western reader will appreciate the wide range of his problems and of their treatment. The added specimens of translated poems of the various authors treated are most informative and illustrative. Since the years of his work—partly under my guidance—at the School of Oriental Studies, Dr. Singh seems to have further risen in mental status.

**Mr. Edmund Blunden, London :**

I think the book includes a useful short account of Panjabi Literature with a number of attractive literary illustrations well presented in English.

**Prof. G. Tucci, Rome :**

I have found it to be a very interesting synthesis, so much so, that it comes to fill a need felt since long.

**Dr. S. Radhakrishnan :**

I have now read your book on "An Introduction to Panjabi Literature" and I have been greatly impressed by your exposition of the subject and your wide learning. I hope you are getting some encouragement from those who are interested in Panjabi literature.

Rs. 7/8/-

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## PREFACE

(To the First Edition)

*There is no bitterness like the bitterness of the very young : but no vision like theirs either.*—Hugh Ross Williamson.

I began my research into mediæval, and my critical study of modern, Panjabi literature in October 1928 when I joined my present post \*created through the interest in Indian Vernaculars of, the then Education Minister, Mr. Manohar Lal, Bar. at-Law, the then D. P. I., Sir George Anderson, and Mr. A. C. Woolner, the present Vice-Chancellor of the University of the Panjab. Five long years, a small fortune spent on extensive travelling to purchase books printed in far-off district towns and tahsils and to meet and persuade the lucky owners of MSS., much heart-burning in me caused by deliberate opposition to my work, by studied silence regarding its merit, by perverse criticism of it and by constant interruptions from all quarters, expected and unexpected, have gone into the making of the book. My handicaps have been the absence of any spade-work in any language done before, except for the desultory writings of (the late) Bawa Budh Singh and Prof. Qazi Fazl-i-Haq, and of a library containing even the bigger printed works, and complete files of defunct and current journals; inaccessibility to MSS. possessed by many an organization and individual; lack of adequate assistance from men in charge of libraries, which did not possess catalogues at all or had but very meagre inventories; the absence of dates on most MSS., and printed works, particularly the first editions, and the lack of any printed biographical material relating to the modern writers. But I did not complain; outside forces beyond my control did their worst and I continued to do my best.

This History does not pretend to be an encyclopædia of our literature, or to include all the names of authors or of their works. In the words of Mr. Andrew Lang (History of English Literature, Part IV), "Selection has been necessary and in the fields of *philosophy* and *theology* but a few names appear. The writer would indeed have willingly omitted not a few of the minor authors in pure literature, and devoted his space only to the masters. But each of these springs from an underwood, as it were, of the thought and effort of men less conscious whom it were ungrateful and is practically impossible to pass by in silence.....That sins of commission as well as of omission will be discovered, the author cannot doubt, for through much reading and writing, they that look out of window are darkened and errors come." The reader has his orthodoxies and heresies; so has the writer, and it will be much good if both recognize that at the very outset.

The scope of my work is a brief survey of Panjabi Literature from the earliest days known down to the year of grace 1932, with special attention to the reactions between Panjabi Life and Letters. An original, national literature can best be studied in proper relatedness to the religious, political and social changes the people producing it have undergone. I have made of it an intensive rather than an extensive and detailed comparative study for even as it was the task was too gigantic and new and over-ridden with difficulties, internal and external, for one man to perform comprehensively.

My method has been to start with a study of the background of men and events, followed by an enumeration of the authors and writings, that are then classified and the more considerable and significant amongst whom are treated at length in point of substance and form, closing with the characterization, material and stylistic, of the productions of a particular age duly related to the tradition past, and tradition newly created. The reader will miss dates at many places; he will miss more, biographical details which explain and illuminate individual achievement. My simple excuse is the absence of material for both; in cases where it existed, I have entered it under Biographical and Bibliographical Notes. The exhaustive study of even major writers has been precluded by the limits of the scope, of space and time, and of financial resources. Another missing feature is translations, brought about by two considerations: firstly, this history is meant for the native of the Panjab himself whose need is more pressing and greater to know the general nature and content of his literary heritage. No other book in English, Urdu, Panjabi or Hindi exists on the subject giving either a connected story of our literature

\*Lecturer; from 1928 to 1944 I was a Lecturer; in 1944 I was made a Reader; I am still a Reader.

or a detailed critical review of any particular poet or period. The only exception, the compilations by Bawa Budh Singh, is a proof more of the interest and the rather expensive enthusiasm he evinced for Panjabi than of his detailed, organic, scientific, leisurely study of all, or even a few of our poets. The Panjabi reader does not need translations. Secondly, translation, particularly of poetry, does seldom full justice to the original; it is either more or less, as even Tagore's own English renderings when compared with their Bengali originals demonstrate. With the best of efforts neither outsiders like Siddons, Trumpp, Macauliffe and Usborne nor Panjabis like Sardars Attar Singh, Khazan Singh and Brijindar Singh have been able to represent even appreciably the virility, the charm, the expressiveness, the music of Panjabi. Thirdly, I propose \*to print, whenever I can afford it, a separate volume, A Panjabi Anthology, after the illustrious example of Browne's A Persian Anthology, 1927, London. Even had I rendered a few pieces of a few writers it would hardly have given the non-Panjabi reader any exact or full idea of the achievements of our literature. My experience with Urdu poetry (Modern Urdu Poetry, 1931, Lahore) is not such as to warrant the inclusion of a few translations, howsoever metaphrastic. I have in compensation given near the end an exhaustive list of translations from Panjabi done hitherto.

My best thanks are due to Dr. T. Grahame Bailey, D. Litt., of the School of Oriental Studies, London, who put me on the path and advised me how to proceed. Out of the fulness of his love for the Panjab and the Panjabis he has done all he could, from across the seas and with his advanced age and numberless pre occupations. But I alone am to blame for all the shortcomings of this history. Had I had his History of Urdu Literature (October 1932), before the commencement of the printing of my history, I would certainly have improved my work.

I have also sincerely to thank Mr. A. C. Woolner M.A., C.I.E., F.A.S.B. and Mr. Eric Dickinson, Senior Professor of English, Government College, Lahore for many a valuable suggestion.

The contribution of the present work to the history of the World's Literatures consists of (a) the discovery and presentation of scores and scores of hitherto unknown works and authors; (b) the analysis of the strands of the Panjabi literary mosaic and their allocation to the formative forces in Panjab life and the cultures it imbibed; and (c) the valuation of individual and total output from the standpoint of modern criticism, which stresses the recognition of evolution, heredity, unity in physical life as in its sublimation, life æsthetic. I hope I have not judged my native literature too enthusiastically and indulgently nor too unconcernedly and carpingly; for, for me is the Middle Path of the Buddha. I also hope I have turned out something which will, effectively and for ever, stop a certain type of the classicist from sneering priggishly at the mere mention of Panjabi literature and from pooh-pooing the very idea of there existing any useful or authentic Panjabi MS. The light under the vernacular bush has lain hidden for long; it is revealed here for the first time and, as I believe, in a fairly large part.

The volume of this history and the nature of treatment of the material in it were largely determined by the fact that it was meant to be my thesis for the Degree of Doctor of Literature in the University of the Panjab, and a thesis prescribes well-defined limits in both. A list of my other printed brochures and articles in English, Panjabi and Urdu bearing on Panjabi literature, and of my original work in Panjabi is given at the end.

## PREFACE

*(To the Second Edition)*

I have made very slight alterations in the thesis but have added a supplement. The period from 1933 to 1951 is covered in my subsequent work, "An Introduction to Panjabi Literature." A list of my works since 1933 is appended.

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\*I have amply fulfilled my promise made then by publishing between 1933 and 1955 the following Panjabi anthologies; Sufian da Kalam; Adhunik Panjabi Kavita; Panjabi Bhagti Kav; Panjabi Adab di Mukhtasar Tarikh; and An Introduction to Panjabi Literature in English, which contains enough English renderings of Panjabi poetry and prose as representative samples.

**Chapter IX.** The accomplishments and peculiarities of Panjabi Literature are specified and its contribution to world literature, to the general art of Letters and to the content, is stressed.

The Addenda contains a further list of Panjabi poets and three short notes on the Short Story and the Drama in Panjabi and on Prithiraj Raso.

Biographical and bibliographical notes on 35 major writers are appended, followed by a list of important English translations from Panjabi and a full General Bibliography arranged chapterwise. The Appendix contains an incomplete list of articles and books by the present writer, bearing on Panjabi Literature, which have been published by him from 1928 to 1956.

The Panjabi Section is comprised of representative selections from the writings, found in various MSS., of several poets and prose-writers of supreme importance, and from the printed work of two great Dakhni saint-poets. They are meant, in particular, to exemplify the nature and growth of the language and thought of the great religious and literary leaders of the Pre-Nanak Age and of the Age of Nanak and to provide material for tracing the ideology and vocabulary of Kabir and others backwards to their Buddhistic and Sufiistic sources. Students of non-Panjabi mediæval saints and of *Hindvi* will find this newly-discovered material very useful.

The Index contains the names of all the important writers of Panjabi mentioned in this *History*.

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# CHAPTER I

## THE PANJAB AND THE PANJABIS

A people is composed of individuals, and individuals are aggregates of hopes and fears. The stronger and acuter their fears and hopes, the finer and more virile is their literature, which voices the best in them in their own colours and rhythms and patterns, a little heightened and accentuated and made more complex. No nation can rise in literature much above its own actual level in life.

The people that now occupies the Panjab was formed by the fusion of the natives and of several superimposed races.

The full and real history of the Panjab and the Panjabis is yet to be written. What extremes<sup>1</sup> meet in its climate and physical configuration,—the beautiful valley of Kashmir, the dense vegetable growth of the Bar, the arid areas of Multan and Bahawalpur, the huge plains and wide and long snow-fed rivers in the centre and the narrow ravines on the west. These extremes of surface and atmosphere have preserved all the regional and, the consequent, social and linguistic differences and prevented the whole of what we know now as the Panjab (inclusive of Delhi, the Hill States and the Frontier Province) from welding into one political and philological unit. The glory-crowded reign of the Sikh Lion of the Panjab, Maharaja Ranjit Singh, was too brief for any real achievement of common coalescence. Thus, the Province has always been an aggregate of tribal territories or small factious principalities. With so many neighbouring, jealous units of power there could be little peace and co-operation. On top of that the first foreign blows always fell on the heads of the poor Panjabis, whose whole time and attention were occupied either in defending their homes and hearths against the internal and external foes or in tilling the land, fighting the soil for material sufficiency. The sword and the lance, and the plough and the Persian wheel have alternated as the weapons of men and the handmill and the spinning-wheel, of women. And, it was not a physical scramble alone, to keep their freedom and possessions; it was, also, a mental, moral, and spiritual struggle. But could they contend against powerful hordes for long and successfully? They could not and did not. Continuous assimilation of each new influence, constant absorbing of more and more blood was the only course of safety for existence. Thus social toleration and admixture, cultivation of a sort of impassive religion, an agglomerate and composite language based in Sanskrit ever adding to itself from foreign stock, a heroic attitude towards life and love have ever marked Panjabi culture, mainly ethical in nature. The fighting man can only afford a simple creed, composed of essentials, preaching friendship and forbearance and forgiveness, fear of god, love of labour and unceremonious worship of local, very human heroes and saints. Contemplation, all-absorbing jealous spiritual devotion, engagement in fine arts,—Painting, Architecture, Sculpture,—do not lie his way. Instead of huge things, deep things, rich things, he concerns himself with things small and passing and simple. Not so much building and creation as conservation and makeshift are his traits, mental and physical.

But all this, pertaining to the composite Panjabi character, is conjectural or, at least, based on our observation of the present only. How hugely intriguing would it be to know in some detail about this land, where the Vedic Mantras first surged in the breasts of the Rishis, the Brahmanaic ceremonial elaboration was first achieved and the first conceptions of transcendentalism were developed. Further, here at Katas, Yudhishtir met the divine bird, who queried him about Dharma; at Murree, the Pandavas perished in snow; at Lahore and Qasur, the sons of Rama

<sup>1</sup> Extremes of heat or cold appear to discourage the accumulation of wealth essential to afford time for reflection and discovery.....In Japan, as elsewhere, the influence of external nature left a permanent impression on civilization.—J. I. Bryan in *The Civilization of Japan*.

ruled peacefully ; at Ram and Lachhman Kunds near Rawal Pindi, Vishvamitra performed austerities; at Tilla, in Jhelum District, Balnath had his order of Naths or Siddhas; at Multan in Satayuga Prahlad taught of God and confronted the fury of his father ; at Sialkot ruled Raja Risalu (2nd cent. A. D) ; at Kurukshetra Sri Krishna uttered the Divine Song ; at Srinagar, Sankracharya founded his fourth Mattha ; at Taxila, the Great University (5th cent. B. C.) dispensed its light for a quarter-century. Here, again, Panini's Grammar and Kalhana's Raj Tarangini were written; here Vyasa, Porus, Prithi Raj and Chand Kavi lived and thrived; this is the original home of the Gypsies, Ods and Sadhs, the Gurjars, Ahirs and Khattris ; here came Skylax, Alexander, Huen Tsang and Fa Hien. Here we saw past the pageant of Aryanism, Zoroastrianism, Hellenism,<sup>2</sup> Buddhism, Muhammadanism, Sikhism. How did this land fare under each contact, under each cataclysm, under each fresh revolution in thought and deed ? How in its blood and brain it received and integrated something of Greece, Persia, China and Tibet, Arabia, Egypt, Central and Western India ? Knowing that, we would, also, understand why Buddhism and all it outwardly implied in wood and colour and stone and deed has not much survived in Panjabi life and letters, only, in part in Panjabi religion ; and why Brahman aritualism has passed away while the Kshatriya philosophy, the Vedanta, has survived; why the spirit more than the word of Islam as it emerged from its Persian cradle, has appealed to the rural Panjab ; why the Chinese and Bengali games of children, the Chinese pigtail, the Chinese magic<sup>3</sup>, the Greek semi-circular head-gear, the Turkish words for daily food and utensils, Vikramadityan Rajput tales and customs, Buddhist folktales, and the lore of saints and lovers from Persia and Arabia, have found a congenial home in the soil or become favourites with the natives ; why again the cult of Krishna or Rama worship has not struck roots here ; why local saints have prospered ; why comparatively so few traces of the changing past have got preserved in life or literature.

A few more particularized observations on Panjabi character, individual and national, will suffice :—

1. The Muslim Rajput and the Hindu Khatri and Arora tribes retain a great deal of customs and superstitions of their early days of common ancestry. Similarly, much essentially Muslim ceremonial has penetrated Hindu orthodoxy.

2. Notwithstanding great fraternization and approximation in rural parts, Hindu-Muslim marriages or even inter-tribal marriages within the same creed of Islam have been tabooed or but rarely solemnized, though the existence of both types with tragic ends is hinted at in, e. g., the tales of Hir and Ranjha, Mirza and Sahiban, and Sassi and Punnu. There is no mentionable *purdah* in the villages.

3. Moghul dress and dietary have got a firm hold on the land and they have assumed a National aspect to the obliteration of the old Hindu habit and food.

4. The Hindu caste system owing to the political and religious ascendancy of the foreign elements of Buddhism, and Islam and Sikhism reached the lowest point centuries back.

5. Each tribe has its Ra (Bhatt) or Dum who recalls in prose or verse its facts and fictions of pedigree ; each village has its Dhadi or Mirasi who is the village musician, poetical recorder, and improvisator combined ; so does it have the Bhand who plays the travelling comedian and social satirist and entertainer on all occasions of festivity.

<sup>1</sup> "The Greeks ruled in Upper India for nearly two hundred years."—*Eastern Art and Literature* by Sir Denison Ross.

<sup>2</sup> The very words Madari and Bangalia in Panjabi supply the clues ; Madari may be from Mandarin or mandri, mantri.

<sup>3</sup> The most intriguing collection of them is from Kashmir, *vide*, Folktales of Kashmir, Knowles, 1893.

6. The folk-tales<sup>4</sup> in their monsters and animal language and re-births and *deux et machina* form a curious compound of Chinese and Buddhist and Persian stuff; the single constituents are most clearly discernible. The stories show little real variety from place to place.

7. The balladry is, strangely enough, very poor in quality and quantity for a concourse of fighting tribes as the Panjab holds. Porus and Prithi Raj and Guru Gobind Singh were rarely sung of as popular, national heroes. Neither was any national Muslim hero, except Dulla Bhatti, thrown up. Thus the cycle of Risalu legends is the only staple theme of balladic stuff; the slight things called *Wars* touching on the days of Akbar and the Sikhs are almost unsubstantial. All the mediæval ballads are really lyrical narratives.

8. Hagiolatry and Hagiology are dear to both the bigger communities, Muslim saints being worshipped by the Hindus also, and Hindu saints by the Muslims as well. Miracle-working is a large bit of popular credulity. The Sufi orders still thrive on the soil. The Sikhs so stoutly opposed to asceticism and renunciation have by a strange irony of fate themselves given three orders of Sadhus to the Hindu stock—the Nirmalas, the Udasis and the Suthras. Nanak Shahis, Sewa Dasis, Gulab Dasis, Lal Dasis, Gharib Dasis, Addan Shahis, Kan-pates, the disciples of Gorak Nath, the Panjpirias, the followers of Gugga Pir, Khwaja Khizar, Sakhi Sarwar and the Bara Gazas must, also, be mentioned. Here one may record the long existing superstitions about days and numbers, and the omens.

9. Brahmanism and monasticism have found their refuge in Kashmir and other, north-eastern hilly parts from a long time and with them have exit from the Panjab plains Sanskrit and Prakrit and Pali influences.

10. Having been but a turbulent Province annexed now to Kabul and Ghazni, now to Delhi and Agra, the Panjab, left without kings and with only agents or provincial satraps, never developed all the courtly manners and refined arts and crafts that grow up in the cool shadows of luxury and patronage provided by the Royalty and Nobility.

11. The important urban centres of political, literary and social culture have been Peshawar, Rawalpindi, Jullundur, Multan, Lahore, Amritsar, Gujrat, Sialkot, Thanesar, Panipat, Delhi, Uchch, Pakpattan, Jhelum, Rohtas, Srinagar, Sirhind, Patiala, and Kangra.

12. Speaking comparatively, from the Aryan times downwards the historical sense and the love of historical records has been strong and often operative in the Province.<sup>5</sup> In this the Panjab resembles Sind and Rajputana. The Mahabharata, the Ramayana, the Raja Tarangini, the numerous Persian histories and biographical compilations are convincing testimony. Original works and translations relating to Rajaniti, also, abound. So do works on medicine, grammar, sex and women's wiles, in Sanskrit, in Persian and in Panjabi.

13. Even in the face of Islamic inhibition, music has, owing to Sufistic and Sikh influences, acquired a firm place in the economy of Panjab life. The popular instruments are: Sitar, Rabab, Alghoza, Banari and Sarangi. The Qawwali assemblies and the Sat-sangs are frequently held and mass gatherings, at which a romantic legend is recited from memory or a book, are a common sight. Drama is provided by Ras Dharias and Bhands and Naqlias and Sang-performers.

<sup>5</sup> Vide page 70; *Oriental Religions*, Samuel Johnson.

<sup>6</sup> Without presuming to judge, one may say that among the best representatives of their school are the paintings included in Mss. 5926 and 464, P. U. L. Five are of Guru Nanak, two of Guru Gobind Singh and the remaining of the popular gods of Hindu mythology, the incarnations of Vishnu. They differ widely from the creations of the Rajputana and the Moghul School and have a technique of colour, line and representation of their own and strike a new synthetic note in their ideas.

14. *Of the fine arts, architecture, in the post-Buddhistic age, has been of the simplest type, even the forts look like so much jerry-building. Sculpture and statuary have been non-existent. There are enough paintings in Panjabi manuscripts as also separately, relating to the Hindu Avataras and the Sikh Gurus to merit our patient and laborious study of them<sup>e</sup> as independent products of a Panjab School of Painting. Panjabi Caligraphy has been well developed. Mural paintings of the Sikh period are of quite a high order. Multan and Rawalpindi produce good painted pottery. Taken all in all, the Panjabis, are not an æsthetic people. In villages they show the usual Indian preference for ornaments of gold and silver. Historical temples and their idols have disappeared and no idea can be formed of their nature.*

15. The ideals of human beauty are simple and such ideal beauty is placed among the Jats and Khattris of the West Panjab.

16. The eye for the beauty of nature is rare. But a few big facts of Nature like the clouds, the morning birds, the rivers, and the ripened crops are observed. The grand and glorious mountainous scenery in the North-West, North and North-East fails to catch the attention of the people. The hilly people show little recognition of the wealth of beauty around them, in their tastes and habits and homes and occupations. What a sad contrast they present to the Burman Buddhists !

17. The unification, brought about consciously and unconsciously, of Hindu and Muslim cultures in all spheres is the greatest single phenomenon visible to the eye and mind of the outsider. The standards of heroism, sacrifice, chivalry, simplicity and service set both in the past and in the present by the Sikhs are a matter of universal appreciation. The upliftment of the masses by the Muslim Saints, the love of and return to Sanskrit learning re-secured to the Panjab Hindus by the Arya Samaj, the revival of Vedanta effected almost single-handed by Swami Rama Tirtha (aided by the Urdu writings of Shiv Brat Lal and Suraj Narayan Mihr) are other features of modern Panjab life.

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## CHAPTER II

### SOME CHARACTERISTICS OF PANJABI LANGUAGE AND PROSODY

Language, in individualization, is a matter of phonetics; and phonetics, of race, climate and dietary. In the case of derivative and composite languages of common parentage; once in literary speech an author, inclined to pedantry, turns to the original, parent pronunciation it becomes difficult to distinguish his language from a sister tongue.

What was the speech of the Pre-Aryan Panjabis? What changes did it undergo on its contact with Sanskrit and later with the Turanian languages? Whereto was it driven upon the conquest of India by Sanskrit culture. Col. Bholā Nath from his personal observation told the present writer that the spoken tongue of Kafirstan (and Dardistan,<sup>1</sup> too,) presented strong semblances with Sind-Sagari. How is that to be accounted for? Do the Pahari dialects of the hills and mountains in the West, North and North-East of the Panjab also preserve some traces of pre-Aryan native Panjabi vocabulary? What is the exact nature and position of the language of the Jangli tribes in the Central Panjab Bars or wooded areas and of the gypsies or Jhugiyānwallas? These are queries which with the present reach of our knowledge must go unanswered.

In view of the four clearly discernible strands in the web of Panjabi literature, the epithet Panjabi is in this work employed as a generic<sup>2</sup> term, excluding Kashmiri and covering:—

- (a) "Sahaskriti" or the language appropriate for a Gāthā, or Old Hindwi. This is the literary dialect of a goodly portion of Chand<sup>3</sup> and of a few Shabads and

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<sup>1</sup> Vide C. R. 1872, The Languages and Races of Dardistan.

<sup>2</sup> Panjabi as a generic term covering Lahndi. Central Panjabi or Sikkhi or Panjabi proper, and Eastern Panjabi-cum-Nirmalayi was first used by Insha in his *Darya-e-Latafat* (Annazir Press, Lucknow, 1st edition, page 3), written in collaboration with Qatil in 1802 A. D. For Awadhi he uses Purbi, and for Braj Bhakha or Bhasha, Braji. All the three tongues Panjabi, Purbi and Braji he covers by Hindi (page 3). Insha recognized the important part played by Lahore, Multan, Patiala, Sialkot and Wazirabad, etc., in the evolution of both Panjabi and Urdu,—by the Muslim rulers and writers of those places as well as by the Hindu and Sikh dalals or traders and talangas or soldiers. The other Panjabi towns he mentions are Emanabad, Kalanaur, Sodhra, Barsarwar (?), Aurangabad, Hetpuri, Satghare, Sultanpur, Belan, Rahon, Kamodar, Kadi Bajhiyan, Bhallowal, Kapurthala and Kashmir (? Srinagar). He shows himself fully aware of the adjacent tributaries of Dihlawi, namely, Zaban-i-Rohtak, Zaban-i-Sonipat, Zaban-Merath which are now together named as Hariānvi or Merathi or Vernacular Hindustani. The Kohi (or Pahari) along with Dakhni and Bangali tongues he condemns as altogether against the phonetic genius of Urdu for any assimilation by it. He also mentions Marwari or Rajisthani, and Bundhelkhandi. It may be noticed that Rekhti, the cockney speech of Moghul Purdah women, exemplified in the ghazals, etc. of Rangin, Chirkin and Ja'far Zātalli (the last-named hailing from the Panjab) contains the largest percentage of words still in use in Lahndi, in their phonetically Moghulized form. Insha also includes in his list Suryani. The word Urdu with the signification of the Military Bazar occurs first in the *Hir* in Lahndi by Damodar, seventeenth century.

<sup>3</sup> The following on Chand is from the Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1868, January-December, pp. 242-243. Mr. J. Beams said, "Chand's dialect, however, is very peculiar, it is the *Bhatti* dialect of Sirsa and Hansi-Hissar forming the genitive often by रा, रे, री instead of का, के, की and abounding in unnecessary and inorganic anusvaras in which respect it approaches more to Panjabi and Sindhi." The Secretary of the Society remarked: Philologically it (Chand's work) was also of great value, being the oldest specimen of Hindwi known, and, as the hitherto missing link between the old Pali and

Shaloks and Gathas of Gorakh Nath, Ramanand, Gopi Chand, Nanak, Arjuna Deva and Guru Gobind Singh. The words Sahaskriti and Gatha appear in the Adi Granth. Trumpp considered Sahaskriti to be a recognized Sanskrit stanzaic form. The present writer has arbitrarily seized upon it as a convenient label for a literary medium which derives direct from Sanskrit and Pali and which for its well-defined verb-forms, phonetics, rhymes, prepositions and inflections may be said to be the direct ancestor of Hindwi.

- (b) <sup>6</sup>Hindwi—the written language common to the whole of North India during the seven or eight centuries of Post-Gupta Bhakti Revival. It (verbs, in particular) is at first found side by side with Sahaskriti, but, in due course gains ascendancy. It has vast affinities with (Sant) Bhakha which had developed its own literature and become popular all over North and East India long before <sup>6</sup>Braji emerged out of its local physical bounds and local balladry on account of the earlier spread of the Nirguna and Prema-Bhakti cult and the Gorakh cult through the teachings and travels of Naths, Sidhs, Jogis, Bairagis, Sanyasis, etc. The Krishnaite cult (in the revived form) and the Braj tongue owe their development and popularity, which came about later than the spread of Ramaite cult and Purbi, to the bards of Rajputana and Agra and Mathura. The Rama and Krishna cults never received the loyalty of the Panjab to any appreciable extent.
- (c) <sup>6</sup>Sind-Sagari—the spoken as well as the written language of West Panjab, which is the parent of Urdu and which with Hindwi shares so much with Kasmiri, Sindhi, Gujerati, Marathi and <sup>7</sup>Dakhni. It includes Pothohari, Dhanayi, Multani, Derajati, Jhangi, Bahawalpuri, PUNCHHI, Dogri and Shahpuri dialects.

the modern Hindwi, was calculated to throw much light on the history of Aryan Indian Vernaculars. Anent Bhatti it may be noted that the Hindu Chief who commanded the district or Pargana in which Nanak was born was a Bhatti Rajput—Rae Bular. More about Chand will follow in Chapter IV.

<sup>4</sup> Jayasi in his *Padmavat* begun in 927 A. H. calls his Rajasthani, Hindwi while Bhakha is his synonym for language in general.

### ਤੁਰਕੀ ਅਰਬੀ ਹਿੰਦਵੀ ਡਾਖਾ ਜੇਤੀ ਆਹਿ

Shah Miranji of Bijapur (d. 902 A. H.) also calls his Dakhni, Hindwi.

<sup>5</sup> In the whole range of known Panjabi literature the words Braji and Braj Bhakha do not appear even once; the appellation Bhakha is the only generic term the old writers employed, it being equivalent to the English word Vernacular in contradistinction with Classic. Even Bhai Mani Singh in his prose *Bhagat Ratnavali* uses the word Bhakha for Panjabi. He was a native of Kaithowal in Patiala State and lived long at Amritsar. Braji proper enters the Panjab and Panjabi with Bhai Gurdas, who had travelled extensively in the U. P., staying for a time both at Agra and Benares and composing many Kabitts and Swayyas in Middle High Braji, with Guru Gobind Singh and his many poets of both Hindwi and Braji like Ram and Sainapati and with Pandit Gulab Singh who has been one of our greatest modern scholars of Sanskrit. The last-named lived at Benares for over 12 years. The word Braji as such first appears in poetry in Maula Shah Amritsar, who was alive in 1935. Guru Gobind Singh used the word *Des Bhakhiya* for both Hindi and Braji.

<sup>6</sup> The word Lahndi was first used by Tisdell in his *Simplified Panjabi Grammar*.

<sup>7</sup> We first meet with Dakhni in the Adi Granth in Guru Nanak's Dakhni Ongkar (or Omkar) which heads a poetical composition. Dakhni stands for a particular metrical or musical form in vogue, connected with the Deccan. The metre of a portion of the poem is Persian, same as used by Shah Miranji, *vide* Urdu, *Aurangabad*, April 1927, pp. 174-180.

(d) <sup>8</sup>Lahauri, pure Panjabi, Jatki and Central Panjabi. The last through its modified form Ambalavi or vernacular Hindustani or Merathi is allied to Braji in certain points. It shows a comparatively lesser admixture of Turkish, Arabic, Persian, etc. It is analytic while Lahndi is synthetic.

<sup>9</sup>Nanak's, Ram Das's and Arjan Dev's work in the Adi Granth samples all the four languages detailed above. As we have their compositions in tact, we can draw our inferences with the utmost sureness from the poetical and semi-poetical products in Panjabi of the 15th and 16th centuries.

Panjabi may be said to have passed through four periods since the Muslim occupation of the Panjab, before which it could rightly be named as Apabhramsa for though non-Indian words had penetrated it, the cultural impingement had not gone far enough to give us a new, clearly individuated speech. From the <sup>10</sup>11th to the 15th century, we have old Panjabi in which Lahndi predominates, e. g., the writings of Farid I, Ibrahim, Kabir, Kamal, Gorakhnath, Charpat, Chand, Hamir and Khusro (*vide* the Panjabi Section), wherein the influence of Arabic and Turkish and Persian is patent and in which native Panjabi phonetics and words and Hindwi verbal forms abound. From the 15th to the 18th century Lahndi is cultivated less, only as a side-show. The Sikh and the Hindu saints habitually write more extensively in Hindwi and only now and then display their acquaintance with Sahas-kriti and Lahndi. The Muslim saints go over almost entirely to Persian, to wit, Bahu of Gujrat. This may be dubbed the period of Middle Panjabi which further divides itself into Middle High Panjabi and Middle Low Panjabi according as the Hindwi-cum-Braji or Lahndi elements turn the scale. It was during this period that real Braj influence reached Panjabi upon the re-emergence of the Braj area as the centre of the Krishnaite culture, through a return in religious studies to Gita, Bhagawat Purana, etc., and through the popularization of Gita Govinda, Sur Sagar, etc., and works on Pingal. About the middle of this period Braji penetrated Diblawi and gave rise to Urdu. The Panjabi people have always been more at home with Awadhi through their long familiarity with Hindwi, the common North-Indian Vernacular, and have comparatively absorbed little of Braji and its

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<sup>8</sup> The earliest traceable appellation of our language is Lahauri, used by Amir Khusro (1253—1325) in his Persian poetical work Nur-i-Sipih (*vide* Elliott's *Historians*, Vol. 3, page 562). "As I was born in Hind I may be allowed to say a word respecting its languages. There is at this time in every province a language peculiar to itself and not borrowed from any other—Sindi, Lahori, Kashmiri, the language of Dugar, Dhur Samundar, Tilang, Gujarat, Ma'har, Gaur, Bengal, Oudh, Delhi and its environs. These are all languages of Hind, which from ancient times have been applied in every way to the common purposes of life."

Muhsin Fani in his *Dabistan-i-Mazahab* (p. 118, Bombay) writing about 1055 A.H. calls the language of Nanak as *Zaban-i-Jattan-i-Panjab*. Hamid in his *Hir* (page 5, Lahore, 1908) writing about 1783 A.D., dubs his tongue as Jatki.

Charles Wilkins in his observations of the Seikhs and their College at Patna dated Benares, 1st March 1781, (*vide* Asiatic Society's *Transactions*, Vol. I) writes (p. 294): The language itself is a mixture of Persian, Arabik and some Shanscrit, grafted upon the provincial dialect of Panjab, which is a kind of Hindoovee, or as it is vulgarly called by us, Moors.

In Guru Gobind Singh (died 1708 A.D.) the word for "vernacular" is *Des Bhakhia* in opposition to *Dev Bani* for Sanskrit. (*Akal Ustat*, 26, 116.)

<sup>9</sup> There is a strong case for the assertion that Guru Arjan Dev and his amanensis Bhai Gurdas are responsible to a considerable extent for not having written Panjabi phonetically and for having approximated the Gurmukhi orthography of Sanskrit loan words to their Sanskrit pronunciation. Here and there the former may have "edited" the language and the order also *Vide Hans Chog*, 1926, page 90.

<sup>10</sup> Or even earlier. "The vernaculars would thus have arisen in or about the Gupta Period."—K. P. Jayaswal, *Modern Review*, September 1927, page 272.

sister Rajasthani, which were the balladic languages of a very restricted area as against <sup>11</sup>Hindwi—born Awadhi, the literary language of “universal” Vaishnavism.

Modern Panjabi may be said to commence with the 19th century when through European influence Multani was taken away from under Panjabi and the phonetics and vocabulary of Ludhiana and its neighbouring districts were sought to be imposed upon the public as the nucleus for a standard literary Panjabi. But the effort failed from the very nature of the genius of the language and the people, whose heterogeneous compositions dictated a different programme. To-day there is hardly a writer anywhere from Rawalpindi to Patiala, from Jammu to Montgomery, who does not mix in his work syntactical and verbal elements drawn from both Lahndi and Hindwi. In fact so far as vocabulary goes, our tongue is still a-forming; into the melting pot are being thrown unceasingly more and more of English, Persian and Hindi. We are still very far from a Standard Dictionary and a Standard Literary Style. One general impression that a student of Panjabi cannot but carry away with him is that these authors writing, as they do, for the masses of a mixed population, not entirely welded and coalesced, politically, and religiously, and caring more for content than for form or style, and, further, belonging to no group or movement but behaving as independents, are not in the least puristic or prudish, punctilious or lexicographical about their expression and prosody, and have ever employed and still employ very mixed forms and constituents of speech.

Much need not be entered here under prosody; <sup>12</sup>the prosody neither of a freedom-loving, military population nor of a saintly or soil-turning section can be very exact or strict or tradition-bound. In this matter, Panjabi is the freest of all Indian vernaculars, with its assonance and its numberless stanzaic arrangements and with its omissions at will of prepositions, parts of the verb and other inflections, its twisting of words—lengthening and shortening of them to fit in, its admixture of syles—Persian and Hindwi, Panjabi and Braji—in the same passages, same stanzas or same composition, its formation of verbs and adjectives from almost any and every noun, its refusal to treat foreign loan words as sacrosanct in the matter of native accentuation or inflexion or further word-formation—to name only a few of its features.

Metres are borrowed from all quarters and varied at will and used, a number of them, in the same poem to suit the changing mood or scene and to induce or evoke a much complexer harmony. Often rhythm alone is made to work wonders. Stressess are shifted at will; the limits imposed on the number of syllables or lines are honoured more in breach than in observance, in the larger and diviner interests of melody, harmony and counterpoint. Same words are used in the same passage with different accentuations, now in their literary or original, now in their dialectic, slangy or Panjabized forms. One may, in fact, be tempted to say that nothing in our composite language or prosody gets dated or ever gets treated as impure,

<sup>11</sup> As late as the 18th century Ahmad Yar (b. 1768) uses the word Hindi Zaban for his Western Panjabi in his romance of Kamrup and Kamlata. *Vide* page 3, 1882 A. D., Amritsar.

<sup>12</sup>Native Panjabi verse is mostly syllabic; some of it is quantitative and very little of it accentual. Further the native *Var* metre in one of its forms is our exact counterpart of early Anglo-Saxon verse with its central pause, its judicious alliteration, its middle rhyme and its blank-verse potentialities.

In a letter dated May 22, 1932, to the present writer, Dr. T. Grahame Bailey wrote from London: “It is a splendid thing that our Panjabis are now devoting themselves to enriching the language. I am pleased to see that you (referring to the addressee) are casting off some of the bonds, which have hampered Panjabi poetry in the past. I should not really say have hampered Panjabi poetry for they have hampered Urdu poetry much more than Panjabi. Panjabi has been freer than Urdu in these matters. It is a freer language altogether.”

unorthodox or archaic<sup>13</sup> and that Panjabi is altogether innocent of the various literary creeds of regionalism or communalism or "capitalism."<sup>14</sup> In the light of these observations, the division of the language and its course into periods must seem pretty superfluous and a little unreal and unfair. Even a modern writer like Gyan Das (or Kishan Singh) belonging to the Gharib Das *panth* is seen to traverse the whole philological, and ideational gamut of Panjabi in his no big collection, first published about 1883 A. D. The spirit animating the Panjabi pen employed in art is that of eclecticism, not of syncretism.

On the general basic relation between Panjabi<sup>15</sup> and Urdu or Hindi, the average uneducated Panjabi reveals a very illuminating psychology. In conversation with a person from the United Provinces, the Panjabi citizen only replaces *da* of his present tense and of his preposition by *ta* and *ka* respectively and feels that he is now speaking Urdu and Hindi and is on a level with the other party in the matter of language, mutually intelligible. And he is right. For, phonetic peculiarities apart, the difference between Low Panjabi and Low Urdu for ordinary purposes does not go much farther than implied in the above popular conception.



<sup>13</sup> Lahndi prose as well as poetry has changed very little during the last four hundred years. For instance, see Nanak's Rag Suhi, *Adi Granth*, pp. 672—73.

<sup>14</sup> Using it in the sense of an unnatural preference for the phonetics and usages of the pure-blooded aristocracy resident in the "civil lines" of a Capital city.

<sup>15</sup> For the earliest use of the word Panjabi for our language see Adelung's *Mithridates*, Berlin, 1806—1817, Vol. I, p. 195 and Vol. IV, p. 487.

## CHAPTER III

### THE PERIODS

There can be no hard and fast limits as encompassing an epoch, and history must unfold itself without any preconceived notion of artificial dates and eras.—*S.K. Dey.*

The dates of a few of the more momentous events in the history of the Panjab may well be recalled to picture to our mind the complex composition of Panjabi life and letters and to mark the rise and fall of the progress curves. Panini, the Panjabi Grammarian of Sanskrit, wrote in the 5th century B.C. Sanskrit had then almost ceased to be the spoken language in the Panjab which, with the territory of the Indus and its tributaries, had been the centre of Aryan culture since about B. C. 2500. Lord Buddha in the 6th century B. C. had preached his gospel in the language of the people as opposed to that of the learned. Skylax came to explore the rivers of the Panjab about B. C. 500 and Alexander's invasion followed in B. C. 326. The Buddhist University at Taxila flourished in the 3rd century B. C. These four centuries before the Christ saw Buddhist and Greek influence in the Panjab reach its zenith. The author of the *Periplus of the Erythrean Sea* visited portions of the Panjab about A.D. 70. The Saka era dates from A. D. 78. Fa Hien the earliest Buddhist pilgrim passed through these parts about A. D. 410 and Hien Tsang about A. D. 640. In the Gupta period which followed the rule of the Kushans, the vernacular of the Province or perhaps the Empire emerged out of Sanskrit, Pali, Persian, Chinese, Greek and Turkish contacts. The 9th, 10th, 11th and 12th centuries are important for a study of the religious assimilation and reorientation that was proceeding apace. The fermentation of ideas was now quickened by the new life of passion—patriotic and spiritual—as the Rajput domination and Vaishnavite revival progressed; passion, also personal and private, which found in the new intellectual individualism and freedom of social admixture and political advancement, a sacred fire. History, too, which was abundantly made during these centuries, received its due tribute from both Panjabi and non-Panjabi recorders.

Sankaracharya is said to have visited Kashmir in the 9th century; Ramanuja in the 12th and Madhavacharya in the 13th. The *Rajatarangini* of Kalhana or Pandit Ragubhath was written in the 12th century. Raja Bhoja of Dhara flourished in the 11th century. He and his dynasty representing the crest of the new Rajput wave, together with Chandra Gupta II, have a great deal to do with Lahndi tribes and Lahndi folktales and Middle Panjabi stories of Baital Pachisi, Singhasan Battisi, Gopi Chand, Bharthri Hari, Puran Bhagat, Risalu, etc. Ms. No. 571, P. U. L., gives 1378 A. D. as the year of Gopi Chand's re-entry into Dharanagri.

In A.D. 986-7 Amir Subuktigin began to make raids into the Panjab then ruled by Jaipal, whose capital was at Bhatinda. Jaipal's death in 1001 A. D.<sup>1</sup> ends the Hindu sovereignty as well as the Hindu-cum-Buddhist cultural and literary exclusiveness. Chand's language is too fine and adequate an instrument not to have taken two to three hundred years to forge. The Turanian or Arabo-Persian element in him is far too much to be ascribed only to occasional

<sup>1</sup> Another reason for our dating the Pre-Nanak Age from 1001 will be found in Macdonell's conclusion (*Sanskrit Literature*, page 9):—The second period, concurrent with the final offshoots of Vedic literature and closing with Muhammadan conquest after 1000 A. D., is the Sanskrit period strictly speaking.

impacts. A regular interchange of thoughts and things extended over no less than 5 to 6 centuries would just suffice for an explanation. After Jaipal Lahore begins to figure prominently for the Panjab came to be known as the Indian province of Lahore under the rule of the Ghaznavid Dynasty. For fully two hundred years till the reduction of Delhi, Benares, etc., in A. D. 1194 and the establishment of the Sultanate of Kutb-ud-Din Ibak in A. D. 1206, the Panjab had been fast absorbing Muslim influence. On the Muslims themselves Panjabi or Lahndi language and culture exercised their influence till the 15th century whereafter it began slowly to be replaced by Braji and Rajasthani. However, not till the 16th century it was that the districts of Agra and Mathura and Delhi unitedly put their impress on the Muslim mind and evoked its reactions. The Panjab ceases to be the cook-pit after the 16th century and enjoys some peace till the twenties of the 18th century when the invasions of Nadir Shah and Ahmad Shah revived the Hun and Mongol traditions of unmitigated barbarism. From the suppression of the Sikhs in the reign of Farrukh Siyar, about A.D. 1719, till the rise of the Sikh Sovereign of the Panjab, both politically and religiously we had our darkest days. The age of Ranjit Singh may be fixed between 1799 and 1864, the latter being the date of Lord Lawrence's Viceroyalty which closed the work of reconstruction after the mutiny.

The Pre-Nanak age should, in the light of the foregoing, begin with the eighth century and end with the 15th. It was the age of religious monks and saints, Hindu, Buddhist and Muslim, of ballad-writers who found capital stuff in the frequent clashes between Buddhists and Hindus, Hindus and Muslims, Muslims and Muslims, Indians and non-Indians; and of Romancers. The names of some of the most popular and influential Muslim Sects of this period and of the many wandering Hindu ascetic orders are found in Nanak who frequently refers to their tenets and practices.

The Age of Nanak is the golden Age for Panjabi life and letters, for, then the masses of the population found a religion and a literature right close to their hands and hearts. A conscious readjustment to changed political and social conditions was being effected for them by their leaders who seemed to be fully aware of the vast responsibilities of leadership and to rise equal to the various occasions both in thought and action.

With the decline of the Mogul Empire in the 18th century proceeds a decline in literary output, religious assimilation and social freedom. Once the Panjab was the centre of an empire; later, an important province of two Empires, close to their capitals. But now it was reduced to a set of warring districts. The Age of Ranjit Singh was too brief to achieve anything solid and was at the same time bound hand and feet, hard and fast, by the court traditions of Persian.

The British occupation and annexation of the Panjab with its attendant machinery for education, publication, etc., marks the beginning of a new period. Panjabi started on its career under the British with a large initial handicap for they had already set their heart on "official Hindustani" as the best All-India medium of communication with the natives and several native writers themselves, in particular Mr. Syama Charan Ganguli,<sup>2</sup> condemned the language too rantingly, and strongly, put forth against its introduction as court language or as a medium of primary instruction.

The period is yet with us and the last 70 years have given rise to no big new tendency or movement which, ushering a new era, may dictate the erection of a new chronological milestone.

<sup>2</sup> *Vide* the Calcutta Review, 1882, pp. 344—351, "The Language Question in the Punjab."

# CHAPTER IV

## THE PRE-NANAK AGE

In books lies the soul of the whole Past Time, the articulate audible voices of the Past, when the body and material substance of it has altogether vanished like a dream.  
—*Carlyle*.

The existence of a pretty long Pre-Nanak Age of Panjabi Literature is warranted both by the actual presence of work attributed to writers like Pushya or Pundya, Chand, Gorakh Nath, Charpat, Masud, Khusro, Farid, Braham, etc., and by the theoretical consideration that the excellence of the content of Nanak's literary executions and the variety and richness of his poetical forms could only have been the crescendo of a huge tide rolling over a large expanse, with a considerable regular speed, and for a long duration. Dr. Nicol Macnicol's observations about the Beginnings of Marathi apply with equal force and precision to the beginnings of Panjabi. "It is usually taken for granted," says he (J. R. A. S., April, 1932), "that Marathi literature begins with Mukund Raj, Jnaneswar and Namdev. These are likely to continue to hold their position as the real inaugurator of the intellectual awakening in Maharashtra which broke away from Sanskrit and made use of the vernaculars as the literary medium . . . . (But) the Language cannot have become on a sudden the finally tempered philosophical weapon that it is in the hands of those who, according to the tradition, lead the succession of the Marathi poets . . . . The language grew gradually in grace and flexibility in the hands of lesser men before it came to be made use of to convey profounder messages at the bidding of such writers as Mukund Raj and Jnaneswar . . . . (The members of) the Manbhau sect—we gather from the 12th century Gitas and Bhagvatas—carried the Marathi tongue and their books in old Marathi to Peshawar and beyond." We may also deduce the existence of a Pre-Nanak Panjabi literature from the fact that the North-Indian Vernacular which later got differentiated into the various modern provincial speeches, having arisen about the 8th century or earlier, will, with Sanskrit and Pali literatures before it, presumably have continued the work of religious propaganda and instruction for and among the masses. It was not a case of the rise of a literature for the first time among a newly organized and civilized people but merely of the change of medium in the hands of classical scholars. The content-matter and forms were already there in Sanskrit, Pali and Prakrit, Arabic and Persian and if nothing else, at least translations and adaptations, and spontaneous lyrics and balladry would easily come into being, moulded on classical models.

The language of Pre-Nanak Panjabi literature<sup>1</sup> is easy to name and characterize, on a study of contemporary Apabhramsa literature produced in Maharashtra, Gujarat, Rajputana, Sind, U.P. and Bengal,<sup>2</sup> which study clearly brings out the essential affinities of form and con-

<sup>1</sup> Vide "The Language used in Granth Sahib", *The Sikh Review*, Delhi, March, 1916 and "The metres used in the Granth Sahib," *ibid*, April 1916. Also, see J. R. A. S., 1862, pp. 361—406, for the "Declensional Features of North-Indian Vernaculars compared with Sanskrit, Pali and Prakrit."

<sup>2</sup> "Doubtless early Bengali and early Hindi differed little, if at all, from each other, and the present divergence is due to the operation of phonetic change in the same vernacular spoken by different branches of the same race, which were separated from each other by the revolution which followed the breaking-up of the great empire of the Guptas of Magadha or by others which are now lost in the silent darkness of Indian history." C. R., 1871, p. 295. Panjabi, Sindhi, Gujarati, Marathi, early Dakhni and Marwari have already been accepted by scholars as allied tongues.

-tent, and the obvious identity of vocabulary. Frequent pilgrimages by the masses, constant travels of the members of religious<sup>3</sup> orders and fraternities, congregational preaching and singing, commercial contacts and political changes and dealings together with the commonness or sameness of the classical literary and linguistic parent-stock gave rise to Sahaskriti and Hindwi<sup>4</sup> which together with Lahndi<sup>5</sup> are found in varying degrees in almost all the writers of the period, of whatever creed and nativity, who show only minor phonetic differences and who are noticed to use both the common North-Indian Hindwi and the local or provincial variation of it and employ even Lahndi words and poetical moulds possibly for their hearers or, possibly, out of a desire for a more varied artistic achievement. (*Vide* samples in the Panjabi section of the thesis.)

Before proceeding with a classification of the content of Pre-Nanak Panjabi literature (that is, literature produced in the "provinces" of Lahore, Delhi, Multan and Depalpur as they stood in the time, *e. g.*, of Khusro and Mubarak Shah, let us look at the general substance of entire mediæval North-Indian vernacular literature and then take stock of the actions and reactions of the "the Bhakti Movement" and its preceding and co-existing religious institutions<sup>6</sup>. Pauranism shot through with Bodhisattva<sup>7</sup> doctrines among the masses and Vedanta among the classes were the features of Hindu religious life on the eve of the Muhammdan conquest of the Punjab. Islam brought to the religious fund a certain asceticism and the idea of grace associated with the first phase of the Sufi Movement. The objective of the saint-poets and preachers of the Pre-Nanak Age seems to have been to mix the various elements of Buddhism, Pauranism, Upanishadism and Sufistic asceticism<sup>8</sup> in due proportions so that the resultant compound may rightly and fully serve the needs of changed political and social situations.

The consciousness of this tolerant, catholic and reconciliatory mission is writ large on all important poetry of the period. The achievement of this religious synthesis and the celebration

<sup>3</sup> "Dr Farquhar has shown that for nearly five hundred years (A.D. 900 to 1350) the development of Hinduism was largely influenced by the various sects that arose and that these sects were themselves very considerable in both numbers and influence. From 1700 this important factor of the religious sects became a diminishing quantity."—*Tukaram* by Fraser and Edwards, pp. 35,36.

<sup>4</sup> Muhammadans early composed poems in Hindwi. About 1370 Maulana Daud wrote a poem the title of which was Chandaban (or Chandarbadan ?) in honour of Jona Shah Khan Jahan.—Page 320, *The Calcutta Review*, 1871, *The Hindu Rajas under the Mughals*.

<sup>5</sup> Poetry in Sahaskriti and in Lahndi-cum-Punjab-Hindwi carrying the names of Khusro, Kabir, Kamal, Ramanand, Namdev, Ravidas, Charpat and Gorakhnath is available, while the work of Chand, and Shah Miranji has a most extensive and unmistakable likeness of thought, metres, syntax, words and word-formations, and Hindi-izing tendencies with that of Farid and Nanak. *Vide* the samples in the Panjabi Section of the thesis.

<sup>6</sup> "Broadly viewed from the historic point the religious and social life of India, so far as its lines can be traced with distinctness, divides itself into four successive stages, *viz.*, 1. the Age of the Vedas, 2. the Age of the Upanishads, 3. the age of Buddha and Buddhism, and 4. the Age of the Bhakti or Devotional School. But for the Vedas there would be no Upanishads, but for the Upanishads there would be no Buddha. These four stages are interdependent. Each led to the next and all the first three culminated in the *bhakti* or Devotional School." *Vide Tukaram* by Fraser and Edwards, p. xii.

<sup>7</sup> For the best and fullest account of the part of Buddhism in the rise of Pauranism, Vaishnavism, Saivism and Sikhism see Samuel Johnson's *Oriental Religions*, pp 711, 732 756-757 and 769 to 792.

<sup>8</sup> *Rabia* by Margaret Smith, pp. 76-87.

in song of the picturesque portions of the military and romantic life of those stirring and troubled times of Hindu and non-Hindu conflict form the double goal the writers strove to reach. To quote Dr. Nicol Macnicol again (J. R. A. S., April, 1932): "The general direction of the philosophical teaching of the early Marathi poets appears to be towards the Advaita of Sankara.....Mukund Muni, Jnaneshwar, Eknath, Namdev, and Tukaram.....In each of these poets there are two rival movements of the spirit always present—that which derives from Sankaracharya on the one hand and that which is more akin to Ramanuja on the other. It is an interesting study to examine how these irreconcilable elements are mixed in the case of each poet and saint, and the determination of the doctrine that they hold by, has been a problem that has long divided the students of their works. There seems to have been, indeed, throughout this period among the thoughtful men a continuous effort to find some way to unify their religious thinking."

A detailed analysis of the Bhakti movement—the staple subject of Medieval Indian Literature—is necessary here for its psychology has not been properly and fully exposed; its social repercussions alone have received general attention. Supposing for argument the movement had not taken birth. Under the crude and compelling impact of Islam caste would in any case have gone; the number of idols, temples and the votaries would all the same have diminished; the vernaculars, with the decline of the classical languages caused by the new mixture of races and tongues and the Buddhist cultivation of Prakrit and Pali, would under all circumstances have come to their own, and the Hindus would by the very nature and force of their intellectual heredity and philosophical predisposition have found textual and disputatious sanctions for altered social and religious values. The specific contribution of the movement (exemplified best and fullest in Nanak) should, therefore, be sought elsewhere, in its emphasis on "Inwardness and Individualism"<sup>9</sup> or liberation of the Individual mind through a Socratic questioning of all customs and practices and beliefs in the interest of truth. By inwardness is meant a practical realization of the spiritual and moral greatness of Man, the microcosm, which comes from self-knowledge—the award for the search of truth. Thus are Truth and Freedom ultimately correlated. "Truth is Freedom" may well be the motto of Pure Bhakti. Says Nanak, the sole exponent of Pure Bhakti,

ਬਿਨੁ ਸਾਚੈ ਨਹੀਂ ਦਰਗਹ ਖਾਨੁ ।  
ਹਰਿ ਰਸੁ ਪੀਚੈ ਛੁਟੈ ਨਿਦਾਨੁ ।

This contribution of the Movement was partly original and partly derived. Islam<sup>11</sup> with its externalization, exotericism, mass-subordination, theocracy, institutionalism and uniformizing could not have rendered any help here. It were Jainism-Buddhism and the inner psychological reaction to external political and religious slavery and suffering which supplied the yeast. The fermentation seems to have come about this wise. The transcendentalist as well as the theist Hindu mind could not long accept the yoke of a religion (Buddhism) which simply left God out of account in daily life and demanded the transfer of its live, hearty loyalty from a kind and responsive god or gods to an inexorable lifeless law of Karma and laid stress on the escape from the actions and reactions of

<sup>9</sup> "The psychological result of moral renovation lies in the loosening of the soul. When its efforts to realise art, truth or virtue have become artificial and sterile through their automatic working, the result of a prolonged strain, it finds a new fecundity by renouncing what have proved to be exhausting and fruitless ambitions; by returning, through simplicity, to its own deeper powers; by resuming contact with the elementary energy of the subconscious."  
— *A History of English Literature*, Vol. II, Louis Cazamian, 1927, p. 259,

<sup>10</sup> *Vide* Nanak, A. G., pp. 862, 863, 868, numbers 2, 15, 48 and 49.

<sup>11</sup> *Vide* Sufism by Edward Sell, *Calcutta Review*, 1883, pp. 324-347.

an engulfing religion and civilization, like that of Islam. Revived Hinduism after Sankara and after the destruction of Buddhistic art and idols at the hands of the Muslims, therefore, sought a return to its old ways of emotional satisfaction and find sanction for its new outlook in the old authorities, with such partial borrowings from the Buddhistic ways of life as had served well the hearts and heads of the Indians in the pre-Muslim period and had generated a mass-consciousness, freed of pain, priesthood and pantheistic plurality. The special features of successful pre-Sankara Buddhism which are paralleled in the Bhakti renaissance are as under :—

1. Emotional satisfaction of the mass-mind was achieved through the artistic worship of the very humane Buddha known in his numberless previous births or Bodhisattvas. This gave the Bhakti creed idol-worship with Rama and Krishna and Siva, etc., in substitution of the Buddha.

2. The Buddha was a kind idol ; so would be Rama and Krishna whose doors were to open to all castes and whose mercy transcending the (Buddhistic) laws of punishments and awards would be available to all at whatsoever moral level and at every time. Suitable episodes were hunted up from the biographies of these two Avataras (and of other classical figures like Balmik, Sukhdev, Baddhak, Dhru, Prahlad, Janak, Ambrik, Myur, Yudhishtar, Ahilya, Hari Chand, Sanak, etc.) which were re-written and re-interpreted almost entirely, *e. g.*, by Jaidev, Chaitanya, Nabha Das, Tulasi Das, Surdas, Vishnu Puri amongst others.

3. The Buddhistic levelling up of the lower classes was a most prominent feature. The new creed professed to put into practice the same Buddhistic castelessness and, thereby, raise the stature of the essentially one Humanity.

4. The Buddhas had had many previous incarnations round which such interesting and instructive legendary literature had grown up. The new creed's Avataras, saints and sinners were credited with similar previous births, which (fact or fiction) while giving them the grandeur of Immortality, at the same time covered the lowness of the present births of many of them.

5. The Buddha had taught his Middle Path and expressed his denunciation of Brahmanism and Priesthood through the language of the people, by travelling about himself and by sending out special missionaries and disciples. The new cult adopted both these devices. In early Buddhism and Vaishnavism both, we have the same spirit of independent inquiry, fearless assertion, ceaseless activity for conversion and unflinching and unsparing loyalty of the disciples to the Master. The teachings of the Buddha were collected in the shape of real and imaginary, psychological dialogues. The Bhakti cult did likewise so that the books shall upon the decease of the master radiate for ever after, the new light to successive generations of followers formed into a Sangha. The Tathagata, the Dhamma or the Law, and the Sangha correspond exactly with the Sat Guru, the Bani and the Satsang, Sadhsang or Gursangat<sup>12</sup>.

6. Respecting the inner and spiritual realms Buddhism spoke of 84 lakhs of yonis, lokas of the microcosm and the macrocosm and their correspondences, the four or seven psychic planes, the music within us, Nibbana, Shunya, the various graded Masters, immortal and ever-active Jivan-Muktas or Videh-Muktas, the wheel of Eternal Kala, etc. This detailed instruction about Time, Space and Causality came particularly handy to the Turn-Inward Bhakti movement which was unconsciously seeking to liberate the individual citizen, on any possible plane and into any possible sphere. It provided a way of salvation which fulfilled the

<sup>12</sup> As an indispensable adjunct to congregational devotionism, higher music received increased and more refined cultivation among the Bhaktas, who in certain cases and places added dancing to music. A time, however, came when in place of being prescriptive aids to beatification and trance-production they degenerated into just sensual tonics for decadent Krishnaism. Anyway, the Bhakti movement throughout gave a great fillip to music as it did to lyrical literature.

need for a short and easy method practicable by the average subject Hindu amidst a stifling garrison of the conquering hordes of Islam, without the aid of exterior, rituals, ceremonials, etc., and with the help of the word of a personal guide and of the repetition of the Name<sup>13</sup> which worked as a supra-physical instrument impossible of destruction by the foreign iconoclast. In the new creed, therefore, we find almost the whole of Buddhistic terminology : Jap, Ajat, Dhyana, Bhao (Bhavana), Tap, Kal, Akal, Niranjan, Sunn, Shil, Brat, Anhad Shabda,<sup>14</sup> Lok, Jivan Mukta, Gyani, Sahajyog, Chaurasi, Dan, Nam, Uttam Manas Janam, Samdarshan, Sewa, Nirban (Nibbana), Amit, Anatam, Buddh, Gatha, Nad, Kirtan, Kirt, Jiv Daya, Gun, Adhyatam, Pind, Brahmanda, Prapti, Achyuta (From Nanak). The most distinctive portion of the Bhakti practice is the Surat Shabad Yoga system it inculcated. All the remaining content of the mediæval movement was Pauranism, a Brahmanic readaptation of early Hinduism to suit the changed needs ; all the rest, that is, the Avataras, the idol-worship, the deification of saints, a new priestcraft and caste-division, asceticism, ceremonialism, etc. In the present writer's opinion this *shabda yoga* derives chiefly from esoteric Buddhism and partly, either directly or indirectly, from Zoroastrianism with its "Auahat," and was made to supersede the Raja Yoga of Gita, the Hatha Yoga of Patanjali and the various practices of Tantrism and Saivism.

7. The spiritual emancipation and enfranchisement of the fair sex is also a characteristic of later Buddhism bequeathed in due course to the Bhakti movement.

Whatever aberrations and deviations the Hindu, in practice, may indulge in, in theory he must keep himself related to the Vedas and the theology and philosophy of his practical innovations must only be a re-interpretation of the Vedic texts<sup>15</sup> and never a new product. The intellectual loyalty of the Hindu, in whatsoever stage of moral or spiritual activity he may be, must be an offering at the altar of a Vedic utterance and a Vedic God. This explains the workings of the minds of the Official Theologians and Philosophers of both the Vishnu and Shiv schools and of the expounders of Suddha Advaita, Vasishtha Advaita or Dvaitadvaita and Dvaita. In the acceptance of an intellectual position, however, the Bhakti cult found some difficulty. The head bowed to the interpretations of Sankara who had managed to reconcile

<sup>13</sup>Even this most valuable contribution of Bhakti towards the formulation of the average Man's esoteric religion would seem to have been anticipated by later Buddhism in collaboration with Hindu Yogaism. *Vide* J. B. O. R. S., Vol. XVII, Part I, *Magical Beliefs in Buddhism*, Page 156.

<sup>14</sup>The Anahata Shabda is the highest spiritual music one hears within, after one's Anahata Chakra corresponding to the thymus gland in the etheric body has been awakened to activity. The word sabda is a term corresponding to the Word, Logos or Spirit of Western Ideas.

<sup>15</sup>It would seem that the philosophy which appealed to the Panjab was Sankara's Vedanta for, as will appear from the later chapters, this has been the ever-present prepossession of all writers, high and low, presumably because of the presence of the Muhammadan element which would not bear Dualistic image-worship and would passionately stand by its own monotheistic devotionism. On the particular tendency of the Hindu mind indicated in this para, we gladly enter here a rather longish piece.

"But in India the relation between theology and philosophy has always been peculiar .....(here) religious dogmas have produced systems of philosophy, and systems of philosophy have in their turn given birth to religious dogmas. There was scarcely a single system of religious doctrine in India, which had not its cognate system of speculative philosophy attached to it ; nor many systems of philosophy which did not form the source of the religious doctrines of particular sects. The special mission of the Mimansa philosophy was to explain the Vedas ; the special object of the Vedanta to elaborate the Pantheistic conception of the Deity to be found in them. The eclecticism of the Bhagvadgita modifies largely even to this day, the religious convictions of the more educated classes of orthodox Hindus. The teaching of Chaitanya was the ultimate product of an union between the Vaishnavism of Ramanuja and Sandilya's doctrine of faith. Who shall say that Tantrikism itself is not the result

idol-worship of the Shiva, with his transcendentalism or Monism, while the heart went out fluttering to the expositions of Ramanuja and Madhava with whom love swayed all and everywhere. While these classifying and elaborating schoolmen stood apart to scientize the system which had long been in practical employ—to build theory out of practice, Darshanas out of Anubhava—the practical saint-poets tried either to ignore the scholasticism of the cult, or to reconcile the differing intellectual views or just to rest safe in the embrace of an individual eclecticism. On the whole, however, in West India and the Panjab, at least, Sankara's Vedanta and Sufistic Pantheism formed the intellectual background of the Bhakti emotionalism and esotericism partly because they were really a continuation of the immediately preceding religion, Buddhism, which in turn had been a carrying-forward of Upanishadism.<sup>16</sup>

Writers on the Bhakti cult have failed to notice its rise and spread among the Muslim population of India who were being acted upon by the same catalytic agents in the nascent state. The emotional satisfaction of the masses and the intellectual satisfaction of the classes, particularly of the converts from among the sons of the soil, could not be achieved through a severe, utilitarian Islamic theology and theocracy as it then stood in India and abroad. The contact with Zoroastrianism, Buddhism and Pauranism produced in Islam results similar to those generated by them in mediæval Hinduism. The same necessity and supremacy of Love, practice of Shabda Yoga, power of Grace, and the same mixture of Intellectualism and Emotionalism do we meet with in Daud, Burhan, Khusro, Bu Ali Qalandar and Farid of Panjab, Shah Latif of Sind, Miranji Shah of the Deccan, Shah Alijo Gam of Gujarat and in hosts of other saints and poets whose propaganda was being carried on similarly through spiritual assemblies at which the *name* was repeated, vernacular hymns were recited and short, pithy instruction in the same vernacular Hindwi passed on to all, of any creed and caste, who asked for guidance. The only difference was that Muslim Bhaktas all over India, like the Panjab Bhaktas, were non-idolatrous, non-formalistic, disbelievers in the whole-hogger worship of orthodox prophets and leaders and stuck to the two fundamentals, inwardness and individualism of teaching and learning, both of which became responsible for the vast system of hagiolatory dominating Indian Islam after the 12th century. The leadership passed from the Brahman and the Mulla, the Avatara and the Prophet to the Guru or the Saint hailing often, as it happened, from a low caste, who was to be adored with the adoration due to a Varuna, a Muhammad, a Krishna. It is these new leaders which India has been throwing up ever since the 12th century that are the real gift of the Bhakti movement to our composite Indian civilization. It is their example and the literature produced by them and about them which have fed the moral stomach of the Nation now for over 1000 years. As Bryan (*The*

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of an alliance between the Pauranic religion on the one hand, and of the mysticism of the Yoga philosophy and the sensualism of the Charvaka on the other?.....This was the result of its uniform display of a tendency to support the authority of the Vedas.....but whether that feeling was sincere or hollow, the authority of the Vedas appears to have set limits beyond which thought was not allowed to range. Only in one instance, about to be mentioned, were even the Vedas set at naught; but Kapila could go no further. That is what Sakyasinha did. He took the step from which Kapila had recoiled. He denied the authority of the Vedas; and with it, caste, sacrifice, superstition, priesthood, whatever in fact had flourished so gaily under the shadow of its greatness." *The Calcutta Review*, No. CVI, pp. 191—193. The best exposition of Sankara's Vedanta mysticism in all its beauty, and in its resemblances with and differences from other Eastern and Western mysticisms, will be found in Rudolf Otto's latest work, *Mysticism, East and West*, 1932. *Vide*, in particular, pp. 151 and 152 and 160—161.

<sup>16</sup> It is in the twelfth century that the Indian mind developed a doctrine of passionate personal devotion and bhakti or faith towards an incarnate deity. It was, apparently, an evolution from the earlier system of yoga,—the study of means for the absorption of the soul into the divine essence, a system which was itself a popular modification of philosophical Pantheism.—*J. D. Anderson, The Vaishnava Literature of Mediæval Bengal*, pp. ii and iii

*Civilization of Japan*) rightly stresses, "great Art and great Literature are not enough to secure the progress of civilization. Unless religion can induce great personality, it fails to that extent as an impetus to higher civilization." The Bhakti movement produced great personalities, of many of whom we are yet ignorant except for the knowledge of a few sayings or verses from them.

Inferring backwards from a study of Nanak and deducing from a scrutiny of the pre-Nanak poets, we get the following moulds (kinds of poetry, types of music, and forms of verse) into which literature before the 16th century had been cast in the Panjab as elsewhere:—

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| 1. Dohra, Bol, Dhola, and Tappa.   | 22. Thittin.  |
| 2. Kafi, Rekhta and Ghazal.  | 23. Satwara.  |
| 3. Bhajan or Shabda in set Ragas and Raginis favourable to particular types of thought.                              | 24. Git or Gaun.  |
| 4. Baran Manh or Dvazda Maha   | 25. Paihre.   |
| 5. Nasihat Nama,   | 26. Uqda, Kutasth and Paheli or Bujhrat.  |
| 6. Var.  | 27. Sadd.   |
| 7. Salok.  | 28. Vain or Alahniyan.  |
| 8. Dohira and Chaupai  | 29. Ghorī.  |
| 9. Bait.   | 30. Anjali.   |
| 10. Patti, Paintis Akhri, Bawan Akhri and Chauntisi, the parents of Si Harfi.  | 31. Salnama.  |
| 11. Jhulna.  | 32. Chaupada or Chaubarga or Majhan.  |
| 12. Bishanpada.  | 33. Masnavi. (in two or three Persian metres)   |
| 13. Swayya.  | 34. Mantar or Jhara or Rachhiya or Rakhiya.   |
| 14. Chhands (Chhapai, Minhar, etc. <i>Vide</i> Dasam Granth wherein most <i>chhands</i> occur in Guru Gobind Singh). | 35. Rayisa. (This type of poetry seems to have been known to Nanak who mentions it, <i>vide</i> A.G., page 668.)  |
| 15. Kabit.   | 36. Sohila.   |
| 16. Dakhne.  | 37. Arti.   |
| 17. Soratha.   | 38. Miscellaneous metrical and stanzaic forms of the folksongs, formed out of two or more from amongst those mentioned above and modified at will <sup>17</sup> . |
| 18. Rubai.   |   |
| 19. Gita.  |   |
| 20. Gatha.   |   |
| 21. Kundaliyan.  |   |

Some of them come from Persian, others from Sanskrit and Prakrit and the rest are native. Different groups are exclusive to the treatment of special sets of themes.

No prose of this period has yet been discovered; the available literature is all "spontaneous" poetry, that is poetry "belonging to a period when prose composition was little practised, when improvisation was easy, when verse was the most natural means of expression."

A clue to the nature of the contents of the poetical output is provided by the prevalent religious, social and political conditions. In religion we had the numberless wandering Sadhs, Naths, Siddhs, Sanyasis, Jogis, Jatis, Bairagis, Sahajias, Avadhuts etc., who had little to do with Idols and Temples (though they had their Maths alright) and were mostly concerned with one form or other of Tantric or Buddhistic Yoga, and equally unstationary Darveshes, Danishmands, Pirs, Mihrbans, Divanas (Babas), Shaikhs, Qalandars and Sufis whose Sufism, a compound of Islam, Zoroastrianism and Monistic-cum-Devotional Hinduism, was not far removed from the creeds of the former groups. In politics, the Gandhara territory and the

<sup>17</sup> *Vide* Chhand Sara Sangraha, Ghosh, page xx.

Subas of Lahore, Multan, Dipalpur, Delhi and Mewat were passing from under the crushing thralldom of one Muslim dynasty to another with little breath left for extensive religious work, either amongst the rulers or the ruled, except for the occasional fanatic outbursts as of Sultan Mahmud,<sup>18</sup> Muhammad bin Tughalq and Sikandar Lodi.<sup>19</sup> In social life the Perso-Tartar love of Romantic Passion<sup>20</sup> and Music provided the only aesthetic activity commutable into literature. The composition of bi-lingual or vernacular erotic poems in the Rekhta musical form and Jhulnas, of short Dohras after miscellaneous Shirs embodying emotional and ethical reflections for the spiritual instruction of the seekers after truth, love-tales after the Persian legendary lore, and war-poetry was carried on by the Muhammadans while the Hindus, court poets and roving improvisators, wrote popular ballads or Vars and Rayasas, and Shabdas respectively. A few of the folk-songs and social Kutasths may also have been pressed into the service of literature by plucky Muslim poets in a few Persian metres. The natural people, the folk—says Mr. A. K. Wright (*English Folklore*, pp. 8-9)—has supplied us in its unconscious way, with the stuff of all our poetry, law, ritual; and genius has selected from the mass, has turned customs into codes, nursery tales into romance, myth into science, ballad into epic, magic mummery into gorgeous ritual." A similar thing happened in Germany "with the promotion of the Germanic sagas from the repository of the strolling minstrel to the dignity of manuscript existence." (*German Literature*, G. Waterhouse, p. 25)

That is how we get Shabads and Shaloks on esoteric yoga (*Vide* the P. S.) attributed to Gorakhnath, Gopichand (14th century), and Charpat; the romances of Sassi Punnun by Pushya<sup>21</sup> and Masud; Chandname by Mulla Daud; the Rekhtas (*Vide* the P. S.) and Bujharats and Punjabi war-poetry ascribed to Amir Khusro (1253—1325)<sup>22</sup>; Shaloks and

<sup>18</sup>*Vide* C. R., Pathan Kings of Delhi, Thomas, page 203.

<sup>19</sup>*Vide* C. R., Pathan Kings of Delhi, Thomas, page 365.

<sup>20</sup>We know of many Muslim versifiers into Persian prose or poetry of love legends and romantic stories of Muslim rulers in India, and of war-poetry of Indian origin or occurrence. Khusro and Zia Bakhshi, author of Tuti Nama, both contemporaries, may be mentioned.

<sup>21</sup>*Vide* my article "Ideal Lovers of Sindh," Sunday Times, Lahore, March 16, 1931. Mir Karamat Ullah of Amritsar in his second article on Sassi Punnun in the Urdu monthly, Tarjuman, Lahore, Feb. 1917 stated on the authority of Misra Bandhu's Kavi Kirtan or Sahitya Itihas, Dr. Grierson's Modern Vernacular Literature of Hindustan and Shiv Singh Saroj that this Greek tale was rendered into Hindwi Dohras about 770 V. by a poet called Pundya or Pushya or Pushpa. He said further that the first Muslim poet of Hindwi did undoubtedly versify the story of Sassi in 1180 Samvat. The story, as I have shown, is claimed by all the four neighbouring provinces of Catch, Sind, Balochistan and the Punjab and has also been credited with a Greek descent. Among the Pre-Nanak Muslim romance writers should be mentioned Qutban, the author of Mrigavati, the successor in the line of Masud and Daud, and the immediate predecessor of Jayisi.

<sup>22</sup>Khusro was born of a Hindu mother at Patiali in 1254 A. D. (*Vide* C. R., 1894, page 6.) He travelled to a number of places in the provinces of Lahore, Multan and Delhi, in the company of the Khilji King. While he has no definitive appellation for the language of Delhi (The modern city of Delhi had not been founded till 993 A. D.), he gives the common and popular name of *Lahori* for the speech of Suba-e-Lahore. For a more or less reliable compilation of Khusro's Paheliyan see Risala-e Hindustani Paheliyan by Khusro (whose full name was Yamin-ud-din Muhammad Hasan) published by Chiranji Lal, Mubib-i-Hind Press, Delhi, 1300 A. H. To Mr. Chiranji Lal the history of Urdu and Delhi Mysticism owes the greatest debt. For a reference to Khusro's war-poetry in Panjabi, the earliest known Panjabi *Var*, a work hitherto unnoticed, describing a battle between Tughlak Shah and Khusro Khan, see Khulasa-tut-Tawarikh, Delhi edition, page 235:

چنانچہ امیر خسرو بربان پنجاب بعبارات مرغوب مقدمہ جنگ غازی الملک تغلق شاہ و ناصر الدین  
خسرو خان گفتہ کہ آن را بربان ہند وار گوئند -

Shabads (*Vide* the *Adi Granth*) and the *Nasihāt Nama* (*Vide* the P. S.) of Farid<sup>23</sup> Shakarganj (1173—1265); the *Prithi Raj Raisa* or *Raso* of Chand<sup>24</sup> (about 1126—1192) (*Vide* Mss. 4555 & 4656, P.U.L.); a few other *Vars* (as yet unlocated in time); and the Panjabi Shabads bearing the names of Kabir<sup>25</sup> and Kamal and Namdev<sup>26</sup> (*Vide* the P.S.). Further research will certainly be able to unearth more material because, as remarked above, there was not and could not have been any discontinuity of thought and expression for both the matter and the medium had been there for centuries, in actual employment both by pure men of letters and by preachers who were ignorant of Sanskrit and Persian as well as by those who were conversant with them but did not disdain to acquire excellence in the vernacular.

The following general attributes of the work listed above may be recorded :—

1. The difference between the vocabulary of Hindu and Muslim writers is minimal.
2. Turkish, Arabic and Persian words duly Panjabi-ized are found in abundance. They relate mostly to Civil Government, Military, Law and Religion.
3. Music is intimately connect with poetry.
4. The Persian type of rhyming, absent in Sanskrit and Pali, has come in.

<sup>23</sup> There is not the slightest doubt about the authorship of Farid of the work in the *Adi Granth* nor any the least confusion of Shaikh Farid with Ibrahim in the biographies of Nanak where both are remembered distinctively and wherein the dialogue with the former is imaginary, a later interpolation, and with the latter reported, based on known facts. Ibrahim is said to have died in 1552 A.D. and was, therefore, a contemporary of Guru Amar Das who was mostly responsible for the preservation in his *pothis*, of the poetry of non-Sikh Saints of the Panjab and outside, and who, therefore, could not confuse Ibrahim with Farid. And then Farid, the contemporary and friend of Khusro, known to have written Persian verse, the performer of rigorous penances referred together with other well-known facts of his life in the first person in the work available, is the only possible, as the actual, composer of the Panjabi work. *Khulasa-tut-Tawarikh* by Sujan Rae places a person, Farid Sani, in the reign of Shah Jahan, *Vide* page 35.

<sup>24</sup> Chand was born in Lahore which in those days was governed by the Musalmans. He seems to have gone over to Ajmer at an early age and become an intimate friend of Prithiraj. His precursors in Hindwi bardic and religious poetry were: Khuman, author of *Khuman Rayasa* (843 A. D.) and Bhual, author of a meterical translation of *Bhagawad Gita* (943 A. D.). After Chand came Nalha, author of *Visal Deva Rasau* (1297 A. D.) and Bhupat, author of a rendering of the 10th Chapter of *Bhagavat* (1287 A. D.).

A different note is struck, however, by Shyamal Das, J.A.S.B., 1885, page 240) about the date of the *Raso*. He places the composition of *Raso* long after the death of Chand, between 1583 and 1683 and 1613, and of *Hamir Kavya* between 1484—86.

The Nagari Pracharini Sabha's edition of Chand is the widely interpolated and re-edited (by a Rajput chief) version, belonging to the 17th century. See Keay's *Hindi Literature*, page 13. In the P.U.L. we have two Hindi mss. of Chand No. 4555 and No. 4656; the second also contains *Hamir Rasau*. The text in the latter is much briefer, about one-tenth of the printed work and appears to the present writer to be more genuine, and authentic and very close to Punjab Hindwi in phonetic laws, word-formations, abundance of Persian words and Persianisms, verb-forms, religious, agricultural and political vocabulary—as it should be, remembering that Chand like Khusro was born in the province of Lahore and that the Jat and Rajput tribes like Panwars, Khokhars, Gujjars on their emergence and rise to power after the 8th century A. D. peopled and swayed the whole of the territory from Ujjain and Dharanagari in the south to Sewistan and Gandhara and Delhi and that their language, influenced during this period by Arabo-Tartar languages, acquired features which the population of the West Punjab still retains, providing thereby valuable clues to ethnic emigrations and immigrations. Some of the hues of Vaishnavism and Nathism are easily traceable in Chand, too.

<sup>25</sup> For alleged Panjabi (Lahudi) poems of Kabir see *Kabir (Bengali)*, by Kshitimohan Sen, 1910, Calcutta. Also see P. U. L., Ms. No. 374.

<sup>26</sup> There is a tradition that Namdev (14th Cent.) died at Ghuman in the Punjab, *vide* page 343, J.R.A.S., April 1932. *Namdevachi Gatha* says Namdev was born in 1270 A. D.

5. The versification is very free.

6. The analytic features of the modern vernaculars are not yet visible. The Muzari or the Aorist tense serves the purpose of a number of other modern tenses; the postpositions are absent. Adjectives are freely formed with the ending *i*.

7. The phonetic peculiarities and poetical artifices, and the alliteration of Braji are nowhere to be encountered while the influence of Persian lyric and epic poetry is apparent.

8. There is an extreme affinity with the poetry of Muslims produced in the Eastern Hindwi Area, that is, in the Awadhi districts.

9. The Ramaite and Krishnaite cults as well as devotional Sufism are not very much in evidence. Yoga and a certain asceticism are the two significant themes propounded.

10. Folklore and folk-songs have begun to supply raw material for literary and artistic transmutation.

The twelfth century not only saw the consolidation of Muslim rule in India with its capital transferred from Lahore to Delhi but also the spread of early Islamic mysticism which from the three centres Multan, Lahore and Delhi radiated its light with the greatest force and refulgence, never equalled since. Sheikh or Baba Farid, the only Farid known to history and fame, the father of Sind Sagari poetry, was more or less the contemporary of Shams Tabrez, Muin-ud-Din, Baha-ud-Din Zakaria, Bakhtyar Kaki, Nizam-ud-Din, Burhan, Daud, Amir Khusro, Bakhshi, Fakir-ud-Din, Husam-ud-Din, Muhammad Kirmani, Shaikh Kabir, Jalal-ud-Din Awadhi, Shams-ud-Din Yahya, Zia-ud-Din Barni, many of whom consorted with each other, visited both Delhi and Multan, wrote poetry in Persian as well as in the vernacular and developed and preached Sufism in all its variations of Sama, Tassawur, Zikr and Pas-i-anfas or Habs-i-dam—the four schools of “ear,” “eye,” “tongue,” and “breath”, and pushed forward the conversion of low-class Hindus in thousands (*Vide Siyar-ul-Auliya* by Sayyid Muhammad Mubarak Chishti, Delhi, 1302 A. H.; *Safina-tul-Auliya* by Dara Shikoh and *Khazina-tul-Asfiya*, Hope Press, Lahore).

The collection of the work of Farid, Kabir, Namdev and preserved in the Adi Granth may be ascribed to the third Sikh Guru, Amar Das, who rendered the same service to some other non-Sikh mystic and Bhakti poets, and possibly also to the later biographers of Nanak and to miscellaneous anonymous anthologizers. The third Guru, and after him the fifth Guru, commented on some of the lines of Farid and revealed the difference in the outlook of the Muhammadan who still thought of a stern, law-enforcing, punishing God and of the Sikh who rested calm with his belief in a kind, forgiving God's grace for all and in an efficacious, sincere resignation to and all—dependence on Him, both acting together.

Another allied difference of fundamentals between the two is the differing emphasis which Farid lays on penance to which the human body, of earth and earthy, the seat of vile passions, is to be subjected and which Amar Das places on honest living and a balanced enjoyment of life which preserves our tabernacle and, at the same time, glorifies this temple of the Lord, God.

Farid: ਫ਼ਰੀਦਾ ਕਾਲੀ ਜਿਨ੍ਹੀ ਨ ਰਾਵਿਆ ਧਉਲੀ ਰਾਵੈ ਕੋਇ ।  
ਕਰਿ ਸਾਂਈ ਸਿਉ ਪਿਰਹੜੀ ਰੰਗੁ ਨਵੇਲਾ ਹੋਇ ॥

Amar Das: ਫ਼ਰੀਦਾ ਕਾਲੀ ਧਉਲਾ ਸਾਹਿਬੁ ਸਦਾ ਹੈ ਜੋ ਕੋ ਚਿਤਿ ਕਰੇ ।  
ਅਪਣਾ ਲਾਇਆ ਪਿਰਮੁ ਨ ਲਗਾਈ ਜੋ ਲੋਚੈ ਸਭੁ ਕੋਇ ।  
ਏਹੁ ਪਿਰਮੁ ਪਿਆਲਾ ਖਸਮ ਕਾ ਜੋ ਛਾਵੈ ਤੈ ਦੇਇ ॥

F. ਫ਼ਰੀਦਾ ਰਤੀ ਰਤੁ ਨ ਨਿਕਲੈ ਜੋ ਤਨੁ ਚੀਰੈ ਕੋਇ ।  
ਜੋ ਤਨੁ ਰਤੇ ਰਬ ਸਿਉ ਤਿਨ ਤਿਨ ਰਤੁ ਨ ਹੋਇ ॥

A. D. ਇਹੁ ਤਨੁ ਸਭੋ ਰਤੁ ਹੈ ਰਤੁ ਬਿਨ ਤੰਨੁ ਨ ਹੋਇ ।  
 ਜੋ ਸਹੁ ਰਤੋ ਆਪਣੇ ਤਿਤੁ ਤਨਿ ਲੋਭ ਰਤੁ ਨ ਹੋਇ ॥  
 ਡੈ ਪਇਐ ਤਨੁ ਖੀਣੁ ਹੋਇ ਲੋਭ ਰਤੁ ਵਿਚਹੁ ਜਾਇ ।  
 ਜਿਉ ਬੇਸੰਤਰਿ ਧਾਤੁ ਸੁਧੁ ਹੋਇ ਤਿਉ ਹਰਿ ਕਾ ਡਉ ਦੁਰਮਤਿ ਮੈਲੁ ਗਵਾਇ ।  
 ਨਾਨਕ ਤੇ ਜਨ ਸੋਹਣੇ ਜਿ ਰਤੈ ਹਰਿ ਰੰਗੁ ਲਾਇ ॥

Making full allowance for the re-handling inevitably associated with oral traditionists and copyists, one can still praise the shabads, dohras (those of Multani have ever since been most remarkable and popular) and the rekhta of Farid for their homely imagery with an Iliad-like flavour, for their felicities of epithet, for their chasteness of style and for the realism and acute penetration of their thought. The Sakhi attitude of vernacular Krishnaite verse and much of its most impressive and associationally rich vocabulary is already here. The undertone of Farid's poetry—penanceful pietism—is most clearly audible all through and at places becomes the dominant note. He could not but reflect in poetry the severe *tapas* or *zuhd* he had performed in his life, of which rather exaggerated accounts have come down to us in abundance. With Farid passed away asceticism, the chief feature of the early Sufi movement. During the next three centuries, 14th, 15th and 16th Krishnaism changed the colour of Indian Sufism, dyeing it deep-red in impassionate eroticism, heedless of physical and psychological discipline and balanced socialized activity.

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## CHAPTER V

### THE AGE OF NANAK

*"Self-perfection involves selflessness at every step."*

Guru Nanak lived from A. D. 1469 to 1538 ; his literary and religious tradition was continued by his House till 1708 when Guru Gobind Singh expired at Nander in Hyderabad, Deccan. In thought as well as in action there is manifest in all the Gurus, a unity and continuity which necessitates and justifies the treatment of their times as one epoch. Politically, too, these two centuries and a half form a single unit for till the death of Aurangzeb the Moghul rule beginning with Babar had been, speaking generally, going ahead in its political and social conquests and while losing ground here and there, had, on the whole, kept its hold well and firm over the Hindus, and India. Socially, during the first half of the period Hindu-Muslim relations were more cordial ; it is about the end of the second half that whole tribes and areas were converted to Islam and bitterness was generated in the subject population which threw up rebel leaders bent on wreaking vengeance. In literature, outside the Panjab, Hindi and Sanskrit came into prominence with translations into Persian of important Hindu religious works, mostly Vaishnavistic and legendary-lyrical, and the encouragement to and patronage of Hindi court poets at the hands of both Muslim and Hindu rulers. Persian, too became popular with the Hindus after the change introduced by Todar Mal, and as a direct result, Urdu was born.<sup>1</sup> In Panjabi itself, the traditions of religious, lyrical, romantic-legendary and balladic output were carried forward by the House of Nanak, primarily and primely, and by a host of Hindu and Muslim saints who owed their afflatus direct to Nanak and Farid and their spiritual successors.

With regard to the influence on Nanak, one of the most mischievous and entirely baseless literary canards in the field is represented by the words (E. R. E., p. 571) : "Kabir

<sup>1</sup> *Vide* C. R., 1881, Vol. LII, pp 322—23. "The influence of Persian education on the Hindus soon showed itself in the language of the people. A new dialect formed itself, the language which we now-a-days call Urdu or Hindustani. The share of the Hindus in the formation and perfection of this new dialect is, we believe, greater than historians and scholars are generally willing to admit. The origin of Urdu and the time at which it arose (Shah Jahan's reign), will appear in a new light when viewed in connection with the progress of the Hindus in the study of the Persian language ; and the question which has occasionally been put, "Why did not Urdu form itself before," seems to us completely answered. It arose when the Hindus took to Persian education ; if they had not been apt medium for receiving and spreading the new dialect, Urdu would as little have formed itself during the reign of Shah Jahan, as under the rule of Pathans. From analogy we may conclude that the continuance of Urdu as a spoken and written language mainly depend upon the continuance of Persian studies in this country." On pages 320-21 we read : "The historians are unanimous in affirming that from the earliest times up to the middle of Akbar's reign all Government accounts were kept in Hindi or generally speaking in the local vernaculars.....About 1500 A D. during the reign of Sultan Sikandar Lodi we hear for the first time of works composed by Hindus in the Persian language.....Persian education seems to have rapidly spread in the 16th century even among the higher classes of Hindus.....One half of the Persian literature of the 18th century is due to Hindus."

For Persian translations from Sanskrit, etc., under Akbar and later, see Sujan Rai, *Khulasa-tut-Tawarikh*, Delhi, pp. 6, 7, 8, 21. For earlier translations under Feroze Shah, etc., see *Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh*, Abdul Qadir, 1868, pp 249—250. For the position of Hindi and the progress in the production of Hindi works on the Art of Poetry and on Music, for the rise of Hindi prose during this period and for court patronage of Hindi, *Vide* Keay, *Hindi Literature*, pp. 34—50.

was a Musalman weaver. It was through him that Nanak Shah, the founder of the Sikh Religion, inherited much of Ramanand's teaching"<sup>2</sup> Before stating our own conclusions let us first explode the fiction about Nanak's meeting with Kabir on which Keay in his latest book "Kabir and His Followers" has based his theories and conclusions, all really vitiated by his one historically wrong prepossession. Attention is invited to the most important, dated evidence available to the present writer and made use of by him for the first time in literary history.

1. Ms. No. 193, Punjabi, P. P. L., contains biographical facts in prose (Maslas and Sakhis) of the Muslim Prophet, Kabir and Raidas; the biography of Kabir in it was compiled at the instance of Bhai Asanand Gorawar, a contemporary of Guru Gobind Singh, about mid-seventeenth century. The printed Punjabi biography of Kabir in the market is based on this but differs a great deal in detail.

2. Ms. No. 528 P., P. U. L., contains the biographies in Panjabi verse, of 16 Bhagats (Kabir, Dhanna, Trilochan, Namdev, Jaidev, Ravidas, Miranbai, Karmanbai, Pipa, Saina, Sadhna, Balmik, Sukdev, Baddhak, Dhru and Prahlad). The copy is dated 1693 A. D., I think it is the original copy of the work composed at Anandpur under the direction of Guru Gobind Singh. The work was printed off at Amritsar some decades ago. Its accounts are completely independent of and different from Nabhaji's Bhakta Mala; they are, at the same time, far more satisfactory and dependable. It appears that Nabha got his inspiration and facts from Vishnu Puri's Bhakta Ratnavali. A number of useful biographical references to the saints are found in the Adi Granth Bhattas, in the Sikh Gurus and in Bhai Gurdas, all dated before 1604.

3. Ms. No. P. 512, H. U., Lahore, Dated 1711 A. D., contains (Folios 127-1 to 130-2) a Gosht, being a dialogue between Kabir and Nanak (*Vide* the P. S) in which Kabir receives instruction from Nanak through replies to his queries, accepts him as his Guru and duly expresses his praise of him. To those who would still talk of Nanak's discipleship of Kabir, this dated document should be made a present. The same work (Folio 74-2) contains a shabad by Nanak in which occur the names of Kabir and Raidas who are mentioned as the disciples of Ramanand Guru Gosain. No more important ms. than this one is known to exist, which covers a period of about 400 years. At the end of the Panjabi Siddh *gosht* copied out in this ms. in the Urdu script in the first year of Farrukh Shah's reign, at Sialkot, by Jaswant Rai, there is a shabad of Kabir the import of which is differed from and commented on by Nanak in his shabad entered there next. (For more see my *Kabir and the Bhakti Movement*.)

The ascertainable and demonstrable facts about Kabir are that he was a disciple of Ramanand, that he was a co-disciple with Pipa and Raidas, that before he finally accepted Ramanand he used to go to all and sundry Hindu and Muslim saints, among whom Sheikh Taqi is named, that he was persecuted by Brahmans, that a ruler, we know not whether a Hindu or a Muslim and of what exact status, entered his life, that his co-disciple Ravidas was the Guru of Miran Bai who names Kabir among the famous Bhagats gone before, that he enjoyed a long lease of life, that a certain Muslim Bijli Khan (who is connected with Chaitanya<sup>3</sup> also) met Kabir and later built a tomb over his place of burial or cremation. There is no dated, authentic, direct or circumstantial evidence about the place of death of Kabir (<sup>4</sup>Dabistan-i- Mazahib points

<sup>2</sup> For the most rabid glorification of Kabir at the expense of Nanak see pp. 246-247, of C. R., 1871.

<sup>3</sup> *Vide* Chaitanya by D. C. Sen, page 283.

<sup>4</sup> *Vide* Dabistan-i-Mazahib, Bombay edition, pp. 167 to 169. Kabir is clearly described as a Bairagi; Nanak tackles Bairag and Bairagis in about a dozen hymns and, as usual, deploras their emphasis on externals and invites their attention to the intellectual and moral equivalents or correspondences of those exterior practices which he wants them to transcend in obedience to the higher, inner and more spiritual path of perception and discernment, by the heart and the mind. For example, see Ratan Mala, Rag Ramkali, stanzas 17, 20 and 25.

to Jagan Nath Puri where the author was shown Kabir's Samadh), about the collection of his work, about the foundation of a Kabir Panth, about any direct disciple of Kabir (Dabistan<sup>4</sup> mention neither a disciple nor a Panth), nor has any ms. of Kabir been known to the public dated earlier than 1604 or 1597, the dates of the Adi Granth. The reference to an elephant in a Kabir's shabad in the Adi Granth is really an allusion to the events in the life of the almost contemporary saint, Namdev<sup>5</sup>. Sikandar Lodi, the ferocious persecutor of the Hindus and the merciless vanquisher of Husain Shah, never entered Benaras, remained at a place 25 miles from it and during this his deadly campaign had hardly time or inclination to tolerate the polite religious denunciations and cajoleries of Kabir, trifle with his life and make experiments with his execution. Nabha Das, too, makes no mention of a direct disciple or a panth of Kabir.

When did, then, Kabir live, basing our conclusions on the evidence procurable on the points framed above ?

1. Ramanand was born in 1299 A. D. (E. R. E., Vol. 10, p. 569). This is accepted by all and can be established independently, too, from the dates of Yamunacharya<sup>7</sup> and of Ramanuja, the Guru in the 5th place of Ramanand. Crediting both Ramanand and Kabir with the maximum period of human life, 100 years (and not the fanciful and superstitious figure of 120, dear both to the Hindu and Muslim hagiologists), and making Kabir 40 years younger than Ramanand we get A. D. 1439 as the year of Kabir's death.

2. Kabir, Pipa and Raidas were all disciples of Ramanand who with Kabir and Raidas (Vide *Premabodh*, Amritsar, p. 234) visited Pipa in his capital. Now, Pipa<sup>8</sup> was born in 1349 A. D. Kabir was senior in age to both Raidas and Pipa. This, too, fixes the death of Kabir in the first or second quarter of the 15th century.

3. Kabir met Sheikh Taqi and is alleged to have received spiritual instruction from him. (Khazina-tul-Asfiya, Hope Press, page 442.) Beale in his Oriental Biographical Dictionary (page 369) writes that Shah Taqi or Sheikh Taqi died between A. D. 1413 and 1421 and was buried at Jhusi in the district of Allahabad. This evidence, too, points to the same conclusion.

4. Miran Bai, awakened first to Bhagti by the example of Raidas, sings of Kabir in one of her hymns (Vide the P. S.) from whom she was removed by about one generation. In

<sup>4</sup> Some relevant extracts from Dabistan are :

کبیر جولہ نثران بھراگئی بردہ- گویند کبیر در هنگام مرشد جوئی پیدہں کا ملن مسلمانان و ہند و وقت...  
 واما نند کہ روے مسلمانان و نا مقید نمید ید.....کبیر پیوستہ خدمت فقراے نمود .....آخر فقیرے  
 بعہان ایشان آمدہ گفت کہ کبیر مردے بودعارف.....و درجگن ناتہ صورت قبر و نشانے کہ آنچہ مردہ سوزاند  
 ساختہ و آنرا منسوب بکبیرمے دارند -  
 و دیگر از عظامے بھرا گھان نامدیو است -

<sup>5</sup>Vide *Premabodh*, Amritsar, pp. 64—100, and p. 234.

<sup>6</sup>Vide E. H. I., Vol. V, page 95. Also see page 169, C. R. 1871, "The Pathan Kings of Delhi." "Nizam had been nominated the heir to the crown by his father Bahlol (when was Nizam born?) and he accordingly ascended the imperial Masnad with the title of Sikandar Shah.....In A. D. 1503, the Sultan for the first time fixed his residence at Agra, which from this time was to supersede Delhi as the capital of Hindustan. Sikandar's reign was disgraced by an unusual display of bigotry, evidenced principally in a persevering destruction of Hindu temples, on the sites of which were raised Muslim mosques." For an account of the penetration of Muslim rule and culture into the Deccan, Bengal, Rajputana and Gujarat about the beginning of the Age of Nanak see pp. 172 to 176 of the same article.

<sup>7</sup>Vide "Early History of the Vaishnava Sect," by Ray Chaudhuri, pp. 113 to 117.

<sup>8</sup>Vide *Bhagat Bani Satik* (Panjabi) by Kaka Singh, pp. 520, 523, 526, 534 and *Bharat Mat Darpan* (Panjabi). According to the second work, Ramanand was born in 1299 and died in 1354.

the Archæological Survey Report of N. W. P. and Oudh for 1893 we read (on page 19) that Rana Kumbhakaran built a temple to Vishnu in 1450 A. D. and another in honour of Somanath (Siva) was built by his Queen Miran Bai, who was celebrated for her poetry. On the above basis, we can but fix Kabir's decease about the first quarter of the century. (For Mirabai's date also see page 67, Surya Kanta's Hindi Literature, 1930.)

5. Bijli Khan got the tomb of Kabir at Maghar constructed in 1450 A. D. (*Vide Imperial Gazetteer, U. P., page 230.*)

6. Abdul Haq in his *Akhbar-ul-Akhyar* (pages 342 and 343) quotes the opinion of his grandfather Sa'd Ullah about Kabir, the author of popular Bishan Padas. Sa'd Ullah died in 928 A. H. ; he refers to Kabir as if Kabir had died a good time before Sa'd Ullah. Presuming a distance of 20 to 30 years between the death of Kabir and the birth of Sa'd Ullah we arrive at the same conclusions about Kabir as drawn above. Sa'dullah's father was a contemporary of Sultan Bahlol (1450—1488).

7. Wilson says Kabir died in 1448, and Hunter, that Kabir was born in 1380. In the *Marathi Bharat Khanda cha travanchin Kosh*, the date of Kabir's death is given as A. D. 1448.

8. None of the companions and biographers of Chaitanya (1486-1533) who was at Puri, Benaras and Allahabad between 1511-20 mentions anything of Kabir. (*Vide Chaitanya by Sen, Calcutta.*)

As against all this definite and overwhelming evidence which involves not only Kabir but his Guru and half a dozen other contemporary saints, we have the statements of *Ain-i-Akbari* and *Sujan Rai* (*Khulṣat-ut-Tawarikh*, page 43). *Dabistan* makes no mention whatsoever of Sikandar as wrongly reported by *Shairani* (page 151, *Panjab men Urdu*). The three or four facts recorded by *Dabistan*, namely, Kabir's ruse to meet Ramanand, the hater of Muslims and low-class Hindus, his dialogue with a Jain, his connivance at his wife's affair with a shopkeeper in the interest of the service of the Sadhs which finally ended in the moral conversion of the lover of Kabir's wife, are borne but by the evidence adducible from Kabir's hymns in the *Adi Granth* and in several Panjabi manuscript Pothis. It should, thus, be taken as proved that Kabir's death distances the birth of Nanak by at least 20 to 30 years.

Respecting Nanak's cognizance of the hymns of Kabir, the founders of religions or creeds widely different from and fresher than the existing ones, preoccupied with their fundamental doctrines which, in essence, are reflected in their totality in every single instant utterance of them from their very boyhood, as in the case of Nanak, should certainly be not expected to collect unrelated, popular fragments of the utterances of their immediate predecessors or contemporaries ; this work, if done at all, is carried out by the successors of such founders and originators, who look about for support or illustrations of the doctrines of the first propounder of their school, the master, in the composition of other noted persons from history, of the same, or neighbouring localities. Guru Nanak was busy with his own creative output, evoked by personal contacts in his travels and by questions of persons seeking his aid at Kartarpur, his place of settlement in ripe old age. He had no time or inclination or necessity to pick fruits from the trees of others ; he was sowing his own seed. As a matter of fact, the anthologizing of the hymns of Jaidev and of the House of Ramanand was done by the third Sikh Guru who was born only 10 years later than Nanak and outlived him for 30 years, who, to start with, was a Vaishnava, went in pilgrimage on foot over 20 times to Hardwar, and visited several other places and who was extraordinarily fond of Vaishnavite poetry, his particular personal collection of which, later added to by the poetry of Nanak and his successor Angad, was the basis of the *Adi Granth*. Nanak makes no mention of Namdev, Kabir or Ravidas at all while Amar Das does so. So fond was Guru Amar Das the Vaishnavite

of Mystic poetry that his very conversion to Sikhism was effected through the poetic utterances of Nanak repeated daily by Guru Angad's daughter within his hearing. Whatever influence of pre-Nanak Vaishnavite writings could possibly be asserted could be exercised on Amar Das and those who succeeded him. But when we know that from Vaishnavism he turned later to Nanakism and freely commented on certain significant lines of Farid and Kabir, joining issue with them on vital points, we can state unchallengeably that not only was no influence, personal or poetic, exercised on Nanak himself by Kabir who predeceased him by at least 30 years and whose writings became popular and current only after the first quarter of the 16 century but also not even on those of the House of Nanak who with their leader continued to differ from the House of Ramanand and through him of Ramanuja and the Houses of Jaideva and Madhava, and whose writings the Sikh Guru preserved just for exemplificatory citation—to demonstrate that spiritual regeneration and literary inspiration had come to many a low-born through sheer love.

So far, therefore, as Kabir is concerned, he can be put in his proper place with the remarks that he was but one of the many, just a prolific writer who was mostly concerned with loud, hoarse denunciations and insipid repetitions in hortative poetry; whose influence never really overstepped the local bounds of Benares, Jagan Nath, Chhattisgarh, Gorakhpur, whose Panth (with its Granth and Kabir-myths and successive Gurus) was organized by interested persons only in the eighteenth century or about the middle of the 17th century on the exact, comprehensive lines of the Sikh Panth, the model, which had spread its light far and wide much earlier under Amar Das who was aware personally of all the centres of Vaishnava and Shaivite worship and who sent 20 missionaries to all parts and under Guru Arjun through his lieutenant Bhai Gurdas; who has no early authentic text beyond that included in the Adi Granth and no dated, reliable biography other than the statements included in Premabodh and in the ms. referred to above; whose followers came to ascribe to him not only their own compositions but those admittedly of the Sikh Gurus, to attribute to him biographical facts and miracles and personal contacts found in the biographies of Namdev and Nanak chiefly, and credited him with much unclaimed, derelict poetical stuff and fathered on him every sect or sept which showed identical or similar doctrines, sects and septs which really crystallized out of the common, prevalent Buddhist thought in a fluid state.

As to Vaishnavism, in general, the chief strands in its mosaic noted below, were rejected by Nanak<sup>10</sup> as having anthropomorphic and ritualistic tendencies which carried in them the germs of their own speedy rotting and degeneration, demoralization<sup>11</sup> and de-intellectualization.

- (a) Acceptance of Rama and Krishna or Shiva (or Shakti) and his or her image-worship accompanied with singing, dancing, offerings and ceremonies.
- (b) Exercise of one or other of the Yogas, Sahaja yoga, Simran yoga, Surta Shabda yoga and Dhyana yoga.

<sup>9</sup>Vide P. U. L. Ms. No. P. 1960, wherein a couplet of Guru Nanak's Asa di Var, Salok 1, is attributed to Kabir. This Ms. is rather important as containing the authentic work of Dadu, Hari Das and Sunder Das, besides the alleged compositions of Kabir, Namdev and Raidas and Narihar.

<sup>10</sup>Vide page 718, Oriental Religions, by Samuel Johnson, 1873. Nanak has tackled all these sects together with others belonging to Shaivism, Buddhism, Yogaism, Sankhyaism, and Jainism.

<sup>11</sup>Ibid, pp. 770—772. A few relevant excerpts from the "Vaishnavite Reformers of India" are given below. "Ramanuja represents the climax of these teachings and in him we have the philosopher and the devotee happily combined...The doctrine of Prapatti or surrender

(c) Formation of a wandering, non-householding order and of a gaddi of successive Gurus who are deified and worshipped like the very Lord himself.

(The fact is that the Vaishnava religion rather strengthened the ties of spiritual kinship and was inclined to diminish the family ties.—Chaitanya, D. C. Sen, p. 288.)

(d) Treatment of the acts of the Gurus and the true devotees as beyond reproach.

(e) Transmigration of Souls, not escapable through Grace.

As history abundantly testifies, these practices soon brought down the Vaishnavites, into the dark depths of coarse, unintelligent idol-worship, sensualism, esotericism, asceticism and rabid fetishism Kabir, a low-class Muslim, of whom so much is made and who is glorified as the father of this and founder of that, in actual practice never secured and received the loyalty as the great Guru of any but the low-class Julahas and other such occupationists as the census-composition of Kabirites amply proves; the Krishnaites and Shaivites of Bombay, Gujerat, Rajputana, Bengal, Madras within a century or two of the deaths of Namdev, Ramanuja, Madhavacharya, Chaitanya and other leaders developed sensualistic practices and caste-differences and superstitious semi-Tantric theories which as in the case of Kabirites soon alienated the interests of the higher, intellectual classes, confined their teaching to the low strata of

was inculcated to suit inferior intellects. Ramanuja in no place countenances the slightest departure from strict Shastraic injunctions. He is uncompromising in denying the privilege of Vedic study to Sudras and women and the latter were never permitted to mix with men in devotion or abandon their usual household duties much less to assume the character of nuns. Bhajans, Sankirtans, festive songs etc., were practically unheard of in those days and religious fervour never took the form of violent demonstrations or indecent exhibitions." (Page 113). "In the centuries following that in which Ramanuja lived—12th and the two succeeding centuries—these features of Vaishnavism were greatly preserved. Non-Brahmin adherents no doubt increased in number but we hear nowhere of the protest against caste restriction and the assertion of general equality which is a permanent feature of modern Vaishnavism as seen in the North." (P. 113)... "The comparative political quiet of the South also contributed to preserve the higher castes from disruption or admixture with the lower... But in the North, Vaishnavism first affected the lower strata of society and proceeded upwards in its conversions. In Bengal, Saktism had taken deep root among the Brahmins who practised their horrible mystic rites in secret and excluded the lower castes. In Benares and Western India, the Brahmins were generally enlightened Advaites to whom the cult of Devotion and Faith had no attractions. *It was, therefore, inevitable that the habits and customs of converts should react on the religion newly advocated and present phases of it which are alike strange and inexplicable to the earlier adherents of the same faith in the South.*"... Many of the Chaitanya sects adopted the reprehensible practices of the Tantrics or Saktas and hence fell into those very sins which moved the moral wrath of Chaitanya and prompted his attempts at reform."

In Namdev (Natesan), pp. 9—10, we read: "The intense Vaishnavism built upon the self-sacrifice and devotion of the early saints was to some extent reduced into a religion of theologic worship and priestly domination. A system of image-worship and costly offerings substituted itself for the life of intense prayer and devotion and righteousness which the older Vaishnavas had inculcated."

Prof. Monier Williams writes (J. R. A. S., pp. 2—3, Vol. 13): But none of those Reformers succeeded in counteracting the corrupt tendencies inherent in the Vaishnava system. That system contains within itself the seeds of constant morbid growth and unhealthy development. It cannot get rid of its dogma of repeated incarnations, or, to speak more correctly, repeated descents. Vishnu, it is believed, has ever been accustomed to descend in the shape of great warriors, great teachers and even animals, to deliver his creatures in seasons of special exigence and peril. Of course such a theory opens the door to every kind of extravagant superstition. Notwithstanding, therefore, the partial reformation accomplished by Ramanuja, Madhva, Vallabha and Chaitanya, the tide of degrading idolatrous practices set in more strongly than ever..... Both Kabir and Nanak did their best to purify the Augean stable of corrupt Hindu doctrine, but met with only partial success.

society and later reduced the Muslim and Christian rulers to the necessity of the application of law.<sup>12</sup> In short, Vaishnavism, in theory, an amalgam of the best in the Upanishads, in Buddhism and in Yoga, in practice came to be the easy refuge of the depressed sections who instead of rising up themselves pulled down their new religion to their own level and reduced it to animism, cyclic hagiology and low Tantraism.

Nanak<sup>13</sup> rejected Vaishnavism and Shaivism and Yoga for he said, in effect: "Millions are the Avatars and millions are the Prophets and Gurus; millions are the modes of His worship; my path, best suited to the conditions of a heterogeneous population and of a disturbed life, shall brook no man-made God or Gods, no human mediators, no symbolic worship, no division into castes or into householders and non-house holders, no epithets, offering and ceremony, no philosophy which in the hands of the average non-intellectual, busy man in the street are apt to degenerate, and develop an anthropomorphic, intolerant and ritualistic character. Mine is Bhakti rooted in Karma and flowering into Gyana. All three are vitally related and thus united, give us the idealistic synoptic view. I have no Guru but the God whom I would not call by any human or symbolic name, but just call the great wondrous Guru; your Guru, too, is He; you shall repeat His name, live by honest means, sublimate your five passions, associate with saintly persons, ever seek after truth which is the best and highest name of the creator—Sat Kartar, Sat Nam, Sat Guru, Sat Shabad, Sach Khand.—exercise charity and practice early-rising and purification of body through a daily bath.<sup>14</sup> No pilgrimages, no ceremonial worship, no asceticism, no superstitions; directly shall you approach God through an intelligent study of the Bani left by me and by other saints—but implying no worship of a Book—who will reveal Himself to you direct through His Grace, provided you cultivate the requisite passivity, receptivity, throw yourself at His mercy and prove your love of Him by loving all and living (a life of poise) rightly (Sat-Achar) and searching after Right Knowledge, without fearing yourself or striking fear in others, ever emphasizing in your mind His Formlessness, Birthlessness, Timelessness and Self-containedness." Here is Bhakti, indeed, but pure, non-Vaishnavite and non-Yogic Bhakti; here is Gyana, indeed, but not dry ratiocination and intellectual gymnastics, but Prema-Gyana, knowledge that cometh of love; here are worship and revelation, indeed, but non-ceremonial worship and direct continuous and individual revelation; here is theism, indeed, but a theism which is friends with realism and monism and which is purged of intolerant, severe, and exclusive monotheism.

From internal evidence we see that Nanak had frequent contacts with all sects of Hindu and Muslim wandering saints, particularly the sadhs and siddhs, and to all of them he gave the one reply when persuaded for conversion: "Your doctrines and practices are alright but alas you are stressing only their external aspect; their internal aspect reads thus and thus and this I have already made a part of my life. Go you, too, and discern and realize this more formless and eternal and undegenerate side of your own teachings. Go and look more towards your ineffable religious experience of Ananda than to your doctrinaire talk."

A comparative study of Nanak and his contemporary Shah Miranji of Bijapur is most illuminating as showing how almost similar thoughts couched in identical vocabulary and same metres were being given out both by some Hindu and the Muslim truth-seekers whether in the north of India or in the south. Extracts from Miranji in the Panjabi Section will amply prove it all. Of the other contemporaries of Nanak in India, semblance with whose work is remarkable, may be mentioned Jodhan or Budhan and Dadu and Bayazid of Jullundur.

<sup>12</sup>Vide page 38, Tukaram, Fraser and Edwards.

<sup>13</sup> For a more or less satisfactory account of Nanak's teachings see the book, Nanak by S.R. Thapar, 1934, Rawalpindi, Nanak by Sir Daljit Singh and the The Ten Masters by Puran Singh. See also my Bhakha Vigyana and Gurmat Gyana, commentaries on Nanak's Japu and Siddh Gosht.

<sup>14</sup> Vide A. G., pp. 391—392.

The work of Nanak can be divided into two sections, that included in the *Adi Granth* and that contained in the various prose and verse chronicles and commentaries of him. Amongst the second group are to be placed the following, based on Mss. Nos. 374, 4637 and 4141, P., P. U. L., Ms. No. 512 H. U. the two Mss. in my possession; and *Shabad Shalok* (printed) and the published biographies of him by Sewa Das, Bala, Mani Singh and some anonymous writers, and the manuscript omnibus biography of him by Mehrban.

### Poetry

- |  |                                   |
|--|-----------------------------------|
| 1. Nasihat Nama (Persian metre)                    | 9. Bani Bihangam (Hindi metres)   |
| 2. Rekhtas (Persian metres)                        | 10. Persian Fard (Persian metre)  |
| 3. Munajat (Persian metre)                         | 11. Persian Rubai (Persian metre) |
| 4. Pran Sangli <sup>t</sup> (Dohras and Chaupais.) | 12. Matra (Hindi metres)          |
| 5. Gyan Sarodai (Dohras)                           | 13. Si Harfi (Panjabi metre)      |
| 6. Kafis   | 14. Vars (Paikambari, etc.)       |
| 7. Katha Sri Krishan Chand and<br>Katha Das Avatar | 15. Sahansar Nama                 |
| 8. Chatar Saloki                                   | 16. Paintis Akhri                 |

### Prose

17. Hazir Nama

All except No. 10 and 11 are in Panjab Hindwi or in Sind Sagari. From internal evidence as well as from the dates borne by the ms. copies (ranging from mid-sixteenth to mid-eighteenth century) we should hesitate to accept them as genuine. Some spurious work which even a street singer might feel ashamed to own, fabricated by Kabirolators or Hindalias, has been put into the mouth of Nanak in Kabir and Niranjania literature e.g., *Nanak Bodh*, *Kabir Kasauti*, *Kabir-i-Manshur*, *Kabir Shabdavali*, *Jiva Dharma Bodh*, produced in the 17th and the 19th Century mostly by the Panjabi followers of Kabir-panth like Babu Lahna Singh, Patiala, and Sadhu Parmananda Dasa, Ferozpur (both having published their works in 1891), and by Bidhi Chand.

Of extra-*Granth* work Pran Sangli is the most important which appears to be an elaboration of what in esse he sang in Japu, Siddh Gosht, Dakhni Onkar in the *Granth*. Like Jnanesvar the author of *Jnanesvari* written in 1290, Nanak in Pran Sangli shows himself a perfect master of the details of the mani-folded yoga current in his day. But he revivifies the dead bones of yogic phraseology and doctrine into richly coloured and scented poetry of soul-mysticism, and, thereby, demonstrates his interest not in the doctrinal and the yogic stuff itself as such, but in its character as wonderful raw-material for poetical and mystical transfiguration. He may well be here compared to Eckhart of whom Otto Rodolf writes (*Mysticism, East and West*, page 178): While Sankara and his school try to rationalize the paradoxes of mystical language and even on occasion reduce them to the trivial, thereby transforming the original mystery-filled figures of the Upanishads, into abstractions, Eckhart on the contrary excites his listeners by unheard-of expressions, and makes the conventional terminology of scholasticism pulsate again with the old mystical meaning. He causes ideas derived from mysticism, but long-tamed and reduced to respectable mediocre conception, to flame anew with their ancient colour and depth"; and with Jnanesvar of whom we read (*J. R. A. S.*, April 1932, pages 340-341): "He speaks as an adept, as one who has torn away the veil over the words . . . . But if Jnanesvar was a Yoga adept and could discourse learnedly of Kundalini and Susumna, it was not those things that held his heart . . . . It is when Jnanesvar is chanting the praises of Bhakti that he is at his best, that his spirit is in the full swing of its pinions and his soul in sympathetic raptures." *Pran Sangli* like Gorakh Nath's alleged *Amar Nath Samvad*, believed to belong to the 12th century and Gorakh Goshti and resembling *Jnanesvari* in many a passage, is cast in the form of a *Samvad*

or expository dialogue as had been the Hindu tradition from times immemorial for doctrinal preaching. Many verses of Nanak in the Granth itself read as replies to Naths, named Gorakh Nath, Gopi Chand, Charpat Nath, Bharthri, Ishar (*vide* pages 812, 414, 415, 882-83, 920). It is now admitted that "Kabir Bijak" was composed by Dharma Dass in the 17th century or earlier, on the lines of Pran Sangi which was uttered outside the Punjab and preserved there, imported later into the Punjab.

In the Adi Granth we have the undernoted kinds of music and poetry and forms of versification in Nanak :—

Shabads in Ragas	Var
Jap Nisan	Bara Manh
Sodar	Sahaskriti
Soh la	Chaupade
Pailre	Dupade
Vanjare	Salok
Patti	Chhant
Alahniyan	Dakhne
Arti	Variants of the Persian popular epic and
Kafi	lyric meters, Masnavi, Musaddas,
Omkar	Mukhammas etc.
Gosht	

(*Vide* Pandit Tara Singh's works on the Adi Granth for details.)

The most marked feature of Nanak's content, form and style is their comprehensiveness. All the major forms of verse and types of poetry and ragas of folk-music are employed ; the Hindu, Muslim and Buddhistic religious and cultural vocabulary is there in all important detail ; the main traits of the current philosophies of Advaita, Dvaita, Shaktivism, Islamic Mysticism and Buddhistic Yoga can be illustrated with suitable quotations from him ; Lahndi, Panjab Hindwi, Sahaskriti, Rekhta and Bilingualism are all there. In other words, he carries forward the entire literary tradition and perfects it immediately. Another useful characteristic is that his work comes to us in full authenticity ; his hymns etc., were consigned to paper in his life-time in *Pothies* and some of them began to be recited daily. The body of work left out by Guru Arjan from the Adi Granth and the order of it which Guru Arjan changed can still be discovered in mss. scattered all over the Panjab, for instance, Ms. No. 512 of the Hifz-ul-Ulum, Lahore ; Ms. No. 4141 of P. U. L., Lahore and a ms. dated 1650 in the Singh Sabha Gurdwara at Sayyid Kasran, in the Rawalpindi Dist., the native place of the present winter's father and grandfather. The deep sanctity attaching to the Guru's word, the scrupulous care taken in its preservation and exact transcription and the damnation visiting any the slightest verbal change made in it illustrated by the episodes of Bhai Banno and Ram Rai, have from the very beginning guaranteed the genuineness and purity of our religious records.

The content of Nanak's poetry which is one unending evocation by personal contacts with men from all places and creeds and social levels, which is a thorough commentary on the decadence rife in society, the state and the religions of contemporary India, is marked, in brief, by

1. a simplicity, humility, directness, and fearlessness of treatment ;
2. a plenteous use of illustrative imagery drawn from familiar objects, relations, literary works and spiritual experiences—an altogether comprehensive allusiveness ;

3. an avoidance of polemics, ratiocination and rabid denunciation ;

4. a choice blending of all the attitudes of the individual soul towards the All-Soul, the over-soul, e.g., the attitudes of son, wife, lover, friend, servant, devotee, disciple towards the mother and the father, the husband and the beloved, the friend, the master, the God and the Guru respectively ;

5. a proof of his understanding of all the known types of mysticism,—the mysticism of Nature, of the soul, of emotion (Prema), of yoga, of poised, detached action (Nishkama karma) ;

6. an original sense of Cosmic humour, the Buddhistic sense of humanity and of the infinity of time, space and causation, the Vedantic sense of freedom, the Muslim sense of social solidarity and co-operation and bold physical sacrifice, the typical Sikh sense of social and political justice ;

7. an eve-present under-current of joy, Ananda, born of no mere perception of oneness, of mere physical and psychological trance or, again, of active Dharmic detachment or passionlessness but of real, felt union with the one who is both Saguna and Nirguna, is Nirankar, Sunn and Samadhi, who Himself creates and then Himself recites the Japa of Himself ;

8. and a decided preference for the life of the householder (ਗਿਰੀ) who aims at moral power (ਸ਼ੋਰ) and spiritual joy (ਅੰਨਦ) through the cultivation of poise, equality, justice, the appreciation of Nature's law and the constant pursuit of inquiry into Human institutions. (*Vide Japu*, 2, 13, 16, 21, 33.)

In inscape and execution his work is characterized by the employment of almost all the existing forms of versification and types of poetry and the invention of many a new verse form, by the construction of new stanzas, by the use of choice vocabulary from all religions—Buddhism, Jainism and Islam, the preservation of old and the creation of new harmonies, tunes and rhythms, and a display of all the poetical graces of freedom and discipline such as assonance, alliteration, onomatopœia, variation of line-length, etc. In short, our quest for lyrical beauty, verbal euphony and metrical invention is ended in Nanak's poetry, the dominate strain in whose subject-matter is reverence and mystic wonder, a kind of sureness of belief which is very different from cocksureness.

An analysis of Nanak's language is very useful for a study of the lines along which the influence of the language of the ruling classes proceeds to act upon the speech of the ruled ; and it is, also, profitable in showing how the language of travel, trade, religion and military occupation comes to acquire a "universalism" of its own and to differ widely from the language of secluded, purely literary, and "civil" scholarship. The prose *Hazir Nama* of Nanak, and his miscellaneous bits of prose-speech reported in the chronicles have several noteworthy features ; in grammar, his prose is synthetic ; in expression, sententious ; in vocabulary and style Persian-charged. The earliest prose in every language is ever possessed of all the disorder, compression and involution of actual conversation.

Before closing with Nanak it may be mentioned that two Sanskrit works are ascribed to him, *Nanak Gita*, or *Adbhuta Gita* and *Nirakaramimansa Darsana*, both published at Moradabad in 1901 and 1903 respectively with commentaries by Keshvanand, and with Hindi translations. The first mention of Nanak in Hindustani poetry is found in *Devi Singh Banarasi's launi*, written about 1685. I have been told that the whole of the *Adi Granth* with a commentary in Sanskrit exists in manuscript, in the possession of Dr. Har Parshad Shastri of the Patna University.

The other poets of the House of Nanak<sup>15</sup> are :-

1. Angad Dev (b. 1504—d. 1552).

<sup>15</sup> A very brilliant article on the "Arrangement of the *Adi Granth*," by Mr. Frederic Pincott appeared in *J.R.A.S.*, Vol. XVIII. We quote a few lines here

The *Adi Granth* contains 3,384 hymns or considerably more than three times the bulk of the *Rig Veda*.....It contains 15,575 stanzas, of which Dr. Trumpp has translated 5,719... It is divisible into three parts, the first of which is liturgical, the second contains the general body of the hymns and the third part is supplementary, consisting of heterogeneous matter which could not well be included in the former portions.....This arrangement, it will be seen, accords with that of the *Rig Veda*, the first *Mandala* of which is liturgical, followed by various sets of hymns, and ending with the long and short hymns, or miscellaneous collections.....It would seem from the foregoing that, as originally arranged by Guru Arjun, the *Adi Granth* had a collection of poems for every musical semitone of the *Stabaka*. There can be no doubt that the basis of arrangement was musical, for directions as to the tunes and keys in which the poems are to be sung occur throughout.....The hymns which are to be sung in a particular *Rag* were first placed together; and were then arranged under the following heads :--

1. *Chaupadis*, containing an average of four verses each.
2. *Ashtpadis*, containing an average of eight verses each.
3. Special long poems.
4. *Chhants*, consisting of 6-line verses.
5. Special short poems.
6. *Vars*, consisting of two or more *Sloks*, and a *Pauri* or concluding stanza.
7. Poems of the *Bhagats* or Saints.

There is absolutely no deviation from this early-defined principle

The hymns were further classified according to the *gharu* or musical clef, in which each hymn was to be sung. According to the Indian method of singing, the accent falls, and the voice rises and falls, in different positions, according to the *gharu* in which the verses are sung.....It must be mentioned that the last cluster of *Sloks*, the *Ratan Mala*, and the story of *Rai Mukam*, are held to be of doubtful canonical authority, and are not included in all copies of the *Adi Granth*.

<i>Author</i>	<i>No. of stanzas</i>
Fifth Guru	6,204
First	2,949
Third	2,522
Fourth	1,730
Kabir	1,146
Nam Dev	239
Ninth Guru	196
Sheikh Farid	149
Ravi Das	134
Second Guru	57
Mardana	3
Rai Balvandi	8
Mira Bai	3
Tenth Guru	1
Various Bhattas	122
Unnamed Bhagat at end of <i>Rag</i>	
Jait Sari	6

The orderly statement of the contents of the *Adi Granth* given in this paper conclusively proves that the book is arranged on a clearly traceable system, depending, firstly, on the tunes to which the poems were sung; secondly, on the nature or meter of the poems themselves; thirdly, on their authorship; and fourthly, on the clef or key deemed appropriate to them. It follows, as a corollary, that the positions of the hymns have no reference to their antiquity or dogmatic importance; and, also, that the *Adi Granth* is a single systematic collection, into which the later additions (as those of the Ninth and Tenth Guru) were inserted in their appropriate places. [Nanak is the author of these "Mardana" poems. MS.]

2. Amar Das (b. 1479—d. 1574).<sup>16</sup>
3. Ram Das (b. 1534—d. 1581).
4. Arjun Dev (b. 1563—d. 1606).
5. Har Gobind (b. 1595—d. 1644).
6. Tegh Bahadar (b. 1621—d. 1675).
7. Gobind Singh (b. 1666—d. 1708).

The work of 1, 2, 3, 4 and 6 is contained in the *Adi Granth*<sup>17</sup> at Kartarpur (*vide* *Gur Shabad Ratnakar*, Kaban Singh, page 1305); of 5, a few shabads only, is included in a manuscript copy of the *Adi Granth* preserved at the Dharamsala of Hakim Buta Singh at Rawalpindi; of 7 was collected along with that of his court-poets in the *Dasam Granth* between the years 1721 and 1737, the three better-known copies of which are the one known as Baba Dip Singh's, another at Abchal Nagar (Nander) in the Deccan and the third with Bhai Gurbaksh Singh with whose help Baba Sadhu Singh published a glossary of the

<sup>16</sup> The fundamental difference between the outlooks of Kabir and Amar Das who introduced him to the Panjab reading public through his anthology containing Kabir among others and who was the first to announce his difference with Kabir is thus shown (*vide* A. G., pp. 1274 and 878 and 879):—

Kabir-ਕਬੀਰ ਜੋ ਮੈ ਚਿਤਵਉ ਨਾ ਕਰੈ ਕਿਆ ਮੋਰੇ ਚਿਤਵੈ ਹੋਇ ।  
 ਅਪਨਾ ਚਿਤਿਵਿਆ ਹਰਿ ਕਰੈ ਜੋ ਮੋਰੇ ਚਿਤਿ ਨ ਹੋਇ ।  
 A. D.—ਚਿੰਤਾ ਡਿ ਆਪਿ ਕਰਾਇਸੀ ਅਚਿੰਤੁ ਭੀ ਆਪੇ ਦੇਇ ।  
 ਨਾਨਕ ਸੋ ਸਾਲਾਹੀਐ ਜਿ ਸਭਨਾ ਸਾਰ ਕਰੋਇ ।  
 Kabir--ਕਬੀਰ ਮਹਿਦੀ ਕਰ ਕੈ ਘਾਲਿਆ ਆਪੁ ਪੀਸਾਇ ਪੀਸਾਇ ।  
 ਤੈ ਸਹ ਬਾਤਿ ਨ ਪੁਛੀਆ ਕਬਹੁ ਨ ਲਾਈ ਪਾਇ ।  
 A. D.--ਨਾਨਕ ਮਹਿਦੀ ਕਰਿ ਕੈ ਰਖਿਆ ਸੋ ਸਹੁ ਨਦਰ ਕਰੋਇ ।  
 ਆਪੇ ਪੀਸੈ ਆਪੇ ਘਸੈ ਆਪੇ ਹੀ ਲਾਇ ਲਏਇ ।  
 ਇਹ ਪਿਰਮ ਪਿਆਲਾ ਖਸਮ ਕਾ ਜੈ ਡਾਵੈ ਤੈ ਦੇਇ ।  
 Kabir--ਕਬੀਰ ਕਸਉਟੀ ਰਾਮ ਕੀ ਝੁਠਾ ਟਿਕੈ ਨ ਕੋਇ ।  
 ਰਾਮ ਕਸਉਟੀ ਸੋ ਸਹੈ ਜੋ ਮਰ ਜੀਵਾ ਹੋਇ ।  
 A. D.--ਕਿਉ ਕਰਿ ਇਹੁ ਮਨੁ ਮਾਰੀਐ ਕਿਉ ਕਰਿ ਮਿਰਤਕੁ ਹੋਇ ।  
 ਕਹਿਆ ਸਬਦੁ ਨ ਮਾਨਈ ਹੁਕਮੈ ਛੁਡੈ ਨ ਕੋਇ ।  
 ਗੁਰ ਪਰਸਾਦੀ ਹੁਕਮੈ ਛੁਟੈ ਜੀਵਨ ਮੁਕਤੁ ਸੋ ਹੋਇ ।  
 ਨਾਨਕ ਜਿਸਨੋ ਬਖਸ ਤਿਸੁ ਮਿਲੈ ਤਿਸੁ ਬਿਘਨੁ ਨ ਲਾਗੈ ਕੋਇ ।  
 ਜੀਵਤ ਮਰਣਾ ਸਭੁ ਕੋ ਕਹੈ ਜੀਵਨ ਮੁਕਤਿ ਕਿਉ ਹੋਇ ।  
 ਭੈ ਕਾ ਮੰਜਮੁ ਜੋ ਕਰੇ ਦਾਰੂ ਡਾਉ ਲਾਇ ।  
 ਅਨਦਿਨ ਗੁਣ ਗਾਵੈ ਸੁਖ ਸਹਜੇ ਬਿਖੁ ਭਵਜਲੁ ਨਾਮਿ ਤਰੋਇ ।  
 ਨਾਨਕ ਗੁਰਮੁਖਿ ਪਾਈਐ ਜਾ ਕਉ ਨਦਰ ਕਰੋਇ ।

The non-vegetarianism and inter-dining of Nanakism should also feature prominently in the list (*vide ante*, page 28) of Sikh departures from the Vaishnavite and Kabir creeds. Kabir says (A. G., page 1274):

ਕਬੀਰ ਭਾਂਗ ਮਾਛਲੀ ਸੁਰਾ ਪਾਨਿ ਜੋ ਜੋ ਪ੍ਰਾਨੀ ਖਾਂਹਿ ।  
 ਤੀਰਥ ਬਰਤ ਨੇਮ ਕੀਏ ਤੇ ਸਭੈ ਰਸਾਤਲ ਜਾਂਹਿ ॥

<sup>17</sup> The alleged extra-*Granth* work of Nanak inventoried on page 30, *ante*, will be found in H. U. Ms. No. 512; P.U.L. Ms. No. 4141; two Ms. in my possession; the current *Janam Sakhi* of Nanak by Bhai Mani Singh, 1890, Mustafai Press, Lahore; *Janam Sakhi* of Nanak, Wazir-i-Hind Press, Amritsar; P.U.L. Ms. No. 374 and P.U.L. Ms. No. 4637.

In "Buddhism and Hinduism," Sir Charles Eliot, Vol II, page 269, we read: Even now unwritten poems of Nanak are current in Bihar.

work in 1903. Breathing in a similar literary and political atmosphere as Nanak in his later life did, his first successors remained well within the poetical grooves cut by him. Only Guru Arjan with the advantages of a less itinerant life, greater political peace and wider acquaintance with contemporary Hindi literary production, was able to incorporate in his hymnody a much larger amount of Hindu-Muslim historical and religious scholarship. Of his organic productions—Bawan Akhri, Jait Sri Di Var, Gatha and Sukhmani the last stands out pre-eminent for its bulk, its uniformly high-levelled diction, its transparent style, its harmonic splendour, its technical perfection, the architecture of its thought and the Upanishadic spaciousness of its outlook. It is, in brief, a full treatise on Prabh-Simran, the Hari-Jan, and Hari-Nam, Sadh-Sang, the Brahm-Giani, the Sant-Dokhi, the Baishno, Satt, Prit, Sukh and Mukh. The orientation of Indian National Life commenced by Nanak gave the Panjab, by the first quarter of the 17th century, a full-fledged model organization with a model book of spiritual and temporal instruction, at a model town, aiming less at religious revolution, and more at social liberty, domestic purity, private virtue and universal happiness. The conflict with political authority was, in the circumstances, but natural, and the martyrdom of Arjan Dev—the embodiment of sweetness of emotion as Nanak was of originality of thought and Gobind Singh, later, of the power of imaginative expression,—was the first tragedy of the clash. The passive resistance to authority he first exemplified, is for the political historian to assess; to us his compilation of the Adi Granth is a literary achievement of the greatest moment, indicative of his deep practical love of literature and literary history and of his sense of the sanctity of undefiled, authenticated literary utterance. As usual all the world over, his pioneer work attracted imitators, both good and evil. The numerous *panths* organized on the model of the Sikh panth (its original name in Nanak seems to have been Nirmal panth, *vide* Kahan Singh, G. S. Ratnakar, page 2131), all took up the preservation and veneration of the Bani of their own leaders as well of others and called their anthologies, in imitation, Adi Granth or Khas Granth or Guru Granth (Niranjanias, Gharib Dasis, Kabirites and Hindalias). The aping went further, in the composition of hymns by the successors with, at the end, the poetic name of the founder—a prolific cause of confusion and forgery—and in the inclusion into copies made of the authorized Adi Granth at Amritsar, of much spurious stuff, bearing Nanak's name or extra-material,—more, genuine or false, hymns of singers other than of the House of Nanak or the direct line of the Gurus. Among the historical copies of the Adli Granth are those at Kartarpur, Damdama Sahib and Mangat (Gujrat District). (For their differences see G. S. Ratnakar, Kahan Singh, pp. 1305—1309 and other books). The Granth and other work with the families of Hindal and Ram Rai, containing poems ascribed to Nanak, etc., (at Jandiala and Dehra Dun) are really original productions of varying merit.

Of the language of the Granth much misdirection and misjudgment have issued from literary adjudicators, to both Indian and non-Indian audience. The noteworthy features, correctly stated, are :—

1. The Adi Granth was compiled by Guru Arjan with the help of written pothis, chief of them being those belonging to the House of Nanak, and kept in the custody of the successors of Guru Nanak.

2. In the Granth, standard Kartarpur version, are contained, the hymns of only the first five Gurus; those of the ninth Guru and one couplet of the tenth Guru were entered later in the Damdama copy. It also comprises the work of Farid, Jai Dev, Sadhna, Namdev, Beni, Ramanand, Kabir, Trilochan, Raidas, Dhanna, Bhikhan, Sen, Pipa, Miranbai belonging to the House of Ramanand and all contemporaries, and of Parmanand and Surdas (b. 1529). These stray selections from all except Parmanand and Surdas were

probably made and preserved by Guru Amar Das ; the contributions of the last two were apparently collected by Guru Arjan himself for they rose to fame after Guru Amar Das's death.

Added to the work of the Gurus and the Bhagats in the Adli Granth is the poetry of Sundar, a scion of the family of Guru Ram Das, and of a number of Bhattas at the socio-religious court of the 2nd, 3rd, 4th and 5th Gurus (*vide* G. S. Ratnakar, Kahan Singh, page 2706) and Satta Dum and Rai Balwand, musicians attached like Bhattas to the Gurus.

The swayyas of the Bhattas (later glorified as incarnations of the four Vedas)—Kalh, Kirti, Jalap, Bhikha, Bhalh, Salh, Kalh Thakur, Nalh, Rad, Das, Mathura, Haribans (*vide* Trumpp's Adi Granth, page cxx ; he gives 3 more) and the Var (Ramkali) of Balwand and Satta are convincing testimony to the numerousness of the writers of Panjabi verse in that age, the many-sided, profound influence of the poetic creations of the House of Nanak on their contemporaries, the Bhattas' thorough, balanced comparative apprehension of the persons and precepts of the Gurus and their full and exact knowledge of the whole calendar of old and new saints of Vaishnavism, Shaivism, etc., the high stage of poetical execution Panjabi poetry had then reached in the hands of the popular ballad-writers, and the vast process of free, liberal linguistic assimilation which had come to provide such abundant verbal stocks to Panjabi.

The indition of the Adi Granth had finished in 1604 : we may, therefore, justly presume that the poems of some of the Bhattas whose patrons were Guru Amar Das (d. 1574) and Guru Ram Das (d. 1581), were written roughly about 1570. Nabha Das's Bhakta Mala, the prototype of which was Vishnu Puri's Bhakta Ratnavali, was composed about 1600. We are, therefore, on unassailable ground when we declare that the first historic mention of the saints of the Houses of Balnath, Gorakhnath, Ramananda, Vallabhacharya, Madhavacharya and of the Buddhist, Jain and Shaiva religions etc., occurs in the Adi Granth in a swayya of Kalh, which indirectly corroborates our thesis that the generation following Kabir assessed him properly and dispassionately as just one of the many who, one and all, drew their spiritual sustenance from the common store which had been contributed to by similar dynamic persons for centuries past. Another important historical fact established by these swayyas is that almost all the legends, manufactured by zealous discipleship and attached to Nanak, incorporated in his biographies, had made their appearance about the end of the 16th century about which time can justly be located the first prose chronicles and commentaries and interpretations of Nanak. We may, in particular, refer to the legend of Nanak's previous birth as Janaka which psychologically arose out of the happy blend of Raj and Jog that both in their lives and preachings supplied, accepting householding as the best of the four stages of Life, for the achievement of Mukti in Kaljug.

We read in Kal who died before 1574 :—

ਕਬਿ ਕਲ ਸੁਜਸੁ ਗਾਵਉ ਗੁਰ ਨਾਨਕ ਰਾਜੁ ਜੋਗੁ ਜਿਨਿ ਮਾਣਿਓ ।

ਗੁਣ ਗਾਵੈ ਹਵਿਦਾਸੁ ਭਗਤੁ ਜੈਦੇਵ ਤੁਲੋਚਨ  
ਨਾਮਾ ਭਗਤੁ ਕਬੀਰੁ ਸਦਾ ਗਾਵਹਿ ਸਮ ਲੋਚਨ  
ਭਗਤੁ ਬੋਣਿ ਗੁਣ ਰਵੈ ਸਹਜਿ ਆਤਮ ਰੰਗੁ ਮਾਣੈ  
ਜੋਗੁ ਧਿਆਨਿ ਗੁਰ ਗਿਆਨਿ ਬਿਨਾ ਪ੍ਰਭ ਅਵਰੁ ਨ ਜਾਣੈ  
ਸੁਖ ਦੇਉ ਪਰੀਖੁਤੁ ਗੁਣ ਰਵੈ ਗੋਤਮ ਰਿਖਿ ਸਸੁ ਗਾਇਓ  
ਕਬਿ ਕਲ ਸੁਜਸੁ ਨਾਨਕ ਗੁਰੁ ਨਿਤ ਨਵ ਤਨੁ ਜਸਿ ਛਾਇਓ

On page 1280, A. G., we read :—

ਸੋਈ ਨਾਮੁ ਸਿਵਰਿ ਨਵ ਨਾਥ ਨਿਰੰਜਨੁ ਸਿਵ ਸਨਕਾਦਿ ਸਮੁ ਧਰਿਆ ।

ਚਵਰਾਸੀਹ ਸਿਧ ਬੁਧ ਜਿਤੁ ਰਾਤੇ ਅੰਬਰੀਕ ਭਵਜਲੁ ਤਰਿਆ ।  
ਉਧਉ ਅਕੂਰ ਤਿਲੋਚਨੁ ਨਾਮਾ ਕਲਿ ਕਬੀਰ ਕਿਲਵਿਖ ਹਰਿਆ ।  
ਸੋਈ ਨਾਮੁ ਅਛਲੁ ਭਗਤਹ ਭਵ ਤਾਰਨ ਅਮਰਦਾਸ ਗੁਰ ਕਉ ਫੁਰਿਆ ।

Jalh may be taken to furnish the chronological order of the four Bhagats, Jai Dev, Namadev, Trilochan and Kabir :

ਜਿ ਮਤਿ ਗਹੀ ਜੈ ਦੇਵਿ ਜਿ ਮਤਿ ਠਾਮੈ ਸੰਮਾਣੀ ।  
ਜਿ ਮਤਿ ਤਿਲੋਚਨ ਚਿਤਿ ਭਗਤ ਕੰਬੀਰਹਿ ਜਾਣੀ ।

ਗੁਰ ਅਮਰਦਾਸੁ ਨਿਜ ਭਗਤੁ ਹੈ ਦੇਖਿ ਦਰਸੁ ਪਾਵਉ ਮੁਕਤਿ ।

It may be related *en passant* that a number of biographical facts about the non-Sikh Saints, at least as known in the 16th century, can be gleaned from the writings of the 3rd, 4th, 5th Gurus, of the Bhattas, of Gur-das and of the Chroniclers of Nanak, etc.

3. The mixed character of Nanak's language, followed echoingly and solicitously by his successors in the main outline of his thought and its incept, was dictated by his extensive travels and personal discussions. But whatever be the superstructure, Sahaskriti or Maghadi or Panjab Hindwi or Marathi Hindwi or Marwar-cum-Braj Hindwi or Rekhta, the unmistakable phonetic and verbal substantial base of the pyramid is Lahauri cum-Sind Sagari and his outturn in this last speech is certainly very considerable and of the rarest beauty and grace. Nanak's level in this pure, native tongue is reached by Arjan in his Bawan Akhri, to quota one instance, which is an intriguing mixture of alternating Sahaskriti and Multani. The Punjab Hindwi of the Sikh Gurus is clearly distinguishable from the Hindi (Purbi or Braji) or the Eastern Hindwi of the contemporary Hindwi writers, for its phonetics, its word-formation and its inflections.

4. The compositions of others beside the Gurus were included for their general illustrative value, and not for their doctrinal worth or parental importance. Similarity or even identity of vocabulary and miscellaneous, less significant thought is to be accounted for by the fact that the prevalent literary climate of North India, a hotch-potch of the shreds and remnants of many dead and half-alive and half-assimilated creeds, influenced the physical body of their poetry in almost the same manner, or, to change the metaphor, by the fact that the literary and religious coinage in use was the only currency that was acceptable to the people; differences amongst the new teachers were signified by them by the differences in the value or consideration for which they were tendered by them to the public.

5. The total numbers of the poetical units of Kabir, Nanak and Arjan Dev are 534, 947 and 2312.

6. The poetry of the Sikh Gurus in the A.G. is far superior to that of the Bhagats, in its freedom from insipid repetition, its far greater emotion, imagery, ordonnance and harmonics, and its lesser doctrinality, riper scholarship and altogether wider contemplative and descriptive sweep.

Here are two typical Sikh songs (Nanak, pp. 388-389 and Arjan, pp. 702-802) representative of substance and pure Panjabi language in the tradition of Farid :

#### ਆਸਾ

ਚਾਰੇ ਕੁੰਡਾ ਢੁਢੀਆ ਕੋ ਨੀਮੀ ਮੈਡਾ । ਜੇ ਤੁਧੁ ਭਾਵੈ ਸਾਹਿਬਾ ਤੂ ਮੈਂ ਹਉ ਤੈਡਾ ॥  
ਦਰੁ ਬੀ ਭਾਮੈ ਨੀਮਿ ਕੋ ਕੈ ਕਰੀ ਸਲਾਮੁ । ਹਿਕੋ ਮੈਡਾ ਤੂ ਧਣੇ ਸਾਰਾ ਮੁਖਿ ਨਾਮੁ ॥ ਰਹਾਉ ॥  
ਸਿਧਾ ਸੇਵਨਿ ਸਿਧ ਪੀਰ ਮਾਗਹਿ ਰਿਧਿ ਸਿਧਿ । ਮੈ ਇਕੁ ਨਾਮੁ ਨ ਵੀਸਰੈ ਸਾਰੇ ਗੁਰ ਬੁਧਿ ॥  
ਜੋਗੀ ਭੋਗੀ ਕਾਪੜੀ ਕਿਆ ਭਵਹਿ ਦਿਸੰਤਰ । ਗੁਰ ਕਾ ਸਬਦੁ ਨ ਚੀਨਹੀ ਤਤੁ ਸਾਰ ਨਿਰੰਤਰ ॥

ਪੰਡਿਤ ਪਾਧੇ ਜੋਇਸੀ ਨਿਤ ਪੜਹਿ ਪੁਰਾਣਾ । ਅੰਤਰਿ ਵਸਤ ਨ ਜਾਣਨੀ ਘਟਿ ਬ੍ਰਹਮੁ ਲੁਕਾਣਾ ॥  
 ਇਕਿ ਤਪਸੀ ਬਨ ਮਹਿ ਤਪੁ ਕਰਹਿ ਨਿਤ ਤੀਰਥ ਵਾਸਾ । ਆਪੁ ਨ ਚੀਨਹਿ ਤਾਮਸੀ ਕਾਹੇ ਭਏ ਉਦਾਸਾ ॥  
 ਇਕਿ ਬਿੰਦੁ ਜਤਨ ਕਰਿ ਰਾਖਦੇ ਸੇ ਜਤੀ ਕਹਾਵਹਿ । ਬਿਨੁ ਗੁਰ ਸਬਦ ਨ ਛੁਟਹੀ ਭ੍ਰਮਿ ਆਵਹਿ ਜਾਵਹਿ ॥  
 ਇਕਿ ਗਿਰਹੀ ਸੇਵਕ ਸਾਧਿਕਾ ਗੁਰਮਤੀ ਲਾਗੇ । ਨਾਮੁ ਦਾਨੁ ਇਸਨਾਨੁ ਦ੍ਰਿੜੁ ਹਰਿ ਭਗਤਿ ਸੁਜਾਗੇ ॥  
 ਗੁਰ ਤੇ ਦੁ ਘਰੁ ਜਾਣੀਐ ਸੋ ਜਾਇ ਸਿਵਾਣੈ । ਨਾਨਕ ਨਾਮੁ ਨ ਵੀਸਰੈ ਸਾਚੇ ਮਨੁ ਮਾਣੈ ॥

### ਕਾਫ਼ੀ

ਜੇ ਭੁਲੀ ਜੇ ਚੁਕੀ ਸਾਈਂ ਭੀ ਤਹਿੰਜੀ ਕਾਢੀਆ ।  
 ਜਿਨ੍ਹਾਂ ਨੇਹੁ ਦੁਜਾਨੇ ਲਗਾ ਬੁਰਿ ਮਰਹੁ ਸੇ ਵਾਢੀਆ ।  
 ਹਉ ਨਾ ਛੋਡਉ ਕੰਤ ਪਾਸਰਾ । ਮੇਰਾ ਰੰਗੀਲਾ ਲਾਲੁ ।  
 ਪਿਆਰਾ ਏਹੁ ਮਹਿੰਜਾ ਆਸਰਾ ॥ ਰਹਾਉ ॥  
 ਸਜਣੁ ਤੂ ਹੈ ਸੈਣੁ ਤੂ ਮੈ ਤੁਝ ਉਪਰਿ ਬਹੁ ਮਾਣੀਆ ।  
 ਜਾ ਤੂ ਅੰਦਰਿ ਤਾ ਸੁਖੇ ਤੂੰ ਨਿਮਾਣੀ ਮਾਣੀਆ ।  
 ਜੇ ਤੂੰ ਤੁਠਾ ਕ੍ਰਿਪਾ ਨਿਧਾਨ ਨਾ ਦੂਜਾ ਵੇਖਾਲਿ ।  
 ਏਹਾ ਪਾਈ ਮੁ ਦਾਤੜੀ ਨਿਤ ਹਿਰਦੈ ਰਖਾ ਸਮਾਲਿ ।  
 ਪਾਵ ਜੁਲਾਈ ਪੰਧ ਤਉ ਨੈਣੀ ਦਰਸੁ ਦਿਖਾਲਿ ।  
 ਸੁਵਣੀ ਸੁਣੀ ਕਹਾਣੀਆ ਜੇ ਗੁਰੁ ਥੀਵੈ ਕਿਰਪਾਲਿ ।  
 ਕਿਤੀ ਲਖ ਕਰੋੜਿ ਪਿਰਏ ਰੋਮ ਨ ਪੁਜਨਿ ਤੇਰਿਆ ।  
 ਤੂ ਸਾਹੀ ਹੁ ਸਾਹੁ ਹਉ ਕਹਿ ਨ ਸਕਾ ਗੁਣ ਤੇਰਿਆ ।  
 ਸਹੀਆ ਤਉ ਅਸੰਖ ਮੰਵਹੁ ਹਭਿ ਵਧਾਣੀਆ ।  
 ਹਿਕ ਭੋਰੀ ਨਦਰਿ ਨਿਹਾਲਿ ਦੇਹਿ ਦਰਸੁ ਰੰਗੁ ਮਾਣੀਆ ।  
 ਜੇ ਡਿਠੇ ਮਨੁ ਧੀਰੀਐ ਕਿਲ ਵਿਖ ਵੰਵਣਿ ਦੂਰੇ ।  
 ਸੋ ਕਿਉ ਵਿਸਰੇ ਮਾਉ ਮੈ ਜੋ ਰਹਿਆ ਭਰਪੂਰੇ ।  
 ਹੋਇ ਨਿਮਾਣੀ ਵਹਿ ਪਈ ਮਿਲਆ ਸਹਜਿ ਸੁਭਾਇ ।  
 ਪੂਰਬਿ ਲਿਖਿਆ ਪਾਇਆ ਨਾਨਕ ਸੰਤ ਸਹਾਇ ।

The substance of the first *shabad* in the language and idiom of modern thought can be represented thus (New Studies in Mystical Religion, R. T. Jones, pp. 195-199): "The moment we realize clearly that God is not in the sky, but is Spirit, and therefore is the over-Spirit of our own finite spirits, all our religious problems are at once affected by the discovery. We no longer are interested in the immense structure which human thought and imagination have builded to glorify the imperial Sovereign of the sky, with His court of angelic and seraphic beings and with His gorgeous pictorial heaven above the dome of the sky. Our religion ceases to be other-worldly in the ancient sense and is primarily concerned with the opening out of our inner selves to the divine influences of the Spirit that environs our central being ..... The process of reaching new levels and profounder deep of being is both an outward and an inward process. The lessons of history, the testimony of the ethical experience of the race, the illumination of Christ's revelation, are priceless agencies of enlargement and inspiration. But none of these, nor all of them, can take the place of those inner processes by which one reaches new interior levels of being and liberates in inmost depth of the soul currents of influence which connect directly with the enviroing Life of God."

About a century and a quarter intervenes between the first anthology (1604) of the House of Nanak and the last (1721-1737). The political persecution of the Sikhs, Gurus and Disciples, and the general socio-political upheaval under which the Panjab like many another Province was agonized between the death of Akbar and the death of

Aurangzeb are responsible for the destruction, adulteration, deterioration, and truncation of Panjabi Literature. The political martyrdoms of Arjan Dev and Gobind Singh (1606 and 1708) almost exactly synchronize with the passing away of the two most powerful Moghul Emperors, Akbar and Aurangzeb (1605 and 1707). The languorously sweet Sloks of Guru Tegh Bhahadur, perfumed by a complete spiritual resignation to Him, are both a swan-song, and a deceptive lull before a terrific storm of a continental magnitude. His language is the purest Hindustani, equally understood of the Hindu and the Muslim. In Guru Gobind Singh the Panjab, at the ripe moment, got its dynamic Politician, and Panjabi its dynamic Poet. Born in the area of Behari tongue and Budhist-cum-Shakta culture, fed on Sikh puritanical ideas, surrounded in his youth by a large band of most loyal and devoted soldiers, poets and saints, Hindu, Sikh and Muhammadan, at Anandpur—a hilly area marked by the worship of the Devi, love of music and painting, and a rotten superstition-ridden degenerate social system—and impelled by the inner urge as well as compelled by adverse circumstances from his very childhood to lead an ever-ready fighter's life, he reveals in his passionately heroic-spiritual poetry as in his deeply heroic-spiritual acts the corresponding admixture of four distinct traits : 1. Love and mastery of Braji poetry; 2. Exposition of Shaivism ; 3. Production of military and lyrical ballads and 4. Persistent application of the chivalrous attitude of *God's, the One Deathless Master's, own knight*.

The contents of the Dasam Granth (Guru Khalsa Press, Amritsar) are :—

1. Jap, a rosary of the qualificative names of God, meant for daily recitation as a psalter or *mantra*, after Vishnu Sahasra Nama.
2. Akal Ustat, In praise of the Timeless.
3. Bachittar Natak, an incomplete autobiography and ancestral account mixed with legendary lore.
4. Var Sri Bhagauti ji ki, a ballad of the goddess Bhagvati.
5. Gian Parbodh, In praise of the Lord, with the legends of Parichhat, Ajai Singh and Mahikhes.
6. Chaubis Autar ; Of the twenty-four Avataras—Kachchh, Chhir Samundar Mathan, Maha Mohani, Bairah, Narsingh, Parastam, Brahma Rudra, Gauri, Jalandhar, Arhant Dev, Manu Raja, Dhanantar Baid, Suraj, Chandar, Siri Ram, Krishan, Nar, Baudh, Nehkalanki, Maihdi Mir, Brahma, Balwiki, Kassap, Prithu Raja, Ben Raja, Man Dhata Raja, Dalip Raja, Aj Raja, Rudra, Dattatre, Parasnath. (To get 24, we have to omit the 5 kings, Brahma and Rudra who have been dealt with twice and Kassap, an Ans Avatar of Brahma. The confusion is due to the original mishandling of material by the anthologists).
7. Shastra Nam Mala and Nam Mala, a rosary of the names of the military armoury, and accounts thereof applied to the Lord God.
8. 3 Shabads in Rag Ramkali, 1 in Sorath, 1 in Kalian, 1 Khial (Khayal), 1 Kafi in Tilang, 1 Shabad in Bilaval, 2 in Devgandhari ; altogether 34 stanzas, being Bhagti songs.
9. Swayyas (32 + 3) and 1 Dohara, an exposition of the Divinity and the Path to Him.
10. Pakhian Charittar or Tiriya Charittar or Mantari-Bhup Sambad, Women's Wiles numbering 405, in 7555 stanzas.  
The work was completed in 1696. A.D.
11. Zafar Nama, a letter in indifferent Persian (in the Masnavi metre) addressed to Aurangzeb to which are appended a few tales or Hikayat.

All except the tales of women's wiles No. 10, are by Guru Gobind Singh who is alleged to have contributed to this Compendium of Mediæval Romances one from his own Book of Life. This anthology is partly the work of two poets Rama and Shyama of 52 poets said to have lived at the socio-religious court of the Guru at Anandpur (*Vide* Gurmat Sudhakar, Kahan Singh, page 123 for the names). The only other poets from amongst them whose work has come down to posterity is Sainapati who translated into Hindwi Dohas the famous Sanskrit pamphlet on kingly policy and wisdom, Chanakya Niti, and Kankan. Other productions attributed to this group of associated poets are Ratan Sagar, Buddh Sagar, Bichar Sagar and Lila Sagar, the whole of Mahabharata in Bhasha and Gur Sobha. (*Vide* Ms. No. 242 B., Panjabi Section, P.P.L., Bibek Bardai, Folio 43/1).

Of these only Gur Sobha, the Mahabharata in parts, and the two Sagar are extant according to Bhagwan Singh, the author of Bibek Bardhi. Of extra-Dasam Granth works attributed to Guru Gobind Singh are : 1. A literal, verse translation of the Bhagwad Gita interspersed with a rendering here and there of Madhusudana's Commentary and with directly addressed words by the Guru to his Sikhs correlating his own teachings to them with those of Sri Krishna to Arjuna, and explaining their inner import and literary-cum-spiritual connection with previous thought. The Mahabharata, now printed, was done into Panjab Hindwi verse by one "Krishan Lal." It incorporates the translation of the Bhagawat Gita by Guru Gobind Singh.

2. Premabodh.

3. A few Shabads found only in the Khas Bir of the Dasam Granth. (*Vide* G. S. R., page 3268).

A dynamic multiplex personality,—Social Reformer, Spiritual Revolutionist, Moral Disciplinarian, Military Organizer, Romantic Friend, and thoroughly self-conscious Individualist—aiming at the multiple perfection of his Khalsa, the pure army of the civil-resisters, the spiritual republic, Guru Gobind Singh in the fulness of his realization of the enduring power and influence of literature, and out of the abundance of his many-hued prophetic visions of the past and the future indispensable for present national re-construction, made literary activity a vital part of his reorganization programme, working himself and making a half-century of poets to work by his side, annexing to Panjabi Poetry many a new world of conception and execution—balladry, battology, sex and romance, Vaishnavite mythology and philosophy, History and Autobiography, Military Science and, lastly, epistolography, using the media of Hindi and Persian, Braji, and Lahudi, Magadhi (or Sahaskriti) and Lahauri, and casting words in the moulds of Persian, Braji, Lahudi, Hindwi and Prakrit metres. The accordance of metre to mood, the multiplicity of metres indicative of altered situations in one and the same work, the making of style as physiognomic of subject, onomatopœa, the popularization of blank verse, the revival of Chhands not much found outside Rajasthani balladic creations are some of the formal features of his poetry ; of the glories of his style are a directness, a vigour, a transparency, and an economy which proclaim the deft artist and the master-mind at every step in the victorious measured march of his verse.

An individual like a nation is to be judged by the God he worships. The God of the Jap, of Akal Ustat, of the Swayyas and Kabits is a God whose Jalal and Jamal, whose Saguna and Nirguna aspects have in few other languages been portrayed on such a vast scale and in such profusion of colour and sound and form, love and knowledge and humour. His Chandi di Var in Sind Sagari has every grace and strength of a perfect narrative ; its dramatic excellences overwhelm the reader. The Shastar Nam Mala is a mighty feat full worthy of a sublime soldier-poet. His Bachittar Natak for its prophet's self-consciousness, its simplicity of statement, its frugality of effects is a model piece of self-portraiture and self-estimation. His Gian Prabodh and Chaubis Autar reveal how well he understood the

psychology of Hindu Mythographers, as does his *Chandi Charittar* which unveils *Shakti* in all her affection and awe. His *Swayyas* with their perfect technique, their judicious alliteration, their torrential flow and symphony, are merciless sword-thrusts at every type of superstition, idolatry, hagiolatry, sectionalism, and barren worship; they kill with the rapier's quickness but with equal promptness, do they, also, raise the dead from the grave with their last-line incantations of Forgiveness through love. His *Zafar Nama*, a document of the first importance in the history of Indian Politics, in its lofty strain and heroic frankness, sets the mould for inter-regal or diplomatic correspondence raised to the level of saintly communication. Considering quality alone, one is prepared to maintain that a greater poet than him of such varied vision and verve has not yet been produced by the world.

What an infinite reach of imagination and intellect he commands! Invoking God he says :

ਰੂਪ ਕੋ ਨਿਵਾਸ ਹੈਂ ਕਿ ਬੁਧ ਕੋ ਪ੍ਰਕਾਸ ਹੈਂ ਕਿ ਸਿਧਤਾ ਕੋ ਬਾਸ ਹੈਂ ਕਿ ਬੁੱਧ ਹੂੰ ਕੋ ਘਰੁ ਹੈਂ ।  
 ਦੇਵਨ ਕੋ ਦੇਵ ਹੈਂ ਨਿਰੰਜਨ ਅਭੇਵ ਹੈਂ ਅਦੇਵਨ ਕੋ ਦੇਵ ਹੈਂ ਕਿ ਸੁਧਤਾ ਕੋ ਸਰੁ ਹੈਂ ।  
 ਜਾਨ ਕੋ ਬਚਯਾ ਹੈਂ ਇਮਾਨ ਕੋ ਦਿਵਯਾ ਹੈਂ ਜਮ ਕਾਲ ਕੋ ਕਟਯਾ ਹੈਂ ਕਿ ਕਾਮਨਾ ਕੋ ਕਰੁ ਹੈਂ ।  
 ਤੇਜ ਕੋ ਪ੍ਰਚੰਡ ਹੈਂ ਕਿ ਕਾਮਨਾ ਕੋ ਖੰਡ ਹੈਂ ਮਹੀਪਨ ਕੋ ਮੰਡ ਹੈਂ ਕਿ ਇਸਤੀ ਹੈਂ ਨ ਨਰ ਹੈਂ ।

ਦੇਵ ਦੇਵਾਂਨ ਕੋ ਸੁਰੇਸ ਦਾਨਵਾਨ ਕੋ ਮਹੇਸ ਰੀਗ ਧਾਨ ਕੋ ਅਭੇਸ ਕਹੀਅਤ ਹੈਂ ।  
 ਰੰਗ ਮੈਂ ਰੰਗੀਨ ਰਾਗ ਰੂਪ ਮੈਂ ਪ੍ਰਥੀਨ ਔਰ ਕਾਹੂੰ ਧੈ ਨ ਦੀਨ ਸਾਧ ਅਧੀਨ ਕਹੀਅਤੁ ਹੈਂ ।  
 ਪਾਈਐ ਨ ਪਾਰ ਤੇਜ ਪੁੰਜ ਮੈਂ ਅਪਾਰ ਸਰਬ ਬਿਦਿਆ ਕੋ ਉਦਾਰ ਹੈਂ ਅਪਾਰ ਕਹੀਅਤੁ ਹੈਂ ।  
 ਹਾਥੀ ਕੀ ਚਿੰਘਾਰ ਪਲ ਪਾਛੇ ਪਹੁੰਚਤ ਤਾਹਿ ਚੀਟੀ ਕੀ ਪੁਕਾਰ ਪਹਿਲੇ ਹੀ ਸੁਨੀਅਤੁ ਹੈਂ ।

ਜਾਗਤ ਜੋਤਿ ਜਪੈ ਨਿਸਬਾਸੁਰ ਏਕ ਬਿਨਾ ਮਨ ਨੈਕੁ ਨ ਆਨੈ ।  
 ਪੂਰਨ ਪ੍ਰੇਮ ਪ੍ਰਤੀਤ ਸਭੈ ਬ੍ਰਤ ਗੋਰ ਮਡੀ ਮਟ ਫੂਲ ਨ ਮਾਨੈ ।  
 ਤੀਰਥ ਦਾਨ ਦਇਆ ਤਪ ਸੰਜਮ ਏਕ ਬਿਨਾ ਨਹਿ ਏਕ ਪਛਾਨੈ ।  
 ਪੂਰਨ ਜੋਤ ਜਗੈ ਘਟ ਮੈ ਤਬ ਖਾਲਸ ਤਾਹਿ ਨਖਾਲਸ ਜਾਨੈ ।

ਦੇਹੁਰਾ ਮਸੀਤ ਸੋਈ ਪੁਜਾ ਐ ਨਿਵਾਜ ਓਈ ਮਾਨਸ ਸਬੈ ਏਕੁ ਪੈ ਅਨੇਕ ਕੋ ਭੁਮਾਉ ਹੈ ।  
 ਦੇਵਤਾ ਅਦੇਵ ਜੱਛ ਗੰਧਬ ਤੁਰਕ ਹਿੰਦੂ ਨਿਆਰੇ ਨਿਆਰੇ ਦੇਸਨ ਕੋ ਭੋਸ ਕੋ ਪ੍ਰਭਾਉ ਹੈ ।  
 ਏਕੈ ਨੈਨ ਏਕੈ ਕਾਨ ਏਕੈ ਦੇਹ ਏਕੈ ਬਾਨ ਖਾਕ ਬਾਦ ਆਤਸ ਐ ਆਬ ਕੋ ਰਲਾਉ ਹੈ ।  
 ਅਲਾ ਆਭੇਖ ਸੋਈ ਪੁਰਾਨ ਐ ਕੁਰਾਨ ਓਈ ਏਕ ਹੀ ਸਰੂਪ ਸਬੈ ਏਕ ਹੀ ਬਨਾਉ ਹੈ !

The *Tiria Charittar* of Ram and Sham is, like the Italian *Cento Novelle Antiche*, an encyclopædia of almost all Panjabi, non-Panjabi, Indian and non-Indian tales known to Mediæval India, in mixed Panjabi and Braji, cast in Chaupais, Doharas, Swayyas, Kabits, Arils, Sorthas, Chhands like Bhujang and Bhujang Prayat, Bahr-i-Tavil, etc. It is a veritable mine of history, mythology, geography and legendary lore, of customs and prejudices, which ought to be utilized by all folk-lorists and mediæval historians. The narration is brief and rapid; phraseology, apt and pregnant; style, adequate generally and at required places impassionate, elaborate or sententious; psychology, extremely interesting so far as the woman huntress is concerned; and amassing of facts, most remarkable and inclusive.

The translation in mixed Panjabi and Braji verse of the Bhagawad Gita, several manuscript copies of which have been found, is attributed to Guru Gobind Singh, as also the biographical sketches of 16 Saints called PremAbodh (MS. No. 528, P.U.L., 1393 A.D.). Both show distinction of style, and refinement and virility of expression. PremAbodh is of extraordinary merit as pure poetry for it is the first pure Panjabi work in which the Doctrine of Love (the word Prema is used in preference to Bhakti) has been elaborated with ample illustrative

imagery and anecdote, and expounded with freshness of outlook and heat of emotion in a uniformly sweet, elegant diction. Many of its Dohras are possessed of a gnomic pregnancy; they immediately sink in one's memory and perfume the brain with the far off delicious odours of the eery garden of Divine Love. Much of its facts is unassailable and in agreement with the biographical hints thrown out by the *Adi Granth* and by *Gurdas*. The *Gobind Gita*, recently edited and reprinted — first six chapters — by the present writer should be treasured as one of the most successful literal as well as interpretative renderings from Sanskrit into any language; it reads like original work and the occasional expositions of the text are very illuminating particularly those connecting the theoretic and practical dynamics of the Vedanta and Sikhism.

Outside the House of Nanak, the *Adi Granth* and the *Dasam Granth* we have had the undermentioned poets and works during this period :—

1. Abdi, contemporary of Aurangzeb (d. 1707 A. D.); Dohras; *vide* P. U. L. MS. No. 431 and *Risala-e-Muhtadi*, *vide* page 238, Panjab men Urdu by Shairani, and P. U. L. MS. No. 4228, finished in 1154 A. H.
2. Anath Das; *vide* P. U. L. MS. No. 2386, *Vichar Mala*, finished in 1669 A.D.
3. Hafiz Barkhurdar; *vide* *Panjabi Darbar*, a Lahore monthly in Panjabi, Urdu script, Sep. 1919, pp. 125—134.
4. Chatar Das, disciple of Sant Das; translation of *Bhagawata*, 11th Chapter; *vide* P. U. L. MSS. Nos. 4635 and 2085; finished in 1635 A. D.
5. Chhajju Bhagat (d. 1052 A. H.); shabads and a verse translation of *Bhagawad Gita*; *vide* P. U. L. MS. No. 1099 and page 952, *G. S. Ratnakar* by Kahan Singh.
6. Damodar; a MS. in the possession of Sir Shahab-ud-Din, Lahore; lived before 1707 when *Gurdas* who refers to him writes his own version of *Hir*; published.
7. Dial Anemi or Dial Das, fifth in spiritual descent from Nanak (Nanak, Sri Chand, Baba Gurditta, Balu Hasna, Puran Das and Dial Das); *vide* P. U. L. MS. No. 833, *Abgat Hulas*, finished in 1675 A.D. The MS. also contains his *Sardha Bodh*. Another work of his, *Agian Bodhani*, is contained in P. U. L. MS. No. 461.
8. Bhai *Gurdas* (d. 1639 A.D.); 40 *Vars* in Panjabi and 556 *Kabits* and *Sway-yas* in Braji; published. (Also see P. U. L. MS. No. 1963 for a verse *Var* by *Gurdas* uttered in connection with a *Prithia* episode.)
9. *Gurdas*; *vide* P. U. L. MSS. No. 407 and No. 794, *Hir*; finished in 1707 A.D.; published at Amritsar by Dr. Charan Singh.
10. The unknown author of *Yusuf Nama*, the history of *Yusuf* and *Zulaikha*, pp. 97, in the Panjabi dialect. A. H. 982 or A. D. 1574; *vide* *Catalogue of MSS.* in Trinity College, Dublin, MS. No. 1617.
11. *Hirdai Ram*; *vide* P. U. L. MS. No. 832, *Hanuman Natak*; finished in 1630 A.D.; published.
12. *Hussain Basati Bilgrami*, *Said Bakar*, son of *Ghulam Nabi*; *vide* P. U. L. MS. No. 910, *Ras Prabodh*; finished in 1154 A.H.
13. *Jalhan*, contemporary of *Guru Har Gobind* (d. 1644 A.D.); *Shabads* etc. published, 1914 A.D., *Gurmat Press*, Amritsar.
14. *Diwan Lachhmi Ram*; *vide* P. U. L. MS. No. 826; *Budh Parkash Darpan*, a work on Hindu Music; finished in 1681 A.D.

15. & 16. Kanha and Pihlu, contemporaries of Guru Arjan Dev (d. 1606 A. D.); *vide* Shabad Shalok.
17. Muqbil ; *vide* P. U. L, MSS. No. 1966 and No. 6376; Hir and Jang Nama ; lived under Shah Jahan (d. 1658).
18. Prahlad ; *vide* P. U. L. MSS. Nos. 932 and 574, Vaital Pachisi.
19. Sainapat, contemporary of Guru Gobind Singh (d. 1708); verse translation of Chanakya Niti in Panjab-Hindwi-cum-Braji ; finished in 1704 A.D. ; published, Anglo-Sanskrit Press, Lahore.
20. Bhai Sant Ren, contemporary of Guru Nanak (d. 1538 A.D.); 47 Majhans ; *vide* P. U. L. MS. No 4680.
21. Shah Husain or Madho Lal Husain (d. 1008 A.H.); Kafis; *vide* P. U. L. MSS. Nos. 431 and 374 ; complete authentic collection published by the present writer.
22. Shah Sharaf (d. 1137 A. H.); Kafis ; *vide* P. U. L. MS. No. 374.
23. Sita Ram ; *vide* P. U. L. MS. No. 4147 ; Kavi Tarang, being a verse translation of a Persian medical work, finished in 1651 A.D.
24. Sultan Bahu (d. 1162 A.H.); Si Harfi ; published.
25. Suthra Shah (b. 1615 A.D) ; contemporary of Guru Har Gobind (d. 1644 A.D.); 18 Saloks, *vide* MS. No 4684 P. U. L. and Shabads. *Vide* Shabad Shalok.
26. Vali Ram, contemporary of Shah Jahan (d. 1658 A.D.); Kafis and Rekhtas; P. U. L. MS. No. 374 ; *vide* Shabad Shalok.
27. Kankan ; Das-Gur-ka-kabi, MS , Public library, Lahore.
28. The unknown composers of the *vars* of Tunda-Asraj ; Sikandar-Birahim ; Malak Murid-Chandraraha Sobia ; Kamal Din-Mauj Din ; Lalla-Bahlima ; Jodha-Vira Purbani ; Rae Mahma-Hasna ; Kailas-Maldeo ; and Musa, referred to in the Adi Granth (1604) as providing the prototypes of the Dhunis or Dhwanis in which certain Sikh compositions were to be sung. Very likely most of the *vars* were written in the age of Nanak ; some of them at least may have been done in the Pre-Nanak Age. See Pandit Tara Singh.

For convenience these and other poets may be subjected to a double grouping based on substance and vocabulary. The first group will consist of : 1. Romancers, Historical and Legendary ; 2. Lyricists, Personal and Conventional ; 3. Intellectualists ; 4. Translators ; and 5. Transliterations. The second group should contain the heads : 1. Writers in Lahndi, 2. Writers in mixed Panjabi and Braji, and 3. Writers in Panjab Hindwi. None of them (except the Braji-poets) are outside the incipient tradition which had been taken up by Nanak and his House and rarified and lifted. They derived their thoughts from the stock owned and circulated by three distinct movements operant in life : 1. The Bhakti cult in its various forms including that evolved by Nanak, the more potent in its impingements for being the nearer home and more selective and practical ; 2. The inborn Hindu Cultural Conservatism which, undeterred and undemoralized by a different medium or a different atmosphere or audience, would go on with the propagation of its philosophy which would conquer where physical prowess and armour had failed, and with the preservation and enlargement of its intellectual heritage, through the new languages and in the required new manner ; 3. Muslim eroticism, the ravaging reaction of the repressed or initially more powerful basic physical instincts, now appearing as the worship of dead saints and living Murshids, now as the unabashed celebration of personal love episodes, in vocabulary

consecrated by divine love ; and 4. The mass-hunger for the celebration in song of distant, religious or local and topical heroism in battle.

1. Of the many interesting side-shows provided by a developing religion is the one revealing the almost frantic and pathetic comprehensive efforts made by its lax followers, and weak or selfish admirers and imitative, outside adventurers, to use every possible word, phrase, idea, teaching, action as a whole or in part, within or out of the context, and association of the founder or prophet as the basis of independent, profitable branch-creeds, literary work or tradition, and historical or geographical change. Many were the defections and secessions from the main line of the House of Nanak and each attempted to have its own Bani and history, theology and philosophy among other necessary paraphernalia. This was beneficial to the growth of literature, though very damaging to religious discipline and moral integrity. The various words used by Nanak for himself or for the Lord on various occasions gave the names to the different sects into which the parent body has since continued to ramify : Sat Namie (Satnam), Niranjanie (Niranjani), Sat Kartarie (Sat Kartar), Udasi (Udasi), Nirmale (Nirmal), Mihrbanie (Mihrban), Gyani (Gyani), Nam Dharie (Nam Dharik), Nirankarie (Nirankar).

The daily recitation of the Bani gave thousands of men and women an insight into poetical means and ends, familiarized them with Hindu-Muslim Philosophical and Mythological terminology, and created in them a friendly preference for the Granthean literary diction. A fourth effect was the deep love of music unconsciously imbibed by the masses who had, consequently, to be appeased by profane authors only through poetry written in set *ragas*. The veneration for the spoken word increased ; the *shabdas* attained to spiritual dignity ; its preservation was specially provided for. The intimate relation, posited and adduced, between a saintly life and literary production assured the entry into Panjabi literary coffers of nothing but sincere, personally-realized stuff, nothing merely conventional and artificial, derivative and imitative.

There were concomitant defects, too. The preoccupations of a saint-poet are responsible for a lot of tasteless or cloying repetition and for the de-conditioning of his followers against a sensible enjoyment of the poetry of wit, humour, satire, fantasy, irony, of material satisfaction and secular beauty, of fancy, myth and dramatizable history. Something like this has happened in the case of the followers of the Panjab Bhaktas and Sufis. The confusing kinship or homogeneity of diction rising from the sameness of the subjects treated is another defect of the saint-poets, and only a very keen-edged individuality or a very vigorous or different opulent experience can avoid this evil trait.

2. The most popular theological and philosophical possessions of the Hindus have been from the beginning of the Pauranic Age, the Bhagavad Gita, Bhagavata Purana, Markandeya Purana, Vishnu Purana, Harivamse Purana, Yoga Vasishtha, Ramayana, Mahabharata, Upanishads, Vishnu Sahasra Nama, Garbha Gita, Gita Mahatmya, Yoga Shastra, to which a few works on prosody or Pingala, music, medicine and astrology may also be added.

As early as 1030 A. D. Alberuni noticed them. Some of them were translated during the reign of Sikandar Lodi ;<sup>18</sup> others were rendered into Persian by Faizi, Dara Shikoh

<sup>18</sup> It was not Kabir who was hauled up before Sikandar Lodhi at Sumbhul between 1499-1501 but Bodhan or Buddhan, a Hindu, who was duly put to the sword for his religious catholicity after Sikandar had obtained the verdict of 12 famous Muslim Divines of his kingdom (*vide* Farishta, Persian, Vol. I, pages 333-334). This Bodhan seems to me to have been the same person as is stated (*vide* History of the Sect of Maharajas, page 26) to have been fourth in spiritual descent from Kabir, the order having been Kabir, Kamal and Jamal (the two latter being sons of Kabir, *vide* current published Panjabi Janam Sakhi of Kabir, 1919, Gurmat Press, Amritsar), Vimal, Buddhan and Dadu. This entirely agrees with the

and others. The wandering Hindu monastic orders had considerably popularized the contents of these works, particularly of the Vedantic, Shaivite and Vaishnavite texts and had also familiarized the public with Braji and with a particular type of composite diction. These two factors are responsible for the many original expositions in Braji and Hindwi of the various doctrines and cults, for the various biographies in Panjabi prose and verse, the several adaptations, translations<sup>19</sup> and transliterations we have in the Gurmukhi script (evolved by Guru Nanak) from Hindi and Urdu, Persian and Sanskrit.

3. It is conclusively shown by Gurdas Bhalla's Vars (*d.* 1637), Gurdas's Hir (1707), the Tiria Charittar of Ram and Shyam (1697), and Muqbil's and Shah Husain's poetry that whole stores of romantic, historical and hagiolatrous tales had become fine common food for mass consumption and vital, welcome grist for the poetic mill. These cyclic legends can be classed as those of foreign--Greek, Arabic, Jewish, Turkish; Chinese or Tibetan--origin; 2. of Rajput origin, dealing with the glorious days of Rajput ascendancy when Lahore, Ajmer, Ujjain, Dharanagar and Dwarka all formed one Rajput territory, and with the days of Rajput-Muslim conflict and Rajput conversions to Muhammadanism; 3. of pure Panjab origin; and 4. of Pauranic or Vedic literary, origin. Gurdas Bhalla (Var 27, I.) talks of

1. Laila Majnun.
2. Sorath Bija.
3. Sassi Punnun.
4. Mahinwal Sohni.
5. Ranjha Hir.

Of Tiria Charittar we may mention the following out of a total of 405 :

Jagjotmati of Lahore.  
A Bania of Peshawar.  
Radhika of Brindaban.

A Jat of Delhi.  
Jahangir and Nurjahan.  
Silmati of Marwar.

chronology for Kabir adduceable from the foregoing arguments (*vide, ante*, pages 26-27). Another statement of mine is now found borne out by MS. No. 422, P. U. L., copy prepared in 1778 A.D., that Namdev preceded Kabir. We have the following lines in a shabad of Kabir in the MS.:

ਜਾਗੈ ਸੁਕਦੇਉ ਅਰੁ ਅੰਕੂਰੁ । ਹਟਵੈਤ ਜਾਗੈ ਧਰਿ ਲੰਕੂਰੁ ।  
ਮੰਕਰ ਜਾਗੈ ਚਰਨ ਸੇਵ । ਕਲਿ ਜਾਗੈ ਨਾਮਾ ਜੈਦੇਵ ।  
ਜਾਗਤ ਸੇਵਤ ਬਹੁ ਪ੍ਰਕਾਰ । ਗੁਰਮੁਖਿ ਜਾਗੈ ਸੋਈ ਸਾਰੁ ।  
ਇਸੁ ਦੇਹੀ ਕੈ ਅਧਿਕ ਕਾਮ । ਕਹਿ ਕਬੀਰ ਡਜੁ ਰਾਮ ਨਾਮ॥

The ideas and vocabulary of Kabir can, therefore, be traced unhesitatingly back to the days of Gorakhnath and Namdev. The Ms. also contains an extra-Granth Shabad in Basant Rag, of Ramanad (to whom a couplet of Arjan Dev is wrongly attributed in Buddhism and Hinduism, Sir Charles Eliot, Vol. II., page 243). About the place of death of Kabir, evidence appears overwhelmingly to point to Ratanpur in Suba-e-Awadh (Oudh); *vide* Sujan Rae, *Khulasa-tut-Tawarikh*, Delhi, page 43 and *Ain-i-Akbari*, Navalkishore, Vol. II., page 145.

In *Buddhism and Hinduism* by Sir Charles Eliot, Vol. II., page 263, we read: "Dadu who died about 1603 (b. 1544) is said to have been fifth in spiritual descent from Kabir." This further supports our thesis about Kabir. See also his date of Miranbai. Rawlinson gives 1420 as the year of Kabir's death (*Indian Historical Studies*, p. 173).

<sup>19</sup> Unfortunately for history, almost all the early prose and verse translations of Bhagawad Gita and its Mahatam, Garabh Gita, Bishan Puran, Jog Vashist and Mahabharat, are only found in undated manuscript copies; even when dates appear, it is entirely unsafe to fix the date of the original translation on any assumptional or inferential basis. This fact will explain our hesitation to place the available translations before 18th century. A most interesting case of transliteration is Chhand Ratnavali by Hari Ram (Das) Niranjani, MS. No. 1021, P. U. L., completed in 1738 A. D. The Hindi world is ignorant of the date of its composition, here fixed from the Panjabi MS.

- A rich man residing on a town situate on the Sutlej and a Ramjani (courtesan).  
 A Moghul girl of Badakhshan.  
 A lady of Chin Ma Chin.  
 Chandrawati.  
 The Raja of the Dun of Kailakhar (Modern Dehra Dun).  
 Ras Manjari of the Panjab.  
 Surgnath, Jogi of Sirand (Sirhind).  
 Rustam Kala, wife of a Pir of Multan.  
 A Bania of Odachh.  
 Madhavanal.  
 A Julaha on the way to his father-in-law's house.  
 Salbahan of Syalkot (Kokila, Hodi, etc.)  
 Ranjha Hir.  
 Rudra Kala of Pothohar.  
 Mahinwal Jat on the bank of the Ravi.  
 Dasrath of Avadhपुरी.  
 Jallan of Thatta.  
 Tas Beg son of Ali Mardan.  
 Sassi (or Ranbha) and Punnu.  
 Urbasi.  
 Sur Sain of Samarkand.  
 Sring Rikhi.  
 Gautam and Ahilia.  
 Tilotama.  
 Indra and Mahanrudra.  
 Mahanmohini (and Vishnu).  
 A Story of Lanka.  
 Mirza and Sahiban.  
 Bhag Mati.  
 Himmat Singh of Hugli Bandar.  
 Baz Mati and Sabak Singh,  
 Dropadi of Machhli Bandar.  
 Khairi (Baloch) and Sammi and Said Khan.  
 Parpat Singh Posti.  
 Nal Damyanti.  
 Balwand Singh of Tirhut.  
 Maigal Khan Pathan of Batala.  
 Krichank and Dropadi.  
 Akbar.  
 Jaswant Singh of Naukot, Marwar.  
 Ratan Sain of Chitaur.  
 Zulikha of Rum (Yusuf Zulaikha).  
 Raja Narkasur of Gauhati.  
 Bijai Kuar of Gujarat.  
 Raja Bir Datt of Cooch Behar.  
 Bharthari of Dhara Nagri (Gorakh, etc.)  
 Bijai Singh and Indar Prabha.  
 Raj Mati.  
 Biraj Sain of Kashmir.  
 Raja of Ranthambhor.  
 A Rath of Mahoba.  
 A Carpenter of Ujjain.  
 Biswamati of Banarasi.  
 Shah Jahan, his Begum and Darya Khan.  
 A Raja of Mahanrastra.  
 Indra Datt of Gokha Nagar.  
 Saras Singh of Magadh.  
 Husan Jahan of Bokhara.  
 Raja Sanbhaji (Marhatta) of the Deccan (with whom Aurang Shah fought a great deal).  
 Sikandar (Alexander) son of Phailkus. (This is very important as it mentions all the contemporary European settlements and in it first occur the words Walandez and Angrez, etc. Its history as well as geography are extremely useful and interesting).  
 Asaf Khan Umrav and Roshan Jahan.  
 Bhog Mati, a Begum of Akbar and a slave of Akbar at Kabul.  
 Raja Karan Singh of Kashtwar.  
 A Raja of Tibet.  
 Rae Baz Bhadur of Sri Nagar.  
 Samasain of Tailanga.  
 A Rani of of Baghdad.  
 Shammas Din, Mad King of Delhi and Sakuch  
 Mati, a Khatri girl and Siddhpal.  
 A Raja of Karnatak.  
 A Gaur Raja of Bengal.  
 Krishna and Rukmani.  
 Devyani.  
 The daughter of a Dutch King.  
 Gulabo and Ramdas.  
 Amar Singh of Gujrat of Daula.  
 Zebul Nisa, daughter of the Qazi of Iskatambol (Stamboul).  
 Bikat Singh of Daulatabad.  
 Mahtab Mati, daughter of Edil Shah of Bijapur.  
 The wife of the Raja of Haidarabad.  
 Roshan Qadar of Multan.  
 Sher Afghan of Barbarpur.  
 Emperor Qarun and Basant Kuar.

In the treatment of these stories, true or half-true or imaginary, much saint-worship, popular superstition, elementary psychology, cultural assimilation, literary and miraculous parallelism and personal history or observation have been spent.

Among the likely literary sources of inspiration and information for these collections of Romance may be enumerated, the Panj Ganj of Khusro, Tuti Nama of Bakhshi, Bahar Danish, the plays of Kalidas, the Vishnu and Markande Puranas and the Buddhist Jatakas. Another noticeable feature of the treatment of the romantic legends was that beginning with Jaidev's example in *Gita Gobinda* and Jayisi's in *Padmavata* or with some others, lost to us, the story-sellers gave us at the end of their works a spiritual, metaphysical interpretation of the profane events recorded, saving their love-tales from condemnation as something sensual and not spiritual by either making the various characters really great, spiritual and heavenly beings fallen low and incarnated in human form or explaining them as so many symbols—contrived for spiritual instruction through personification of ideas and emotions, and materialization of spiritual actions and reactions. By such a treatment, on the one side, the sex-instinct and war-hunger of the masses were satisfied and, on the other, the high-brow demand for intellectual and spiritual manna was met. He who chooses may worship Krishna and Ranjha as wild and triumphant human lovers and he who desires may adore them as originally divine, or as divinely-shielded players of a symbolic, ideal, exemplary game. The religious lyrists took up many a human lover or stylized personality for illustration of the psychology and processes of Divine Love.

4. It was natural that the Hindus should look to Sanskrit and the Muslims to their Persian and Arabic stock for racial and religious heroes when seeking for matter for their vernacular ballads (Jang Namas, Marsiyas, Vars). The martyrs of Islam, and Shiaism, in particular, were duly treated. Local or provincial heroes, mostly of the Jat and Rajput<sup>20</sup> clans are also paid poetical tributes though the pettiness of the deeds and the doers sung and the lyric rather than the epical character of the compositions, foredoomed them to ephemerality and to-day we only possess just so many empty names.

Bhai Gurdas Bhalla (*sic.* 1559–1639) was the St. Paul of Sikhism. His work is deemed to hold the key to the Sikh spiritual treasury and to make the best and purest Raht-Nama. Although derivative in thought and resonate and repetitive in vocabulary, Gurdas's considerable volume of poetry for its wealth of allusion,<sup>21</sup> and imagery—fresh as well as rejuvenated—, its ripeness of Hindu, Muslim and Sikh cultural scholarship, its verbal felicities and rhythmic triumphs, its wide and deep love and observation of Nature—its laws and lawlessness, its realities and its symbolism, its teachings and its tortures—, and for the force and colourfulness of its style entitles him to the rank of the greatest mediæval Panjabi poet outside the House of Nanak. Perfectly fresh and modern in his idiom, he has in his wonderful compression much that our poets to-day are only expanding and elaborating not very happily and musically. His *Vars* are a veritable mine of ideas and words, the splendid heritage left by centuries of assimilation, orientation and invention. In illustration we may refer to Var I, 19, 20; VIII, 14, 15, 16, 19, 20; X, 10–17; XI; XII, 14, 15, 16; XIX, 15–18; XXI, 10–13; XXV, 15–20; XXIX; XXX, 20; XXXI, 1–12; XXXIV, 1–6; XXXVI, 1–11; XXXVIII, 6, 7, 8, 11; XL, 5–9.

Alongside of devotional, theological, and courtly poetry had developed popular poetry, comprising love-songs, carols, proverbial and enigmatic poems, ballads and folksongs. The

<sup>20</sup> Most North-West Rajput Muslim tribes of to-day are immigrants from south and east of the Panjab.

<sup>21</sup> *Vide* his *Var* 25 for the earlier historical and biographical references to Classical and Mediæval Bhagats.

religious love song found its sweetest singer in Shah Husain whose 120 Kafis or so scattered in various MSS. mentioned above, are perfect little gems in their simplicity, music, "eternal and changeless" love vocabulary, their elemental passion and their saintly spontaneity. Written about 350 years ago they are as easily intelligible to an uneducated adult Panjabi to-day as then, and their lyrical, ideational charm has the same glister and perfume as it ever had. Shah Sharaf's Kafis have greater vigor and ornament while the four-lined single rhyme stanzas of Bahu's Si Harfi, if genuine, are more scholarly and instructional. The deliciousness of the melancholy moralizing of Abdi and Sant Ren is extremely pleasurable, and the devil-me-care attitude of Suthra Shah is superior to the hedonism and Epicureanism of Omar Khayyam for he adds to the latter's emotion and rhythm, a most original humour and irony, bitter and biting to those who wed the world in hurry and repent at leisure.

In Jalhan Jat we have the Panjabi Kabir whose invective, whose uncouth diction, whose irony, directness, independence and rugged strength are all there, minus his esotericism and high-brow tone. Like Kabir, Jalhan suffered local persecution on account of the savagery of his iconoclasm, doctrinal and psychological. His 313 Sakhis and about 44 Bishanpadas are in their dialectic flavour and energy, and racy, exuberant humour, a pure product of the Panjabi soil. A typically frank, sincere and emotional Jat with the saving grace of humour, he imbibed influence from the House of Nanak full reproductively.

The Hir-Ranjha romance versified by Damodar, Gurdas, Ahmed, Rae and Muqbil has become Panjab's own, national, favourite possession and is made to yield both sensual and spiritual fare. If at all, this couple lived under Bahlol Lodi, as I shewed in a series of lectures delivered in 1929. My theory has apparently found acceptance. (*Vide* G.S.R., page 827.) Damodar was a half-literate person hailing from Jhang, who in his local dialect (little changed during the last three or four centuries) tries to pay a sincere tribute to these ideal lovers who seem to have been Pirized not very long after their disappearance from the human stage. Gurdas, modelling his tale on Damodar, writes in Hindi metres and uses a mixed language, which, for clarity, one might call Panjab Braji, the language first found employed on a large scale by the authors of Tiria Charitar (1696) and spends a great deal of sound psychology on the depiction of the character of Hir. Muqbil, like Damodar, uses a native Panjabi metre (the Bait and a Var metre respectively) and gives us ideal Panjabi attiring beautiful emotions, in a direct, succinct and familiar style. In him we are first told of the tragedy that overtook the pair, which version has ever since been preferred to the comic version given by Damodar. (*Vide* my article in Oriental College Magazine, Lahore, Aug. 1929, pp. 67—71.) Hafiz Barkhurdar<sup>23</sup> (*vide*, Panjabi Darbar, Lahore, Sept. 1929, pp. 126—134 and P. U. L, MS. No. 4252.) was a theologian who tried his hand at romance; such versatility was the established tradition of mediæval poetical excellence. A comparative study of the various Persian, Lahndi and Braji versions of this tale has in me

<sup>23</sup> Hafiz Barkhurdar is a poet thoroughly representative of the Muslim religious and literary tendencies of his time. He flourished about 1080 A. H. A Jat hailing from Takht Hazara in West Panjab, with his mind saturated with oral and written folklore and his intellect fully loaded with orthodox interpretations of the Muslim theological works, he turned out of his poetic mill one work after another, this, singing of Mirza and Sahiban, that, of Yusuf and Zulaikha: this, again, treating of Fiqqa, and that of Tafsir. A highly Persianized diction is employed by him but it is made thoroughly acceptable, at places positively charming by the recurrent, abundant leaven of real, effective Lahndi idiom and Lahndi phonetics. He appears to have been a literary giant, at ease alike with princes and peasants, uneducated masses and learned *mullas*, conscious like Abdulla of his powers to fulfil the mission of popular education in folklore and religion, through the medium of a dialect which through its age-long contact with Persian, its deep drinking at the Prakrit fount, had come to possess a power and a dignity, which instead of being derided or suppressed by both the Hindu Brahman and the Muslim Mulla were utilized by them for religious propaganda from the earliest time.

given rise to the impression that the Muslim writers manipulated the elements of the story to produce something on the exact lines of the sanctified romance of Yusuf and Zulaikha or Joseph and Potipher's wife, referred to in the Quran as a case of Ideal Love; while the Hindu writers unashamedly compared Ranjha to Krishna and incorporated into his tale the symbolic deeds and numbers, etc. associated with Radha-Krishna. The Hindu authors of Tiria Charittar go one better and give both sets of lovers, Hir-Ranjha and Sassi-Punnun, permanent heavenly existences enjoyed before and after their human births. The fact, if the pair ever existed in human form, seems to be that theirs in an ordinary Rajput tale of a love-marriage ending tragically on account of the inter-tribal or inter-credal character of the union sought through elopement, an event which in Jat and Rajput tribes has been, ever since the dawn of history, of frequent occurrence; the brave, unconventional lover and the passionate, extremely sensible, sensitive and resourceful girl, found ways and means for the difficult end in view. Muqbil's version is in the right ideal ballad metre, which has been our most facile popular Panjabi verse-form.

Prahlad, the author of Baital Pachisi, is placed in this period from a date given in Ms. No. 353, P. U. L., which is a Dihlavi prose rendering of several Upanishads finished in 1719 by one Prahlad. The Pachisi is a collection of 25 tales relating to the cyclic mytho-heroic story of Bikram and Baital. It is a very well-executed work of considerable bulk, possessed of the requisite rapidity and economy of narration. Hirdai Ram's Hanuman Natak is undiluted Braji of the age and for its technical perfection as well as for its inspiring, orthodox treatment of the characters has all through its career, been a most valued unit of the classics forming the group of the humanities education in which was deemed till the beginning of the present century an indispensable Sikh cultural equipment. The vernacular verse versions of the Bhagawad Gita by Chhajju Bhagat of Lahore, of the 11th Chapter of Bhagavat Puran by Chatar Das, of Vairag Shatak by Hardial are in Panjab Hindwi or what has elsewhere been named Middle High Panjabi; while Chanakya by Sainapat is in Panjab Braji. All are close literal translations and altogether very successful ones. Dial Anemi's Abgat Hulas and Anath Das's Vichar Mala are contributions to the vernacular store by honoured theologians and philosophers—dealing with a Bhakti sect and the Vedant respectively. They sound great depths and bear witness to their authors' mastery in the apprehension and popular exposition of abstruse subjects. Sita Ram's medical treatise Kavi Tarang, and Lachhmi Ram's Darpan on Hindu Classical music have not been known generally; they are expositions of subjects admitting of no liberty or license of treatment.

Basiti Bilgrami's Ras Prabodh belongs to a long line of transliterations ending only recently, which brought within its course almost all reputed works of mass appeal, or intellectual concern, drawn both from Hindi and later, Urdu, *e. g.*, Madhava Nal, Gul Badan and Nau Nihal, Bihari Sat Sai, Jagat Vinod, Brij Raj Vinod, Sangit Darpan, Git Gobind, Sundar Shrinagar, Raj Niti (Devi Das), Vrind Sat Sai, Ram Charit and showed Panjab's literary wide-awakeness,

The rise of Panjabi prose makes a very complex story. It arose primarily in the religious necessity to record *ad verbatim* the spoken words of saints and teachers, and, later, to preserve for the guidance and edification of their followers, a connected account of the doings — travels, meetings, conversations and discussions, miracles, social, political and religious connections and literary productions—of the departed worthies of whom every little biographical or literary detail would receive all possible admiration, credence and veneration and in due course form the basis of a more glorifying and creditable, written or oral elaboration of it. As successive generations of disciples hungered and hankered for more information regarding the founder, more legend and less history came to be provided by all sorts of pretenders claiming to be first-hand or at the worst secondhand

reliable witnesses. Later, came commentaries of the more important canonical and liturgical works. These were followed, on the proper organization of the Sikh Church, by translations from Hindu cultural stock for a comparative study by the classes well as for the satisfaction of the mass-taste for more religious literature, whether Sikh or non-Sikh, A rough classification of the religious writings of the time come down to us mostly in manuscript runs thus, providing a close parallel with early English literature.

1. *Bachans* or Bits of conversation reported in direct narration in the Chronicles.
2. *Sakhis* or Legends and Chronicles of the Saints.
3. *Goshts* or elaborate imaginary, psychological Dialogues between the saints and their followers or opponents, mostly anachronical and apocryphal.
4. *Parmaraths* or Commentaries on select *Bani*.
5. Vernacular versions of Classical Hindu Literature.
6. Popular Theological and Didactic writings.

As in poetry so in prose, Panjabi has the distinction of literary achievement dated and authenticated of excellent quality and large bulk, chronologically much in advance of the sister languages, Awadhi or Braji, and the daughter-speech Urdu. Our prose list at the present stage runs thus:—

1. A Janam Sakhi of Nanak in Pothohari dialect stated by Macauliffe to be in his possession, dated 1588 A. D. (Is it the date of the copying of the ms. or the date of the completion of the original work ?) *Vide* the Sikh Religion, Vol, I, page LXXXVI. It has not been published.
  2. The India Office Janam Sakhi of Nanak ; written before 1623 A. D., the date being inferred from a reference in it to the then age of Kaljug. It has been published.
  3. The Janam Sakhi of Nanak by Bidhi Chand (d. 1654) written by him or under his direction about 1640. It is said to have been the basis of the Janam Sakhi going by the name of Bhai Bala's Janam Sakhi.<sup>23</sup> It has been published in various recensions.
  4. The Janam Sakhi by Mihrban, finished before 1650 A. D.
  5. Adi Sakhis (30) of Nanak in P. U. L. Ms. No. 4141, copied out in 1701 A. D. ; one of them is stated to have been heard by the Emperor Akbar.
  6. Makke di Gosht ; a ms. in my possession in mixed prose and poetry.
  7. Gosht with Ajitta Randhava, *vide* P. P. L. Ms. No. 204.
  8. Gosht with Janak, *vide* P. P. L. Ms. No. 192 and No. B. 191.
  9. Gosht with Nirankar, *vide* Ms. No. 4141, P.U.L., and a ms. in my possession.
  10. Gosht with Buddhan, *vide* Janam Sakhi of Nanak, Wazir-i-Hind Press, Amritsar.
  11. Gosht with Kaljug, *vide* 15 below.
  12. Gosht with Baba Lal, P.U.L. Ms. No. 431 and No. 1099.
  13. Gosht with Qarun, *vide* P.P.L., Ms. No. 204.
- (All the above *goshts* are with Nanak on one side).
14. Two commentaries of Siddh Gosht, *vide* H.U.Ms. No. 512.
  15. Seven more Goshts, with Gorakh, Kaljug, etc., and Wahguru Nam Nathan in P.U. L. Ms. No. 4141.
  16. An exegesis on Japu or Japu Parmarath, *vide* P.U.L. Ms. No. 4141.
  17. Hazir Nama, *vide* H. U. Ms. No. 512.

<sup>23</sup>*Vide* Sikh Religion, Macauliffe, Vol. I, pp. lxxx-lxxxiii and Phulvari, Panjabi Weekly, Lahore, Nov. 1932, pp. 9-21.

18. Prahlad's prose rendering of several Upanishads completed in 1719 A. D. in the 'Hindwi' language, *vide* P. U. L. Ms. No. 1358.

The historical worth of the Janam Sakhis is for the historiographer of the Sikh Religion to judge. We are here concerned with the psychology and the stylistic achievements of the chronicles and the biographies as well as of the exegeses and the translations. In substance, the main desire in the minds of the writers was (1) to present bare, signal facts of the life of Nanak, (2) to make him hold imaginary converse with famous preceding, contemporary, or succeeding Hindu and Muslim leaders and to bring him out as the victor from those dialectic contests, (3) to provide suitable settings or frameworks for such utterances as admitted of an expanded presentation on account of the hints embodied in them, and (4) generally to glorify Nanak by such accounts as would appeal to the masses with a confirmed taste for myths and legends.

As we look at the styles, the narrative, dramatic and dialogic style of the Sakhis, the dialectical and psychological style of the Goshts and the commentaries, the synthetic, aphoristic manner of the Hazir Nama and the reported speeches, the metaphrastic method of the translations and as we study the varied vocabulary used, we are simply surprised at the perfection, glister, verve, terseness and quick movement of the first and the fullness, freedom and assimilateness of the other. Although in records we have poetry coming long before prose, in consideration of the fact that Pali and Prakrit prose provided enough models we are justified in presuming that Panjabi prose must have arisen at the same time as Panjabi poetry. However, this much is beyond the pale of doubt that the stylistic variety and adequacy revealed in the earliest Janam Sakhis must have taken a long time and continued practice in the hands of numerous writers lost to us, to have evolved into that consummate shape about the middle of the 16th century. The constructional charm, the dialectic graces and blendings, the economicality of treatment could not have been conjured up suddenly by writers who were no geniuses and none of whom are known to have left more than one or two compositions.

The formative influences on the substance and style of Panjabi prose were those of the Jatakas, the Quran, the Persian ethical and didactic works and the Sanskrit Vaishnavistic texts; very likely some Hindwi translations, biographical, legendary or theological, from Sanskrit and Arabic or Persian were turned out contemporaneously with the vernacular chronicles. Whatever that be, the inflectional traits of Persian, its methods of noun-formation, its omission of subject and preposition, its Sufistic vocabulary and its stock of words in daily use in agriculture, government, dietary, and dress are unmistakably present in the first prose, as poetical, pieces known. As time went on and as theological original works and translations in prose grew in number and popularity, Lahndi lost ground quite naturally before Awadhi and Braji and the compositions about the end of this period are seen to present a queer, idiosyncratic mixture of Hindi and Panjabi verb-forms, though the phonetic laws of Panjabi are almost never allowed to abrogate their sway over foreign loan words. This important point has been our chief, if not the sole, guide in the selection, and inclusion of a few apparently Hindwi works under Panjabi. The illustrations in the Panjabi Section will amply justify our decision while, at the same time, exemplifying the Persian influences referred to above.

Of the substance of the Janam Sakhis, Goshts and Parmaraths, it need only be said that they rope in a whole world of Hindu and Muslim theology and ethics and at places illustrate the teachings of Nanak directly reported or garbled,—in a most beautiful and convincing manner.

During the 250 years covered by this period, the Panjab had made wonderful forward strides. In religion it had started with Buddhism in the Pre-Christian centuries; under the Pala

Dynasty it worshipped Shiva; when <sup>24</sup>Alberuni came it was a dominantly Vaishnavistic Province. Nanak and his house found a host of Hindu monastic orders and Muslim Sufis dividing amongst themselves the religious loyalties of the Panjabis. But before the death of Guru Gobind Singh<sup>25</sup> the Province had been given a religion and a nationality characterized by Hindu-Muslim-Sikh literary and spiritual affinity and Hindu-Sikh united social and political organization. The sects had declined in power, though about the mid-seventeenth century a number of Tapas and Bairagis and Free-Thinkers were still prominent (*Vide* Dabistan-i-Mazahib, the author of which met Narain Das, a famous Bairagi (Ramanandi) at Lahore in A. H. 1052, Anand and Pirana Kohli Bairagis at Wazirabad, Mian Lal Bairagi (Mundia) at Gujrat). A new composite religion was being preached in varying forms by a large number of saints; most of them were, also, lyrical poets of a high order. The love of literature both among the teachers and the disciples grew and the necessity of propaganda and the revival of Sanskrit and Arabo-Persian cultures as distinct from religions threw up a number of theological,<sup>26</sup> romantic and devotional writers of prose and poetry. The little stream which began in the 8th century A.D. had, thanks to the Saints, Romantic Individuals, Court and Tribal Balladists, grown in the volume and force of its waters to a huge river; the Library which at the end of the Pre-Nanak Age consisted of a few Persian memoirs and histories and lexicons to bear witness to the existence of Panjabi among the Muslims and half-a-dozen Hindwi and Lahndi works in a fragmentary state had now grown to occupy a dozen shelves requiring classification under at least a dozen heads. The books at the end of this period are neither miscellaneous in character nor small in bulk: many of them, grand in conception and variegated in execution, are of respectable sizes, doing full justice to the great themes borrowed from Religion or Romance, attaining to beauty of vision as well as of style. Life, now more united, organized, heroic, fraternal, colourful, reflected itself fully in Literature which became freer, more organic, dynamic, varied, and altogether a more inspiring, de-religionizing and democratizing force.

<sup>24</sup> *Vide* Alberuni, translated by Sachau, Vol. I, pages xlvi and xlv.

<sup>25</sup> His selection of the myth of Chandi for his spiritual-heroic poetry has deceived some critics into inferring and alleging that Guru Gobind Singh worshipped the Devi. (*Vide* Sir Charles Eliot, "Hinduism and Buddhism," Vol. II, pp. 27-71.) The charge is as frivolous as baseless against one who says :

ਮੈਂ ਨ ਗਨੇਸ਼ਹ ਪ੍ਰਿਥਮ ਮਨਾਉਂ ।  
ਕਿਸਨ ਬਿਸਨ ਕਬਹੂੰ ਨਹਿ ਧਿਆਉਂ ।

ਮਹਾਂ ਕਾਲ ਰਖਵਾਰ ਹਮਾਰੇ ।

... ..

ਚਕ੍ਰ ਚਿਹਨ ਨ ਬਰਨ ਜਾਕੇ ਜਾਤ ਪਾਤ ਨ ਭੇਖ ।

Among the Chhands Guru Gobind Singh employs are ; Bhujang Prayat, Chachri, Bhagvati, Rasaval, Tomar, Laghu Naraj, Padhari, Totak, Naraj, Diragh Tribhangi, Bhujang and Charni, Beli Bidram, *Rekhta* (Really a Kabit with an excessive use of Persian words, *vide* page 68, D. G.), Chhapai, Madhubhar Ek Achhri, Tribhangi, Kulak, Bijai, Manobar, Sangit Bhujang, Prayat, *Var in Pauris*, Kalas, Bahr-i-Tavil Chhand, Paschami, Ruamal, Apurab, Kusam Bachitra, Jhula, *Jhulna*, Sukhda, Sundri, Tarka, Gita Malati, Sangit Chhapai, Biraj, Sirkhandi, Hoha, Ajba, Bahara, Anad, Makra, Aruha, besides Kabit, Svayya, Dobra, Chaupai, Soratha, Arill, etc.

<sup>26</sup> Amongst the earliest and most voluminous theological poets was Abdulla whose *Baran Anwah* has become a classic.

# CHAPTER VI

## THE LATER MOGHUL PERIOD

The later Moghul period<sup>1</sup> covers practically the whole of the 18th century. Political and religious changes occurred during these hundred years or so which produced a direct and immediate effect, clinching and atrophying, on Panjabi literary production. In 1707<sup>2</sup> Shah Alam passed through the Panjab on his way from Kabul to Delhi and Agra. In 1709 the Sikhs repeated the episode of the Satnamis of 1670, in the same neighbourhood. The Emperor sent an army against them under Munim Khan who returned successful. The Emperor moved up to Lahore, where he died in 1712. Another outbreak of the Sikhs happened in 1716 under Farrukh Siyar, where reign like that of his predecessor was notable for accelerated demoralization and decay; it was suppressed with a severity proportioned to the difficulty attending its suppression, the Sikh leader Banda with several of his followers having been tortured to death at Delhi. In 1738 descended on the Panjab and Delhi Nadir Shah "who left behind elements of physical and moral ruin, which hardly ceased to operate a century later in Hindustan." Ten years later, Ahmad Shah Daurani having made himself master of Kabul, invaded the Panjab by way of Peshawar and marched on Delhi. In 1778 there was another rising of the Sikhs who had about 1760 begun to re-assert themselves; this proved very formidable; the Moghul Governor of the Cis Sutlej States—the old province of Sirhind—was killed in action and the force, under the Kashmirian minister, which went out to chastise the rebels, was beaten back. Next year the Sikhs crossed the Jumna and ravaged the Upper Duab. Zaman Shah came to the Panjab in 1796 A.D. Of the last three decades of the century we are told that there was no central government. The Panjab was split up among the twelve great Sikh feudal houses and nothing could induce them to combine for concerted action. The national character of the people had degenerated greatly. The exalted teaching of the Gurus was almost forgotten. It was at this crisis in the history of the Panjab that Ranjit Singh was born (1780-1839). In 1799 he scored his first diplomatic success. The Age of Ranjit Singh begins with that date, and our present period ends. The persecution of this Sikhs, the rise to power of the governors of Lahore, Kashmir,

<sup>1</sup>On the propriety of our periodic division and on the political condition of the Panjab during the later Moghul period, the following from "Hinduism and Buddhism" by Sir Charles Eliot, Vol. I, page 28, will be helpful:

"Three periods in it (the Mohammadan conquest) may be recognized. First, the conquest of Sind in 712, by the Arabs, who held it till the eleventh century but without disturbing or influencing India beyond their immediate neighbourhood. Secondly, the period of invasions and dynasties which are commonly called Turki (c. 1000—1526). The progress of Islam in Central Asia coincided with the advance in the west and south of vigorous tribes known as Turks or Moghals, and by giving them a religious and legal discipline admirably suited to their stage of civilization, it greatly increased their political efficiency. The Muslim invaders of India started from principalities founded by these tribes near the north-western frontier with a military population of mixed blood and a veneer of Perso-Arabic civilization, and apart from the greater invasions, there were incursions and settlements of Turks, Afghans and Moghals. The whole period was troublous and distracted. The third period was more significant and relatively stable."

"With the fifteenth century Hinduism enters on a new phase. Sects arise which show the influence of Mohammadanism .....and in the sixteenth century under the tolerant rule of Akbar and his successors the new sects which had been growing were able to consolidate themselves.

<sup>2</sup>Abridged from Keene, "History of India," and Rawlinson, "Indian Historical Studies."

Sirhind and Multan, the three foreign invasions from the North-West, the formation of small factious units of political power provided, none of them, any prospect for the peace and leisure indispensable to literary efflorescence.

The closure of the line of any further human Gurus by Guru Gobind Singh marked the cessation of any more signal religious conversional triumphs by the House of Nanak like those of Lahna, the Devi-worshipper; Amar Das, the Baishno; Nand Lal and Banda, the Bairagis. No more Guru, no more Bani. Religious instruction for the Sikh masses was thereafter to be provided by expositions of the Adi Granth. The Hindu population<sup>3</sup>, whether or not inclined towards Sikhism, was once again left leaderless and except for Gharib Das (1717-1778), no mentionable Bhagat arose among them. The Muslim masses continued to receive vernacular versions and interpretations of Islam and orthodox Islamic social practices and tales of the blended Hero-Saints<sup>4</sup>; but of the word or example of noted Sufis or Divines they had very little. Fresh conversions to Islam may be said to have almost ceased with the death of saints and the plenitude of political repression for all classes. Thus, religious and social conditions were, like the political, fiercely antagonistic to literary prosperity.

The main traditions in literature left to the new century were five: 1. Anthologizing of poetry with music notes on it, duly arrayed and numbered; 2. Penning of prose chronicles of Saints or Gurus; 3. Composition of ballads about stylized foreign and Indian romance figures; 4. Translation and transliteration of Sanskrit and Braji originals; 5. Employment of a mixed Panjabi and non-Panjabi (phoneticized according to Panjabi) vocabulary.

Two more tendencies deserve attention. The devotional lyric in Panjabi native metre and in the short stanza caught the fancy of the writer and the reader for its easy memorability; its facility of production, its unity of effect, its conventional, therefore, unexacting diction; its convenient sameness of miscellaneous erotic thought. The wider cultivation of Persian and Urdu swelled the tides of its production and consumption and the number of minor lyricists writing in a minor key come down to us is legion, indeed. The worst part of it all is that of most of them we know nothing but their names occurring in a couple or so of stray Majhans or Shabads or Bara Masas or religious or romantic episodes in verse. Their dates are unknown and the placing of most of them in this period has been dictated by the sole consideration of the year in which the particular copies of the available half-a-dozen anthologies were made. To this rage for Vedantic and Vaish-

<sup>3</sup> "Hinduism and Buddhism," Sir Charles Eliot, Vol. I, page xlv:—"This Krishnaite propaganda, which coincided with the Reformation in Europe, was the last great religious movement in India. Since that time there has been considerable activity of a minor kind. Protests have been raised against abuses and existing communities have undergone changes, such as may be seen in the growth of the Sikhs, but there has been no general or original movement. The absence of such can be easily explained by the persecutions of Aurangzeb and by the invasions and internal struggles of the eighteenth century. At the end of that century Hinduism was at its lowest but its productive power was not destroyed."

<sup>4</sup> "Nevertheless the people, and more particularly the peasantry, have associated the bardic divinity and heroes with the saints and wonders of Christianity. Sacred and profane legends have become so identical a part of the belief of the rural population that the one has infused the other with a certain breath of poetry.....In the remoter Irish-speaking districts, however, what was conscious in the cities has been instinctive, and a certain folk-poetry has grown up. The presence of the Gaelic language guaranteed the survival of the bardic tradition, and the heroic figures of antiquity naturally amalgamated with those of sacred history.....The ancient tongue had the associations lacking in the speech of the provincial towns." Page 110, Ireland's Literary Renaissance, by Earnest Boyd. Substitute Islam and Hinduism for Christianity and Sindh Sagari for Irish, and the passage will apply precisely to the Panjab. Hir-Ranjha, Risalu-Kokilan, Puran-Lunan, and Haqiqat Rae, a young religious martyr deified, are some of the more reputed examples.

navistic lyricism and for popular Sufistic<sup>5</sup> eroticism was added the genuine desire to ballad important historical events and personages connected with the Province and to improvise

<sup>5</sup>The following from the chapter on Mohammadanism in India in "Hinduism and Buddhism," by Sir Charles Eliot, Vol. III, pp. 460-61, ought to be more widely known amongst the students of Panjabi Literature, one of the most dominant notes of which, whether the work of the Hindus or of the Muslims, is that of Pantheism.

"The influence of Hinduism on Indian Mohammadanism is thus obvious. It is responsible for the addition to the Prophet's creed of much superstition but also for rendering it less arid and more human. It is harder to say how far Muslim mysticism and Sufism are due to the same influence. History and geography raise no difficulties to such an origin. Arabia was in touch with the western coast of India for centuries before the time of Mohammad: the same is true of the Persian Gulf and Baghdad, and of Balkh and other districts near the frontiers of India. But recent writers on Sufism (Browne and Nicholson) have shown a disposition to seek its origin in Neo-Platonism rather than in the east. This hypothesis, like the other, presents no geographical difficulties..... If, therefore, Sufism, early or late, presents distinct resemblances to Neo-Platonism, we need not hesitate to ascribe them to direct borrowing, remembering that Neo-Platonism itself contains echoes of India. But, admitting that much in the doctrine of the Sufis can be found to the west as well as to the east of the countries where they flourished, can it be said that their general tone is Neo-Platonic? Amongst their characteristics are Pantheism; the institution of religious orders and monasteries; the conception of the religious life as a path or journey; *a bold use of language in which metaphors drawn from love, wine and music are freely used in speaking of divine things* (Italics ours) and, although the doctrine of metempsychosis may be repudiated as too obviously repugnant to Islam, a tendency to believe in successive existences or states of the soul. Some of these features such as the use of erotic language, may be paralleled in other ancient religions as well as Hinduism but the Pantheism which, not content with speaking of the soul's union with God, boldly identifies the soul with the divinity and says I am God, does not seem traceable in Neo-Platonism. And though a distinction may justly be drawn between early and later Sufism and Indian influence be admitted is stronger in the later developments, still an early Sufi, Al-Hallaj, was executed in 922 A. D., for saying Ana'l-Haqq, I am the Truth or God, and we are expressly told that he visited India to study magic. Many important Sufis made the same journey or at least came within the geographical sphere of Indian influence. Farid ul-Din Attar travelled in India and Turkestan; Jalal-ud-Din er-Rumi was born at Balkh, once a centre of Buddhism; Sa'di visited Balkh, Ghazna, the Panjab, and Gujarat, and investigated Hindu temples. Hafiz was invited to the Deccan by Sultan Muhammad Bahmani and, though shipwreck prevented the completion of the visit, he was probably in touch with Indian ideas..... Every thing warrants the supposition that in the centuries preceding Mohammad, Indian ideas were widely disseminated in western Asia, partly as a direct overflow from India, for instance in Turkestan and Afghanistan, and partly as entering, together with much other matter, into the doctrines of Neo-Platonists and Manichaeans. Amid the intolerant victories of early Islam such ideas would naturally retreat, but they soon recovered and effected an entrance into the later phases of the faith and were strengthened by the visits of Sufi Pilgrims to Turkestan and India..... If the accent of India can sometimes be heard in the poems of the Sufis we may also admit that the Jewish Kabbala (or Jewish Tantrism) which has a historical connection with Sufism, is its last echo." Our Husain and Bulha reflect every phase of this Pantheism-cum-Sufism.

We may appropriately here refer to the alleged influence of Islam on Kabir and Nanak. Whatever the Kabiris may say in reply to that, the followers of Nanak find it impossible to swallow the statement for Nanak, who unlike Kabir was fully conversant with the Nur or Jalal and Jamal doctrines and the Pir-ism of Zoroastrianism and Islam (Mullas, Sufis, Qalandars, Kazis) both in theory and in detailed practice (*Vide* Var Paikambri in H. U. Ms. No. 512 and the MS. of Makke di Gosht with me) and the Adi Granth, pages 131, 132, 133, 882 and 886) as a result of a keen and wide, sympathetic study of these two religions as represented by their followers in India and abroad, as of the Hindu creeds of Vaishnavism, Shaivism, Buddhism, Jainism, neither denounced Islamic practices violently, their esoteric or their exoteric side, as Kabir did, nor accepted and incorporated them into his own teachings but simply chid the followers of

songs to keep the fire of religious nationality burning. To this natural folk-impulse we owe, e.g., the Var by Gurdas III; the Baran Manh of Gobind Singh by Bir Singh Phulhari; the Gur Stuti; the Var of Nadir Shah by Najabat; Haqiqat Rae by Agra; and the heroic songs composed by outlawed Sikhs resident in the jungles.

The following is an alphabetical list of the poets of the period, based chiefly on the MSS. in the P. U. L., H. U., P. P. L., etc. Of these manuscript anthologies the noteworthy are :—

1. P. U. L. Nos. 374, 431, 540, 541, 548, 549, 699, 1965, 6463.
2. P. P. L. Nos. 24 ष, 192, 242 ष.
3. H. U. No. 513.

Two valuable printed anthologies are Charkha Nama by Kalidas of Gujraawala and Shabab Shalok.

Addan Shah.	Dharam Das.	Jaspat.	Nurj.
Agra.	Dial Singh.	Jasvant (Jasmat).	Paraj.
Ahmad.	Dil Hath.	Jivan.	Parmanand.
Alam Sain	Fard Faqir		
Ali Haidar.	Fazil.	Kavindracharaj.	Patang Sadh.
Amar Das.	Fidwi	Kesar Singh.	Phatta.
Aram, Sundar Das.	Gad	Kesho or Keshav.	Pheru.
Arur Singh.	Gharib Das.	Khushi.	Prem Singh.
Ashraf.	Ghumanda.	Kunj Nath.	Rajal.
Baital.	Gian Chand.	Lachmi Ram.	Rajjab.
Bakbsha.	Gobind.	Lakh Lal.	Ram Rae.
Baki Shah	Gokal.	...	Rasid.
Balmik.	Gual.	Lal	Sahib Singh
Banvari.	Gulab Das	Lalji Das or Lal Das.	Sanak.
Bhagtu	Gulab Singh.	Langah Faqir.	Sanjogi.
Bhagwan.	Gunkari.	Madho.	Seva Das.
Banit.	Gurdas Singh.	Mahbub.	Seva Singh Mohial.
Bihari.	Gurbakhsh Singh I.	Mahram Shah.	Shakir.
Bilawal	(Ram Kaur)	Mahmud.	Sidh Lal.
Bir Singh.	Gurbakhsh Singh II.	Manak.	Sodha.
Budh Singh.	Gurmukh Rae.	Manohar Das.	Sri Bhag Sahib,
Bulha.	Habib,	Mast Ram.	Sur Das
Bura	...	...	...
Chand Das.	Hakumat.	Miskin,	Surg or Surang.
Chanda.	Hamid Shah.	Modan.	...
Charan Singh.	Jado.	Mushtaq.	Tahkan.
Chuhar.	Jagdish	Naim	Tayyab.
Dan or Yazdan.	Jahangiri.	Najabat.	Tej Bhan.
Darshan.	Jamiat Rae.	Nanua.	Uggar Sain.
Das	Janan.	Nath Mal.	Vajid or Vajida.
Deva	Janji	Nur Muhammad.	Varis Shah.

Each of these poets will fall under one or other of the heads, Lyricist, Intellectualist, Romancist. In general the lyricist and the romancist use Lahndi or Lahauri in *shabads*, *majbas*, *baran masas*, *dohras*, *baits*; while the intellectualist uses mixed Panjabi and Braji in

all existent religions with the polite statement that he would acknowledge them as true Muslims or Bairagis or Jogis, etc., only if they realized and carried out the Adhyatma, esoteric internal, side of all their professed religious and social practices. His was an original attitude and a way of daily life, not a philosophic or theologic creed whether single or composite and hence the question of direct Muslim influence does not arise.

Sanskrit and Hindwi metres and forms, Persian vocabulary is in increasing evidence and Persian idioms and classical allusions intrude more often.

In view of both quality and quantity, and of popular appeal poets noteworthy are:—

Name.	Work
Agra	... Var Haqiqat Rae.
Ali Haidar	... Kafis and Si Harfis.
Aram	... Sassi Punnun
Budh Singh	... Kafis, Si Harfis, Madhvanal.
Bulha	... Kafis, Si Harfis, Dohras.
Gharib Das	... Shabads,
Gulab Das	...
Gulab Singh	...
Hamid Shah	... Hir and Jang Nama.
Jamiat Rae	... Signhasan Battisi.
Kesar Singh	...
Lalji Das	... Manjaris and Majhas.
Najabat	... Var Nadir Shah.
Parmanand	... Signhasan Battisi.
Seva Singh	... Si Harfi, Satvara. Baran Manh and Thittin.
Vajida	... Shaloks or Shabads.
Varis Shah	... Hir

Ali Haidar, Bulha and Vajida are Sufistic lyrists; Gharib Das a religious hymnodist; Agra, Budh Singh, Hamid Shah, Jamiat Rae, Kesar Singh, Najabat, Parmanand, Seva Singh, and Varis Shah, romancists, balladists and historians; Gulab Singh, Lalji Das and Gulab Das metaphysical poets or Intellectualists.

The crowd of little-known lyricists listed above may be first disposed of. They are saved from straightforward condemnation with most Urdu Ghazal-writers who indulge unbridled in the minutæ of loving, because coming as they did just after the age of great saints whose shadow dwarfed their stature. their love-vocabulary had not yet become debased; in fact, it still had all the glint of fresh mintage; secondly, because their idiom and imagery belonged to the soil with its ever-greenness and inexhaustible vitality; thirdly, because the textures of their lives, though petty, still had streaks of saintliness in them, as is evidenced by the fact that they are, as a whole class, spoken of as Bhagats (Majhan Bhagtan Dian, *vide* H. U. MS. No. 512 and P.U.L. MS. No. 431.) Shabad Shalok contains the lyrics of 30 more poets, not listed above.

No MS. work of Ali Haidar. Vajida, Gharib Das, Najabat has fallen into the hands of the present writer, except for one Kafi of Gharib Das in P.U.L. MS. No. 374; but we have the poetry of all these in printed versions (*vide* Keay, Kabir and His Followers, page 165). Of these, of their unestablished published texts, one may say that Ali Haidar (Si Harfis and Kafis and Dialogues) and Vajida (Shaloks or Shabads) display genuine lyric emotion in choice, rich Lahndi vocabulary; Najabat's Var of Nadir Shah reads true to history (*vide* J.P.H.S., Vol. VI. pp. 1-65); their style, lacking hue and vigour, is adequate to the needs of their puny creative ambitions. Gharib Das's numberless *Shabads* have the typical forms and substance of Sikh lyrics. Bullha, an exhaustive Panjabi monograph on whom by the present writer has been published by the University of the Panjab, has like Varis his contemporary, accidentally come to receive far more popular applause than he merits. His influence on all subsequent Kafi-writers has perforce to be acknowledged. Like Bahu, Bullha weaves in bits of Quranic texts favourable to Sufi doctrine. From the historian's standpoint he has like Kabir and Birbal, suffered heavily for

his fame, for, much derelict or deliberately faked stuff has got attached to him, which for its obvious inequality and oppositeness and modernity detracts far more from than adds to his real merit. He is our first Sufi or Muslim Mystic poet; before him they were either saints or saint-divines sparkling forth eery, popular lyricism intermittently. The attempts of the interlarders of Bulha were directed to fit his Sufism into the iron mould of Muslim orthodoxy; these attempts bear the mark of complete failure on their faces.

The first and best known romancist of the period is Hamid,<sup>6</sup> comments on whom are based on *Hir Hamid Shah*, published in 1906 at Lahore. He acknowledges his readings in and his debt to previous *Hir* literature in Persian, Hindi (Bhakha) and Panjabi. This enabled him to produce a more exhaustively composite tale, perhaps the largest in bulk, of all known versions. He has Baits punctuated with four-lined single-rhyme stanzas in Dohra form in pure Panjabi or Panjab Hindwi as distinguished from the Lahndi of his Baits or Jhulnas. His literary eminence is secured by his accumulation of all the various strands of romantic balladry: a long rhythm, familiar rural imagery, landscape, rustic idiom, local colour, interspersed incandescent dialogue between persons representing a dramatic conflict in views or desires, actual fight-scenes, collective effects achieved through a tendency to catalogue, the sweep-in of popular habits, emotions, prepossessions, superstitions and beliefs with set places and persons, a palatable mixture of tragedy and comedy, revelling sensuous descriptions of human beauty and passion,—possessed of imaginative charm and strength, delaying the progress of the narrative wherever necessary—all handled with proportion and economy. He is far superior to his predecessors, Ahmad, Muqbil, etc., and his successor Varis, in scope and treatment, though the balance of popular repute is in favour of the last-named partly on account of the sheer accident of literary fortune and partly to his greater use of purely Muslim rural idiom and epithet and an avoidance of Hindu and Hindwi words and ideas. The earliest MS. of *Varis* I have been able to trace is the one with Mr. Khosla; this was copied out in 1834, the original having been composed in 1723 A.D. The P.U.L. MS. made in 1863 contains 642 numbered stanzas, and hardly 10 per cent carry more than 4 lines each. The texts in the market are double, sometimes quadruple of the size of the above, and owe their adulteration to the desire of the interpolators to set the work up as a combined text of Human and Divine love. That they have succeeded is proved by its having been the most printed work of Panjabi Literature. The earliest printed edition is dated 1864 and contains 990 stanzas.

Kesar Singh, and Seva Singh, father and son, Mohials or Chhibbars by caste, residents of Gujrat, have left us a considerable quantity of first-rate pastoral lyric and balladic verse, instinct with emotive imagery and fresh idiom redolent of the shifting odours of the changing seasons. Seva Singh's *Sassi Punnun* conjures up for us that pair of classical lovers, radiant in their agonies. Kesar Singh deriving his inspiration direct from his own love-smitten heart during a journey through the Jammu State territory, sings away his pain and pleasure very effectively in the traditional poetic moulds of a *Baran Manb*, a *Satvara*, *Thittin* and a *Si-Harfi*. (*Vide* P.U.L. MSS. Nos. 540, 541 and 549.) One of the best talents of the age was Budh Singh whose work is as varied as it is perfect in each sphere. A ripe scholar-poet of Persian, Bhakha and Rekhta (For his Persian *Svayyas* as for his all other work see P.U.L. MS. No. 374, copied out in 1804 and P.P. L MS. No. 23g), he excelled in music and painting, the two vital constituents of pure poetry. His *Baran Manb*, *Madhvanal*, *Kafis*, *Kutasths*, *Rekhtas*, *Kabits* and *Svayyas* rise to a uniform level of treatment, and show a

<sup>6</sup>Hamid like Muqbil is known to have written a *Jang Nama* or an account of the military fortunes of the scions of the Holy Prophet of Islam. The earliest printed copy of his *Qissa-e-Imamain* is dated 1869, Mustafai Press, Lahore. Muqbil's *Qissa e-Imamain* was published the same year at the same press. They are Panjabi parallels of the Urdu *Marsiyas* which date back to Quli Qutb Shah in the Deccan. Many Dakhni tales in verse have contemporary Panjabi versions.

faultless technique, a synthetic style and a wondrously pictorial imagination. The Hindi prosodic feats of Madhvanal, Sar Pingal and the Kutasths are amazing. He completed the first in 1773 A. D. He appears from his Bandana prefacing the story, to have been a Nirmala, of which sect we shall see more under Gulab Singh below. In his Baran Manh he writes :—

ਕੇਸ ਫੁੱਲੇ ਰੰਗ ਗੁਲਾਲੀ ।  
ਜਾਨੁ ਕਿ ਅੰਗ ਬਿਰਹੋ ਨੋ ਬਾਲੀ ।  
ਕੋਇਲ ਕੁਕੇ ਅੰਬ ਸੁ ਡਾਲੀ ।  
ਭੋਰੇ ਗੁੰਜਨਿ ਲੈਨਿ ਭਵਾਲੀ ।  
ਕੁੜੀਆਂ ਖੇਡਨ ਰਾਤਿ ਚੰਦਾਲੀ ।  
ਗਾਵਨ ਗੀਤ ਵਜਾਇਨ ਤਾਲੀ ।  
ਹੱਭਾ ਫੁੱਲੀ ਹੈ ਬਨ ਮਾਲੀ ।

ਨਾਲਿ ਬਹਾਰ ਦੇ ॥

ਮੈਂਡਾ ਹਾਲ ਨ ਕੋਈ ਜਾਣੇ ।  
ਪੁੜੀਆਂ ਦੇ ਦੇ ਰਹੇ ਸਯਾਣੇ ।  
ਪੜਿ ਪੜਿ ਥੱਕੇ ਇਲਮ ਮੁਲਾਣੇ ।  
ਇਸਕੇ ਭੂਤ ਬਹਾਏ ਠਾਣੇ ।  
ਭੁੰਨੀ ਭੁੱਠ ਸੁ ਵਾਗੁੰ ਦਾਣੇ ।  
ਪਯਾਰੇ ਬਾਝੋ ਕੋਣੁ ਪਛਾਣੇ ।

ਧੀਰਜੁ ਕੜੋ ਧਰਾ ॥

ਮੈਯੋ ਆਇਯਾ ਜੇਠ ਨਿਮਾਣੀ ।  
ਕੋਹੀ ਬਾਬ ਅਸਾਂ ਦੇ ਵਾਣੀ ।  
ਬਿਰਹੋ ਟੁਕ ਟੁਕ ਨਿੱਕੀ ਛਾਣੀ ।  
ਰਿੜਕੀ ਵਾਗੁੰ ਦੁੱਧ ਮਧਾਣੀ ।  
ਤੜਫਾਂ ਬਾਝੋ ਮਛਲੀ ਪਾਣੀ ।  
ਫਾਬੀ ਆਣ ਦੁਖਾਂ ਦੀ ਘਾਣੀ ।

ਤੁੱਤੀ ਕਰਮ ਦੀ ॥

ਸਾਕੁੰ ਹੱਭੋ ਕਦੀਆ ਭੁੱਲੇ ।  
ਸਿਰੋ ਪਰ ਛੱਤੁ ਇਸਕ ਦਾ ਭੁੱਲੇ ।  
ਬੁੱਧ ਸਿੰਘ ਬਾਗੁ ਸ ਲੋਟੀ ਫੁੱਲੇ ।  
ਗੁੰਨਾ ਗੁੰਨ ਚਮਨ ਗੁਲ ਖੁੱਲੇ ।  
ਅਰਸੋ ਬਾਦ ਸੁਬਹ ਦੀ ਘੁੱਲੇ ।  
ਪਯਾਰਾ ਵੱਲ ਅਸਾਂ ਦੀ ਜੁੱਲੇ ।

ਘੜੀ ਸੁ ਧਰਮ ਦੀ ।

Jamiat Rae's Singhasan Battisi (Raj Press, Sangrur, 1869) finished in 1780 has to be studied together with the Singhasan Battisis of Parmanand and an anonymous writer (*Vide* P. U. L. MS. No. 374). Parmanand says he has translated it from Sanskrit, and Jamiat, from Persian. The first two are in Bhakha or mixed Panjabi and Braji, while the third is more of Panjab-Hindwi. In metrical form and style all three point backward to Ram and Shiam of the court of Guru Gobind Singh and forward to Santokh Singh and Gian Singh.

The language of Jamiat, representative of a type, is a curio of literary mongrelism which could rise and thrive only in the Panjab with its omnipotent phonetics, its love of Persian, and free borrowing from Braji, Avadhi, etc. Here are a few lines in illustration:

ਏਕ ਸਿੰਘਾਸਨ ਹੁਤੋਂ ਹਮਨ ਪੈ । ਸਸਿ ਰਵਿ ਸਮ ਬੀ ਕ੍ਰਾਂਤਿ ਤਵਨ ਪੈ ।  
 ਲਾਲ ਜਵਾਹਰ ਖਚੇ ਅਧਿਕ ਜਿਸ । ਸੋਧਾ ਕੋ ਨ ਕਹੂੰ ਰੰਚਕ ਤਿਸ  
 ਯਹਿ ਸੁਨ ਤਿਸੀ ਠੋਰ ਤੇ ਧਾਏ । ਤੀਨੇ ਸੋਦਾਗਰ ਪੈ ਆਏ  
 ਬਹੁਰ ਬੈਨ ਐਸੀ ਬਿਧਿ ਡਾਖਯੋ । ਅਪਨੀ ਸੁਤਾ ਦੇਹੁ ਯੋ ਆਖਯੋ  
 ਕਿਸੀ ਠੋਰ ਉਪਰ ਡਿਠ ਧਾਤੂੰ । ਬਾਨੁ ਚਲਾਇ ਤੁਰਤੁ ਹੀ ਮਾਰੂੰ  
 ਜਾਂਪਰ ਅਪਣਾ ਚਿੱਤੁ ਧਰੂੰਗਾ । ਵਾਂ ਸੰਗ ਨਿਸਚੈ ਬਯਾਹਿ ਕਰੂੰਗਾ ।  
 ਏਕ ਠਾਮ ਇਜ ਬੈਠੇ ਪੜਦੇ ਬੇਦ ਬੇ । ਹਰਿ ਨਮਿੱਤ ਵਹੁ ਸਭ ਕੋ ਬਿੱਦਯਾ ਦੇਤ ਬੇ ।

ਤਿਹਤੇ ਹੁਕ ਬਿਦਾ ਚਲਾ ਤੀਰਥ ਕੋ ਪਰਸਨ । ਮੌਜਨ ਕਰਤਾ ਫਿਰੈ ਹੋਇਕੈ ਹਰਖ ਅਧਿਕ ਮਨ ।

Agra's pure Pajabi Var of Haqiqat Rae in Baits (*Vide* P. U. L. MS. No. 827) has been published. It is a spirited account of the heroic death in the cause of Religion of a young Lahore Hindu of Sialkot District under the orders of the Governor of Lahore. Agra wrote within about half-a-century of the actual event. The martyrdom of Haqiqat has since been the theme of many Panjabi poems none of which, however, equals Agra's version in directness, truth and sincerity.

Of the unclaimed romances of the period the most important is that of Gopi Chand-Mainanvanti, many manuscript copies of which are available. It is cast in the dialogic form ; at the end are the *gathas* of Nirban Jog composed by Gorakh Nath. (*Vide* P. U. L. MSS. Nos. 559, 1937, 2088, 4683, 6383 )

Gulab Singh (b. 1732) was a Nirma'la Sadhu, a disciple of Man Singh. The Nirma'la sect came into being not long before Guru Gobind Singh's death. It mostly turned out Sikh scholars of Sanskrit who like Sankracharya rooted themselves in the Vedanta but unlike him flowered in to Sikh Bhagti instead of Sanatan image-worship and caste-observance. Immersed in classical learning, they could not produce anything purely Panjabi and Lahndi in vocabulary and unadulterately Sikh in thought. Ever since their rise, they have formed the Sikh literary aristocratic class, devoting themselves to the popularization of the Vedanta and the philosophization of Sikhism. As official theologians and philosophers of the new creed, they wrote extensively, not confining themselves to religion but annexing prosody, medicine, music, rhetoric, geography, astrology, astronomy, history, biography, etc., enriching Panjabi extensively with thought but damning it with numerous, ever-growing Braji words and epithets and styles, artisocratizing and difficulting literature, making it impossible of easy comprehension by the masses. The story of Gulab Singh's flight from his home in Lahore District, his long studentship at Benares, his Herculean vernacularization of the Hindu classics, the dreadfully tragic destruction of his labours, the lucky preservation of a few verse-translations of his is too long to contain in the space available here. He has left us *Adhyatma Ramayana*, *Bhavarasamrita*, *Mokh Panth*, *Karam Vipak*, *Prabodh Chandra Natak* (the last completed in 1789 A D.). Except for Panjabi phonetics there is nothing Panjabi about these works and, yet, the part they have played in drawing new literary trails and feeding the Panjabi Sikh and Hindu minds, in Vedantizing their general outlook, has been considerable. Our grandfathers (and even our fathers) supped on this fare and aquired an easy acquaintance with literary Hindi and with the Hindu classics, which is fast disappearing now. It need hardly be added that pointing backward to Gurdas who lived and studied and preached at Benares and Agra and forward to Ganesha Singh and Tara Singh of our own period, he displays a perfection of form marvellous even for the people whose forbears spoke and wrote Sanskrit<sup>7</sup> and Gatha and Pali and Prakrit earlier and perhaps more extensively than did the Aryans in other parts, but who

<sup>7</sup> *Vide* J. R. A. S., 1864, On the origin of the Hindwi Language by R. L. Mitra, pp. 491 and 493.

coming first and remaining much longer under foreign, Saka-Hun, Mongol-Turanian influences changed a great deal their words and their ideals, mixing in foreign stuff enough for the formation of a new compound. Rajjab's Chhapais (P. U. L. MS. No. 558) have more of Panjabi and Bhakti about them. He was a Dadu Panthi who mentions Kamal as Dadu's Guru. Lalji Das is decidedly a writer of Panjabi—Panjab Awadhi and his three small tracts contain the perfect gnostic wisdom of Vedanta and Bhakti. (*Vide* P. U. L. MS. No. 1099, Vinai Chhand, Sikhia Pachisi and Laghu Pachisi.)<sup>8</sup>

Agra Das's Chhapais (P. U. L. MS No. 699) are also very forceful Bhakti songs. Sundar Das's Panjabi Ashtak (P. U. MS. No. 4680) is great in poetic technique and style as well as in the exposition of the Dadu Panth to which he belonged.

To be included in the miscellaneous poetry bearing on Hindu religion and philosophy and Poetics are a few Kabits by Budh Singh (P.U.L. MS. No 374); more Kabits by an unknown writer, P.U.L. MS. No. 4680; Svayyas by Sunder Das, P.U.L. MS. No. 558; Sabha Prakash (Prosody) by Charan Das, completed in 1757, P.U.L. MS. No. 917; and Kundalian by Devi Das, H.U. MS. No. 513.

Before closing with lyrical work, we have to note a movement which traces back to Kabir and even earlier. It was the desire of all North-Indian saint-poets in the interest of the widest publicity of their message to sing besides in their provincial vernacular, in the "universal" Hindwi and in the specially popular Panjabi Kafi (like Rokhta) also, which with its Lahndi vocabulary and Sufistic notes had caught the fancy of all who had heard it through its popularizers, the West Panjab Muslim saints whose personal peregrinations and religious influence had extended southward to Central India and the Deccan, and eastward to Bengal. A remarkable instance in this period is provided by Saihjo Baj, a follower of Charan Das, the founder of the Charan Dasi sect and the disciple of *Sukh Dev*. P.U.L. MS. No. 4237 in Persian script is a compilation of the work of Charan Das and Saihjo Bai, made out in the life-time of both, and presented to Mangal Das, probably the successor to the Gaddi, by Charan Das himself in 1781. In it we have a few Kafis by Saihjo who was a non-Panjabi and who resided at Delhi with her Guru. They are beautiful little things delicately textured and tinted and speaking convincingly of the feminine penetration and emotionality of their expert maker. This is a precious MS<sup>9</sup> of the Charan Dasis, yet unprinted. The Kafi is treated by Saihjo as a

<sup>8</sup>It appears Pachisi, Manjari and Barash Bilas are other types of poetry whose vogue raged, in imitation of Sanskrit works. Vaital Panchavinsati is a famous classic (*Vide* pp. 319-332, Ancient and Mediæval India, Vol 2, Manning.) Our present Pachisis are ethical reflections in Dohras; the charming and elegant Manjaris (Viyog, Sanjog, Gian, Vigian, Prashnotar, Nam-Ascharj, besides Gian Gangotri) of Gopal Singh are of a piece in form and content. Barash Bilas by an unknown author of this period (*Vide* P. U. L. MS. No. 699), mentioning Sher Shah Sur (d. 1545), is a handbook of meteorological forecasts, partly observative and partly divinatory and resembles a similar production both in prose and verse dealing with Ang Phurna or prognostications made by the physical throbs and flutters of the human limbs, arteries, etc. (*Vide* P. U. L. MS No. 374). We may well add here prose and poetical tracts on the Science of Breath (Svarodya).

<sup>9</sup>It will be of interest to the Scholars of North-Indian vernaculars and of the Bhakti cult to know more of this MS. The assignation of the inspiration of this sect to Kabir, by Keay, is, to say the least, baseless. The impulse could have come as much from the House of Nanak as from Kabir for, Delhi and the Delhi Banias lay more closely and puissantly within the sphere of its influence, than in that of Kabir-Panth. The MS. bears the imprint of Charan Das's seal, at the beginning as well as the end. It begins with the words:—

Black سہا Red سرى - کھنڈو چھو Black سرى د'م چھو; The seal contains the name of Sukhdev in the upper half and of Charan Das in the lower half. The works collected together are Braj Charitra, Khat Rup Mukta in the form of a gosht between Guru and Chela, Jog Sar, Gian Sarodai, Brahm Sagar or Brahm Gian Pothi, Five Upanikhatas of the Atharvan Bed (Atharvana Veda) in Bhakha—Param Hans Nad—Satak Subh Lachchhan, and miscellaneous Shabads in different Raga including Raga Kafi, all by

Rag-- two shabads in Rag Kafi, like Rekhta which was also originally a musical form, bilingual or polyglot in character.

The Panjab Hindus such as were untouched by Sikhism, had more or less stood apart and dared not divorce the classical language for the vernacular; but the MSS. and

Charan Das followed by Saihjo Bai's 16 Thitte, Saihj Prakash, Sat Bar (Satwara), and 40 Shabads in rags. The MS. appears to have been caligraphed by Charan Das himself. Both authors seem to have been just original Bhagvatas rather than derivative Kabirites or Ramanandis. Their language has the universal Hindvi not purbi or Braji as its substratum; its superstructure is that of local Dihlavi, full as it is of Persain words.

Another instance is found in P.U.L. MS. No. 4246 which contains Utkanth Madhuri, Ishq Lata, and Ishq Chaman by Nagri Das. Ishq Lata is by Anand Ghan. Here are some extracts from it. He employs Panjabi (Lahndi) when singing in *Majhan* and *Nishani*.

ਅਹੋ ਅਹੋ ਨੰਦ ਸਾਂਵਰੇ ਫਿਨ ਫਿਨ ਬਾਨਿਕ ਨਯਾਰੀ ਹੈ ।  
ਓਢੈ ਜਰਦ ਦੁਬਾਲਾ ਯਾਰਾ ਕੇਸਰ ਕੀ ਸੀ ਕਿਆਰੀ ਹੈ ।  
ਆਨੰਦ ਘਨ ਹਿਤ ਪਿਆਰੇ ਜਾਨੀ ਮੁਰਤ ਲਗਦੀ ਪਿਆਰੀ ਹੈ ।  
ਮਹਰ ਲਹਰ ਬਿਜ ਨੰਦ ਯਾਰ ਦੀ ਜਿੰਦ ਅਸਾਡੀ ਯਾਰੀ ਹੈ ।

ਸਜਨ ਸਨਹੀ ਯਾਰ ਨੰਦ ਦੇ ਏਤੀ ਕਿਆ ਮਗਰਰੀ ਹੈ ।  
ਦਰਦ ਵੰਦ ਦਰਸਨ ਕੀ ਖਾਤਰ ਬੰਦੀ ਹੁਕਮ ਹਜਰੀ ਹੈ ।  
ਬਿਜ ਮੋਹਨ ਘਨ ਆਨੰਦ ਤੈਂਡੀ ਨਿਪਟ ਅਟਪਟੀ ਨਿਆਰੀ ਹੈ ।  
ਮਹਰ ਲਹਰ ਬਿਜ ਵੰਦ ਯਾਰ ਦੀ ਜਿੰਦ ਅਸਾਡੀ ਯਾਰੀ ਹੈ ।

ਯਾਰਾ ਗੋਕੁਲ ਚੰਦ ਸਲੋਨੇ ਦੀਆ ਚਬਮਾਂ ਦਾ ਧੱਕਾ ਹੈ ।  
ਟੋਰ ਦੀਆ ਘਨ ਆਨੰਦ ਜਾਨੀ ਹੁਸਨ ਬਰਾਬੀ ਯੱਕਾ ਹੈ ।  
ਸੈਨ ਕਟਾਰੀ ਆਸਕ ਉਪਰ ਤੈਂ ਯਾਰਾ ਬੁਕਿ ਬਾਰੀ ਹੈ ।  
ਮਹਰ ਲਹਰ ਬਿਜ ਚੰਦ ਯਾਰ ਦੀ ਜਿੰਦ ਅਸਾਡੀ ਯਾਰੀ ਹੈ ।

ਦਿਲ ਪਸੰਦ ਦਿਲਦਾਰ ਯਾਰ ਤੂੰ ਮੁਝ ਨੂੰ ਕੀ ਤਰਸਾਂਦਾ ਹੈਂ ।  
ਰਾਤ ਦਿਹਾੜੇ ਤਲਬ ਤੁਸਾਡੀ ਅਕੱਲ ਇਲਮ ਉਛਾਂਦਾ ਹੈਂ ।  
ਮੈਨੂੰ ਧਿਆਨ ਆਨ ਨਹਿ ਜਾਨੀ ਤੂੰ ਘਨ ਕੰਜ ਬਿਹਾਰੀ ਹੈਂ ।  
ਮਹਰ ਲਹਰ ਬਿਜ ਚੰਦ ਯਾਰ ਦੀ ਜਿੰਦ ਅਸਾਡੀ ਯਾਰੀ ਹੈ ।

ਨੰਦ ਮਹਰ ਦਾ ਕੁਵਰ ਕਨੱਯਾ ਮੈਂਡਾ ਜੀਵਨ ਜਾਨੀ ਹੈ ।  
ਬਿਸਰੈ ਨਹੀਂ ਰੈਨ ਦਿਨ ਜੀਅ ਸੇ ਪਯਾਰੀ ਪ੍ਰੀਤਮ ਪੁਨੀ ਹੈ ।  
ਦੀਜੈ ਯਹੀ ਅਜਾਂ ਨੂੰ ਬਾਂਕੀ ਅਨੰਦ ਘਨ ਗਿਰਧਾਰੀ ਹੈ ।  
ਮਹਰ ਨੰਦ ਦਾ ਕੁਵਰ ਕਨੱਯਾ ਮੈਂਡਾ ਜੀਵਨ ਜਯਾਰੀ ਹੈ ।

ਘਨ ਨੂੰ ਕਯੋਂ ਕਰਿ ਗਹਿ ਸਕੋਂ ਘਨ ਆਨੰਦ ਪੀਆ ।  
ਮੈਂ ਤੈਡੀ ਲਟਕਨਿ ਫੰਦਿਆ ਕਿਆ ਤੁਝ ਨੂੰ ਕੀਆ ।  
ਕਯੋਂ ਮਹਿਬੂਬ ਸੁਜਾਨ ਤੈਂ ਅਬ ਔਰੈਂ ਕੀਆ ।  
ਮੈਡਾ ਦਿਲ ਤੋਂ ਨੇ ਅੰਦੋਂ ਕਯੋਂ ਮੁਸ ਕੀ ਲੀਆ ।

ਚਰ ਲਿਆ ਚਿਤ ਚਾਹ ਤੈਂ ਘਨ ਅਨੰਦ ਜਾਨੀ ।  
ਮੈਡਾ ਦਿਲ ਤੋਂ ਮੋਹਿ ਕੈ ਉਰ ਔਰਹਿ ਠਾਨੀ ।  
ਇਸਕ ਸਹਰ ਕੇ ਬਚੀ ਹੈ ਇਹ ਅਕਰ ਕਹਾਨੀ ।  
ਅਲਕੋਂ ਸੇਂ ਬਾਧੇ ਰਹੈ ਮਹਿਬੂਬ ਗੁਮਾਨੀ ।

MS. copies of the 18th century show that they had now bent their shoulders to the new wheel of vernacular education. A number of writers emerged who put forth quite satisfactory verse-translations or adaptations of ancient classical literature, an obviously incomplete list of which we give here :

1. *Ashta Bakar Gita*, Anon., P.U.L. MS. No. 839.
2. *Bashisht Sar* by Kavindracharaj, P.U.L. MS. No. 1355.
3. *Bhagvat*, 10th Sakandhi, P.U.L. MS. No. 4249.
4. *Bhagvat*, 10th Chapter, by Krishan Das, P.U.L. MSS. Nos. 923 and 4245.
5. *Bhagvat* 10th Chapter, by Sarab Dial, P. U. L. MS. No. 6474, copied out in 1772.
6. *Bhagvat Gita*, Anon., P.U.L. MS. No. 182.
7. *Bhagvat Gita*, called Jasvant Prakash, Anon. (?), P.U.L. MS. No. 1355.
8. *Hingal Puran* by Mushtaq Rae, P. U. L. MS. No. 1355.
9. *Katha Singh Gau* by Devi Das, P.U.L. MSS. 4614 and 4679.
10. *Mahabharat* by Kanval Nain, P.U.L. MS. No. 1964, copy made out in 1846.
11. *Mahabharat*, 63rd Chapter, the story of Bakdalabh Rikhi by Tahkan, H. U. MS. No. 513.
12. *Mahabharat Upma* by Ram Krishan, finished in 1805, P.U.L. MS. No. 1417.

Besides the above, there are sweet and graceful lyrical poems with the loves of Rama and Krishna, and cognate subjects as their themes, in the purest Panjabi.

1. Baran Manh by Gurdas Singh
2. Baran Manh by Kesho Das
3. Baran Manh by Sanjogi
4. Baran Manh by Gurdas Singh
5. Baran Manh by Mohan Lal
6. Bansri Maharaj di (Krishna), Anon., P.U.L. MS. No. 4246.
7. A Sakhi of Sri Krishan, Anon., and Jhagra Kanh Gujri da by Dana (124 stanzas), P.U.L. MS. No. 827, copied out in 1837.
8. Krishan Sanbad by Mahbub, P.U.L. MS. No. 374.

Many more, indeed, were such renderings and adaptations from Sanskrit as the list of MSS. *e.g.*, of the Bhupindra Library, Patiala, shows. The general remark ought to suffice that Hindu authors had awakened fully and effectively to the need of the presentation of the basic elements of their culture through the new medium; only, in very few cases did they couch their work in pure Panjabi. The religion-sanctioned Braji or mixed Braji and Panjabi was almost invariably employed, with some semblance of craftsmanship.

Poetry, however, was not the *forte* of this age, which was essentially the age of Panjabi prose. The taste for prose, easy of digestion for the masses, formed on the chronicles of Nana's now grew on what it had fed upon and hungered for biographical material (*Sakhis* and *Bilases*) respecting all the past Sikh and non-Sikh leaders. The Hindu, also, wanted interesting vernacular prose not far removed from religion; the Muhammadan masses, less equipped for and inclined to private reading and content with religious expositions and romantic legends in verse given to them in plenty by divines and Var-singers, needed not and got no prose stuff worthy of mention. The prose tradition come down to these generations was, in form and style, of conversations carried out ramblingly and sententiously, and, in substance, of narratives interspersed frequently with commentaries on texts. In language, two distinct schools had been passed down, the Lahndi School of Janam Sakhis, a cross between actual conversation and literary

ਕਯਾ ਕਹੀਏ ਬਿਜ ਮੋਹਨਾ ਤੂੰ ਮਾਨੈ ਨਾਹੀ ।  
 ਤੂੰ ਹੀ ਜਾਨੇਗਾ ਅਬੈ ਅਪਨੇ ਦਿਲ ਮਾਹੀ ।  
 ਘਨ ਆਨੰਦ ਨਿਤ ਹੀ ਜਿਯੈ ਨਹਿ ਕੀਜੈ ਨਾਹੀ ।  
 ਅਖੀਆ ਤੈਂਡੀ ਚੁਡਿ ਰਹੀ ਮੈਂਡੇ ਦਿਲ ਮਾਹੀ ।

Persian, and the Hindwi School of Translations which (particularly in certain verb-forms and prepositions) was a curious mixture of Lahndi and Braji, Prakrit and Persian. Here are samples of both from this period. from (1) Parchian or biographical bits (P. U. L. MS. No. 1963); (2) Paras Bhag by Addan Shah (P.U.L. MS. No. 4680); (3) Bhagavat (P.U.L. MS. No. 6464, copied out in 1772 A.D.); and (4) Ang Phurne Ke Phal or Divinations from throbs of the human body (P.U.L. MS. No. 374, copied out in 1804 A.D.).

1. Sakhi No. 45. ਆਗੇ ਸਾਖੀ ਅਉਰ ਤੁਰੀ। ਏਕ ਬੇਰਿ ਕਿਸੀ ਸਿੱਖ ਬੀਂ ਸਿੱਖ ਨੇ ਲਹਣਾ ਸੀ। ਉਹ ਮੈਗੇ ਉਹ ਦੇਵੇ ਨਾਹੀ। ਤਾਂ ਲਹਿਣੇ ਵਾਲੇ ਸਿੱਖ ਕਹਿਆ ਸਿੱਖਾ ਜੇ ਤੂੰ ਹੁਣ ਨਾ ਦੇਇਗਾ ਤਾਂ ਦਰਗਾਹਿ ਦੇਣਾ ਆਵੀਗਾ। ਉਥੇ ਫੜੀਐਂਗਾ। ਅੱਗੋਂ ਦੇਵਣੇ ਵਾਲੇ ਏਹੁ ਤੁਕ ਪੜੀ ਜੋ ਲੇਖਾ ਕੋਇ ਨ ਖੁਛਈ ਜੁ ਹਰਿ ਬਖਸਿੰਦਾ। ਏਹੁ ਬਾਤਾਂ ਉਨਾਂ ਕੀਆਂ ਗੁਰੂ ਬਾਬਾ ਸੁਣਦਾ ਸੀ। ਹੁਕਮ ਹੋਆ ਸੁਣਿ ਸਿੱਖਾ ਗੁਰੂ ਤਬਿ ਹੀ ਬਖਸੇਗਾ ਜਾਂ ਮੁਰਦਾਰ ਖਾਣਾ ਮਾਨੁੱਖ ਤਿਆਗੇਗਾ। ਜਬਿ ਐਸਾ ਲੇਖਾ ਨਾ ਹੋਵੈ ਤਬਿ ਸਭਿ ਸਿਸਟਿ ਇਉ ਹੀ ਉਧਰ ਜਾਵੈ। ਕਿਸੀ ਤਿਆਗ ਬੈਰਾਗ ਕਿਉਂ ਕਰਣਾ ਹੈ।

No 46. ਤਬਿ ਗੁਰੂ ਜੀ ਸੁਣਦੇ ਈ ਉਠ ਖੜਾਂ ਹੋਆ। ਭਗਉਤੀ ਗਲਵਾੜੇ ਘੱਤਿ ਲਈ ਤੇ ਕਟਾਰ ਕਮਰ ਬਾਂਧ ਲੀਆ। ਤਾਂ ਗੁਰੂ ਜੀ ਪੈਰਿ ਪਿਆਦਾ ਉਠਿ ਦਉੜਿਆ। ਹੁਕਮ ਹੋਆ ਭਾਈ ਮੇਰੇ ਮਗਰ ਕਿਸੇ ਨਹੀਂ ਆਵਣਾ। ..... ਤਾਂ ਹੁਕਮ ਹੋਆ ਬੇਰ ਜੀ ਖਬਰਦਾਰ ਰਹੋਹੁ। ਸਨਿਮੁਖ ਜੁਧ ਕਰਿ। ਸ਼ੇਰ ਪੂਛਲ ਹਲਾਇ ਕਰਿ ਖੋਖਨ ਕਰੇ। ਤੇ ਫੇਰ ਨਾਲੇ ਮਸਤਕਿ ਆਨਿ ਟੇਕਿਆ। ਤਾਂ ਫੇਰ ਹੁਕਮ ਹੋਆ ਬੇਰ ਜੀ ਮੈਂ ਛੱਡਣਾ ਤੁਹਨੂੰ ਨਹੀਂ।

No. 50. ਲੋਕ ਪੂਜਾ ਚਾੜ੍ਹਤਾ ਹੈ। ਜੋ ਸਭਿ ਭਾਵਨੀ ਗੁਰੂ ਪੂਰੀ ਕਰਿਤਾ ਹੈ। ਗਿਰੰਥ ਜੀ ਪਾਠ ਹੋਤਾ ਹੈ। ਉਸ ਅਸਥਾਨ ਕਉ ਦੇਖ ਕਰਿ ਗੁਰੂ ਚਿਤ ਆਂਵਦਾ ਹੈ।

2. ਸੰਤ ਜੋ ਹੈਨ ਸੇ ਪਾਰ ਬ੍ਰਹਮ ਕੇ ਖਜਾਨਚੀ ਹੈ। ਮਾਇਆਵਾਨਹੁ ਕੇ ਖਜਾਨਚੀ ਜੋ ਹੋਤੇ ਹੈ। ਮੋ ਭੀ ਖਜਾਨੇ ਕੀਆ ਕੁੰਜੀਆਂ ਉਨ ਕੀਆਂ ਰਾਖਤੀਆ ਹੈ। ਪਰ ਉਨ ਕੀ ਏਹੁ ਸਕਤ ਨਾਹੀ ਜੋ ਆਪ ਕਿਸੀ ਕੋ ਖਜਾਨਾ ਖਸਮ ਕੇ ਪੂਛੇ ਬਿਨਾ ਦੇਵਹਿ। ਅਪਾਰ ਬ੍ਰਹਮ ਸੰਤਹੁ ਕਉ ਖਜਾਨੇ ਕਾ ਅਖਤੀਆਰ ਦੀਆ ਹੂਆ ਹੈ ਦੇਵਹਿ ਨ ਦੇਵਹਿ ਅਪਨੀ ਇੱਛਿਆ ਅਨਸਾਰ.....ਤਬ ਉਸ ਕੋ ਕਿਨੀ ਕਹਿਆ ਈਆ ਤਸਕਰਹੁ ਕਾ ਭਉ ਤੇ ਕਛ ਨਾਹੀ ਤੂੰ ਰੈਨ ਕਿਉ ਖੜੋਤਾ ਰਹਤਾ ਹੈ ਤਬ ਸਾਧ ਉੱਤਰ ਦੀਆ ਜੋ ਜਿਸ ਤਸਕਰ ਕਾ ਮੇਰੇ ਕਉ ਭਉ ਹੈ ਸੋ ਤਸਕਰ ਮਨ ਰੂਪੀ ਮੇਰੀ ਬੁਕਲ ਮਹਿ ਹੈ। ਉਸ ਬਾਹਰ ਨਹੀਂ ਆਵਣਾ। ਭੁਖ ਅਰ ਜਾਗ੍ਰਤ ਕਾ ਉਸਕੋ ਡੰਡ ਨ ਦੇਵਹੁ... ..ਕਿਸੀ ਸਾਧ ਸੋ ਸਾਧ ਪੂਛਿਆ ਜੋ ਪਰਮੇਸਰ ਕਾ ਕਿਆ ਰੂਪ ਹੈ... ..ਤਬ ਸਾਧ ਉੱਤਰ ਦੀਆ ... ..

3. ਜਬ ਸਭਨੋਂ ਲੋਕਹੁ ਤੇ ਰਾਜਾ ਨੇ ਸੁਣਿਆ ਘਰੁ ਆਇ ਕਰ ਦੇਖਿਆ ਤਬ ਦੇਖਤੇ ਹੀ ਡੈ ਚਕ੍ਰਿਤ ਰਹਿਆ ਅਰੁ ਚਿਤ ਬਿਖੈ ਮਹਾ ਸੰਸਾ ਉਪਜਿਆ। ਨਿਹਚੇ ਕਰਿ ਕੈ ਰਿਦੈ ਬਿਖੈ ਜਾਣਿਆ ਜੇ ਮੇਰਾ ਪ੍ਰਹਾਰ ਕਰਣੈ ਹਾਰਾ ਇਸ ਗਰਭ ਬਿਖੈ ਆਇਆ। ਤਬ ਕੰਜ ਨ ਬੰਦ ਸਾਲਾ ਕੇ ਜੋ ਰਖਵਾਲੇ ਬੇਤਿਨਾ ਕਉ ਬਹੁਤ ਕਰ ਕੇ ਕਹਿਆ ਕਿ ਮੇਰਿਓ ਭਾਈਓ ਮੇਰਿਓ ਮਿਤਰੋ ਚੇਤੰਨ ਰਹੀਓ ਕਿਉ ਜੇ ਮੇਰੇ ਤਾਈ ਪ੍ਰਹਾਰ ਕਰਣੈ ਹਾਰਾ ਇਸ ਗਰਭ ਬਿਖੈ ਆਇ ਪ੍ਰਾਪਤ ਭਇਆ ਹੈ। ਜੋ ਪ੍ਰਥਮ ਮੇਰੇ ਤਾਈ ਆਇ ਕੈ ਸੁਣਾਵੈਗਾ ਜੋ ਬਾਲਕ ਨੇ ਜਨਮੁ ਲੀਆ ਹੈ ਜੀ ਉਸ ਕਉ ਬਹੁਤ ਕਿਛੁ ਦੇਵਾਗਾ। ਇਸ ਭਾਂਤਿ ਬੰਦ ਸਾਲਾ ਕੇ ਰਖਵਾਇਆਂ ਕੇ ਕਹਿਆ ਕਹਿ ਕੇ ਬਹੁਰਿ ਆਪਣੈ ਗ੍ਰਿਹ ਕੋ ਆਵਤ ਭਇਆ।

... .. ਰੁਦਨ ਕਰਤੀ ਪਿਤਾ ਕੇ ਗ੍ਰਹਿ ਬਿਖੈ ਆਈ। ਬਹੁਤਿ ਰਬ ਪੈ ਚੜਿਕੇ ਤੂੰ ਲੋਕ ਨਾਥ ਜੀ ਪਾਸਿ ਆਈ ... .. ਬਾਰਹਿ ਸਿਕੰਧਾਂ ਵਿੱਚੋਂ ਦੋਇ ਸਿਕੰਧ ਲਿਖੇ। ਭਾਖਿਆ ਮੈਂ ਲਿਖਿਆ ... .. ਤਬ ਰਾਜੇ ਪੀਛਤ ਕਉ ਨਿਸਰੇ ਉਪਜੀ ਕਿ ਏਹੁ ਤਪਸੀ ਸੀ ਭਗਵਾਨ ਜੀ ਕੇ ਧਿਆਨ ਬਿਖੈ ਜੁੜ ਰਹਿਆ ਹੈ। ਪਰ ... ..

4. ਜੇ ਕੋਈ ਅੰਗ ਉਸਦਾ ਫੁਰੇ ਤਾਂ ਫੜ ਮਲੂਮ ਕਰੇ। ਜੇ ਸਿਰ ਫੁਰੇ ਵਿਚੋਂ ਤਾਂ ਰਾਜ ਪਾਵੇ। ਖਤਰੇ ਬਲਾਈਂ ਤੇ ਫਿਕਰ ਝੁਰਿ ਹੋਇ। ਤੇ ਦੌਲਤ ਤੇ ਮਰਾਤਬਾ ਉਸਨੇ ਹਾਸਤ ਹੋਵੇ ਤੇ ਧਨੁ ਪ੍ਰਾਪਤਿ ਹੋਇ। ਜੇ ਦਾਹਣੀ ਵਲਿ ਸਿਰ ਫੁਰੇ ਤਾਂ ਪੈਂਡਾ ਦੇਖੇ ਤੇ ਮੁਰਾਦ ਨੇ ਪਹੁਚੇ। ਜੇ ਬਾਂਢੀ ਵਲਿ ਸਿਰ ਫੁਰੇ ਤਾਂ ਬਖਤ ਖੁਲੇ ਤੇ ਮਰਾਤਬਾ ਪਾਵੇ ਤੇ ਨਿਆਮਤ ਪਾਵੇ। ਜੇ ਖੱਬਰਿ ਅੱਖਿ ਫੁਰੇ ਤਾਂ ਦਲਗੀਰ ਹੋਇ। ਜੇ ਖੱਬੀ ਅੱਖਿ ਦੀ ਤਲੇ ਦੀ ਪਲਕ ਫੁਰੇ ਤਾਂ ਖੁਸ਼ਾਲੀ ਦੇਖੇ ਤੇ ਐਸ਼ ਦੇਖ ਮੁਦੇ ਨੇ ਪਹੁਚੇ। ਜੇ ਸੱਜੀ ਅੱਖ ਦੀ ਪਿਪਣੀ ਫੁਰੇ ਤਾਂ ਬਹੁਤ ਖੇਦ ਹੋਹੁ। ਤੇ ਅਜਾਬੁ ਪਾਵੇ ਸੋਇ। ਪੰਜੇ ਸਭ ਅੰਗਲੀਆਂ ਖੱਬੇ ਪੈਰ ਦੀਆਂ ਫੁਰਨਿ ਤਾਂ ਦੁਖ ਤ ਫੁਟੈ ਤੇ ਤਾਲਿਆਹ ਖੁਲਨਿ।

An intermediate style was also struck which has finally given us our modern Panjabi prose style, purged of any Hindi or Urdu verb-forms, plural-formations, prepositions like

ਤਾ ਹੈ, ਕਾ, ਮੈਂ, ਮਾਹੀਂ, ਭਇਆ, ਤਾ, ਬਿਖੇ.

Of the more considerable prose-writers and works are :—

1. Mani Singh (d. 1737), Gian Ratnavali or Janam Sakhi of Nanak, published, and Bhagat Ratnavali.
2. Aprokhanubhau, translation of Sankracharya's Aprokhshanubhava, P.U.L. MS. No. 527.
3. Bhagavat, 10th Chapter, P.U.L. MS. No. 6464, copied out in 1772 A.D.
4. Bhagavat Gita by Nihal Chand *alias* Krishan Darshan, P.U.L. MS. No. 4609, (Urdu Script), copied out by Ram Sahae, son of Dilaram of Bhera, in 1166 A. H.
5. A Translation of Bhagavad Gita, and its Mahatam, illustrated, P.U.L. MS. No. 182.
6. Bibek, P.U.L. MS. No. 6016.
7. The Stories of Raja Bikram, Bharthari and Mainanvati, P.U.L. MS. No. 4683.
8. Biographies of the Prophet of Islam (50 Maslas or episodes), of Kabir and of Ravidas, P.P.L. MS. No. 193.
9. Gita Mahatam (first eleven chapter), P.U.L. MS. No. 432.
10. Lav Kush Sanbad or a dialogue between Lav and Kush, sons of Rama Chandra, P.U.L. MS. No. 4688.
11. Pakki Roti, published at the Sultani Press, Lahore, 1870.
12. Prem Sumarag, prose attributed to Gura Gobind Singh, P.P.L. MS. No. 198
13. Sakhian of or by Addan, published.
14. Sakhian or Parchian, P.U.L. MSS. Nos. 821, 1963 and 6463. The first MS was copied out in 1801 A.D.
15. Sakhis from the collections by Sukha Singh, Gurbaksh Singh, Baba Kirpa Dial Singh, P.P.L. MSS. Nos. 23 and 237.
16. The (Arths) Commentary of Siddh Gosht, P.U.L. MS. No. 4248, copied out in 1787 A.D.
17. Singhasan Batisi or Batis Putlian, P.U.L. MS. No. 432.
18. A few Upanishads (Narian, Maitre, Jagvalak, etc.) P.U.L. MS. No. 1355, No. 1383 and No. 932.
19. Bishan Puran, Vedant Prakaran, Prasor-Maitre Sanbad, P.U.L. MS. No. 4667P copied out in 1801 A.D. ; also No. 822.
20. Stories from Yog Vashisht, Nirban Prakaran, P.U.L. MS. No. 4246.
21. Yog Vashisht, Nirban Prakaran, P.U.L. MS. No. 909, copied out in 1772.

Bhai Mani Singh is one of our greatest prose-writers and scholiasts as much for the quality as the quantity of his work. His was a typically mediæval encyclopædic mind and culture. The amount of religious doctrinal and mythological information contained in his Janam Sakhi of Nanak which is an exegesis on *Var* I of Bhai Gurdas, another man of all-inclusive culture, and of biographical data in his Bhagat Ratnavali, which is an account of the lives of various persons healed and saved and inspired by the first five Gurus, an annotation, again, of *Var* XI of Bhai Gurdas, is simply staggeringly large and varied. His style like his substance in the former was deliberately rendered composite to display his many-sided scholarship. No early MS. copy could be obtained of the Janam Sakhi, on the exact bulk and original matter of which we are unable to pronounce. But if the present size and substance are not very far removed from the genuine production, then we cannot but

rank Mani Singh very high among the foremost Indian Scholars of Comparative Religion whose knowledge of Persian, Sanskrit, and Sikh lore is found so very beautifully transmuted into a dignified prose commentary the undertones of personal realization in which, with the light of their sincerity, illumine the darkest problems of life. The simplicity and fluency of lines weighted with dense thought is nothing short of magic; closeness to native idiom and common phraseology have saved this blessing for the man-in-the-street from being turned into a curse, a thing which, otherwise, with a pre-occupation for literary classicism, it would easily have become in the hands of such a thorough scholar.<sup>10</sup> P.P.L. MS. No. 217 is a copy of this work made out in 1883 A.D. It differs from the printed version, e.g., of Munshi Gulab Singh, Lahore.

The next notable production is *Singhasan Batisi*, admirable for its colloquial ease, narrative condensation and translative charm which make it read like an original work. A third prose work from which we quote below to show how far in literature, in consonance with changes in life, Muslim and Hindu thought had blended and been warmed up by the third agent substance, Sikhism, is "*Bibek*." A happy marriage between the foreign and indigenous elements in cultural thought and in literary form had come about, Karma, Bhakti, Gyana, Vedanta, Yoga and Sufism, Lahndi and Braji are seen supping at the same table very amicably and understandingly. The work samples higher thought in the Panjab at the end of the eighteenth century.

ਫੇਰ ਸਾਖਸ਼ਾਤਕਾਰ ਕਾ ਰੂਪ ਹੋਤਾ ਹੈ । ਜੈਸੇ ਕੀੜੀ ਭਿੰਗੀ ਕਾ ਰੂਪ ਹੋਤੀ ਹੈ । ਜੈਸੇ ਦੀਵੇ ਸਾਥ ਜਾਗਿਆ ਦੀਵਾ ਵਾਹੀ ਰੂਪ ਹੋ ਜਾਤਾ ਹੈ । ਤੈਸੇ ਗੁਰੂ ਜੋ ਹੈਨ ਬ੍ਰਹਮ ਰੂਪ ਸੋ ਆਪਣੇ ਜੋਹਾ ਬ੍ਰਹਮ ਰੂਪ ਕਰ ਲੇਤੇ ਹੈਂ । ਕਹੁ ਨਾਨਕ ਗੁਰ ਤੇ ਗੁਰ ਹੁਆ । ਜਿਨ ਜਾਤਾ ਸੋ ਤਿਸ ਹੀ ਜੋਹਾ । ਸਾਸਤ੍ਰ ਬੇਦ ਗ੍ਰੰਥ ਕੇ ਚਾਰ ਪ੍ਰਕਾਰ ਕੇ ਬਚਨ ਹੈਨ । ਬੈਰਾਗ, ਭਿਆਨਕ, ਰੋਚਕ ਜਥਾਰਥ । ਏ ਚਾਰੇ ਮਜਲਾਂ ਹੈਨ । ਸਰਾ ਸਰੀਅਤਿ, ਹਕੀਕਤਿ, ਤਰੀਕਤ, ਮਾਰਫਤ । ਏ ਚਾਰ ਮੁਸਲਮਾਨੋ ਕੀਆਂ ਮਜਲਾਂ ਹੈਨ । ਕਰਮ ਕਾਂਡ, ਉਪਾਸਨਾ ਕਾਂਡ, ਗਿਆਨ ਕਾਂਡ । ਏ ਤਿੰਨ ਕਾਂਡ ਹੈਨ । ਮੇਦ ਜਗਿਆਸੀ ਕੋ ਕਰਮੋਂ ਕਾ ਅਧਕਾਰ ਹੈ । ਮੱਧਮ ਕੋ ਉਪਾਸਨਾ ਉਪਦੇਸ ਹੈ । ਉਤਮ ਕ ਗਿਆਨ ਕਾ ਉਪਦੇਸ ਹੈ । ਜੈਸੇ ਬਾਲਕ ਕੇ ਪਿੱਤੋਂ ਕਾ ਦੁਖ ਹੋਤਾ ਹੈ । ਮਾਤਾ ਕਹਤੀ ਹੈ ਹੋ ਪੁਤ੍ਰ ਨਿੰਮ ਪੀ ਲੈ, ਫੇਰ ਤੁਮ ਕਉ ਲੱਭੁ ਦੇਉਂਗੀ । ਤੈਸੇ ਵੇਦਾਂ ਨੇ ਸਵਰਗ ਲੱਭੁ ਦਿਖਲਾਏ ਹੈਨ । ਫਿਰ ਬੇਦ ਕਹਿਤਾ ਹੈ ਇੰਦ੍ਰ ਲੋਕ ਬਿਸਨ ਲੋਕ ਸਿਵ ਲੋਕ ਸਭ ਦੁਖ ਰੂਪ ਕਹੇ ਹੈਨ । ਸੁਖ ਰੂਪ ਆਤਮਾ ਹੀ ਹੈ । ਅਉਰ ਸੁਖ ਕਹਾ ਹੈ । ਉਤਮ ਜਗਿਆਸੀਅਉ ਕੋ ਅਉਰ ਕਰਨਾ ਕਛੁ ਨਾਹੀ । ਸਤ ਸਾਸਤ੍ਰ ਕਾ ਵਿਚਾਰਨਾ ਸੁਫਨ ਕਰਨਾ । ਗੁਰਾਂ ਕਾ ਸੰਗੁ ਕਰਨਾ । ਆਪਣਾ ਅਭਿਆਸ ਕਰਨਾ । ਏ ਤੀਨ ਵਾਰਤਾ ਕਰ ਸਤਾਬੀ ਹੀ ਮੁਕਤ ਹੋਤਾ ਹੈ । ਹੋਇਕੇ ਜੀਵਣ ਮੁਕਤਿ ਹੋਵੇ । ਸੰਪੂਰਣ ਆਪਣਾ ਭਜਨ ਆਪ ਹੀ ਕਰਤਾ ਹੈ । ਸ੍ਰਾਸ ਸ੍ਰਾਸ ਹੋਤਾ ਹੈ । ਗੁਹਿਮੁਖਿ ਰੋਮ ਰੋਮ ਹਰਿ ਧਿਆਵੈ । ਇਸਕਾ ਨਾਮ ਅਜਪਾ ਜਾਪ ਹੈ । ਜੰਮਤਾ ਮਰਤਾ ਵੱਡਾ ਰੋਗ ਹੈ । ਗਿਆਨ ਦਾਰੂ ਹੈ । ਗੁਰ ਬੇਦ ਹੈਨ । ਐਸੇ ਗੁਰਾ ਕੋ ਮਿਲੇ ਜਨਮ ਮਰਣ ਕਾ ਦੁਖ ਨਿਵਰਤ ਕਰੈ । ਐਸੇ ਨਿਰਭੈ ਹੋਇਕੇ ਜੀਵਨ ਮੁਕਤਿ ਹੋਵੈ ॥

The collected biographical episodes of the Holy Prophet, Kabir and Ravidas (P. P. L. MS. No 193), only the Kabir portion of which has seen the light of the day, carry on the tradition of the *Janam Sakhis* of the 16th and 17 centuries, e.g., that of Nanak, P.U.L. MS. No. 4141, copied out in 1701, very effectively in Lahndi intermixed here and there with Braji verb-forms and prepositions and plural nouns. In language, style, and substance they are full of echoes of the prototypes mentioned. Their episodic character has made them fascinating in their subject-matter; noble in treatment and interesting for the theories adumbrated and illustrative of a unique type of psychological history-writing, their circum-ambient air stimulates interest in biography and religion as no amount of bare history and dry textual elucidation can do. There are not many solid blocks of historical matter in them, nor is the prose commentary of verse very close to the original; and yet the skill and subtlety with which the presentation has been performed claim our sincere admiration. In parting with them in prose and with the Bani of the Bhagats in verse we are taking leave of the

<sup>10</sup>It must be recorded that doubt has been cast on the genuineness of Mani Singh's authorship of the *Janam Sakhi*.

best in Indian Medievalism as reflected in Panjabi life and letters. Muhammad, on whom be peace, is storied here as an incarnation of Sri Krishna, as Hazrat Ali of Narada, and Kabir and Ravidas are offered all the homage Nanak had till then claimed by way of doctrinal and moral victories over Chatur Das and Shiv Nabh and Gorakhnath and the then ruling king and many another celebrity. The instrument of narrative prose has by now been burnished up to emit a quiet glow and sharpened enough to plunge quick.

The stock-taking of the present period shows that we have had only a few major stars, but numerous constellations of smaller stars whose aggregate light with only two hues—the romantic and the lyric—did a deal to cool the fevered brain of a fevered age. Regularized rhythms, measured lines, small stanzas, conventional execution, common erotic thought in easy forms of poetry, and with one exception, non-descript narrative prose and a cross-bred style on one side and cessation of Shabad-writing in Rags on the other, have characterized the literary output. History in the true sense has just emerged in striking episodes though legendary accretions still weigh its worth down. Urdu and Braji literatures, the evil geniuses of Panjabi, have touched Panjabi with their infectious conventional eroticism and prosodical excellence. Multani in Persian metres and Lahouri or Panjab Hindwi in Braji metres appear through increased education and inter-provincial contacts, and through translations and transliterations done in increasing proportion. The transliterations are mainly lyrical and prosodical. We had in MS. (P. U. L.) the following about the beginning of the nineteenth century:

Anekarathi	of Nand Das	...	No. 558
Ashṭabakar Gita	...	...	No. 839
Bishan Sahansar Nam	...	...	No. 908
Budh Prakash Darpan	...	...	No. 826
Chhand Ratnavali of Hari Ram Das, and Sangit Sar	...	...	No. 1354
Git Gobind of Jai Dev	...	...	No. 699
Ishq Chaman of Nagri Das	...	...	No. 4247
Kantuhā Sankiran	...	...	No. 549
Kok Sar Manjari of Nand	...	...	No. 548
Man Manjari	...	...	No. 558
Prasang Mala	...	...	No. 548
Rag Mala	...	...	No. 422
Ram Charit Manas of Tulsi Das	...	...	No. 6383
Ramain of Surdas	...	...	No. 699
Ramain and a few Shabads of Sur Das	...	...	Nos. 699 and 4684
Rup Dip Pingal	...	...	No. 548
Sat Sai of Bihari	...	...	No. 540
Sat Sai of Brinda	...	...	No. 4478
Sundar Shingar and Adbhut Granth of Sundar Das	...	...	No. 4680
Ut Kanth Madhuri	...	...	No. 4247

If the Muslim masses were instructed in detail through Fiqh,<sup>11</sup> the Sikh masses had their Raiht Namas in plenty, *e. g.*, those going under the name of Nand Lal, P. U. L. MS. No. 6463, and of Chopra Singh or Sarup Chand (pp. 163 and 175 of Khalsa Dharam Shastar, published) and several others (*Vide* P. P. L. MSS. Nos. 232, 233 and 237) and the Gur Stutis and Mahima Sudhasar (in praise of the Gurus and of the Pool of Immortality or the city of Amritsar), P. U. L. MSS. No. 6463 and No. 374.

<sup>11</sup> As an instance of the sort of detailed, religious instruction that was being purveyed to the Muslim masses through short poems on Fiqh put in the form of questions asked and answered, catechistical wisdom in a pithy style with suitable Persian technical, and native connective vocabulary, we should turn to *Roshan Dil* by Fard Faqir. (*Vide* P.U.L. MS. 4226.)

# CHAPTER VII.

## THE AGE OF RANJIT SINGH.

Very interesting for unparalleled before, were the political and social features of the Age of Ranjit Singh. Far more so was their reflex in literature. It was a brief period 1. Of Military ascendancy, 2. Of social rapprochement, 3. Of the continued domination of Persian as the State language, 4. Of the re-emergence of Lahore as the Metropolis and of the establishment of Amritsar as the Sikh literary centre, 5. Of liberal Government patronage to men of arts and letters, 6. Of conflict with the British and its sequel, and 7. Of increased inter-provincial communications. Alongside these factors there were a few purely literary tendencies at work in literature. A. The Nirmalas as a class found Amritsar, Anandpur, Gujrat, Sialkot, Rawalpindi, Patiala, Bhatinda, peaceful enough for intensive literary activity both in religion and in history, such as would present the past in flamboyant, Rembrandtesque colours. B. The Panjabi authors were aware of the rising tide of popularity of the Urdu Ghazal and the Masnavi; they wanted to bottle Panjabi in Persian metres. This effort was as old as the earliest settlement of the Muslims in India, and in this ambition were to be found the germs of what later was metamorphosed into Urdu. In the present period a larger quantity of such verse was turned out. MS. No. 4242. P. U. L. is a very engaging and instructive specimen. In the following extracts we are to mark the Panjabi phoneticizing process as well as the erection of the superstructure of Persian upon the Sind Sagari base. The license available as birthright to Panjabi when applied to Urdu, presents to us a very amusing phenomenon. Here in this type by Phanesari we have not Urdu (or Harianvi, Ahiranvi) as Mr. Shairani asserts (*Panjab men Urdu*), but the precursor and the parent of Urdu. It is the direct descendant of the Nasihat Nama in verso by Guru Nanak and the brother of Abdul Hakim's Yusuf-Zulaikha of this period.

اول تشریف سوہ مصطفیٰ کو - کہ جنکی صفت میں پایا خدا کو  
کہ جسکی شان میں قرآن ساچے - چتر او لاک کا سو پہ ہواچے  
غلامی چار یاروں کی قبر لو - خراجِ رخص کے چہنگرے کو بہو لو  
کئی پڑھتے متجھے جب دین اٹھی - رے ہی چاندی متجھ دل کو شادی  
نہ تھی وہ رات بدکہ شب قدر تھی - نہ ہی وہ چاندنی نور چاند نہی  
جو کجہ اوس رات دل لبت سے پر نہا - کہوں کیا اے میاں گنگے کو کر تھا  
کیا اوزن پاس پرچھا یوں میں سب سے - کھڑے ہو دست بستہ کہوں ادب سے  
دہ ہیگا کون اس جاگہ نا والی - کہ یہ نس کے لئے میدان خالی  
ایہاں پیغمبروںکا ہے اتارا - ملائک اور حوریں کا اکھاڑہ  
ادب سے جا کے نو گوشے کھوا ہو - ندی چنی کا اکر دیدار چاہو  
لگے اوترون ملائیک آسمان سے - فرشتے یک بیک اپنے مکان سے  
خدانے از فلک مسجد اوتاری - وہ کرنے کے لئے اپنی سواری  
پکو کر ہانہ میرا خوب مضبوط - لگا فرساونے اے مرد فرطوط  
نصیحت پر نصیحت کر سنائی - کہ اے تھانیسری کر کجہ کمائی  
اگر خواہش ہے مجلس مصطفیٰ کی - خدا کے دوست احمد متجھے کی  
اول دریا پہ جا کر خوب نہاڑے - نئی پوشاک اور خشبو لگاوے  
بتھیری نال میں لا ہو لوچ کیتی - سمج کر گھوت شربت کے سوپیتی  
لگا دل میں فکر کا ہی جو ہونے - لگا یہ شعر موتی سے پرونے  
رہ ہوجا رات دن پتھر کی چاہے - بہلا کوئی کہے پتھر میں کہا ہے  
اکٹھی فوج اوس پا لاکھ اُدھی - وہ اونکے زور پر کرتا ہے شادی

کہتے ہے یوں نہی کو پکڑ لیاوں - قسم ہے منجکو تب آنچ کھاوں  
 سپاہی حکم سن شاری کھاویں - اپن دی فرج میں بد کلاویں  
 کہا چاہتا ہے وہ تمسے لڑائی - کیا چاہتا ہے وہ تم پر چڑھائی  
 نہ یہ سمجھا وہ بے ایمان مردرد - کہ ہزار اور جیت کا مالک ہے مہرود  
 خدا تمکو تماشا کیا دکھاوے - تمارا دین جک اندر ووہاوے  
 یہ قصہ سڈکے حضرت نے چھوایا - کسی پاس بھیت اسکا نا جتایا  
 لگے دیکھن نہی جی آسمان کو - کہ ہیں نوں آسرا ہم بے کساں کو  
 کہ جیسا وار کرنا تھا نہی پر - کہ ہوئی وہ خشک بانہہ اوپر ہی اوپر  
 ارے ساحر تو کیا جادو چلایا - ہمارے ہاتھ کو اوپر سکایا  
 لگے پھر اپ نرمانی سے بولن - لگے ہیرے جواہر لعل توان  
 جوہے اس بیچ قبرستان ہزاراں - ہزاروں برس کے پھوٹے مزاراں  
 یہ سنکر آپ نے آواز ماری - نہیں مالک کو انڈی بات بہاری  
 نہی نے ایلے مالک کو منایا - دکھیں توں آبرو مہدی خدایا  
 لئی اوس گور سے مائی انہا کو - وہ مائی بھی ہوا میں دی ارڈا کر  
 ہوا وہ نرت پھل کھانے کے لایق - سنوں یاروں اچنھے کی حکایت  
 نہ تھی کچھہ کار دنیا کی سے منحرم - ملک چھے سات برسوں سے بھی سی کم  
 وہ کھانے سبب سے ہوئی وہ حامل - ہوا پھر دردزہ کا اوسکو کاصل  
 ہوئیوں پیراں اوپر پیڑاں سوانی - لگی رونے دوهانی پر دوهانی  
 ارے کوئی میرے بابا کو لڑے - متجے اس درد کامل سے چھڈاوے  
 جو دیکھے کیا کہ وہ کفیا کواہی - نہایت درد ظالم سے سی زاری  
 سہو سے پیاری سی اوسکو وہ دختر - ہوا وہ دیکھے در حال اوسکا مضطر  
 ارے بابا میں پھرتی باغ - بھیتے - تماشا دیکھتی پھرتی تھی خوشتر  
 وہ جمتے ہی بترھا قداوسکا ایسا - بھلا شاید جواں ہوتا ہے جیسا  
 یہ اچوج دیکھے سب نے قل مچھایا - کہ ایسا مستحور دیکھن میں نہ آیا  
 جو دیکھے سانوری کیا مستحور عالی - پکڑ قدمونکر کھاویں گوشمالی

The fatal fascination of Urdu metres for the Panjabi authors has a correspondence in the equally powerful charm of Lahndi for the Urdu poets. Sauda's *Hajv* and *Marsiya* and Zafar's *Marsiya* are three out of over a dozen examples. During the whole of the nineteenth century our poets continued to add *Rekhtas* to their credit without bothering themselves much about the progress that *Rekhta* had made elsewhere since the time of Khusro and Vali. C. A. third tendency was the attraction about Braji Krishnaite poetry which acted on the Muslim poets of Panjabi and stimulated them to write descriptions of the personal beauty of the Holy Prophet and of their individual love for him, in the style and vocabulary of the Hindu Vaishnavites. An excellent illustrative *Sarapa* by Nasira will be found in P.U.L. MS. No. 459. D. The fourth and last influence was that of inflated Middle High Urdu prose on Panjabi prose which rolled itself into a queer shape in the hands of Lahndi chroniclers and Braji translators.

The net result of the political, social, religious and literary forces may be summed up thus. 1. Extensive military vocabulary was added to the Panjabi stores. 2. The Hindus and the Sikhs took up for treatment Muslim legendary and historical themes and the Muslims occupied themselves with the celebration in song of Hindu and Sikh stories and events. They all began to sing of a culture and an attitude which should and could rise above sectional, feudal, communal and credal interests. 3. Even after about seven centuries when the Panjab had once again become a sovereign state, Panjabi could not avail of its first real chance of becoming the state language; this seriously handicapped its development. 4. The language of Lahore and Amritsar through cultural intermixture and social polish began to emerge as the standard language, which reminds us of the fact that the earliest name of our language was *Lahauri* (*Vide, ante, page 7,*

Amir Khusro). 5. Several considerable and meritorious prose and poetical works can be traced to owe their birth to direct or indirect Court and Royal influence. 7. The battles of the Sikhs amongst themselves and with the British were made subjects for powerful ballads. 8. Translations and transliterations of Hindi and Urdu books began to circulate on the heels of original production, which in some cases have still to acquire fame in those non-Panjabi tongues and parts. 9. Valuable additions were made to literature by the Nirmalas in the form of original compositions, translations, transliterations and anthologies which were mostly carried out at Amritsar. Unfortunately, however, the preponderance of Braji in the poetical works (the prose is much more satisfactory) and their rabid exaggeration and over-colourization rendered repulsive much of the history then written. 10. Popular romantic legends having grown in number and in size appropriate the almost entire attention of the Muslim writers (and readers) who deal less in Sufism and Orthodox Islamic legal practice and more expend their talents on as many tales and metres as they can afford. 11. The beginnings of Christian literature and of the study by the non-Indian *Savants* of Panjabi Grammar were made about the close of this period.

The following authors and works of the period claim our consideration.

## POETRY

Author	Work	
Abdul Hakim	Yusuf Zulaikha 'Hindi'	
Ahmad Yar	Hatim Nama, Hir, Kamrup-Kamlata, Sassi Punnun, Rajbibi, Ranjit Nama, Zulaikha, etc.	P. U. L. No. 549, (Kamrup Kamlata).
Alakhkh Shah	Sassi Punnun	P. U. L. No. 2106.
Anonymous	Ekadashi Mahatam	
Bakhsh Faqir	Fiqh	P. U. L. No. 4243.
Balmukand	Vishva Vinod	P. U. L. No. 454.
Basant Singh	Basant Sayya, etc.	P. P. L. No. 371.
Charan Singh		do. 699.
Dial Singh	Si Harfi	do. 1965.
Ganga Ram	Gopi Chand-Mainanvanti	do. do.
Ghulam	Dohras and Si Harfi	do. 459.
Ghulam Jilani Rohtaki	Chaupais in Qanun-i-Suluk	
Gopal Singh	Si Harfis. Manjaris, Baran Manh, etc.	do. 1965 and No. 4684.
Hardial	Vairag Shatak, Saruktavali and Bhagat Shastar	P. U. L. No. 4631 and P. P. L. No. 254.
Hasham	Dohras, Var, Sassi, Sohni, etc.	P. U. L. No. 914 (Sohni).
Ilahi Baksh	Nur Nama	P. U. L. No. 4233.
Imam Baksh	Baihran Gor and Chandar Badan	
Jaimal	Kabits	B. S. 2.
Jati	Nidan Gang	
Kapur Chand	Kabit	B. S. 2.
Khushal	Kafi	B. S. 1.
Megh Singh		
Mihr Singh (son of Kesar Singh)	Baran Manhs, Si Harfis, Qissa Chandar Bhaga, 1846	P. U. L. Nos. 540, 549, and 918

Miran	Dohras	B. S. I.
Muhammad Muslim	Ajaib-ul-Qisas	
Mushtaq Rae	Hingal Puran	P. U. L. No. 1356.
Nasira Fazil Shahi	Sarapa in Si Harfi	P. U. L. No. 459.
Nihala	Sakhi Sarvar	
Nishchal Das	Vichar Sagar	
Pir Mohd.	Chatththian Di Var	
Qadir Yar	Si Harfis Puran Bhagat, Mihraj Nama, Sohni Mahinval, Hari Singh Nalva, Raja Rasalu	P. U. L. No. 1965 (Puran)
Sain Das	Si Harfi	P. U. L. No. 1265.
Sant Das	Majhan	
Santokh Singh	Amarkosh, Guru Nanak Parkash, Ga- rab Ganjani Tika, Gur Pratap Surya Atam Puran, Valmiki Ramain	
Shah Muhammad	Baint	
Sukhkha Singh	Gur Bilas (1797)	P. P. L. No. 237.
Sultan Ahmad	Sassi Punnun	P. U. L. 541.
Sumer Singh	Gur Charitra Darpan	P. P. L. No. 234.
Taihl Singh I	Alankar Sudha Sagar	
Taihl Singh II	Si Harfi	B. S. 3.
Tej Bhan	Var Kans	B. S. 2.
	Bhagat Mal	A MS. with my father at Sayyid Kasran, Dt. Rawalpindi.
	Rup Basant	
	Sau Sakhi	P. P. L. No. 265.
	Topi Seli etc., miscellany	P. P. L. No. 250.
	PROSE	
Kishor Das	Bhagvad Gita with Mahatam	P. U. L. No. 542, copied out by Mihr Singh of Gujrat in 1843.
Nur Husain	Bhagvat Gita	P. U. L. No. 943.
Pratap Singh	Radha Gobind Sangit	P. P. L. No. 300.
Santokh Singh	Nanak Parkash, Sar Suraj Parkash	P. P. L. No. 215.
Anonymous	Akbar Nama and Adl-i-Akbari	P. P. L. MSS. Nos. 339 and 340.
Anonymous	Bible (1815), New Testament	
	Chronicles and Diaries	P. U. L. No. 407 and 408.
	Mahahbarat	P. U. No. 1964.
	Prayayi of the Adi Granth	P. U. L. No. 4250.
	Priya of Suraj Prakash	P. P. L. No.
	Salok Sahaskriti annotated	P. P. L. No. 249.
	Sarang Dhar	P. U. L. No. 4149.
	Sukhmani annotated	P. U. L. No.
	TRANSLITERATIONS	
	Bhup Bhukhan	P. U. L. No. 538.
	Kundlian	H. U. No. 3.
Devi Das	Jagat Binod	P. P. L. No. 104
Padmakar	Nau Nihal-Gulbadan	P. U. L. No. 409

We had now reached a point of time when the literary tradition had grown over 300 years old; its huge form and strength and popularity overwhelmed our writers who only played for safety and convenience: they were not original geniuses who dwell far from the madding crowd, bask in the sunshine of personal realization on the very highest peaks; but they did not yet lose themselves in the mob in the streets, though, on the other hand, the altitudes they resided at were not very high. They worked in imitation of the noble traditional structures and worked with the material and the moulds hallowed by age. They remembered that they belonged to the masses whom they could not pretend to teach and lift but only to please and amuse; in addition they had to win the applause of a new section, their patrons. They decided to prove their excellence in competition with other poets by treating in verse as many romances and composing in as many poetical forms as possible for their talents. With quite a number of average talents to choose from, the task of the critic becomes difficult. The unexploited fields of prose, however, provided enough play for original talent. Here new sources were tapped like the diary, the treatise on political wisdom, and history proper. Works on medicine, music and theology proper multiplied.

Hasham,<sup>1</sup> a Court poet of Maharaja Ranjit Singh is the best lyricist of the period and on the strength of his 208 Dohras claims to be our Omar Khayyam. Proceeding on the published version, no MS. being available, we support his claim for his gentle austerity and tender gravity in phrasing, his simple-seeming subtlety, his dexterous variation of the musical effects. If we listen attentively we can perceive in him the abandon, the rapture, the delicacy, the subdued melancholy of Omar. His Palladian diction, his subdued and sometimes remotely-set rhymes and assonances, his artistry smoothly practised with common Persian, Lahudi and Hindi words rich in associations, finally dispel all doubts about the justice of his claim. His other poetical works do not much add to the distinction won him by his supremely lyrical Dohras.

Composing not far below Hasham's level is Ahmad Yar whose picturization with an inexhaustible store of native idiom and imagery, and Persian vocabulary, is carried out with a strength which at once marks him out as a giant among pigmies but, alas! his lack of originality in theme has doomed him for ever to association with the very pigmies he ambited to tower above by the sheer quantity of his output. A most prolific writer, his vice of imitativeness is, however, palliated sufficiently for us by the numerousness of purple passages in him, the commanding virtue of which is their deep, passionate colouring and native blended perfume. A dictionary of the purest, most expressive and pregnant Lahudi idioms could be adequately prepared from his works. We may, in illustration, refer to pp. 4, 8, 80, 89, 97, 108, 109, 115, 129 and 130 of his *Hir-Ranjha*, Urdu Script, 1928. How precise in details is his portrayal of the psychology of the Jat men and women. All his other works bear the imprint of his pictorial imagination and his nervous execution.

The best thought of the time in urbane language and style is sampled by Gopal Singh and Sant Das who justify their 'succession to the great saints of the past. Such thoughts were, however, soon to become, like the Sufistic and Ethical ragout of Urdu poetry, as so many counters with which the poets played at petty games, in the absence of hard cash in their pockets. The independence of outlook of both is praiseworthy.

[From P. U. L. MS. No. 1965:]

<sup>1</sup>Dohre Hasham Shah or Darya-e-Haqiqat, Allah Vale ki Qaumi Dukan, Kashmiri Bazar, Lahore.

ਹੋ ਹਿੰਦਗੀ ਤੇ ਮੁਸਲਮਾਨਗੀ ਦੇ ਸਿਰ ਦੋਹਾਂ ਦੇ ਖੋਜੜੇ ਮਾਰਨੇ ਹਾਂ ।  
 ਦੋਹਾਂ ਹਦਾਂ ਨੂੰ ਰੱਦ ਬਿਹਦ ਹੋਏ ਬਾਕੀ ਸੱਚਦਾਨੰਦ ਨਿਹਾਰਨੇ ਹਾਂ ।  
 ਜੱਗ ਕੂੜ ਦੀ ਰਹੀ ਨ ਧੂੜ ਯਾਰੋ ਕਰ ਉਰੀਆਂ ਬਾਹਾਂ ਪੁਕਾਰਨੇ ਹਾਂ ।  
 ਆਪ ਉੱਤਰੇ ਪਾਰ ਗੁਪਾਲ ਸਿੰਘਾ ਗਰਜਵੰਦ ਨੂੰ ਪਾਰ ਉਤਾਰਨੇ ਹਾਂ ।

ਰੇ ਰੱਬ ਨੇ ਆਪ ਸਬਬ ਲਾਇਆ ਝਬ ਆਨ ਮਿਲਾਇਆ ਸੁ ਯਾਰ ਮੈਨੂੰ ।  
 ਅਗੇ ਦੇਖ ਕੇ ਸਭ ਸੁਹਾਗਣਾਂ ਨੂੰ ਪਾਸ ਆਂਵਈ ਸੀ ਪਈ ਖਾਰ ਮੈਨੂੰ ।  
 ਛੱਲਾ ਕੱਚ ਦਾ ਹੱਥ ਨ ਭਾਂਵਦਾ ਸੀ ਹੁਣ ਸੋਂਹਦੇ ਹਾਰ ਸਿੰਗਾਰ ਮੈਨੂੰ ।  
 ਗਲ ਯਾਰ ਦੇ ਲੱਗ ਗੁਪਾਲ ਸਿੰਘਾ ਹੋਇ ਰਹੀ ਹੈ ਕੁਲ ਬਹਾਰ ਮੈਨੂੰ ।

ਸੀਨ ਸਮਝ ਲੀਤਾ ਡਲੀ ਡਾਂਤ ਸਈਓ ਜਗ ਦੁਖ ਸਰੂਪ ਨ ਭੁੱਲਨੇ ਹਾਂ ।  
 ਗੁਰਾਂ ਰਖ ਲੀਤਾ ਡਲੇ ਵਖਤ ਸਾਨੂੰ ਫੁਲ ਵਾਂਗ ਗੁਲਾਬ ਦੇ ਫੁੱਲਨੇ ਹਾਂ ।  
 ਅਗੇ ਕੱਖ ਸੀ ਕਮ ਨਿਕੰਮ ਅਸੀ ਹੁਣ ਨਾਲ ਫੁੱਲਾਂ ਪਏ ਤੁੱਲਨੇ ਹਾਂ ।  
 ਜੋਹੜਾ ਕੁੱਲ ਦਾ ਸਾਰ ਗੁਪਾਲ ਸਿੰਘਾ ਵਿੱਚ ਓਸ ਹਿੰਡੋਲੇ ਦੇ ਖੁੱਲਨੇ ਹਾਂ ।

ਸੰਤ ਦਾਸ ਇਹ ਜੀਵਣ ਚਾਹੇ ਇਕ ਦਿਨ ਸਰਪਰ ਮਰਣਾ ।  
 ਖੁਦੀ ਛੋੜ ਤੇ ਪਕੜ ਹਲੀਮੀ ਡਉ ਸਾਹਿਬ ਦੇ ਡਰਣਾ ।  
 ਅੰਤ ਕਾਲ ਤੇਰਾ ਕੋਇ ਨ ਬੋਲੀ ਅਗੇ ਡਉਜਲ ਤਰਣਾ  
 ਸੰਤ ਦਾਸ ਤੇਰਾ ਨਾਮ ਸਹਾਈ ਉਧਰੇ ਗੁਰ ਕੀ ਸਰਣਾ ।

ਇਕ ਅਨਭਿਠਿਆ ਨੂੰ ਦੋਵਨ ਬਦੀਆਂ ਇਕ ਡਿੱਠੇ ਔਕ ਛਪਾਵਨ ।  
 ਇਕ ਚੁਗਲੀ ਬਦੀ ਨਿਤ ਕਰਨ ਪਤਾਈ ਇਕ ਘੜ ਘੜਿਰ ਲੂਤੀ ਲਾਵਨ ।  
 ਇਕ ਕਿਸੇ ਨੂੰ ਰਿੰਜ ਨਾ ਕਰਦੇ ਇਕ ਸੈ ਸੈ ਜੀਉ ਖਪਾਵਨ ।  
 ਸੰਤ ਦਾਸ ਬਿਦਰਦਾਂ ਬੋਂ ਡਰੀਏ ਜੋਹੜੇ ਕੁਠਿਆਂ ਨੂੰ ਫੇਰ ਕੁਹਾਵਨ ।

ਰਿਜਕੇ ਜੋਭ ਨ ਜਾਲਮ ਕੋਈ ਸੈ ਠੋੜਾਂ ਡਰਮਾਵੇ ।  
 ਡਿਠੀ ਸੁਣੀ ਨ ਜਾਗਾ ਹੋਵੇ ਰਿਜਕ ਤਿਥੈ ਲੈ ਜਾਵੇ ।  
 ਜਿਥੈ ਦਾਣਾ ਪਾਣੀ ਰਲਿਆ ਹੋਵੇ ਤਿਥੈ ਜਾਇ ਚੁਗਾਵੇ ।  
 ਸੰਤ ਦਾਸ ਇਸ ਦਾ ਕਿਆ ਚਾਰਾ ਰਿਜਕ ਮੁਥਾਜ ਕਰਾਵੇ ।

ਅਖੀ ਰੰਗ ਰੰਗੀ ਵਿਚ ਕਰਦਾ ਹਿੰਦੇ ਪ੍ਰੇਮ ਖੁਮਾਰੀ ।  
 ਜਿਸਦੀ ਕੈਫ ਨ ਉਤਤੇ ਕਦਹੀ ਸਦਾ ਰਹੈ ਮਤਵਾਰੀ ।  
 ਪਸਤ ਡੰਗ ਸ਼ਰਾਬਾਂ ਨਾਲੋਂ ਪ੍ਰੇਮ ਪਿਆਲਾ ਡਾਰੀ ।  
 ਸੰਤ ਦਾਸ ਜਾਂ ਦਿਲਬਰ ਮਿਲਿਆ ਤਿਸ ਦਿਨ ਤੋਂ ਬਲਿਹਾਰੀ ।

ਮੁਖ ਤੇ ਆਖਣ ਇਸਕ ਸੁਖਾਲਾ ਸੇ ਜਾਣਨ ਜਿਨੀ ਕਮਾਇਆ ।  
 ਆਠ ਪਹਰ ਚਿਣਗਾਰੀ ਧੁਖਦੀ ਜਿਉ ਸੀਖ ਕਬਾਬ ਚੜਾਇਆ ।  
 ਬਲ ਬਲ ਢਾਢ ਬਲੈ ਤਨ ਅੰਦਰ ਆਹੀਂ ਜੀਉ ਜਲਾਇਆ ।  
 ਸੰਤ ਦਾਸ ਇਹੁ ਇਸਕ ਹਨੇਰੀ ਜਿਉਂ ਫਟੀ ਲੂਣ ਲਗਾਇਆ ।

Dial Singh and <sup>1</sup>Mihr Singh are other minor lyricists of note. The Chaupais of Ghulam Jilani are interesting for their admixture of Panjabi and Vernacular Hindustani, and for their incorporation of several popular idioms.

Of the works of the intellectualists Nischal Das's *Vichar Sagar* and Har Dial's *Saruktavali* have become Panjabi classics of the Vedanta; their language is the traditional mixture of Panjabi, Braji and Awadhi. Among the romancists Qadir Yar for his first-known treatment of the Hindu legend of Puran Bhagat has become much noted while Abdul Hakim for the Persianized style and diction and Multani vocabulary of his *Yusuf-Zulaikha* (1218 A. H.) has justly received considerable continued attention. The latter should be compared with Thanesari to develop further the theory of the rise of Urdu and to prosecute in detail the study of Panjabi phonetics and of the result of the use of Persian metres in Panjabi poetry.

Of histories and biographies of consequence are Shah Muhammad's *Baints* narrating the battle between the Sikhs and the British in pure Panjabi, Sukkha Singh's *Gur Bilas* chronicling the doings of the tenth Sikh Guru in mixed Panjabi and Braji, and the *Bhagat Mal*, an amplified account of the lives of famous classical Hindu saints in mixed Hindwi and Panjabi. Taihl Singh's *Alankar Sudha Sagar* dealing with Panjabi prosody with original illustrations is remarkable for its perfect control of poetic technique.

The most voluminous, facile and comprehensive poet-historian of the period was Santokh Singh; in quantity and facility he challenges Krishan Lal, the author of *Mahabharat*, in the last period. Santokh Singh's scholarship was as varied as stupendous; it was unscientific, however. No greater narrative poet has Panjabi seen, and in inexhaustibility of vocabulary, breadth of canvas, perfection of poetic technique, speed and condensation in narration, maintenance of a uniform level in diction and securing of the continuity of interest, in the plenitude of full-blooded descriptions, in the occasional outbursts of a sense of humour, in enormousness of output he can be placed on a level with the front-rank narrators of any other literature. His choice of Braji metres and his Sanskrit scholarship made the Hindi-ization of his vocabulary<sup>2</sup> inevitable. His *Gur Nanak Prakash*, *Gur Pratap Suray*, and *Atam Puran* will retain undying vogue among all students of Panjabi who love the manifestations of power in literature and who remember that having evolved mainly out of Vedic and Iranian, Panjabi

<sup>2</sup>Mihr Singh Chhibbar was the son of Seva Singh of Gujrat and grandson of Kesar Singh. A great poet himself and a worthy scion of a family of poets, he was, on account of his variegated literary taste, a very wise, wide-awake and comprehensive anthologist, also. To him history of Panjabi literature owes a deep debt. He brought together about 30 works, large and small, all of the front rank, and threw in his own compositions and those of his father and grand-father. These MSS. he presented to Bhai Ram Singh, the Pujari or High Priest of Akal Bunga, Amritsar. The copies in the P. U. L. are the original ones made out by Mihr Singh who displays good calligraphy.

<sup>3</sup>How Persian, Labndi, Hindwi and Lahauri are mingled and brought under the sway of Panjabi phonetics, grammar, syntax and poetical necessity will be very thoroughly exemplified by the following lines taken at random from his *Nanak Prakash*, 1882, Gulzar-i-Muhammadi Press, Lahore, page 246;—

ਤਿਹ ਕੀ ਸੁਨਤ ਰਹਯੋ ਮੈਂ ਬਾਨੀ । ਮੁਕਤ ਦਨਹਾਰੀ ਗੁਨਖਾਨੀ ।  
 ਅਸ ਕਹ ਪੁਨ ਤੁਕ ਦੀਨ ਬਤਾਈ । ਸੁਨਤ ਪੀਰ ਨੈ ਗਿਰਾ ਅਲਾਈ ।  
 ਸੁਨ ਕੈ ਸਿੰਦੀ ਗਯੋ ਬਹੋਰੀ । ਨਮੋ ਕਰੀ ਪ੍ਰਭ ਕੋ ਕਰ ਜੋਰੀ ।  
 ਠਾਠੋ ਡਯੋ ਦੀਨ ਮਨ ਹੋਯੋ । ਇਸ ਪ੍ਰਕਾਰ ਕੋ ਬਚਨ ਬੁਗੋਯੋ ।  
 ਮੇਠਾ ਪੀਰ ਸਦੇ'ਦਾ ਤੋ ਕੋ । ਬਾਤ ਬੁਢੇ'ਦਾ ਛੇਜਾ ਮੈ ਕੋ ।  
 ਵੱਤ ਘਿੰਨ ਮੈ ਆਯੋ ਧਾਈ । ਜੁਲ ਦਰਵੇਸ ਪੀਰ ਜਿਹ ਥਾਈ ।  
 ਸੁਨ ਕੈ ਗਮਨ ਕੀਨ ਤਿਨ ਸਾਥਾ । ਪਹੁਚੇ ਤਹਾ ਜਾਇ ਜਗ ਨਾਥਾ ।  
 ਲਈ ਦਸਤ ਪੋਸੀ ਉਨ ਪੀਰਾ । ਲੋਹ ਸਲਾਮਾਲਕ ਫਕੀਰਾ ।

cannot but draw in all its more serious and cultural endeavours and achievements, upon the Hindu and Muslim classical languages.

Of direct connection with Maharaja Ranjit Singh were an account of his father, Mahan Singh, by Hasham, a chronicle of his own exploits by Ahmd Yar, and of Hari Singh Nalva, a reputed General of the Maharaja's, by Qadir Yar. Among the miscellaneous works of literary merit are Basant Singh's Basant Sayya after the Sat Sais of Bihari and Vrinda, a collection of 700 Dohas mostly on love and ethical and political wisdom, Tara Singh's Braj Chandrika and Balmukand's Vishva Vinod on Ayurvedic medicines.

We have to note carefully the new additions made in this age to the stock of poetized romantic legends.

- |                    |                        |
|--------------------|------------------------|
| 1. Baihram Gor     | 2. Chandar Badan-Mear. |
| 3. Chandar Bhaga   | 4. Hatim Tai           |
| 5. Kamrup-Kamlata  | 6. Puran Bhagat-Lunan  |
| 7. Raj Bibi-Namdar | 8. Rasalu-Kokilan      |
| 9. Rup Basant      | 10. Sakhi Sarvar       |
| 11. Shirin-Farhad  | 12. Saif-ul-Muluk.     |

These romances carry on haltingly the literary tradition of Hamid.

'Ajaib-ul-Qisas in four parts, Gulzar-i-Adam, Gulzar-i-Musa, Gulzar-i-Sikandari and Gulzar-i-Muhammadi, by Mohd. Muslim is one of the bulkiest of our poetical works. It is the purest Lahndi, developing ideas, doctrines and episodes referred to in the Quran and other Muslim religious writings. Its over-saturation with Persian and Arabic vocabulary has as much justification for itself as, with Sanskrit vocabulary, have Panjabi expositions of Vedanta or Sikhism or Vaishnavism. Muslim was an encyclopaedist after the great Abdulla and Hafiz Barkhurdar I themselves and is a perpetual fount of delight for those who really and truly appreciate the free genius of Western Panjabi. Panjabi phonology, morphology and semantics should discover themselves fruitfully here in Muslim and in Santokh Singh rather than lose all their bearings in the barren study of paltry Ludhianavi patois tracts. 'Poetical works on the Ars Poetica and Political wisdom abound; being Braji-ridden, they fall outside our scope.

The most interesting of prose works is Faqir Nur Husain Sialkoti's translation of Bhagavad Gita from a Persian version of the original Sanskrit, made out during the reign of Mohd. Shah, Emperor of Delhi. Nur Husain was commissioned by Sardar Sahib General Matab Singh. Our interest centres round his vocabulary and style. Here is a cross between Lahndi and Khari Boli prose.

ਜਿਸ ਸ੍ਰੀ ਜਾਦਰਾਵਿ ਜੀ ਨੇ ਅਰਜਨਿ ਕੀ ਬੋਨਤੀ ਸਾਬ ਹਲੀਮੀ ਕੇ ਸ੍ਰਵਨਿ ਕਰੀ ਤਬਿ ਖੁਸ਼ਿ ਤਬਾ ਹੋ ਕਰਿ ਬਤਾਵਤਿ ਡਏ ਹੋ ਅਰਿਜਨਿ ਜੋ ਨਰਿ ਅਉਲਾਦ ਦਰਿਮਿਆਨ ਧਾਮ ਅਪਿਨੋ ਕੋ ਰਾਖਤ ਨਹੀਂ ਵਹ ਪੁਰਖ ਜੀਤੇ ਜੀ ਹੀ ਨਰਕ ਬਿਖੇ ਗਰਿਫਿਤਾਰ ਹੀ ਹੁਆ। ਉਸਿ ਨਰਿ ਕੀ ਜਿੰਦਗਾਨੀ ਜਹਾਨ ਸੋ ਬਰਿਬਾਦਿ ਹੀ ਹੈ। ਬਲਿਕਿ ਜੀਤੇ ਜੀ ਹੀ ਮ੍ਰਿਤਿਕਿ ਹੁਆ। ਹੋ ਅਰਿਜਨਿ ਉਸਿ ਪੁਰਖ ਕੋ ਕਿਛਿ ਜੀਨੋ ਕਾ ਫਾਇਦਾ ਨ ਡਾਇਆ। ਹੋ ਅਰਿਜਨਿ ਕੈਸਾ ਹੀ ਕਾਮ ਨੋਕ ਵਹੁ ਪੁਰਖ ਕਤੇਗਾ ਪਰਿ ਬੀਰ ਦਰਗਾਹਿ ਪਰਵਰਿਦਗਾਰ ਕਬੂਲਿਯੋਤਿ ਨ ਹੋਗਾ। ਜਿਬਿ ਅਰਿਜਨਿ ਨੇ ਬਾਤ ਚੀਤ ਸ੍ਰੀ ਕ੍ਰਿਸਨ ਕੀ ਸ੍ਰਵਨਿ ਕਰੀ ਤਬਿ ਬਾ ਅਦਬ ਹੋ ਕਰਿ ਸ੍ਰੀ ਕ੍ਰਿਸਨ ਜੀ ਮੇ ਸਵਾਲੀ ਹੁਆ। ਹੋ ਕ੍ਰਿਸਨ ਜੀ ਜੋ ਨਰਿ ਅਉਲਾਦ ਰਾਖਤ ਨਾਂ ਵਹ ਪੁਰਖ ਜੋ ਕਰਿ ਕਿਛਿ ਹਾਬਿ ਅਪਿਨੋ ਬੀ ਪੁੰਨਿ ਕਰੇ ਬੀਰ ਦਰਗਾਹਿ ਪਰਿਵਰਿਦਗਾਰ ਕੋ ਕਬੂਲਿਯੋਤਿ ਹੋਤਿ ਹੈ ਕਿ ਨਹੀਂ ਸੁਝੇ ਇਸ ਬਾਤਿ ਕੀ ਦੁਰਿਤਾਈ ਹੈ ਅਉਰ ਨਿਸ ਬਾਸਰਿ ਚੀਤਾ ਬਿਖੇ ਹੀ ਰਹਿਤਿ ਹੁੰ।

How amusing is this Olla Podrida of Urdu and Hindi and Panjabi!

\*First printed at Majma-ul-Bahrain Press, Ludhiana, 1280 A. H.

<sup>5</sup>Over 3 dozen such works in MS. are found in the P. P. L. Some of them are original compositions, others translations and commentaries and still others transliterations. MS. No. 48 ਬ, Kusum Batika, by Sahib Singh completed in 1853 contains a few Horis by Akhtar, Jan-i-Alam, the last Navvab of Lucknow, beside verses by Gual, etc.

ਅਰਿ ਅਪਿਨੇ ਮਨਿ ਬਿਖੇ ਬਿਸਿਆਰ ਸੋਚਿ ਕਰਿਤਾ ਰਹਿਤਾ ਹੂੰ ਪਰਿ ਮੋਤੇ ਖਿਆਲਿ ਬਿਖੇ ਕਿਛਿ ਫਹਿਮੀਦ ਆਵਤਿ ਨਹੀਂ । ਅਪਿਨੀ ਮਿਰਿਬਾਨੀ ਕਰਿ ਕੇ ਮੁਝੇ ਅਪਿਨਾ ਮਾਰਗ ਬਤਾਵੇ । ਜੇ ਮੈ ਬੀ ਅਪਿਨਾ ਸਾਂਈ ਪਛਾਨੇ । ਹੋ ਸੀ ਮਹਾਂਰਾਜ ਜੀ ਜੇ ਕਰਿ ਹਜ਼ੂਰ ਇਸਿ ਫਿਦਵੀ ਕੇ ਹਾਲਿ ਪਰਿ ਤਵ-ਜਿਹਾਤ ਕੀ ਨਜਰਿ ਕਰੇ ਤਉ ਕਿਛਿ ਗੁਲਾਮ ਪਰਿਵਰੀ ਬੀਂ ਬਈਦ ਨਹੀਂ । ਚਿਰਾ ਕਿ ਯਹਿ ਬੀਦਾ ਖਾਦਮ ਆਪ ਕਾ ਹੈ ।

But side by side with this blundering, fumbling, hobbling, jumbling prose are the perfect descriptions of Nanak Prakash Sar, narrations of *Adi-i-Akbari* and *Akbar Nama*, note-recordance of the *Chronicles* and *Diaries*, and reflections and exegetics of the prose dictionary-cum-annotation<sup>6</sup> of the whole of the *Adi Granth*. The prose of the *Panjabi Bible*, marred as it is by the slang, and brogue intonation of the *Ludhiana* peasantry, also deserves a place by the side of those four for its precision, transparency, ease and faithfulness. The tremendous labour of love and the well-assimilated scholarship which must have gone to the making of those four voluminous things which could look to no market for sale or patronage evoke our greatest gratitude. The renderings from *Abul Fazl* are literal and yet read like original work with their idiomaticalness and strikingness and grace of epithet. The interpretative clarity of the *Prayayi* of the *Adi Granth* simply takes away our breath. The *Diary* is not only first-rate history but consummate literary artistry; it is sculpture and miniature-painting in literature. The *Nanak Prakash Sar* and *Suraj Prakash* in the shape of miscellaneous expository and episodic jottings have a peculiarly delicious lucidity and leisureliness of style. *Kishor Das*, though still *Braji*-shackled, has become our most popular translator of *Gita*; the average *Hindu* woman does ever select him. *Pratap Singh* walks wearily and jauntily and only adds to our literary difficulties. The annotations of *Suraj Prakash*, *Sahaskriti* and *Sukhmani* need a bare mention.

The staple literature of the age is the prose of these painstaking, studious men who with all their mannerisms are never dull in original composition or in translations of the classics. The best prose is of *Prem Sumarag*, and of *Gita Sar* by *Gulab Das* whose complete poetical and prose work I have recently discovered. As a spiritual lyricist he excels even *Shah Husain* and *Sahib Jai Singh*, whose complete works, the only known copy, I have with me. The best and most voluminous ever prose of the Age of *Nanak* is to be found in *Mihrban's* omnibus biography of *Nanak*, still unpublished.

ਫਰਮਾਉਂਦੇ ਹੈ ਜੇ ਬਾਦਸ਼ਾਹ ਅਪਣੇ ਨਜੀਕੀਆਂ ਮੁਸਾਹਬਾਂ ਨਾਲਿ ਹਾਸੇ ਦੀ ਅਰੁ ਬਾਜੀ ਦੀ ਖੋ ਨਾ ਪਾਇ ਲਵੇ ਜੇ ਦਬਿ ਦਬਾਉ ਬਾਦਸ਼ਾਹ ਦਾ ਉਠ ਜਾਂਦਾ ਹੈ ।

ਲੋਹ ਲੰਗਰ--ਏਹ ਵਡਾ ਲੰਮਾ ਜੰਜੀਰ ਹੁੰਦਾ ਹੈ । ਇਕ ਸਿਰਾ ਇਸ ਦਾ ਸੌ-ਜੇ ਹਥ ਨਾਲ ਬੰਨ੍ਹਦੇ ਹਨ ।

ਜੇਹੜਾ ਪਹਿਲੇ ਦਰਜੇ ਦੇ ਮੋਤੀ ਨੂੰ ਵਿੰਨੇ ਉਸਦੀ ਮਜ਼ੂਰੀ ਇਕ ਚਰਨ ਯਾਨੇ ਪਾਉਲੀ ।

(From P. P. L. MS. No. ਬ 340, *Akbar Nama*.)

ਉਸੀ ਜਗਾ ਬਹਾਬ ਦੀਨ ਅਹਿਮਦ ਖਾਂ ਸਮੇਤ ਅਪਣੇ ਭਾਈਆਂ ਦੇ ਬਾਦਸ਼ਾਹ ਪਾਸ ਆ ਹਾਜਰ ਹੋਇਆ । ਅਰ ਬਾਦਸ਼ਾਹ ਦੀਆਂ ਉਸ ਉਪਰ ਬਹੁਤ ਮਿਹਰਬਾਨੀਆਂ ਹੋਈਆਂ.....ਜੇਹੜੇ ਨੋਕਰ ਕਦੀਮੀ ਬਾਦਸ਼ਾਹੀ ਹੈ ਸੇ ਉਨਾਂ ਨੂੰ ਬਾਦਸ਼ਾਹ ਨੇ ਫਰਮਾਨ ਏਹ ਭੇਜਿਆ ਜੋ ਬੈਰਾਮ ਖਾਂ ਸਾਡੇ ਹੁਕਮ ਤੋਂ ਬਾਹਰ ਹੈ ਸਾ ਅਰ ਗਰੂਰਤ ਨਾਲ ਸਿਧੇ ਰਾਹ ਨਹੀਂ ਸੀ ਤੁਰਦਾ ।

ਜਬ ਬਾਦਸ਼ਾਹ ਆ ਉਤਰਨ ਤਬ ਬਰਬਤ ਗੁਲਾਬ ਦਾ ਅਰੁ ਨਿੰਬੂਆਂ ਦਾ ਖਸਮਜਾ ਬਰਫ ਨਾਲ ਬਰਦ ਕਰ ਕੇ ਅਗੇ ਰਖਣ । ਫੇਰ ਮੁਰੱਬੇ ਸੋਊ ਦੇ ਅਰੁ ਹੋਰ ਹਿੰਦਵਾਣੇ ਅਰੁ ਅੰਗੂਰ ਅਰ ਹੋਰ ਮੰਦੇ ਸਮੇਤ ਨਾਨਾ ਸਫੈਦਾ ਦੇ ਹਾਜਰ ਕਰਨ ।

ਅਰੁ ਇਸ ਦੀ ਬਾਦਸ਼ਾਹੀ ਤਿੰਨ ਮਹੀਨੇ ਅਰੁ ਕੁਸਕ ਦਿਨ ਹੋਈ.....ਤਬ ਕੁਤਬ ਦੀਨ ਨੇ ਆਪਣੀ ਵਜੀਰੀ ਉਸ ਨੂੰ ਦਿਤੀ ।

<sup>6</sup>A very large number of such *Prayayas* and *Tikas* of several important portions of the *Adi Granth* and the *Dasam Granth* exist. The P. P. L. list mentions over a dozen of them, all in MS.

[From P. U. L. MS. No. 408, Diary of the reign of Maharaja Ranjit Singh and after]:—

ਸੰਮਤ ੧੮੬੨ ਮਘਰੂ ਦੀ ਬਡੀਵੀ ਮੰਗਲਵਾਰ ਮਰਹਟਾ ਜਸਵੰਤ ਰਾ ਅੰਮ੍ਰਿਤਸਰ ਮੋ ਆਇਆ । ਪਾਛੇ ਪਾਛੇ ਫਿਰੰਗੀ ਮਰਹਟੇ ਕੇ ਲਗਾ ਆਇਆ । ਸੋ ਡੀ ਅੰਮ੍ਰਿਤਸਰ ਜੀ ਆਨ ਪਹੁਤਾ । ਫੋਰ ਮਰਹਟੇ ਨਾਲ ਪਗੁ ਵਟਾਈ ਰਣਜੀਤ ਸਿੰਘ ਨੇ ਮਿਤ੍ਰ ਬਣੇ । ਰਲੁ ਕੇ ਚੁਲੇ ਲੀਤੇ । ਆਪਸ ਬੀਚ ਸਹੁ ਕਰੀ ਜੋ ਇਤੁ ਦੂਜੇ ਸੋ ਧੋਹੁ ਛਲੁ ਨਾ ਕਰਨਾ । ਮਰਹਟਾ ਵਡਾ... ..ਨਾਲ ਲੈ ਆਇਆ ਸੀ । ਤਿਸ ਕੇ ਹਾਥੀਆਂ ਕੇ ਜੰਜੀਰ ਅਰੁ ਘੋੜਿਓਂ ਕੇ ਜੰਜੀਰ ਸਭੁ ਮੋਨੇ ਕੇ ਬੇ । ਫੋਰ ਮਰਹਟਾ ਅੰਮ੍ਰਿਤਸਰੁ ਜੀ ਕੇ ਨਗਰੁ ਕਾ ਅਜਮੁਦਾ ਲਗਾ ਲੈਣ । ਜੋ ਚੀਜ ਬਜਾਰ ਮੈ ਹੋਵੈ ਸੋ ਸਭੁ ਚੀਜ ਮੇਲ ਕੇ ਲੈ ਜਾ.....ਆਟਾ ਦਾਣਾ ਮਿਠਿਆਈ ਘਿਉ ਤੇਲੁ ਜਿਸੁ ਛਾਉ ਮਿਲੇ ਤਿਸੀ ਛਾਉ ਲੈਣੀ । ਬਾਤ ਹਟੀ ਵਾਲੇ ਕੀ ਪਰਤਣੀ.....

ਸੰਮਤ ੧੯੦੨ ਮਘਰੂ ਬੀਚ ਖਾਲਸਾ ਜ਼ੀ ਲਹੌਰੋਂ ਕੂਚ ਕੀਤਾ ਜਾਇ ਕੇ ਫਿਆਹਿ ਕੇ ਕੰਠੇ ਡੇਰੇ ਲਾਇ ਏਏ । ਤਬ ਫਿਰੰਗੀ ਅੰਗਰੇਜ਼ ਨੇ ਸੁਣਿਆ ਜੋ ਖਾਲਸਾ ਜੀ ਹਮਾਰੇ ਸਾਥ ਲੜਨ ਆਇਆ ਹੈ । ਤਬ ਫਿਰੰਗੀ ਨੇ ਡੀ ਤਕੜਾਈ ਕਰ ਲਈ । ਇਕਠੁ ਕਰਿਆ । ਤਿਨ ਚਾਰ ਕੋਸ ਪਿਤੋਜਪੁਰ ਤੂੰ ਪਰੇ ਜਾਹਿ ਉਤਾਰਿਆ ਮੈਦਾਨ ਮੈ । ਸਤ ਲੁਦੁ ਅਰੁ ਬਿਯਾਸਾ ਕੇ ਬੀਚੁ ਬੁਤਕੀ ਪਿੰਡ ਕ ਨਜੀਕ ਖਾਲਸੇ ਸਾਥ ਜੁਧ ਅਰੰਭਿਆ । ਤਬ ਖਾਲਸਾ ਬਹੁਤ ਚੰਗਾ ਲੜਿਆ । ਬਡਾ ਜੁਧ ਕੀਆ । ਸਿੰਘ ਡੀ ਮਾਰੇ ਪਰੁ ਫਿਰੰਗੀ ਗੋਰੇ ਕਾਲੇ ਬਹੁਤ ਮਾਰੇ ।

The MS. is in a miserable condition, having been eaten away by insects at all the four corners of its leaves.

As we listen to passages like these we feel we are on the threshold of the modern age ; the note they strike is familiar, though feeble. The air of cultivation and refinement about them charms us and we often regret that the magical effects which the archaisms and involutions and blendings and repetitions in them produced are no longer attainable by us for loss of the secret.

Of peculiar importance is the stock of words and idioms legacied to us by Sikh Soldiery which here and there lights up and warms up the prose and poetry of this period. They are a monument to the keen sense of cosmic humour not usually associated with military life. A complete list will be found in G. S. R., pp. 1118-1128. A study of them reveals in bits the outlook which supported the followers of Guru Gobind Singh in active service for over 150 years. The new meanings given to common words and idioms appeal now to the cynic and now to the pathetic in us ; here are fireworks of wit and irony and sarcasm concerned with love and hatred, poverty and opulence, religion and militarism, domestic economy and political economy. We enter a few below.

ਉਗਰਾਹੀ	ਸੁਕਮਾਂਜ	ਨੁਗਦਾ ਮਾਰਨਾ
ਅਕਲਦਾਨ	ਸੁਚਾਲਾ	ਫਤ ਗਜਾ ਗਿਆ
ਅਕਾਸ ਪਰੀ	ਸੂਬੇਦਾਰ	ਬੇਮੁਹਤਾਜੀ
ਅਨਹਤ ਸ਼ਬਦ	ਹਰਾ ਕਰਨਾ	ਫੂਤਲੀ
ਅਫਲਾਤੂਨੀ	ਹੁਕਮ ਸੱਤ	ਮਰੋੜ ਚੁੱਲਾ
ਅਤੰਗ ਬਤੰਗ ਹੋਣਾ	ਕਾਜੀ	ਮੋਰਚਾ ਲਾਉਣਾ
ਇੰਦ੍ਰਾਣੀ ਜਫੀਆਂ ਪਾਉਂਦੀ ਹੈ	ਕੁਤਬ ਦੀਨ	ਰੱਜੀ
ਇਲਾਚੀ	ਗੁਬੰਦੀਆਂ	ਰਾਮ ਜੰਗਾ
ਸਫਾਜੰਗ	ਚਰਨਦਾਸੀ	ਰਾਮ ਡਲ
ਸਮੁੰਦਰ	ਚੜ੍ਹਾਈ	ਰੁੱਪਾ
ਸਰਦੋਨਾ ਮੁਠੀਆਂ ਡਰਦਾ ਹੈ	ਟੁੱਕਰ	ਲਖਨਤਾ
ਸਰਬ ਰਸ	ਤਨਖਾਹ	
ਸ਼ਾਹ ਜਹਾਂ	ਬਾਣੰਦਾਰ	
ਸਿੰਘਣੀ		

Of the transliterations, the Urdu romance of Nihal and Gulbadan written in Gurmukhi Script by Attar Singh in 1847 is symptomatic of the tendency in the Panjabi world to keep itself well-posted with regard to literary events in Urdu and Hindi (for Hindi, see *Bhup Bhukhan*.)

We have also to notice Dr. W. Carey's *A Grammar of Punjabee Language in English* published at Serampore in 1812, which was followed by Lt. C. B. Leech's *Panjabi Grammar* in 1838.

Captain Siddon's translation into English of Gura Gobind Singh's *Vichitra Natak* and Captain Starkey's *Dictionary, English and Punjabee*, were done during this period. (*Vide C. R.*, 1853, Part I, page xii, miscellaneous notices.)

Then came in 1854 *A Dictionary of the Panjabi Language* prepared by a committee of the Lodianna Mission.

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## CHAPTER VIII

### THE BRITISH PERIOD

*There are mountains of printed matter in the world, there are relatively few books.—*  
*Anonymous.*

During the British period (1857—1947 A. D.) every phase of Indian life and thought has undergone some kind or other of theoretical and practical transformation, the process being still in wild, zig-zag progress. The new forces making for change in the Panjab and Panjabi may be classified under 1. The printing press, 2. The newspaper and the periodical, 3. The platform, 4. State-owned and private educational machinery, 5. Social, inter-communal and inter-national contacts, 6. Political consciousness and advance, 7. General religious orientation and the rise of the Brahmo Samaj, the Arya Samaj, the Singh Sabha, the Sat Dharam of Swami Rama Tirath, the Radha Swami Sat Sang, the Indian Christian religious community, the Ahmadiya Anjuman, 8. Panjab Government's adoption of Urdu as the court language and as the medium of instruction in the primary classes, 9. Formation of the Panjab Educational Department Text-Book Committee with its Patronage of Literature Fund, 10. Institution of the Kavi Darbar after the Urdu Mushaira, 11. Liberal patronage by Sikh Princes and Rases, of a few luckier men of letters, and 12. the Radio. These forces have, in the net result, sent up publication pretty high but not high enough for a living language. Both original composition and translation now evince notable diversity. The demand proceeds from the Sikhs of all classes, from Hindu women and from low-educated Muslims of the rural areas on the one side and on the other from school boys and girls and from a very small minority of collegians. But this demand is being gradually reduced to a minimum through the efforts of the Arya Samaj and the Sanatam Dharam Sabha, and the educated section of the Muslim community that stand for Hindi and Urdu respectively, their attempts receiving direction as well as reinforcement from the Provincial Government through its courts, and its Assembly and Council (which publish their proceedings in English and Urdu only) and its primary schools. Thus Panjabi has come to be allocated, gratuitously enough, to the Sikh Community alone which realises the religious and historical nature of its attachment to the medium and feels the keener for its growth. To-day there exist in all not more than two dozen Hindu and Muslim writers of Panjabi prose and if a few from those communities execute Panjab poetry it is out of sheer chance, of personal prepossession, or of lack of adequate hold over another vernacular. And yet so long as we have enthusiastic and copious writers like Col. Bholu Nath, the Prashar Brothers, Mr. Brij Lal, Mr. Dhani Ram, Q. Fazl-i Haq, Sir Shahab-ud-Din, Mr. Firoz Din, Hamdan, Mr. Joshua Fazal Din, Mr. Azhar Haidar, Faqir, Bhatti, Daman, we need not despair of of communal co-operation in the Panjabi literary field. West and South-West Panjab, still backward in education, particularly in English education, still throw up Muslim authors of merit though the phenomenon is not likely to continue for long.

Familiarity with literature in Urdu, Hindi and English is mostly responsible for the fact and for the variety and nature of modern Panjabi literary achievement; to it may be added the necessity of serving up the masses with religious and political fare from utilitarian motives. Furthermore, literature sells to-day; of yore it satisfied a spiritual need, that of self-expression, it was an end in itself; later it brought fame, the last infirmity of noble minds; now it fetches copper and silver, hardly any gold, though. It is thus that we have come to have professional writers who compose with one eye to sales of tickets and copies, and to particular audiences and sight-seeing groups. But in pleasant contrast to them we meet with independents here and there who do not write; poetry or prose gets itself written by and through them. With them literature is the fruit and flower into which the plant of intensive

emotion and cogitation must naturally ripen and blossom. Leisure either does not exist for the man of our age of hurry and clash or is misused by him out of sheer ignorance of its actual and potential value. And little leisure, little culture. The desire to excel, to supplement one's income from the profession proper, or to fill available journalistic space attacks literature which, with the fall in the light of inspiration and heat of conception, attains to but low execution and expression except for those few major poets who refuse to compose at low temperatures and low heights. The grand, the sublime, the panoramic, the dithyrambic ever rare in life and literature, are the rarest to-day. But, it must be admitted, very good minor and miscellaneous work has been and is being done in the modern period which can justly claim the maintenance of a higher general level of style, an extension of the theme, a crystallization of the artistic issues and a standardization of a literary machinery and its out-turn.

The one remedy for the many ills of our Indian National Life and several Provincial literatures is assimilation through translation and adaptation of the best in our immediate neighbours and our distant kindreds. In the present writer's opinion this way threaded intelligently, with now violent breaks with the past, now partial connectedness with it, can make for our certain salvation, and it is gratifying to record that the best productions of the present period have been things achieved in the treading of this path. The influence of Hindi Literatures (as distinguished from that of Hindi language, and this applies to the other two literature to be named) on Panjabi Literature has been little, of Urdu more and of English the most and the healthiest, most substantial and enduring, unificative and structural, sincerity-promoting and individuality-developing, as contrasted with that of the influence of Urdu which has been disruptive, medleying conventionalizing and uniformizing, as well as stylistic and superficial. It is a matter of satisfaction that English language and culture have gradually dragged our life and letters out of festering, detoxicating and de-humanizing ruts of religiosity and eroticism, the pre-occupations of the Hindus and of the Muslims who, with the spread of education, and the hardening of the struggle for existence, are giving up the Katha and the Qissa.

The modern period is witnessing a shifting of address in literature from the sex-hungry and war-mad masses duly tribe-d and caste-d, to the classes which have been educated, not, of course, out of sex-hunger and war-lust but into subtler, more diversified, complex and glossed—albeit intenser—forms of them. But the masses have had their revenge on their suddenly deserting bards: they have deprived them of the real natural music which is a plant of the village alone; they have also deprived them of the power to enjoy and utilize for imagery their immediate surroundings; the idiom and imagery of the modern poets are mostly unnatural and un-natural, either foreign or literary. We are not only getting out of literary tradition but out of spiritual affinity with the soil also. But perhaps I have over-stressed the point; newer phases may be developed by our culture, and newer affinities and contacts may be evolved or discovered and established between the town and the village, between man and nature, between God and man. For the present in thought, in action, we are in a transitional stage; side by side with the dreamers of the future we have the slaves of the past: he who swears by the Qafia, the old orthography and the Ludhiana or Amritsar rustic pronunciation has to accept grumblingly the neighbourhood of him who refuses to feel ashamed of his blank verse or even verse libre, his phonetic writing and his common English technical or poetic words. Time is fast educating us out of our literary prejudices, though we need reminding ourselves that the innovations of to-day are bound to become the shackling traditions of to-morrow.

The lists to follow, incomplete because no library, public or private, has even all the major publications and because most books printed off in the various Tehsil and District towns of the Panjab other than Lahore and Amritsar have and still never come to the notice of the critics and historians of Panjabi, will give some idea of modern literary production. Many an important work bears no date of publication and few, indeed, of their original

composition. A very large percentage are in the Persian script and only a few are available in both Persian and Gurmukhi characters. As a rule, works by Muhammadans are published in the Persian and of the Hindus and the Sikhs, in the Gurmukhi script. Only the more considerable or more significant works have here been chosen to represent an author, and been discussed. The service rendered to Panjabi by publishing firms, amongst others, by R. S. Munshi Gulab Singh and Sons, Malik Fazal Din Chanan Din, Sardar Gurdial Singh, Messrs. Jot Singh Sant Singh, Gyani Hira Singh Dard, all of Lahore, The Panjab Translating and Publishing House, Bhai Jiwan Singh, and Buta Singh of Amritsar, Lala Buta Mal of Rawalpindi, has been invaluable so far as the old MSS. and translations are concerned.

## ROMANCE (VERSE).

The list is based on three considerations: what are the new romances treated during this period; which authors have particularly well handled a tale and which is the romance best executed by any particular author?

Work.	Author.	Work.	Author.
Balal			
Bharthri Hari	Dhani Ram Chatrik	Laila Majnun	Qasir
Char Darvesh	Navvab Shah	Mirza Sahiban	{ Muhammad Shah
Dhol Badshah	Karim Bakhsh		{ Jiva Singh
Dhruh Bhagat	Vidhata Singh Tir	Nal Damianti	{ Arur Singh Taib
Dropti Lila			{ Dhani Ram Chatrik
Dulla Bhatti			
Shakuntala	Tir		
Gul Bakauli	Bahar Ali	Nur Bhari	Hasan Din
Haqiqat Rae	Gian Chand Dhavan		{ Balak Ram
Harut Marut	Khair-ud-Din	Puran Bhagat	{ Daulat Ram
Harish Chandar	Prem Singh		{ Kali Das
	{ Bhagwan Singh		{ Mauj Chand
	{ Chiragh	Rasalu	{ Mauj Chand
	{ Chiragh Din	Ratan Sain	{ Bhagat Ram
	{ Gopal Singh	Rup Basant	{ Daulat Ram
	{ Husain		{ Kali Das
	{ Jog Singh	Sad wa Said	{ Kanshi Ram
Hir	{ Kahan Singh	Saif-ul-Muluk	{ Muhammad Bakhsh
	{ Kishan Singh	Saif-ul-Muluk	{ Mian Mohd
	{ Lahaura Singh	Sassi Punnon	{ Akbar Shah
	{ Maula Shah		{ Mir Husain
	{ Miran Shah	Shah Baihran	{ Muhammad Buta
	{ Nur-ud-Din	Shirin Khusro	{ Nur-ud-Din
	{ Ran Singh		{ Imam Bakhsh
	{ Roshan	Sohni Mabinval	{ Fazal Shah
Jahandar Shah wa			{ Firoz Din
Baibroz Bano	Bishan Singh	Sultan Mahmud	{ Sundar Singh
Jaimal Fatta	Gian Chand Dhavan	Tamim Ansari	{ Jalal-ud-Din
Jan-i-Alam		Ukha Charittar	{ Bhagat Ram
Anjuman Ara	Sultan Mahmud	Yusuf Zulekha	{ Bahadar Ali
			{ Gopal Singh

## LYRISTS.

Only the more important lyrists are included.

Author.	Work.	Author.	Work.
Abaidullah		Akbar Shah	
Abdullah		Arora Rae	Si Harfi
Aqil Khan Jogi	Majmua-e-Kafian-i-Hindi,	Ashraf	Si Harfi
		Baihbai	Si Harfi

Chiragh Din	Sharab-i-Ishq	Mohan Lal Divana	Anviddh moti
Darvesh	Si Harfis	Muhammd Azim	Baran Manh and
Dhani Ram Chatrik	Chandan Vari		Ghara Gharoli
Didar Bakhsh		Muhammad Buta	Panj Ganj
Firoz Din Sharaf	Sunaihri Kalian	Muhammad Manzur	Faryad-i-Bulbul
Gam	Khial-i-Gam	Ahmad	
Gian Das	Kafis, Shabads,	Muhammad Yar	
		(Multani)	Marsiyas-Several poets
	Si Harfis	Najm-ud-Din	Si Harfi
Gobindanand	Gobind Lahir	Navvab Shah	Si Harfis, Ghazaliat,
Ghulam Farid	Kafis		Abyat, etc.
Ghulam Husain Ke-	Baran Manh	Nur Alam	Baran Manh
lianvala.		Nur Ali	Baran Manh and Si
Ghulam Jilani	Hir and Kulliat		Harfi.
Ghulam Mustafa	Qissa Kapra and	Nur Muhammad	Kabits in his Dar-
Maghmum.	Shama-e-Ishq.		vaza-o-Bahisht.
Hamdam	Hirian Di Khan		
Hidait Ullah	Si Harfis	Pia Bakhsh Asi	Majmua-e-Asi: Mar-
Ishar Das	Kafis		sias, etc.
Jainti Ram and Ralia	Manohar Bagh	Puran Singh	} Khulhe Ghund Khulhe Maidan
Ram.			
Jamal-ud-Din Jamal	Kulliat-i-Jamal	Rahim Bakhsh	Panj Ganj
Jan Muhammad	Si Harfis	Raihat Ullah	Athvara
Jindan	Kafis	Ralia Ram and Jainti	Manohar Bagh
Kali Das	Charkha Nama	Ram.	
Karim Bakhsh	Panj Ganj	Sadhu	Nasihath Nama
Khair-ud-Din	Si Harfi	Sultan Mahmud	Mitthi Nind and Si
Khuldi	Si Harfi		Harfi.
Kishan Singh Arif	Kafis, etc.	Vilait Shah	
Mastan Khan Mastan	Baihr-i-Firaq		{ Bijlian De Har,
Miran Shah Jalan-	Guldasta-e-Miran	Vir Singh	{ Lahiran De Har,
dhari.	Shah.		{ Matak Hulare, etc.

**COLLECTIONS OF FOLKSONGS AND PROVERBS AND RIDDLES**

Asa Singh	Kurian De Git	Kishan Singh	Panjabi Akhautan
Bhanu Datt	Panjabi Akhautan		Di Dikshnary.
Devi Das Hindi	Akhanan Di Khan.	Mohan Singh Vaid	Gurmat Akhautan
	1931.	Prakaram Singh	Akhautan
Jivan Singh	Jat Kisanan Dian	Ram Saran	Panjab De Git
	Panjabi Akhautan,	Sulan Ahmad	Amsal
	1925.	Devi Dyal	Bujhartan

**POLITICAL, SOCIAL AND RELIGIOUS VERSE.**

Work.	Author.	Work.	Author.
Ajaib Ghar	Abdulla	Kishan Katar	Kishan Singh Arif
Akram-i-Mustafa	Muhammd Shah	Lakshmi Devi	Kirpa Sagar
	Din	Madh-i-Hazrat Mah-	
Amar Ramain	Amar Singh	bub Subhani	Khair-ud-Din, etc.
Brij Lal Bodhani	Mohan Das	Mahabharat Sangit	Jasvant Singh
Dard Sunehe, 3 parts	Hira Singh Dard	Mir-i-Asian	Abdul Aziz

Fakhr-ul-Waizin		Mukat Bodhani	Mohani Das
Faqar Nama	Shah Bahar	Najat-ul-Momnin	
Gian Dipak	Gokal Chand	Qisas-ul-Anbia	
		Qisas-ul-Muhsinin	Abdul Sattar
Hidait-ul-Musalmin	{ Mian Muhammad Muhammad Nabi	Ramain	Kishan Chand
	{ Ali	Rana Surat Singh	Vir Singh
	{ Amir Hamza	Sat Narain	
Jang	{ Imam Hanif	Shahadat-i-Farzandan	
Namas	{ Karbala	Shama-e-Muhammadi	
of	{ Muhammad Siddiq	Tafsir-i-Muhammadi	
	{ Zain-ul-Abidin	Vir Abhimanyu	Khushi Ram Arif
	{ Zaitun		
	{ Zaqun		

BIOGRAPHICAL AND HISTORICAL WORKS—VERSE.

Bagh-i-Auliya-e-Hind	Muhammad Din	Pratap Udai	Charan Singh Shahid
Banda Bahadar	Kartar Singh Kalas- valia.	Raj Khalsa	Kartar Singh Kalas- valia.
Dasmeh Prakash	Do	Shahid Khalsa	Bishan Singh
Jang Chitral		Sher Khalsa	Do.
Jang Tirah		Sur Bir Khalsa	Do.
Maharaj Khalsa	Bishan Singh	Tegh Khalsa	Kartar Singh Kalas- valia.
Nanak Parbodh	Ditt Singh		
Nanak Susik	Jaimal Singh		

VERSE TRANSLATIONS FROM OTHER LANGUAGES.

Work.	Translator.	Language trans- lated from	Poet translated from and the works.
Amar Gutka	Amar Nath	Persian	Hafiz, Sadi, Saib, etc.
Bustan-i-Jang	Khushi Ram Arif	Do.	Guru Gobind Singh, Za- far Nama
Hazuri Bagh	Hazara Singh	Do.	Sadi, Bostan & Gulistan
Musaddas-i-Hali	Shahab-ud-Din	Urdu	Hali, Musaddas
Prem Patari	Brij Ballabh Singh	Persian	Nand Lal Goya, Diwan
Prem Phulvari	Megh Raj Gharib	Do.	Do.
Tuhfa-e-Benazir	Ghulam Haidar	Do.	Hafiz
Select verses from the			
Masnavi	} Muhammad Shah Din	Do.	{ Attar
Divan			{ Bahu
Do.			{ Bu Ali Qalandar
Masnavi			{ Chishti
Divan			{ Ghaus-i-Azam
Do.			{ Hafiz
Do.	{ Mahmud		
Do.	{ Shams Tabrez		
Shikwa	Ghulam Sarvar	Urdu	Iqbal, Shikva

RHETORIC AND PROSODY—VERSE

Author	Work
Kartar Singh	Nau Ras and Ras Chamatkar Chandrika

## MONTHLY JOURNALS (Till 1933 A. D.)

Name	Gurmukhi Script Place	Current (C) or De- funct (D)
Ajit	Rawalpindi	D
Amrit	Taran Taran	C
Balak	Amritsar	C
Cham	Lahore	D
Dukh Nivaran	Taran Taran	D
Hans	Amritsar	D
Istri	Do.	D
Istri Jivan	Do.	D
Kavi	Calcutta	D
Kirti	Amritsar	D
Labh	Samundri	D
Nirguniara	Amritsar	C
Panjabi Bhain	Perozepore	C
Phuleran	Amritsar	D
Phulvari	Lahore	C
Pritam	Lahore	C
Punian Da Cham	Lahore	D
Qaumi Jivan	Amritsar	D
Ranjit Nagara	Lahore	D
Sahit Sarovar	Jullundur	C
PERSIAN SCRIPT		
Kavi Darbar	Sheikhupura	D
Panjabi Darbar	Lahore	C
Raghib Patrika	Gujranwala	D
Sarang	Lahore	C

## ESSAYS AND ESSAYISTS

*Collections of Essays, adapted.*

Author	Work	Author	Work
Charan Singh Sha- hid	Akhutt Khazane Di Cha- bi	Mohar Singh Vaid	Farz, 1916
	Confucious Niti		Rabbi Jor Mel, 1916
	Grahast Di Beri		Saphalta, 1921
	Sa'adi Niti		
	Sudama Niti		
	Vidur Niti		

## ESSAYS-ORIGINAL

Puran Singh                      Khulhe Lekh  
ESSAYISTS AND PROSE-STYLISTS.

Bhola Nath	Narrative and reflective essays in The Sarang
Charan Singh Shahid	Impassioned prose, and essays of wit and satire in The Mauji
Hira Singh Dard	Political articles in The Akali and The Phulvari
Joshua Fazal Din	Lyrical pieces in The Panjabi Darbar.
Mangal Singh Akali	Political articles in The Akali and The Akali Te Pardesi, dai- lies, defunct
Prashar, H. L.	Prose of wit and satire in The Sarang
Santokh Singh Canadian	Political and social articles in The Kirti
Sardul Singh Cavossieur	Political and religious essays in The Sangat, weekly, defunct.



<i>Phuljharian</i>	<i>Gurdit Singh</i>	<i>Shakuntala, 2 vols.</i>	<i>Harbakhsh Singh</i>
<i>Prem Kaur, 1924</i>	<i>Amar Singh</i>	<i>Subhag Ji or Baba Naudh</i>	<i>Vir Singh</i>
<i>Prakash Kaur</i>	<i>Amir Singh</i>	<i>Singh</i>	
<i>Pushp Patari, 1931</i>	<i>Balwant Singh</i>	<i>Subhag Jori</i>	<i>Ralla Singh</i>
<i>Qaumi Kalian</i>	<i>Labh Singh</i>	<i>Subhag Kaur, 1912</i>	<i>Mohan Singh, Vaid</i>
<i>Ranjit Kaur</i>	<i>Charan Singh, Sha-</i>	<i>Suchajji Dhi</i>	} <i>Amar Singh</i>
	<i>hid</i>	<i>Suchajji Man</i>	
<i>Rup Kaur</i>		<i>Suchajji Nunh, N.S. 442</i>	} <i>Mohan Singh, Vaid</i>
<i>Sachcha Mittar</i>	<i>Charan Singh, Dhu-</i>	<i>Sukh Dev Kaur</i>	
	<i>pia</i>	<i>Sundran</i>	
<i>Satvant Kaur</i>	<i>Vir Singh</i>	<i>Sandri</i>	<i>Vir Singh</i>
<i>Sresh Kulan Di Chal, 1911</i>	<i>Mohan Singh, Vaid</i>	<i>Suragh Rasan</i>	<i>Munsha Singh</i>
	<i>Surindra Singh, Tikka</i>	<i>Jogindar Singh</i>	

## PROSE TRANSLATIONS

*Fiction*

Work	Translator	Language	Author Translated	Work Translated
<i>Alaf Lela</i>	...	Urdu	...	...
<i>Badshahzadi Gulshan</i>	<i>Fatih Singh</i>	Gujarati	...	...
<i>Chambe Dian Kalian</i>	<i>Abhai Singh</i>	English	<i>Tolstoy</i>	...
<i>Chandar Kanta and its Stuti</i>	...	Hindi	...	...
<i>Dulhan Darpan</i>	<i>Hazara Singh</i>	Urdu	...	<i>Mirat-ul-Arus</i>
<i>Hanjhum</i>	<i>Gurdit Singh</i>	...	...	...
<i>Kadambari, 1912</i>	...	...	...	<i>Bana Bhatt</i>
<i>Niti Ratan</i>	<i>Amar Singh</i>	English.	...	<i>Aesop's Fables</i>
<i>Sanjogta</i>	<i>Labh Singh</i>	Bengali	<i>Bankim Babu</i>	...

## RELIGIOUS, SOCIAL AND POLITICAL WORKS—PROSE

<i>Abchali Jot</i>	...	English	<i>Emerson</i>	<i>Essays</i>
<i>Abraham Lincoln</i>	<i>Amar Singh</i>	English	...	...
<i>Arog Darpan</i>	<i>Aya Singh</i>	Do.	<i>Cunningham</i>	<i>A Sanitary Primer</i>
<i>Atam Sudhar</i>	<i>Mohan Singh</i> <i>Vaid</i>	English	...	<i>Self-Help and Self-Culture</i>
<i>Atmak Unnati, 1915</i>	<i>Mohan Singh,</i> <i>Vaid</i>	English	<i>James Allen</i>	<i>From Poverty to Power</i>
<i>Bacon Vichar Ratnavali</i>	<i>Mohan Singh,</i> <i>Vaid</i>	English	<i>Bacon</i>	<i>Essays</i>
<i>Brind Sar</i>	<i>Aya Singh</i>	Hindi	<i>Brinda</i>	...
<i>Budh Sudhar Rajniti</i>	<i>Shiv Nath</i>	Sanskrit	...	<i>Panch Tantra</i>
<i>Carnegi</i>	<i>Amar Singh</i>	English	...	...
<i>Charittar Sikhia</i>	...	Do.	<i>Smiles</i>	<i>Character</i>
<i>Garar Puran</i>	...	...	...	...
<i>Hind Di Sugam Itihas</i>	<i>Hazara Singh</i>	English	<i>Lethbridge</i>	<i>History of India</i>
<i>Istri Dharam Niti, 1911</i>	<i>Kesar Singh</i>	Do.	...	<i>Rama Bai</i>
<i>Jivan Jugti</i>	<i>Charan Singh,</i> <i>Shahid</i>	English	...	<i>The Economy of Human Life</i>
<i>Jiwan Sudhar</i>	...	Do.	...	<i>The Use of Life</i>
<i>Karam Yog, 1915</i>	<i>Mohan Singh,</i> <i>Vaid</i>	Do.	<i>Vivekanand</i>	<i>Karma Yoga</i>

Khwab Nama or Supan Adhiai Kismat De Dhani, 1917	Sampuran Singh	English	J. Allen	The Masters of Destiny
Mahabharath Sar Manu Simrati	Mukand Lal			
Manukkh Kartavya, 1911	...	Do	Mazzini	Duties of Man
Niti Ratan Bhandar, 1911	...	Gujarati	...	...
Quran	...	...	...	...
Rabbi Jor Mela	...	English	...	In Tune With The Infinite
Ramain Rus Da Birtant	Sardha Ram	English	Wallace	A History of Russia
Sanehep Sampati Shastar	Mohan Singh, Vaid	Do.	...	A Compendium of Political Economy
Sat Prapti De Sadhan	...	English	Gandhi	My Experiments With Truth
Shafaks of Bharthri	Budh Singh and Vir Singh	...	...	...
Sikkh Itihas	...	Do.	Macauliffe	History of Sikh Religion, Vols. I, II, III
Suhag Rat	Nauak Singh	Hindi	K. K. Malaviya	
Sukhi Jivan De Gur, 1912	Mohan Singh, Vaid	Do	Smiles	Pleasures of Life.
Sukhi Parvar	Do.	English	...	Domestic Eco- nomy
Takhte Ton Takht, N.S. 441	Amar Singh	Do	...	From Poverty to Power
Tulsi Ramain	...	...	...	...
Vidia Ratnakar	Bihari Lal	...	...	...
Yog Darshan	Gurbakhsh Singh	English or Sanskrit	...	...
Yog Vashisht				

PROSE PLAYS, ORIGINAL.

Work.	Playwright.	Work.	Playwright.
Chandarhari	Budh Singh, Bawa	Nur Jahan	Balwant Singh
Damni	Do.	Puran	Brij Lal
Dulhan	I. C. Nanda	Ranjit Singh	Kirpa Sagar
Lilli Da Viah	Do.	Savitri and Sukanya	Brij Lal
Mundri Chhal	Budh Singh, Bawa	Subhadra	I. C. Nanda
Nar Naveli	Do.	Udain	Brij Lal

## TRANSLATED OR ADAPTED PLAYS—PROSE.

Work.	Author.	Work translated or adapted.	Author translated or adapted from.
Bhul Bhulaiat	Mohan Singh. Vaid	Comedy of Errors	Shakespeare
Desh Daman	Amar Singh	Othello	Shakespeare
Dukhi Raja	Balwant Singh	King Lear	Shakespeare
Lal Badshah	Narain Singh	Othello	Shakespeare
Megh Dut	Onkar Nath	...	Kalidas
Sairandhari Sat Dharam	Amar Singh	...	
Shakuntala	Churan Singh. Dr.	Shakuntala	Kalidas
Shamu Shah	I. C. Nanda	The Merchant of Venice.	Shakespeare
Vikramorvashi	Mau Singh	Vikramorvashi	Kalidas
Satyugi Raja	Balwant Singh	Measure for Measure	Shakespeare

COMMENTATORS, GRAMMARIANS, LEXICOGRAPHERS AND  
PROSODISTS—PROSE.

Author	Work.	Language.	Script.
Amar Nath	{ Panjabi Arthavali or	Panjab	Persian
	{ Dictionary English- Panjabi in Roman characters		
	{ Panjabi Viakaran		
Anonymous	Kosh Adi Siri Guru Granth Sahib.		Gurmukhi
Badan Singh	Pingal Tika	Do.	
Bailey, T. G.	{ Panjabi Grammar—Wazir- abad District, 1900.	English	
	{ Supplements to the Panjabi Dictionary, 1909.		
	{ A Panjabi Phonetic Reader, 1914.		
Bailey and Cummings	Panjabi Manual and Grammar, 1912.		
Bihari Lal Puri	Pingal Manjari	Braji-Panjabi	G.
Bishan Das Puri	Panjabi Shabd Bhandar, 1922	Panjabi	G.
Gurdit Singh	Vaidak Shabdarth		
	Dinmani or Chikitsa Kosh	P.	
Hares	An English-Panjabi Diction- ary, 1929.		Roman
Firoz-ud-Din	Qavaid-i-Panjabi	Urdu	Persian Script
Hari Singh	Hari Labh, 2 parts.	P.	G.
Jawahar Singh	{ A vocabulary of two thousand words from English into Pan- jabi, 1895.		
Jodh Singh	Bhagtan Di Bani	P.	G.
Kahan Singh	{ Gur Chhand Divakar	P.	G.
	{ Gur Shabdalanakar, 1924		
	{ Gur Shabd Ratnakar, 4 vols.		

Maya Singh	Panjabi Dictionary, Roman and Panjabi to English, 1895.		
Mohan Singh	Panjabi Viakaran Bodh	P	G.
O'Brien	Glossary of the Multani Language, 1881.		G.
Sahg Ram	Anglo-Gurmukhi Dictionary, 1897.	...	
Sher Singh	Panj Granthi	P.	G.
Tara Singh	Bhagtan Di Bani	P.	G.
Teja Singh	Adi Granth Kosh, 1932.	P.	G.
Text-Book Committee	Technical Terms in Panjabi up to the Matriculation Standard, English and Pan- jabi, 1930.		

## TRANSLITERATIONS—PROSE.

Work.			Original Language.
Bagh-o-Bahar	...	...	Urdu
Prem Sagar	...	...	Hindi
Tota Kahani or Tota Maina	...	...	...

The romances of the period are either traditional, handled before, or now choices from actual rural life or from Hindu mythology and history. The new additions are chiefly by Bhagat Ram and Kishor Chand who, however, execute their work very poorly. Fighans, Baran Masas, Si Harfis, Chitthies, Kafis, and Saqi-Namas, independent and self-sufficient types of poetry, are incorporated into the body of the romances which before had only Dohas to interrupt the Bait or Dohra or Sadd, the main metres. Of these minor poets the more important are Fazal Shah, Gian Chand Dhavan, Kali Das, Kishan Singh Arif and Sain Maula Shah of Majitha. Fazal Shah is our greatest Panjabi punster: the heart of the lexicographer bounds with joy to see him use a word in all its different significations in one or two lines. This special qualification of him renders him difficult to the average reader. He has done Hir Ranjha, Sassi Punnun and Sohni Mahinval. Gian Chand is a young man who has the unique merit of being one of the only two Hindus (the other being, Dhani Ram) who have an enviable store of pure Lahauri idioms and who know how to use them precisely, unostentatiously and illuminatingly. But he is at his best in his miscellaneous poems. Kishan Singh was an encyclopædist of the old type and attempted lyrics, romances and intellectual pieces, and dabbled in Urdu or rather Panjabi in Persian metres as well. His credit is based besides on volume and variety, on an underlying, interpenetrant, ever-present note of mysticism as far as substance is concerned, and a fine trained faculty for selecting words, so far as the form and style go. The following alliterative piece from him will amuse (From Gulab Chaman, Rawalpindi, 1911, page 71):

ਮਾਘ ਮੋਈ ਮੈਂ ਮਿਲਿਆ ਮਾਹੀ ਮਮ ਮੋਰੀ ਮੈਂ ਮਾਰੀ ।  
 ਮਰਨਾ ਮੋਰਾ ਮਿਟਿਆ ਮਾਏ ਮਿਲੀ ਮੁਰਾਰ ਮਬਾਰੀ ।  
 ਮੱਕੇ ਮਾਹਿ ਮਸੀਤ ਮੁਕਬਰਾ ਮੱਧ ਮੱਤੀ ਮਤਿਵਾਰੀ ।  
 ਕਿਸ਼ਨ ਸਿੰਘ ਮੈਂ ਮੇਲ ਮਿਲਾਇਆ ਮੇਲਾ ਮਸਤ ਮਵਾਰੀ ।

Kali Das, of Gujranwala, with his Ramain, Rup Basant, Puran Bhagat and Haqiqat Rac has out-famed Varis. He is a traditionalist in theme and execution but, being religious by nature, he has successfully transformed religious fact and fiction into poetry and car-

ried the message of what Swami Ram Tirath called Amali or Practical Vedanta to thousands among our masses doped into the lowest conceptions of Duty and Beauty, into masterly inactivity, by futile intellectualists on the one side and cheap and naked romancists on the other. What a glorious passage is it in Puran Bhagat (pp. 7-8, 1931) personifying all the cosmological and cosmogonical constituents of Hinduism.

Of special value from the linguistic and the material standpoint are the purple passages hymning the Lord, God, and painting the dramatic conflict of attitudes, ideals and interests which every case of Love involves at some point of life or other, in the Lahudi romances of 1. Chahar Darvesh by Navvab Shah, 2. Hir by Miran Shah, 3. Jan-i-Alam by Sultan Mahmud, 4. Mirza Sahiban by Mohd. Shah 5. Sassi Punnun by Sain Maula Shah, 6. Hir by Faqir, and 7. Hir by Kushta. The cataloguing tendency in the last three is the strongest and most fecund, though at times bewildering and sadly interruptive.

Selectable lyrists are, Traditionalists : Aqil Khan Jogi, Bailbal, Ghulam Husain, Ghulam Jilani, Ghulam Mustafa Maghmum, Gian Das, Hidayat Ullah, Ishar Das, Jamalud-Din Jamal, Jindan, Mastan Khan Mastan, Miran Shah, Muhammad Buta, Ralia Ram and Jainti Ram, and Shah Murad ; Independents : Dhani Ram Chatrik, Puran Singh and Vir Singh. The first group write in the familiar forms of verse and types of poetry, Athvara, Bara Manh, Deurh, Dhola, Dohra, Ghazal, Kafi, Si Harfi, etc. : their material consist of ethical reflections ; Divine love in the terms, idiom and imagery of classical romantic instances of human passion, particularly their dramatic situations ; and peans of the particular Murshid, the Holy Prophet and the Hindu Avataras, Rama and Krishna.

The second group find the subject-matter of their poems in objects, events and conceptions of daily human intercourse. The first write under the shadow of Urdu ; the second under that of English, either directly or indirectly. The thoughts and words, *e. g.*, of Pir Ghulam Jilani Koti of the first group, are perfectly conventional and yet they wear the hue of freshness and originality which miracle is achieved in part with the inclusion of the Quranic texts, a most prominent characteristic of the age.

Gian Das's Kafi below has the full taste of the old wine which ancient love-enraptured poets served us :

- ਕਬੀ ਆਇ ਕੇ ਮੁਖੜਾ ਦਿਖਾਲ ਮੋਹਨ । ਬਿਨ ਦਰਸਨ ਡਈ ਬੁਰੇ ਹਾਲ ਮੋਹਨ ।
1. ਤੈਕੂ ਚੋਤਰਫਾਂ ਵਿਚ ਡਾਲ ਡਿਠੁਮ । ਪਲ ਪਲ ਚਿਤਾਰ ਹਰ ਸਾਲ ਡਿਠੁਮ । ਤਪ ਤਾਪ ਕੇ ਬਾਹਿ ਉਠਾਲ ਡਿਠੁਮ । ਨਾਹਿ ਦਰਸਨ ਹੁਆ ਨੈਨਾ ਨਾਲ ਮੋਹਨ ।
  2. ਵਿਚ ਜੰਗਲਾਂ ਜਾਨ ਸੁਕਾਇ ਡਿਠੁਮ । ਵਿਚ ਰੀਗਾ ਗੋਤਾ ਲਾਇ ਡਿਠੁਮ । ਇਸ ਇਲਮ ਕੇ ਪੜ੍ਹ ਪੜ੍ਹਾਇ ਡਿਠੁਮ । ਪਰ ਹੁਆ ਨਾ ਤੋਰਾ ਜਮਾਲ ਮੋਹਨ ।
  3. ਹਾਇ ਸਾਲਿਗਰਾਮ ਨਵਾਇ ਬਕੀ । ਬਹੁ ਪੂਜਾ ਭੇਟ ਚੜ੍ਹਾਇ ਬਕੀ । ਪੁਛ ਜੋਤਸ਼ੀ ਲਗਨ ਗਨਾਇ ਬਕੀ । ਪਰ ਮਿਲਾ ਨਹੀਂ ਬੈਂਸੀ ਵਾਲ ਮੋਹਨ ।
  4. ਮੈਂ ਤਾਂ ਯੋਗਿਨ ਭੇਸ ਬਨਾਇ ਡਿਠਾ । ਡੇੜੀ ਰੋ ਰੋ ਹਾਲ ਵੰਜਾਇ ਡਿਠਾ । ਜੋ ਹੋਲਾ ਸੀ ਸੋ ਲਗਾਇ ਡਿਠਾ । ਪਰ ਮਿਲਾ ਨਹੀਂ ਹਰ ਦਯਾਲ ਮੋਹਨ ।
  5. ਫਿਰੀ ਧਾਮ ਚਾਰੋ ਚਾਰਾ ਲਾਇ ਬਕੀ । ਜਪੇ ਜਾਪ ਤੇ ਕਰਮ ਕਮਾਇ ਬਕੀ । ਭੈਰੋਂ ਸ਼ੇਕਰ ਮੰਤ੍ਰੁ ਪਿਆਇ ਬਕੀ । ਪਰ ਮਿਲਾ ਨਹੀਂ ਨੰਦ ਲਾਲ ਮੋਹਨ ।
  6. ਮੱਛੀ ਵਾਂਗ ਤੜਫਤੀ ਡਾਲ ਸੱਈਆਂ । ਕਰਨ ਆਈਆਂ ਮੋਹਿ ਨਿਹਾਲ ਸੱਈਆਂ । ਅਮੀ ਆਨ ਮਿਲਾਇਆ ਉਠਾਲ ਸੱਈਆਂ । ਪਾਇਆ ਦਰਸਨ ਗਯਾਨ ਗੋਪਾਲ ਮੋਹਨ ।

Gian Das was a Gharib Dasi Sadhu.

Of the three pioneer Lyrists-Intellectualists, Bhai Vir Singh, Puran Singh and Dhani Ram, the first is a pillar of Sikh Revivalism. Contact with his person, poetry and fiction has meant deep inspiration and a turning point in life to many. He has pioneered Panjabi literature along many untrodden paths. The strength and charm of his liberal reli-

gious convictions coupled with the sincerity and lyrical spontaneity of his pieces like ਦੀਦਾਰ, ਇਲਮ-ਅਮਲ, ਜੀਵਨ ਕੀ ਹੈ, ਫੁੱਲ, ਚਾਂਦਨੀ, ਜਮਨਾ, ਪੁਸ਼ਪਾਵਤੀ (From ਲਹਰਾਂ ਦੇ ਹਾਰ); ਨਿਸ਼ਾਤ, ਫਰਮੁਰਜ਼, ਬਾਲਾਮਾਰ (From ਮੁੱਕ ਹੁਲਾਰੇ) has won him the first place amongst his contemporaries. He profoundly influenced Puran Singh (d. 1931) who, however, through his inspired and inspiring writings in English appealed to a much wider circle. According to Mr. V. B. Metta (*The Bookman*, London, April 1931), Puran Singh was a poet of devotional ecstasy, of God-filled rapture, and of all present-day Indian poets, resembled the old religious poets of India most. To vibrant Sikh emotionalism he brought the humanism of the Buddha, the transcendentalism of Emerson, the nature worship of Thoreau, and the practical idealism of Swami Ram Tirath, with the result that rebelling against cramping poetic technique he gave us convincing prose-poetry painting now the streets of Amritsar and the spinning matches of the girls of Rawalpindi and now the Romantic susceptibilities of old mytho-heroic figures like Ranjha and Hir, and the past glories of disciplined, all-sacrificing Sikh discipleship. (*Vide Khulh\* Ghund.*)

Dhani Ram is all-music in his latest work *Chandanvari*. A true child of the town, a true follower of Neo-Hinduism, a true student of Indian civilization and literature, past and present, and a true tunist by birth he has imbibed influences considerably from Hindi, Urdu Hali, Azad, and Mibr (S. N.) and English and produced in idiomatic language and elegant style verse of all kinds—social, political, religious, lyrical, philosophical, imaginative, original and translated, which should and does please the largest number of the educated and uneducated. He is the most popular poet, in conventional forms, of the middle-class with an occasional appeal both to the upper and lower classes. (*Vide* his poems in *Chandan Vari*, 1931, headed: ਰਾਧਾ ਸੰਦੇਸ਼, ਸੀਤਾ ਸੰਦੇਸ਼, ਸੱਤ ਸਵਾਲ, ਮਾਇਆ ਧਾਰੀ, ਫੁੱਟ ਦੇ ਕਾਰੇ, ਸ਼ਿਸ਼ਟੀ ਦਾ ਅਰੰਭ, ਹਿਮਾਲਾ, ਸਾਉਣ, ਸਤਜੁਗ, ਕਵੀ ਰਚਣ, ਮੇਲੇ ਵਿਚ ਜੱਟ, ਸਾਵੇਂ.) Of the premier traditional lyrists Hidait-Ullah, Jogi, and Maghmum strike familiar chords on familiar instruments and compel response from the sophisticated and the unsophisticated alike with the sublime simplicity of their erotic-mystic notes. Their words and rhythms sink in the memory and often in our recurrent moments of depression, rise up before our mind's eye like Urdu couplets from Mir and Ghalib as fairies which persuade us back into reconciliation with life with all its cussednesses and contrariness and dailiness.

Some of the social and political poetry of Giani Hira Singh Dard and many others which appeared in the defunct Akali and Akali te Pardesi, dailies of Amritsar, and Kirti, monthly, Amritsar, and has been appearing in the Pritam and the Phulvari, monthly journals, is possessed of the supreme merit of sincerity, poignancy, directness and spontaneity. In those poems speaks to us, without the intermediation of an interpreter, howsoever sympathetic, the heart of the suffering agricultural and political workers themselves, newly awakened and enfranchised.

Women have begun to handle social and religious themes but as yet neither inspiration nor aspiration has been strong enough in any one of them to produce a piece of prose or poetry of note. Education and social freedom have as yet only touched and adorned their exterior. An exception may be made of Harnam Kaur and Baljit Kaur whose verses have attracted some attention.

The most successful translator of poetry is Muhammad Shah Din, whose select renderings from Persian poetry for their strength of phrase, adherence to the text and achievement of flow are proof positive of his poetical excellence. The noble work begun by Pandit Amar Nath, sometime a Musiff at Pind Dadan Khan has, thanks to Shah Din and his Sufi publishers, been continued with enthusiasm and efficiency vieing with each other.

Sir Shahab-ud-Din's translation of Urdu Musaddas-i-Hali is noteworthy for its idiomaticalness and verbal melody.

The historical and semi-historical verse of Kartar Singh Kalasvalia and Kirpa Sagar is fairly well-done; the latter's *Lakshmi Devi* in two parts is an attempt to write a Panjabi *Lady of the Lake*.

Most solid work has been done during the period in the shape of collections of Panjabi proverbs, riddles, idioms and folksongs. Our language feels just pride in the consummate art of its folksongs marked by freedom, truth, naturalness and wide-awakeness. A folksong is a release of the consciousness in the mass-mind which has been repressed. It is a running commentary by the lower, poorer, labouring classes including women on persons and events of moment. It is a means of education of the child and the virgin, invented at the dawn of civilization. It is a record of the failures and successes of life lived in close proximity to nature in all its aspects of help and obstruction, and lived away from the corrupt circles of the town and the city. It is a rhythm of the very soul of a people; and its variety is an index to the variety and richness of the nation's experiences of Love and War. It is a proof undeniable that the people and its language are alive and active. Our folksongs can be classified under :—

1. Nursery rhymes and lullabys and nonsensical verses.
2. Ditties of outdoor sport and labour and indoor games.
3. Festival songs.
4. Songs for ceremonies connected with birth, marriage, death.
5. Carols of love between the male and the female.
6. Celebration in verse of love between the sister and the brother.
7. Songs connected with mythical or semi-historical, native heroes.
8. Songs of Divine Love.
9. Male and female dance and swing songs.
10. Songs of the seasons.
11. Topical political songs.
12. Songs of daily labour, charkha, chakki and hal (the spinning-wheel, the millstone and the plough).
13. Versified riddles.
14. Agricultural and professional wisdom in verse.
15. Hagiographic poetry related to local saints like Sakhi Sarvar, Shah Madar, Gugga.
16. Lascivious sex catches and outpours.
17. Songs for familiarizing children with numbers, names of objects and relations, etc.
18. Verses, witty, satirical and parodistical.
19. Songs relating to historical and mythological heroes and to popular romantic lovers.

Technical names for some of the folksongs are :—

Dhola, Gharoli, Ghor, Jhok, Lori, Mahia, Maho Mahi, Mumarakh, Rasia, Sammin, Sithni, Suhag, Tappe, Thal, Vain or Alahniyan.

Besides in the books listed above, proverbs, riddles, idioms and folksongs will be found scattered in the Panjab District Gazetteers. It is a pity that the value of the tunes and catches of our folksongs is not realized by our town-bred literary poets. Many a lesson in most effective rhyme-and-line arrangements and chiaroscuro effects could be learnt from them.

Poetry of wit and humour has as yet found only one votary in Charan Singh, Sahid, who under the pen-name of Suthra has been publishing in his weekly *Mauji* short pieces of great original merit. A collection of them yecept *Badshahian*, has just been published. (Jan. 1933)

Prose has made astonishing advances. It has shed its stiltedness, involutions, repetitions and Braji heaviness and Persian truncation. Its gait is lighter, its heart is richer, its colours more striking and its rhythms more balanced. The pregnant reflective prose of Puran Singh, and Bhai Vir Singh, the impassioned imaginative prose of Bholu Nath, the witty, ebullient de-

criptive prose of Charan Singh, the lucid, simple, expository prose of Mangal Singh, Teja Singh and Jodh Singh and the charming translative medium of Sardha Ram deserve our unstinted gratitude. The ingredients and varieties of prose style have not been studied by our Fictionists and Historians and Dramatists with the result that, speaking generally, their medium has remained tame, indistinctive and nerveless. The ideal prose for every-day use is represented by Hira Singh Dard who draws upon Persian, English and Hindi as often as he needs and carries on his work with ease and grace and effectiveness. Our best prose is by Puran Singh, every line of whose is loaded with as much ore as it would bear. Lines like the following display the simplicity and profoundness of an aphorism. (*Khulhe Lekh*)

ਪਿਆਰ ਮੱਲੋ-ਮੱਲੀ ਰਾਹ ਜਾਂਦਿਆਂ ਪੈਂਦੇ ਹਨ, ਨਿਹੁੰ ਨਾ ਲੱਗਦੇ ਜੋਰੇ । ਅਹੰਕਾਰ ਕਰੂਪ ਹੋ ਸਕਦਾ ਹੈ ਤੇ ਓਹੋ ਹੀ ਅਹੰਕਾਰ ਰੂਪਵਾਨ ।

ਸਹਿਜ ਸੁਭਾ ਜਦ ਪਿਆਰ ਅੰਦਰ ਟਿੱਕ ਕੇ ਜੀਵਣ ਦਾ ਅਧਾਰ ਹੋ ਜਾਂਦਾ ਹੈ, ਸਭ ਚਿੰਟੇ ਕਾਲੇ ਗੁਣ ਔਗੁਣ ਦਿਵਯ ਗੁਣ ਹੋ ਜਾਂਦੇ ਹਨ । ( P. 1 )

ਪਿਆਰ ਜਿਸਮ ਵਿਚ ਵਿੱਸਦੇ ਹੋਵਾਨ ਦੀ ਮੋਤ ਹੈ, ਫਰ ਜਿਸਮ ਇਕ ਹਰੀ ਮੰਦਰ ਹੋ ਜਾਂਦਾ ਹੈ । ( P. 9 )

ਕਵਿਤਾ—ਇਹ ਮਿੱਟੀ ਘੱਟਾ, ਇਹ ਕਾਹਲਾਪਣ, ਖੱਪ, ਕ੍ਰਿਪ, ਇਹ ਧੂੜ ਲਿਬੜੀ ਅਣ ਨਹਾਤੀ ਜਿਹੀ ਮਾਦੀ ਭਾਰੀ ਹਾਲਤ ਨੂੰ ਸਾਫ ਸੁਥਰਾ ਕਰਕੇ ਹਲਕਾ ਫੁਲਕਾ ਕਰ ਦਿੰਦੀ ਹੈ ..... ਕਵਿਤਾ ਨੌਣਾਂ ਵਿੱਚ ਮੁਫਨ ਲਟਕਾ ਦਿੰਦੀ ਹੈ, ਦਿਲਾਂ ਵਿੱਚ ਅਸ਼ਰੀਰੀਆਂ ਦੇ ਮੇਲੇ ਕਰਾ ਦਿੰਦੀ ਹੈ । ( P. 22 )

ਹਨੇਰਾ ਏਵੇਂ ਚੰਗਾ ਲਹੀਂ ਲੱਗਦਾ, ਪਰ ਜਦ ਪਯਾਰਾ ਕੋਲ ਹੋਵੇ ਤਾਂ ਚਾਨਣ ਥੀਂ ਦਿਲ ਕਾਹਲਾ ਪੈਂਦਾ ਹੈ, ਹਨੇਰਾ ਸੁਖਾਂਦਾਂ ਹੈ, ਆਸ਼ਾ ਇਹ ਹੁੰਦੀ ਹੈ ਕਿ ਪਯਾਰ ਦੀ ਤਲਵਾਰ ਦੀ ਮਿੱਠੀ ਤੀਬਰਤਾ ਹੋਰ ਕੋਈ ਤੱਕ ਨਾ ਲਵੇ, ਸਾਰੀ ਦੀ ਸਾਰੀ ਅੰਦਰ ਸਿੰਜਰੇ । ( P. 79 )

ਆਰਟ ਸਬ ਥੀਂ ਪਹਿਲਾਂ ਲੋਕਾਂ ਦੇ ਆਪਣੇ ਜੀਵਨ ਵਿੱਚ ਆਉਂਦਾ ਹੈ । ਉਥੇ ਰਸ ਰੂਪ ਹੋ ਸਿੰਜਰਦਾ ਹੈ, ਝਰਦਾ ਹੈ, ਤੇ ਜਦ ਗਿਰਾਂ ਵਿੱਚੋਂ ਦੀ ਫੁੱਟਦਾ ਹੈ ਤਦ ਉਹ ਚਿਤ੍ਰਕਾਰੀ ਹੈ, ਪੱਥਰਾਂ ਦੇ ਬੁੱਤ ਤੇ ਚਿਤ੍ਰ ਬਨਾਣ ਵਿੱਚ ਪੂਰਣਤਾ ਨੂੰ ਪ੍ਰਾਪਤ ਹੁੰਦਾ ਹੈ । ਜਦ ਦਿਲ ਵਿੱਚੋਂ ਫੁੱਟਦਾ ਹੈ ਤਦ ਭਗਤੀ ਹੋ ਨਿਬੜਦਾ ਹੈ । ਤੇ ਜਦ ਮਨੁੱਖਾਂ ਜੁੜੇ ਸਮੂਹਾਂ ਦੇ ਦਿਲ ਵਿੱਚ ਦੀ ਫੁੱਟਦਾ ਹੈ ਤਦ ਉਨ੍ਹਾਂ ਦੇ ਰਹਿਣ ਵਾਲੀ ਧਰਤ ਅਕਾਸ਼ ਨੂੰ ਅਨੋਖੇ ਗਹਿਣੇ ਪਾ ਇਉਂ ਮਜਾ ਦਿੰਦਾ ਹੈ ਜਿਵੇਂ ਦੇਵੀ ਦੇਵਤਿਆਂ ਦਾ ਸੁਰਗ । ( P. 91 )

ਕੌਮ ਦੀ ਕੌਮ ਤਦ ਹੀ ਲਾਸ਼ਾਂ ਬਣ ਜਾਂਦੀ ਹੈ ਜਦ ਆਦਰਸ਼ ਦੀ ਤੀਬਰਤਾ, ਸਿੰਦਰੀ ਦੇ ਦੁੱਖ ਤੇ ਦਰਦ ਦੀਆਂ ਡੂੰਘਿਆਈਆਂ ਦੀ ਸਾਦਗੀ ਨੂੰ ਲੋਕੀਂ ਛੱਡ ਦੇਣ । ( Pp. 105—106 )

ਪਹਿਲੇ ਤਾਂ ਸਾਹਿਤਯ ਇਉਂ ਬਾਖ਼ਰਾ ਪ੍ਰਦੀਪਤ ਹੋਇਆ ਤੇ ਫਿਰ ਗੁਰੂ ਅੰਗਦ ਦੇਵ ਜੀ ਨੇ ਅੱਖਰਾਂ ਵਿੱਚ ਰਚਿਆ । ਫਿਰ ਗੁਰੂ ਹਰਗੋਬਿੰਦ ਸਾਹਿਬ ਜੀ ਨੇ ਫੌਜਾਂ ਦੀ ਚਾਲ, ਤੇ ਤਲਵਾਰਾਂ ਦੀ ਲਿਸ਼ਕ ਤੇ ਵਾਲਾ ਦਿਆ ਕਰਤਬਾ ਵਿੱਚ ਸਜਾਇਆ । ਫਿਰ ਗੁਰੂ ਤੇਗ ਬਹਾਦਰ ਜੀ ਨੇ ਮੌਤ ਦੇ ਰੰਗਾਂ ਵਿੱਚ ਗਾਇਆ ਤੇ ... । ( P. 211 )

ਹਰ ਇਕ ਮੁਲਕ ਤੇ ਕੌਮ ਦਾ ਸਾਹਿਤਯ ਆਪਣੇ ਵੱਖਰੇਪਨ ਵਿੱਚ ਸੁਗੰਧਿਤ ਹੋ ਸਕਦਾ ਹੈ । ਸੋ ਪੰਜਾਬੀ ਸਿਰਫ ਗੁਰਮੁੱਖੀ ਫਕੀਰੀ ਰੰਗ ਵਿੱਚ ਸੋਭਾ ਪਾ ਸਕਦੀ ਹੈ । ( Pp. 135—146 )

Both our prose fiction and drama are mainly social and meekly and meagrely political. They do not rise above the levels of Journalism and Tractarianism. Psychology, verisimilitude, character-creation, harmonization of the moods of man and Nature, characterization by contrast and comparison, portrayal of conflict, evolution of the story, unity of effect, appositeness of dialogue to situation are still things unknown to our writers who are prepossessed with the desire to preach for or against certain social customs and practices or to paint garishly the clash between Muslims and Sikhs in the past, between Sikhs and non-Sikhs and the ruler and the ruled, in the present. Of original novels may be noticed Navvab Khan by Miran Bakhsh, depicting the financial fall and recovery of a peasant; Subhagji and Sundari by Vir Singh delineating the moral reclamation of the submerged through the agency of ideal Sikhism; Daler Kaur and Ranjit Kaur by Charan Singh, Shahid, setting forth the heroism of Sikh women in clash with non-Sikh oppressors, and Shakuntala in two volumes, by Harbakhsh Singh, a very successful photograph in miniature of the political currents and undercurrents of modern

Indian life. Of original plays *Savitri* and *Sukanya* by Brij Lal are remarkable for their diction, *Mundri Chhal* by Budh Singh for its plot, *Ranjit Singh* for its characterization, *Subhadra*, for its dramatic effect. Amongst the translated novels and dramas noteworthy are *Moyan Di Jag*, first part, by Puran Singh (Tolstoy's *Resurrection*), *Sanjogta* by Labh Singh (Bankim Babu's *Sanjogata* in Bengali), *Lal Badshah* by Narain Singh (Shakespeare), *Alif Laila* (Urdu) and *Chandar Kanta* (Hindi).

The translations of the *Quran*, Gandhi's "My Experiments with Truth," Dr. Wallace's *History of Russia*, Bacon's *Essays*, Emerson's *Essays*, *Panch Tantra*, *Alif Laila* and Macauliffe's *History of Sikh Religion*, vols. I, II, III, have been done with great skill, and show how Panjabi prose has been successfully employed as a medium for the expression of all types of scientific, historical, philosophical, religious and literary thought.

Surprising monuments of historical and religious research conducted with keen insight into human character and institutions are Ganesha Singh's *Bharat Mat Darpan* which is an account of all the ancient and modern religious leaders and organizations in a faithful and sympathetic manner and in an easy explanatory style; Prem Singh's *Ranjit Singh* which narrates the story of the famous Sikh sovereign from original, authentic sources in a scientific spirit; Kesar Singh's *Panjab Kikun Lita* which carefully relates the British annexation of the Panjab; and Budh Singh's *Gujjhe Hire* which is a collection of the plain but inspiring lives of unknown Sikh saints of Poonch and Kashmir States. Kamla Akali's (Lal Singh) account of his travels in Europe, *Mera Vilaiti Safar Nama*, is interesting for his viewpoint and for his clear and concise style.

As in poetry so in prose, Charan Singh Shahid is our only humourist; in his series of essays still continuing in *Mauji*, he has created the Panjabi Sir Roger de Coverley, *Baba Variama*, who is God's own Fool and whom the public will not willingly let die. He is in fact more than Sir Roger for he grows young or old, marries or professes bachelorhood, is a politician or a religionist, deals out wisdom or folly as it suits him in the particular case under his lancet.

Kahan Singh's *Gur Shabad Ratnakar* in 4 vols., an encyclopædia more of Sikh Religion and History than of Panjabi Literature, is a work of great magnitude and moment; an indispensable companion for a student of Sikhism. Gurdit Singh's *Medical Dictionary* in 3 parts gives the Panjabi equivalents of Yunani and Ayurvedic technical terms and names of medicines.

Much journalistic prose and poetry now and then attains to a literary level, and here and there in *Mushairas*, or poetical symposia, one hears the authentic notes of art. The influence of English and Urdu sways both types of production, which is represented by Teja Singh (prose) and Firoz Din Sharaf (poetry). (*Vide Panjabi Bhaure and Sunahri Kalian.*)

A scrutiny of the present state of Panjabi letters discloses no Tagore, Iqbal, Prem Chand, Tilak or Gandhi, to set the fashion and command a following. There is either unselective and unintelligent imitation of any non Panjabi writer who happens to have become accessible and to have pleased, or slavish continuation of the past traditions; the English-knowing are responsible for the first and the non-English-knowing for the second. The main tendency which is going to operate on into the future is that of personal choice which unfortunately is confined to English and Urdu, for, very few Panjabis have been known to have acquired any wide knowledge of Bengali, Gujarati, Sindhi and Marathi. There is no Panjabi stage and the average educated Panjabi reader being trilingual (knowing Urdu, Hindi or Panjabi, and English) feeds his appetite for fiction on Urdu or Hindi, and English. One cannot augur a happy future for Panjabi until it throws up a genius like Tagore who may compel curious readers to pass on from translations to Panjabi originals or it is more favourably looked upon by the Hindu and Muslim communities led up to this change both by the adoption of Panjabi as medium of instruction up to the Matriculation and by the acceptance of it as court language in the districts. It would immensely benefit Young Panjab to study in some detail the history of the Scottish Vernacular Revival.

# CHAPTER IX

## CONCLUSION.

In the foregoing seven chapters of this *History* the reader has, I believe, before him a sufficient though necessarily brief description of the works whereof knowledge is essential to enable him to perceive the main reactions of Panjabi life and letters. We are now to deal with the actually accomplished part as a whole and to point out the general history, accomplishments, peculiarities and contribution to world literature, of the Panjabi tongue in its literary aspect during the twelve centuries of its existence.

Panjabi Literature is characterized in substance by 1. the originality, regularity and continuity of its output, 2. its full and powerful exposition and representation of the virile, tolerant, composite Panjabi Provincial character, 3. its intelligent assimilation not only of the Classical but of contemporary neighbouring Vernacular cultures in progress, 4. its sense of the values of History, Religious Mysticism, Hagiology, Romantic Balladry and Folklore in Life, which has made it romantic rather than classic : and in form and treatment by 1. its unbounded ease and freedom of versification with full provision for them, 2. its intimate connection with both classical and folk music and rhythms, 3. its synthetic syntax, and easy, extensive word-formations, 4. its mixed Persian, Braji, Hindwi and Lahndi or native Panjabi vocabulary, and 5. its parallel practice of both tradition and invention.

1. When we first meet it in the 13th century we see it hale and hearty and in full possession of its faculties, engaged with the Shabad, the Dohara, the Kafi, the Rekhta, and the Var, all original forms of verse and types of poetry. That tradition it has kept up in full bloom ; its unbroken course has been longer than that of Urdu. Its national character is reflected not only in the differing religions, nationalities and native places of its artists but in the varying dominant traits of their art. The number and the popularity of the Vars, romantic and martial, point to the fighting which has been the constant lot of the Panjabis intersticed with short spans of love-making and soil-turning ; and of the Shabads and Kafis, to the equally persistent preaching carried on by the Bhagats and the Gurus whom the soil has never failed to throw up in each age.

2. Ours is the literature of the labourers and fighters for man, for home and hearth, and for God ; it is not that of the priests and verbal jugglers which Hindi mostly is, nor of the kings, courtiers and courtezans, which Urdu chiefly is. Few of our poets have been drawn from the upper class or from the royalty ; few, hailing from the middle class and the wandering fraternity, have ever basked in the sunshine of patronage. Nothing of the din, dirt, ugliness, cruelty and bitterness of the town and the camp obtains in our literature which emits the fragrance of the health, the optimism and the harmony which the Indian village has characteristically retained over 1000 years while the cities have been torn with political and religious and social turmoils and upheavals. Our villager has a medium through which at any time to vent his or her comments on current affairs in the shape of a folksong and get it printed and sold through hired musical reciters in the streets of Lahore, Patiala and Amritsar. And these little poems sell, even amongst the educated classes. The Panjabi peasant, heroic in love and war, devoted to his saints alive and dead, mindful of the tribal traditions of the past, full of affection for his sister, gifted with enough humour to pass through life without pessimism, eyeing his rivers and plains, Bars and Thals, horse and camel, shop and farm with personal passion, marrying above and below him and outside his caste, indulging in vendetta, sees in his popular literature his own face and figure with a remarkable clearness of light and definiteness of outline, and loves the reflection.

3. Panjabi is proud of having assimilated influences from at least four cultures and a

dozen languages, and of having slavishly imitated none. It has ever revived its touch with classical learning in Sanskrit and Persian on the one hand, and, on the other, kept itself abreast of the progress made by Urdu and Hindi, at least till the end of the nineteenth century.

4. The chronicle, the diary, the essay, and the commentary in prose and the lyric, the ballad, the hymn and the romance in verse have been developed in Panjabi to a very high pitch of beauty of form and content. Clarity, and psychological truth and illustration in the one, and the mystic-cum-optimistic note in the other, have been the ever-present goals before the major writers. Faith, resignation and toleration and the blessing of a householder's life built on these three foundations are the virtues held up before us by our literature. Irrationality, rhetoric for its own sake, hyperbole, foreign and unrealized imagery are conspicuous by their absence and by the side of the miscellanea we have several Maha Kavyas and much structured prose. We have more topical poetry than has Hindi or Urdu, and our Great War and Non-Co-operation and Communistic prose and poetry have bubbled up from the deep springs of genuine emotion and actual experience (*Vide* the issues of the now defunct *Kirti*, monthly, Amritsar and the *Haq*, weekly, Lahore). The quantity of our literature understandable either for difficulty of matter or out-of-dateness of language by any man or woman but of the poorest intelligence, is negligible. Much of it is, in fact, understood better by the uneducated Jat, Gujjar and Khatri than by the sophisticated, casteless, English-knowing townsmen.

1. Panjabi poetic art enjoys the largest possible amount of freedom with its free verse in folksongs as old as the people and their vernacular, its assonances, its numberless rhymes ready-made and easily makable with the help of suffixes, its longest rhythm in the Bait, its variable line-lengths, its widest latitude of line and stanza arrangements, its blank verse dating from the time of Guru Nanak and its frequent employment of Persian, Rajasthani and Rekhta metres.

2. Panjabi poetry is undivorcably, sacramentally wedded to music, although in the modern age evidence of such marriages made often and lived out happily is growing scarce for the loss of the secrets. The saints whose preaching was conducted with the vital aid of music are growing scarcer; still the religious repetition of verses daily by the Sikhs and the singing of Qavvalis by the Muslims have kept the lamp burning in the hearts of the audience.

3. Persian and Sanskrit synthetic grammars have comprehensively affected Lahudi or Western Panjabi to most desirable ends. The omission of prepositions, and parts of verb, the implying of the subject or object in the verb-form and the passive verb form have been of inestimable help to poetic condensation. This virtue is being fully maintained even by the latest poetry; modern prose, on the contrary, has become analytic with its Lahauri, and admits thoroughly of scientific precision.

4. The most wonderful thing about our vocabulary is that it has not become dated; there are no rare or obsolete or archaic words in the sense that our poets still familiarly employ them. Second, we have not the feeling of sacrosanctity about loan words which Panjabi phonetics modifies according to its own genius and thus does away with the difficulties of double accentuation and unshiftable stress which go against its grain. It is these two evils that have made Urdu and Hindi so wooden and so pedantic, removed poetry, so far from the usage and intelligence of the masses. Third, we have no linguistic jingoism, chauvinism and "Capitalism," so that we draw upon Hindi or Persian or English at any time of need without compunction, without feeling unpatriotic.

5. Our conservatives and extremists are both happy; they are not only tolerated but equally encouraged. A roar of protest and damnation does not meet any neologisms in vocabulary or any new adventures in technique and treatment. We accept the past and the present, even inexplicable dabbings in and dreams of the future with a heroic inevitability, only

demanding that thou shalt justify and convince in whatsoever thou attemptest by the sheer success of thy outturn.

If labels were necessary we could call the Pre-Nanak Age, the Age of experimentation, and folksongs and folklore ; the Age of Nanak, that of consolidation, and the chronicle and the devotional song ; the Later Moghul Period, that of Persianization, and the romance and the lyric ; the Age of Ranjit Singh, of narrative prose and history ; and the Modern Age, once again of experimentation, the poem and the essay.

We have a great deal : but a great deal more we lack : our only hope of making up the leeway in competition with other Vernaculars lies in the gradual realization of the importance of linguistic individualization and of the value of authentic and free utterance through the mother-tongue. In the meanwhile we can profitably employ ourselves with a study of the works of major poets like Nanak, Guru Arjan Dev, Guru Gobind Singh, Gurdas, Santokh Singh, Puran Singh, Dhani Ram, Hamid, Bulha, Muslim, Hidait Ullah, Jogi and Muhammad Shah, and prosaists like the anonymous chroniclers of Nanak and Guru Gobind Singh ; the translators of the Ramayana, the Mahabharata, the Bhagavad Gita, the Bhagavata, the Upanishads, Ain-i-Akbari, Persian Sufi Poets, Emerson, Bacon, James Allen, Shakespeare and Kalidas ; and Bhai Vir Singh, Charan Singh Shahid, Bhai Mohan Singh Vaid and, Harbakhsh Singh, Sampuran Singh and Sava Singh.

The specific contribution of Panjabi Literature to World Literature in substance and form is its emphasis on (a) mysticism, (b) folksong and romance, (c) history, (d) the expression of National Character ; and (e) freedom of form and (f) intimate connection between poetry and music. Let us give the widest berth in style and treatment to those who have set out to instruct us and amuse us, who convert their personal laughs and tears, hopes and fears, dreams and visions into beautiful and glorious and pathetic creations of art for our aesthetic appreciation, who conserve the best in our past and who point to the attainable glories of the future, and in giving them the broadest latitude impose only three conditions that they shall be sincere, they shall not forget the masses, and they shall view life as a whole from the standpoint of Nationalism, Humanism, Faith, and the continuity of Evolution.

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**Poets.** The following is an additional list of Panjabi poets based chiefly on the articles of Q. Fazl-i-Haq in the Panjabi Darbar, Lahore, Oct. 1932—Jan. 1933. Of most poets he has given a few verses and only a few has he been able to place in time.

Abdulla of Tarnot	Miran, author of <i>Aish Name</i> and <i>Si Harfi Hir</i>
Ahmad, author of <i>Hir</i> in verse finished in 1693 A.D.	in verse
Aqil of Kunjah	Murad Ali
Azim (12th century A. H.)	Nauroz, Mian, of Bhawalpur State, author of <i>Kafis</i> and <i>Deurs</i>
Bakhsh of West Panjab	Nigah
Bhikha	Nur Jamal of Gujrat Dist.
Faqir, author of <i>Akhbar-ul-Akhirat</i> in verse, finished in 1692 A. D.	Pihlu (17th century A.H.)
Fazal Din Shah of Batala	Ramzani (12th century A.H.)
Ghulam Qadir Shah, Ghulam ( <i>d.</i> 1176 A.H.) of Batala	Ranjha
Ghulam Rasul	Salim
Hafiz Barkhurdar II (12th century A.H.)	Savan
Jamal	Shah Dalil
Jan Muhammad ( <i>d.</i> 1200 A.H.) of Haji Vala	Shah Imam
Maihdi Shah of Gujranwala Dt.	Siddiq Lali, author of <i>Yusuf</i> in verse, finished in 1133 A.H.
Mahmud Sajan of Kharian	Vallali—A <i>Poetess</i>
Mastana	Yara of Gujranwala Dist.
Mian Baqi	Zarif

**List** of the important published works of Ditt Singh of Lahore and of H.H. Maharaja Hira Singh of Patiala will be found on page 148, *Ras Prabodh Natak*, in verse, 1906, Gurdial Singh Lahore and on page 5, *Natak Bhavarth Dipaka*, 428 N. S., Munshi Gulab Singh, Lahore, respectively.

**1. Gobind Singh, Guru.** From the list of works by Guru Gobind Singh, given on pp. 39 and 40 of this work *Chaubis Autar* should be omitted; this was composed in part by poets called *Ram* and *Shiam*.

**2. Hamid Shah.** He had a vision of *Hir* in 1783 while on the road from Raj Nur Pur Ganj to his destination (*vide* page 5, *Hir*, Rifah-i-Am Steam Press, Lahore). Varis Shah finished the composition of his *Hir* in 1743. Hamid does not mention *Hir* by Varis in the list (pages 4—5) of the authors he drew upon and, therefore, he cannot be called a young contemporary of Varis of whose achievement he was unaware. His was, therefore, not the first *Hir*, nor was Varis his successor. This is in modification of the statement made on page 58 of this work.

**3. Hari Chand Shastri.** On page 32 of this work, it should read Dr. Hari Chand Shastri and not Dr. Har Parshad.

**4. Vazida.** A MS. containing 50 pieces of poetry by Vazida exists in the private library of the late Bawa Budh Singh, Lahore.

**The Short Story.**—Mr. Azhar Haidar Saharanpuri is in our opinion the most successful story-writer to-day, 1933. It was the influence of English literature which, amongst

other things, gave us the Short Story, the Essay and the Single Poem. A normal feature of our periodicals is translations of Hindi and Urdu short stories as the work is easy to the translator and at once intelligible to the reader.

**The Drama.**—An exhaustive causerie on “The Drama in Panjabi Life and Letters” in Panjabi prefaces my five Problem Plays “Pankharian.” It may be mentioned here that the Sarasvati Stage Society, Lahore, and its founder and constant inspirer Mrs. Richards made laudable attempts to create the Panjabi National Theatre. While we have yet to wait for our Literary Theatre, we are, at least those of us who so choose, ever gushingly enjoying the *Nagals* and *Tamashas* of the Bhands, and Baibrupias, and *Rases* and *Sangits* of the Rasdharias, who represent an unbroken line of the purveyors of popular amusement. The cutting and crushing commentary of penetrative and unsparing wit and the select, touching picturesque scenes which are supplied by the first and the moving representations of ancient heroes and myths which are provided by the second group are a revealing education and a powerful vicarious experience to the masses. *Nagals* and *Bhands* carry their own stage paraphernalia with them and any open space 20 feet square would suffice for them while the *Rasdharias* do set up a regular, lighted stage and appear in impressive dresses. The *Nagals* and *Tamashas* are prose dialogues while the *Rases* are almost all in verse: the latter have been reduced to writing and the *Sangit* publications at Mathura, Meerut and Saharanpur (referred to in my Modern Urdu Poetry), are typical of our Panjabi-Hindavi *Sangits* and *Rases*; the former yet await the adventurous spirit of an interested recorder.

**Prthviraja Rasa.** *Anent* footnote 24, page 20, *ante*, the following extract (page 211, Some Reflections on Prthviraja Rasa by R. R. Haldar, Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, Vol. 3, 1928) will be read with interest: “Thus, we see from the accounts given in the book as well as from their dates that the work Prthviraja Rasa is not genuine and that it was not composed at any rate in the time of Prthviraja, or within a reasonable period say a century or two, from him. Had it been composed by the poet Cand Bardai in the time of Prthviraja, such incongruent and preposterous accounts could not have occurred as are actually found in the book. The theory of Anand Vikrama Samvat fails to support its promulgator in the light of present researches. Even the Pattas and Parvanas of Prthviraja, Prthabai and Samarasinha put forth in support of the above theory do not hold good in as much as they themselves belong to the later period.”

On page 6, read Tisdall for Tisdell, in footnote 6.

On page 10, line 34, for 571 read 374.

On page 60, line 18, omit MS. No. 6383.

## S U P P L E M E N T

### The Contemporary Scene

The British period ended in 1947 and the first period of Independence began. The contemporary scene does not fall within the province of the historian of literature and yet it is good to observe and summarize current literary and linguistic tendencies<sup>1</sup>, so that the Indian reader unacquainted with Panjabi may know what is happening in this particular border state.

Politically and socially, we are in the planning stage, trying to assimilate the best in democracy as well as in socialism, and to find a *via media* between adherence to tradition and acceptance of revolutionary changes. Morally and spiritually we are permitting ourselves to be secularized, whatever secularization in all its bifurcations and implications may mean.

In literature the influence of English is being replaced by that of Russian and Chinese literatures (through English translations) and of Hindi. The hold of Urdu has tightened over Panjabi instead of being relaxed. There is an attempt at experimentation in form and at eclecticism in matter; there is also more borrowing.

Hindi and Persian words are being used in larger numbers. There is not much evidence of coinage of new words, re-orientation of old words, and intake of more words from popular speech. There is no conscious stylization, and no understanding of the value of new imagery.

Political, economic, social and educational propaganda is being carried on increasingly through plays, features, essays, short stories, novels and poetry-almost every form of letters. The number of old and new artists who have a firm grip over life, and a soul-deep faith in the beauty of formal and ideational patterns, in the beauty of nature, in the beauty of truth, is very small, indeed<sup>2</sup>. The purely artistic approach and treatment are wanting. The place of religion has been usurped by politics.

A thorough study of the old masters is no longer considered a *sin-qua-non* of literary equipment. Journalism and literary careerism and the sale-and-profit motif dominate the scene. Appreciation is still rudimentary, loose, unillustrated, biased or unprincipalled. The radio and the text-book standards are neither precise nor exacting.

But there are not many reasons for pessimism, for the deep-acting influences of major events have not failed to elicit response from individual writers. The Partition terrors and the huge effort at rural reconstruction are competently reflected in good, if not great, short stories, skits, and plays. Similarly good short stories and plays, short and so easy of execution, have resulted from a deep urge to integrate the individual with society, and to re-think and re-valuate our ancient moral and spiritual heritage.

<sup>1</sup> *Vide* my longish article on Tendencies of Panjabi Literature since 1947, in Gurmukhi, 1956.

<sup>2</sup> What Sir Jogendra Singh wrote in 1932 holds good even today: "Modern Panjabi poets are seeking new modes of expression. They wish to capture the spirit, atmosphere and beauty of poets of other languages, whom they admire and love. The new poetry often lacks originality. There is hesitation to make words more and more the expression of the poet's own waking and dreams, and to explore and mature the power to appropriate the language most suited to the purpose."

A Panjabi Theatre is gradually taking shape. The essay is being perfected. The realization of the supreme value of folk-songs, their vocabulary, their music, their motifs, is leavening up the poetic consciousness. What more can one expect from an age, essentially, of prose, and a period torn between great fears and great expectations? Some very good poems of wit and humour have been written, some great longer narrative poems have been produced, as well as some excellent *ghazals* (these, in Pakistan). As one who has contemplated the contemporary literary scene in other modern Indian languages also like Bengali, Hindi, Gujerati, Marathi and Urdu, I can assert and maintain that the Panjabi mind and character today is as vigorous and catholic and adaptive as it ever was, and that the zest and speed and concertedness which the Panjabi writers are employing to serve the high and noble and beautiful ends of literature are in no way less than their quantum in use in other regional languages. More than ever before, a regional language has to be fully and effectively representative of the thoughts and activities of the region so that more and more minutely the region may look at itself in the mirror of literature, and receive both joy, and inspiration for self-upliftment.

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## Notes on Panjabi Language

Language must be directly associated with the people. It should have its roots in the earth. Without roots, no language could progress. No language could be suppressed which was a living and an animate language. Panjabi was a rich language and must be given all opportunities to develop further. It was a language full of life and vitality. Language was the main yardstick of measuring a country's progress. The history of a country could be known by its language.

—J. I. Nehru

1. When we think of races and tribes in settlement, we admit the influence of climate, dietary etc., on their phonetic and grammatical-syntactical genius. But when we consider the races and tribes on the move, we allow priority to ethnology and inborn conservatism and habit, and allot a second place to geography and admixture. Further usually it is good to consider both vertical and horizontal developments, changes and influences. With roving, emigrating tribes and races admixture and blending is more common and should be accepted as a fact; their basic vocabulary, phonetics, grammar and syntax however remain the same; the basic vocabulary relating to parts of the body, dress, diet, birds, animals, relations, etc. remains unchanged and reflects the basic phonetics<sup>3</sup>. Wherever the Gurjars, Gakhkhars, Gorasias go they speak Panjabi, whether they are in Rawalpindi district or *Bangur* area or Kangra valley or the Chamba hills or the Pahalgam (Kashmir) plateau: the basis of their Panjabi is the Vedic language. Even when they take in loan, foreign words they apply their native phonetical and grammatical laws to them. Wherever the Gypsies are they speak basic Rajasthani; wherever the Rajputs are they speak *Bangri* or *Dingal*; Wherever the Jats are they speak *Jatki*, a variation of Panjabi; wherever the Khatrias, Vanjaras are they speak the same Hindko; wherever the Ods, Janglis are they speak their *Odi* or *Jangli* variations of Panjabi; wherever the Ahirs are whether in Rawalpindi district or Rohtak district they speak their variation of *Abhiri* Panjabi. Wherever the Aroras of the Derajats are they speak the same Multani, Derajati or Sind Sagari. When a whole area is dominated numerically or politically by cognate tribes, it is dominated by their common speech also. This was once the case with *Lahndi* (not *Lahnda*, which means the setting sun; the land of the setting sun; the area sloping down) which once ruled the whole of the Panjab from the Sindh to the Doab (between the Jumna and the Ganges). Even Grierson admits this. And *Lahndi* or Multani all these twenty centuries has never gone out as an element from literary Panjabi. (The name Panjab can be traced back to an inscription dated 516 B. C. of the Iranian Emperor, Darius)

2. Panjabi then is the compound language spoken, evolved by chiefly the following tribes whether native, Harappan, Moolasthani, Dravidian, Aryan, Saka or Scythian and Hun; Rawals, Gujjars, Gakhkhars, Ahirs, Khatrias, Vanjaras, Ods, Janglis, Thattas, Mundas, Dhakas, Madras, Varaichs, Macchis, Jats (Arabic form  $\text{بج}$ ), Chandals, Bhattis, all these names being preserved in place-names in the Panjab, e. g., Rawalpindi, Gujjar Khan, Gujrat, Gujranwala, Gojra, Gujjarwal, Dhok Gujran, Ahiran di Dhok, Tanda Vanjarian, Rajaur, Thatta, Mundian, Dhakvan, Odachh, Mohra Gujran, Gorasian, Machhia, Gujran di Dhok, Soodan, Gakhkhar, Moghul, Dhok Aranean, Pindi Gheb, Panj Nad, Sangharial, Madhra, Turkwal, Gulianau, Rawat, Vahali.

With these tribes got intermixed, on the soil of the Panjab, Bangrus or Rajputs (Arabic form  $\text{بج}$ ) mostly of Pramara or Panwar, Siddhu or Sindhu, Gill, Virk, Ranjha, Khara, Tomar, Chuhan, Somar tribes and Balochs and Pakhtoons, etc., and Hill tribes from Kashmir, Jammu, Poonch, Kangra, etc.,—the areas lying at the foot of the Hindu Kush and the Himalayas and the Sivalaks. An admixture of speeches also came about; but mostly, racial and tribal speeches thrived side by side not only in the same larger areas, but even in the same small village and this holds good even to-day. The rivers, mountains, deserts, forests were

barriers and no barriers at the same time, so far as language was concerned. They were horizontal barriers as much effective as class or caste-or occupation or profession differences—the vertical barriers. But they were no barriers to the poets-players (*Dhadis, Bhands, Ras-Dharias, Kalaunts, etc.*), to the Musician *Jogis* or *Rawals, Sadhs*, to the *Vanjaras* (travelling salesman), to the *Ods* and *Thoris* (transporters), to the soldiers and sailors and fishermen.

<sup>3</sup> The Loom of Language, Frederick Bodmer, 1944, Allen and Unwin, London.

“Alphabet writing is a simplified form of syllable writing..... Available evidence seems to show that all the alphabets of the world are traceable to one source... Affixes are the product of growth... Pronunciation changes in the course of centuries .. a sufficiently social motive for simplifying their script... In the course of centuries, the basic picture symbols have become more and more conventionalized, partly owing to changes in the use of writing instruments or of materials.

“Languages are related if the many features of vocabulary, structure and phonetics which they share are due to gradual differentiation of what was once a single tongue .. Evidence for kinship is strongest if words which are alike are words not likely to have passed from one language to the other, or to have been assimilated by both from a third. Such *conservative words* include, personal pronouns, verbs expressing basic activities or states, adjectives denoting elementary qualities, or names which stand for universally distributed objects, for parts of the body or for blood relationship. The common words of this class (confined to special aspects of cultural life) are all nouns, some of which are names for metals, tools and vehicles...take over words with the arts they assimilated... The word-material of all, or nearly all languages is more or less *mongrel*... When dealing with words for numbers or weights and measures, we have always to reckon with the possibility of cultural and therefore word diffusion. If vocabulary is the only clue available, we have to give due consideration to geographical situation. If two languages which share a considerable portion of conservative root words are not geographically contiguous, it is highly probable they are related .. A second clue is agreement with respect to grammatical behaviour.”

Historical Study of the Mother Tongue, H. C. Wyld : “By the history of a language is meant an account of its development in all its dialects, and of all changes which these have undergone from the earliest period, down to the latest... We must never lose sight of the true aim of our search—the spoken word. The process of evolution of language is always going on and the factors which direct it are of the same kind in all periods... All literary languages are to a certain extent artificial products... This form of language is more archaic and generally less flexible and adaptable.

“Language does not exist by itself and apart from the speakers. Spoken language is the natural expression of the personality of living human beings ; from the nature of the case, this must vary along with the change of their mental and bodily habits. Speakers form fresh associations and gradually come to use old words in a new way. In the domain of vocabulary there is a perpetual losing, gaining and readaptation of the material... Nor does pronunciation stand still in a living language... The habitual movements of the vocal organs vary from generation to generation and so therefore do the sounds which result from them. After a time a fixed method of spelling is introduced with which the pronunciation grows more and more out of harmony as time goes on... Sound change is a process which is always going on in language... Whatever exists in the natural speech of a community at a given period is right for the speech of that community at that particular moment.

“Each dialect is equally good and equally correct. The degree of expressiveness which a language possesses is its true claim to respect...more flexible, more adaptable to the needs of those who speak it, more capable of expressing subtle shades of thought and feeling...

“It cannot be denied that climate must also to some extent at least affect the language... It is a reasonable inference that the speech basis is under normal conditions related to the actual shape and structure of the organs of speech and therefore that the more two races differ in physical type, the greater will be the differences in their natural speech habits... Race, climate, occupation and foreign contact each and all play their part in determining the physical and mental habits of a community... There is no radical difference between a dialect and a language.”

As regards the *ethnology* of these races or tribes there is a difference of opinion. My own view is that the Gujjars, Ahirs and Khatri are the only real and true (original or immigrant) Aryans. Elliott<sup>4</sup> and Grierson are of the view that the Anwas, Purus, Shivis, Duruhatis, Turus, Drahyas, Yadus, Kirdis, Kekayas, Sauviras were the real Aryan Tribes that are found in the Panjab in the Rig-Vedic times. They were joined in the age of the Yajurveda by the Kurus and the Panchalas. Under the Shivi Aryans the Panjab and the Sindh formed one Empire. These Shivi or Anva Aryans conquered the territories across the Sindh river and founded the city of Gandhara (the state of Gandhara covered the area from Peshawar to Qandhar). Alberuni states (1030 A.D.) that Multan and Jharwar were once known together as Sauvira. The Shivis had Sauvira too in their empire in the Vedic period. King Yaduratha mentioned in the Mahabharata belonged to Multan. He fought for the Kurus who were his wife's brothers.

3. Passing from the tribes to the names of the languages named after them or their native, occupied-conquered territories, the Panjab's speeches have had several names: Gurjari, Abhiri, Paisachi, Kekaya, Bhakha, Bhuta Bhakha, Jatki, Hindko, Lahauri, Multani, Majhi, Malvai, Dogri, Mirpuri, Puthuhari, Dhanayi, Swanee<sup>5</sup>, Jhangi, Poonchi, Derajati, Sindh Sagari, Pahari Jangli, Uchchi, Thali, Hindwi, etc., some based on the tribes, some on the areas the tribes resided in or dominated.

In the Mahabharata and in some of the Puranas we read of the Pisachas inhabiting both the Sindh and the Panjab. According to Sir George Grierson the Dards and Gypsies were also Aryans (of Iran or Aryana); they used to eat raw meat and fish. They were nicknamed Pisachas and Bhutas by the Aryans of the Madhya Desa. The Dardas are still found in Chitral and Gilgit areas. Some Pisachas from Kashmir settled down in the Lari district of Sindh and are to be identified with the Jheurs of the Panjab and the Jhabeers of Sind. Soon the Pisachas swelled and spread over the whole of the Panjab and the Sindh. The habitations of the Pisachas were called Malechh areas and they themselves were called Janglis or Malechhas. These Pisachas later accepted Buddhism wholesale and their speech affected and was affected by Pali.

In 180 B. C. the Greeks of Bacteria invaded the Panjab and later conquered Sindh also. In 70 B. C. the Scythians or the Sakas arrived on the the Panjab scene. The Rajput King Salivahan (the national hero of the Panjabis) defeated the Sakas at a place

<sup>4</sup> A short History of pre-Islamic Sind, Elliott, translated into Urdu by Salim Jafar, Saqi, Urdu monthly, Karachi, 1956 Annual, pp. 65 to 69.

<sup>5</sup> "The sub-dialect spoken in the valley of the Soan is called Sawain and the speech of the Khatri throughout the district is quite distinct from the zamindari tongue." Rawalpindi Dt. Gazetteer. On Pothohar and Soan, the following from Prehistoric India will be found most interesting.

"The earliest indication of tool-making men in Pleistocene India appears to be in the last phase of the Second Glaciation or at the beginning of the Second (Great) Interglacial. In deposits of this geological age in Northern India, in the *Potwar* (Rawalpindi) region, and perhaps again in Central India..... The Indian flake-industry is known as the *Pre-Soan* industry, to indicate its chronological cultures before the main scenes of lower Palaeolithic cultures in the valley of the Soan river, a tributary of the Indus in the Potwar region of the Punjab. These early flake-tools have no close relatives in other Asiatic countries, so far as these are known at present... It will be convenient to deal first with those tools which come within the flake (or chopper) family, which in India, so far as is known at present, are confined to a series of localities in the valley of the *Soan*, and the Indus, in *Poonch*, near Jhelum, and in the Salt Range. This industry which can be divided into three phases, has been called the *Soan Culture*... Late Soan types in one site in the same region (Chauntra).

30 Kos distant from Multan. The grandson of Salivahan was known as Bhatti. After the first host of the Sakas, came a second known as Jatas and Medes. The Jattas of the Sindh are Jats or Rajputs of Rajputana. Many Jats call themselves Mir in Sindh. The Sakas were Turanian or Tartar Turks by race. There came other hosts known as Prithus or Pahalvas or Parthians and the Kushas, finally followed by the Huns.

It is these Huns who are important for a study of the Panjabi language and culture if we accept the view of the western scholars that the Gurjaras and the Abhiras were castes or tribal names of the Huns themselves. (We have a Hoon caste or tribal name still existent in the Panjab) .The Taxila University and the Kaikeya centre of learning in the west Panjab were destroyed by the Huns. The Panjabis that could save themselves fled to the south-west and founded towns and cities later known as Dera Iemal Khan, Dera Ghazi Khan and the Bruchi Settlement. These Huns later accepted Hinduism and were classed as Khattris. It is difficult to label tribes correctly as Khatri or Rajput or Jat or Gujjar or Ahir. (Guru Gobind Singh was a descendant of Sodhi Ram Das, the fourth Sikh Guru. He rightly traces back his decent from the Surya-Vamsi King, Dasratha). In the history of Thar Division of Sindh we read of Sodhi Rajputs leaving Parkar Division and settling down in Thar areas where they founded the towns of Diplo, Maththi and Chhachhar. Thus some tribes can be called Kshatriya as well as Rajput. If Gujjars are Huns then we have some Gujrals calling themselves Khattris (as distinct from Kshatriyas).

4. The evidence from ancient and medieval Hindu writers on Panjabi language and the Panjab tribes is materially not very different from the views given above. Here is a digest.

Patanjali<sup>6</sup> first uses (in his *Mahabhasya*) Apabhramsa for a language and says that all languages derived from Sanskrit are Apabhramsas, e. g., Ardhamagadhi, Saurasani, Maharashtri, now called Prakrits. Bharata Muni says Prakrit derives from Sanskrit and it has three kinds of words, Samana or Tatsama, Vibhrashta or Tadbhava, and Desi. In actual usage in India we see diverse racial or tribal speeches intermixed with Mlechha words. In drama Saurasani or the Desa Bhasa, at one's discretion, can be used. The main speeches are Magadhi, Avanti, Prachya, Suraseni, Ardhamagadhi, Vahlika and Dakshinatya. In drama the speeches of the following (used) are treated as dialects or sub-speeches (Vibhasas or Upabhashas) : Sabaras, Abhiras, Chandalas, Dravidas, Udrajas, Hinas and Vancharas. He accepts the speech of Abhiras as a Deshi Bhasa.

Dandi says that the writers on poetry have accepted the speeches of Abhiras etc. as Apabhramsa but according to the writers on Sastra, the Grammarians, except Sanskrit all other languages are Apabhramsas. Poetry has been composed in Abhiri and other tribal tongues, and is called Apabhramsa.

Rajasekhara (10th cent. A. D.) of Kashmir says that Apabhramsa is employed in the whole of Maru Bhumi, Takka and Bhadanaka territories. Both the author of Vilasvati, a contemporary of Rajasekhara, and the author of Visnu Dharmottara, give several (eighteen) forms of Apabhramsa according to the provinces or areas wherein the Abhiras etc. reside.

<sup>6</sup> H. L. Jain, Pahuda Doha, Hindi, 1933, pp. 35 to 46. I have given the Panjabi version of his Hindi in my Japu, Panjabi-Gurmukhi, 1937. The English introduction to that book was my second important contribution to the study of Panjabi.

Hemachandra has given about 4000 Desi<sup>7</sup> words which are not derived or corrupted from Sanskrit but are native to provinces and their respective dialects from times immemorial. It appears that the word Desi was treated as synonymous for all provincial or tribal speeches or Apabhramsa, the domination of which language is stated to have lasted from the second to the eleventh cent. A. D., in the provinces of Rajasthan, Malawa, Gujerat, Sindh and the Panjab.

Bharata further says that the Apabhramsa used in Sindh and West Panjab is largely ukaranta, the end letters of most nouns carry the vowel U. Dandi maintains that Apabhramsa is the speech of Abhira and related tribes.

After Apabhramsa, we take up Paisachi.\* In Prakrita Prakasha four Prakrits are mentioned: Maharashtri, Paisachi, Magadhi and Saurseni. Rajasekhara (880—920 A. D.) treats Bhuta Bhakha and Paisachi as synonymous. Dhananjays, author of Dasarupaka, says that the words Pisschas and Bhutas were applied to the lowest castes, who used speeches called Paisachi and Magadhi and Chandali.

Varuruchi (5th century A. D.) gives a grammar of Paisachi and calls its nature to be Sauraseni. According to Dandi poetic Sargas are written in Sanskrit, peetic Skandhas in Prakrit and Asaras in Apabhramsa. Dramas are only written in Sanskrit and Prakrit. Stories are, however, written in all the three languages.

Rajasekhara says that Paisachi or Bhuta Bhakha came after Apabhramsa and maintains that wherever the lowest classes live, their speech is (to be called) Paisachi or Bhuta Bhakha. Dhananjays asserts that Paisachi is the common speech of a particular area also, which area was lumped together as Pisacha area and included according to Lakhmi Dhar (16th cent): Pandya, Kekaya, Vahlika, Sinhala, Nepal, Kuntala, Sudakhkhan, Bhot, Gandhara, Haiva and Kannauj. Markandeya (17th cent.) maintains that only Kaikeya, Shaursena and Panchala territories have Paisachi as their dominant speech.

The Pisachas are mentioned in the Mahabharata. Their marriage ways and ceremonies are bad; they arrange their armies on the battlefield in a particular way; their women sing. These Pisachas live in the Khandava forest situated in the eastern Panchnada area. They have been in the employ of the Pandava armies. The forefathers or progenitors of the Pisachas living on the banks of the Panjab river Pipasa, were the Vahlikas resident in west Panjab. The Pisachas have been mentioned in the Mahabharata along with other inhabitants of the north-west Indian territories, like the Dardas, Khasas, Sakas, Yavanas. It is also stated in the Mahabharata that the good Pisachas live on the banks of the Saraswati river and perform Yajnas just as well as the Kshatriyas do.

Markandeya says that Paisachi is a tadbhava Prakrit. Bharata Muni wants that Sabara, Sakas and others of the kind should in drama be made to speak Sakar Bhakha and those who look after the cows, sheep, camels and horses should speak Abhiri or Sabari. Dr. Dharendra Verma refuses to subscribe to the view that from Suraseni Prakrit or Suraseni Apabhramsa arose modern Panjabi, Rajasthani, Gujerati and Western Hindi. He maintains that contemporaneously with Suraseni were current other Provincial languages and that one of such provincial languages current in the Panjab must have been the parent of modern Panjabi.

<sup>7</sup> It is probable that most of the Panjabi words containing the sound  $\Xi$ ,  $\Upsilon$ ,  $\mathfrak{Z}$ , are Pre-Aryan Soan and Harappa civilization words. Some of them may have gone into Vedic with replacements by  $\mathfrak{Z}$ ,  $\mathfrak{S}$ , etc.

\*Vide S.J. Varma, N.P. Patrika, Benares.

5. In the study of the basic phonetics of a tribe or a race reflected in the basic words, we have to be very careful. In this connection some statements of a Russian writer\* deserve close attention. "The independent character of a national language rests on its own basic stock of words, which includes all the root words as its nucleus and its own grammatical system, which includes morphology and syntax. The vocabulary of a language being most sensitive to changes is in a state of almost continuous influx.

"...Languages do not develop through the destruction of existing languages and the creation of new ones, but by expanding and perfecting the basic elements of existing languages. A language is the product of a whole number of epochs, in the course of which it takes shape, is enriched, develops and is perfected according to the native genius.

"...Languages are crossed : the language which emerges victorious retains its grammatical system and its basic word stock and continues to develop in accordance with the inherent laws of its development. Local and regional dialects, class dialects or jargons, high society languages, literary languages arise or are created ; but they are not languages, mere offshoots. The national language remains triumphant, though imposed upon by various social and racial groups, with their special vocabulary, their special terms, their special expressions.

"The grammatical system of a language changes even more slowly than its basic word stock. It, of course, does undergo some change with the lapse of time, becomes more perfected, improves its rules, makes them more specific and acquires new rules, but the fundamentals of the system are preserved for a very long time."

So far as sound changes are concerned, Panjabi has certain peculiar features, which are best illustrated in the following changes or typical formations :

P.	S.	S.	P.
Aa	Asha	Shabda	Sadd
Kachch	Kach	Akhsa	Akhh
Kappar	Karpat	Bhrashta	Bhitt
Kapah	Karpasa	Hasta	Hathth
Kamm	Karman	Gamana	Gaun, Jan
Karhala	Karabha Ula	Nasika	{ Nas { Nakk
Chhatt	Chatra	Vachna	Bachan, Bain, Vain, Ban
Thitt	Sthita	Svabhava	Subha Subhau
Mukk	Mukta		Subhaa
Sunn	Shunya	Priya	Pi
Uthth	Ushtra	Brahmanda	Varbhanda
		Svayambhava	Saibhang

S.	P.	Persian	P.	S.	P.
Dugdba	Dudhdb	Qazi	Qadi	Prasara	Pasar or Pasau
		Qudrat	Kujrat		
Bhaya	Bhai	Nazar	Nadar	Ghatt	Gharba
Murti	Murat	Mulk	Mikh	Fralapa	Palau
		Deewara	Diwal	Sampada	Sampai
Utkarsana	Udkarkh	Parda	Parda	Kathan	Kaihan, Kahan
S.	P.	S. Dristi	P. Dithth, Dis		
Itra	Idhdhar	Grahstha	Grahst	Bhedn	Bhet
	Ayiddar	Vastu	Vathth	Dagdha	dajhjh
	Iththai	Kamala	Kaul	Sthana	Than
	Iththe	Mahesha	Mhains	Natha	Nah
Vyakhayana	Vakhian		Mahin	Yukta	Jutt, Jugat
Smriti	Simrat		Majhjh		
Veda	Bed	Mukha	Moonh	Jihva	Jeebh
Dvitya	Dooj	Kantaka	Kanda		
Vikasha	Vigas	Bhavanti	Hunda		
Mantra	Mandra	Kela	Khela		
Hasta	Hathth	Krida	Khed		

Doubling of sounds, changing of vowels or dropping or addition of them, replacement of consonants by other consonants in the same pentet or by consonants in the corresponding position in another consonant pentet, or by vowels a, u or h, simplification of conjoint sounds, recognition of the letters, th, dh, th, dh, bha, ph as compounds of t, d, t, b and p with h, which can be dropped in speech or sounded before or after are some characteristics of Panjabi.

In grammar Panjabi has compound verbs: makes inflections and suffixes serve the purpose of prepositions (postpositions), indications and signs of subject, object, tense, enjoys double plurals of the qualifying adjective or pronoun and of the qualified or indicated noun or pronoun, and easily forms in dozen of ways nouns from verbs and verbs from nouns by simply suffixing ana or na, and iat, iam, iu, etc. Illustrations are: Kar thakia, Khol diththa; kothion dhathion tai wekhsen, marsanoons, dehs na cha, diththam, Dithiom; unhan Chandrian mundian Unhan; Chaudharium, thaihra, bhalmansatt, bhalmausai, bhalmansaoo. There is no neuter gender in Panjabi; the gender of the objective partakes in form of the gender of the qualified noun. The masculine has aa oo and the feminine has i or o. The preposition or postposition for a plural has to take the plural form. There is the special passive form.

6. Literary or written language is always more mixed, hybrid, mongrel than the spoken tongue. Literary Panjabi has never treated any spoken offshoot as untouchable; on the contrary it has taken special care, specially in poetry, to exploit all, to represent all the dialects. For vocabulary as well as phonetics, grammar, syntax, the best samples for study are

prose pieces. Luckily we have enough samples of prose provided us by Guru Ram Das, the fourth Sikh Guru, who has left poetic-prose pieces which because they have speech rhythm are described honorifically as poetry in a particular Raga. As the earliest authentic samples of Panjabi prose of the 16th century I give the relevant extracts in the Panjabi Section. You have only to compare them with prose in any other north Indian language, if available, of this century to see that Panjabi is an independent language which remains unchanged. One can find ample Dohas in Nanak (1469—1538 A. D.) which make use of Lahudi, (Multani, etc.) that had not changed from the time of Alberuni and Baba Farid and Khuro (11th, 12th & 13th centuries) to his own time (15th century).

Guru Ram Das never went beyond the districts of Lahore, where he was born, and Amritsar (and Goindwal in Amritsar district); wherefore his speech is the pure spoken tongue, Majhi or Lahauri with a literary tinge. He has used very few diphthongized (Hindized) Panjabi words and these too because the rhyming necessities dictated such use.

7. That the Panjabi language thrived and exercised its influence from the 9th to the 15th century on the poetry of Gorakh Nath\* and Kabir, is shown by the following extracts. Mr. A. S. Upadhyaya writes (*The Origin and Growth of Hindi Language and Literature*, Hindi, 1934, pp. 147-9) :

"In Gorakh's poetry the words of various other provinces have also been used, *e. g.*, Gujarati ni, Marathi cha, Rajasthani Boliba, Dhariba, Chaliba. Then he uses Sanskrit Tatsama words and this is against the practice of the Prakrits. And yet in him are found, both Apabhramsa and Prakrit words. There is a plethora of Hindi Tadbhava words in his poetry. At places he uses ङ, for ञ. A large part of his language is Apabhramsa, which may be interpreted to mean that there is the influence of Panjabi language on him."

As to the influence of Panjabi on Namdev who comes between Gorakh and Kabir, I have already quoted Macnicol who says that both the Maratha Manbhava sect leaders-saints and Namdev had visited the Panjab right up to Peshawar.

Sri S. S. Das, Editor of Kabir Granthavali, wrote :

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"An examination of this Ms. reveals the fact that Kabir's verses were crude and rough and that he had absolutely no idea of grammar and prosody. A further examination of his verses reveals the fact that the language employed by him was neither Avadhi nor Braj bhasha (or Gwaliori as Muslim writers like Mir Abdul Wasia Hanswi and Khan-i-Arzu name it. Mohan Singh). It was a mixture of various dialects with a preponderance of Panjabi words and grammatical forms. It is strange that the Panjabi dialect exercised such a great influence on the language of Kabir Das who was born in Benares and lived there almost to the end of his days, unless we assume that his adoptive parents were of Panjabi descent or that he passed his earlier days in the company of some Panjabi Sadhu. The other probability is that the verses of Kabir fell into the hands of some Panjabi Sadhu, and he in taking them down twisted the language of Kabir and gave it a Panjabi turn. Some of the verses would easily admit of this interpretation but there are others and their number is in no way insignificant, which cannot be so explained away. (Dr. Bahari finds 150 Panjabi words in Kabir. MS) (From a paper

\*See my works *Gorakhnath and Medieval Hindu Mysticism*, 1937, & *Kabir and the Bhakti Movement*, 1933.

read by Sri S. S. Das at the fourth All-India Oriental Conference, Allahabad.)

8. Dr. Masud Hasan in his *Tarikh-i-Zaban-i-Urdu* cites and opines thus.

At the rise of the modern Aryan languages a line of distinction between Hariani and Panjabi was hard to draw. In the beginning there were only two great centres of Aryan culture, Gandhara in the west and Brahmavarta (districts of Patiala, Ambala and Karnal) in the east.

Panini (500 B.C) was born at Lahur (near Peshawar) and educated at Taxila.\* The language of both the places was nearer to Vedic. Bhasha was used for the spoken word as Sanskrit for the written word. Udicha was a name for the Panjab. Pali was inscribed both in Kharosti and Brahmi characters. Nagar Apabhramsa was the old form of both Gujerati and Rajasthani. Nagari name was given to the script in which Nagar Apabhramsa was written. Nagar is a caste of the Brahmanas of Gujerat. Dr. Keith thinks that Apabhramsa was the speech of the Abhiras and the Gurjaras. Kalidas's *Vikramorvasi* contains Apabhramsa. In the *Mahabharata* the Aryans living on the Sindh were called Mlekshas. Lahudi and Panjabi cannot easily be distinguished nor their areas of speech, so much so that Grierson has no hesitation in asserting that really at one time one form or other of Lahudi overspread the whole of the Panjab. Lahudi has been greatly influenced by Dard and Paishachi tongues. Kekaya area was contained in west Panjab where Paisachi Prakrit and Vrachad Apabhramsa were spoken. Western Panjabi was also known as Hindki, Jatki or Uchchi. Hariani is an admixture of Rajasthani (Marwari, Bangru. MS.) and Panjabi. Surely the language of Masud (Khwaja Masud Sad Salman), Amir Khusro and Abul Fazl must have been Lahauri (I should say Multani. MS.).

Alberuni stayed for a long time in Multan ; so the words he quotes are he learnt there. According to Dr. Abdul Haq our Sufis spoke Panjabi, Hariani, Braji, and Hindustani. (Khusro had stayed for 3 years in Multan. His mother was Hindu by birth.)

Khusro wrote a Rubai in praise of a Gujjar woman, who shouts, Dahi Leho, Dahi. There have been plenty of Gujjars in Hariana and Bangar.

9 Mr. H. A. Rose, writing in the *Indian Antiquary*, 1908, pp. 360 ff treats Panjabi as the language of the Panjab and includes in it Lahudi, Pahari, Bangaru, etc.

10. Even Dr. Woolner differed seriously from Grierson's theory of Outer and Inner languages which was based on the western theory of successive immigrations of the Aryans from the west. This is what Dr. Woolner in his *Introduction to Prakrit*, has to offer :

"The Vedic language represents a still more ancient stage of Indo-Aryan. The medieval or Middle Indian period is represented in literature by Pali and the Prakrits down to the time (about 1100 A. D.) when *further phonetic changes and the complete break up of the old grammar* had produced a new type of language similar to that of the modern vernaculars.....Sauraseni, the Midland Prakrit, is derived from the old Indian dialect of the Madhyadesa on which classical Sanskrit was mainly based.

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\*"The famous Asoka resided at Taxila as Viceroy of the Panjab during his father's life-time." Rawalpindi Dt. Gazetteer.

"The clarification (of Grierson) is indeed connected with a theory relating to the immigration of the Aryan speaking tribes into the Peninsula. The speakers of the dialects out of which classical Sanskrit was created, and on which later on Sauraseni was based, are supposed to have forced their way into the Madhyadesa some time after a previous invasion of India. The descendants of these first-comers produced the Outer Band of languages. Much may be said both for and against this particular theory as an explanation of certain linguistic facts. Some of the outer dialects preserve quite ancient features to the present day. Grierson's theory that (He connects Paisachi with the Dard and Kafir languages of the Hindu Kush) these mostly mixed dialects should be provided with a separate compartment between the Iranian and Indian sub-divisions of Aryan, because they combine Indian and Iranian peculiarities, is not convincing. Nor is the connection with the Chulika Paisachi obvious as the main peculiarity of Chulika Paisachi (surd for sonant) is exceptional in this area." (For further light on Paisaci see Sten Konow, Home of Paisaci, Z. D. M. G., ixiv. pp. 95 ff.)

(Nagara in Sanskrit means a citizen, polite, nameless, MS.)

11. Whether the Gurjaras and the Abhiras etc., architects of Panjabi, were original or first Aryans-natives or immigrants, there is absolutely no doubt that the speech of these and related tribes even to day in its dealings with new formations from old roots and verbs and with loan words displays in its full gamut, the Indo-Iranian or the Aryan-Mother Tongue phonetic genius and grammatical and syntactical and semantic bent. Even today the Panjabi citizen is nearer in phonetics and grammar to the modern Iranian (vide Indo-Iranian Phonology by Louis H. Gray, Columbia, 1902). Mr. Gray says :

"Apabhramsa denotes the Middle Indian Vernaculars as distinguished from the Prakrits or literary dialects of the period. Paisachi together with Chulika Paisachi seems to have comprised the dialects of the north and west of India. The Gatha dialect is an artificial composition of Prakrit bases with Sanskrit inflections while the Lena dialect, a popular Middle Indian lingua franca, shows many Sanskritisms in its Prakrit (or Apabhramsa) structure. From what district of India Pali came is uncertain. Geiger very plausibly supposes that the country comprised by modern Gujerat was its home. The middle Indian languages are not descendants of Sanskrit but of the Vedic dialect and its neighbours. The tie of Indo-Iranian unity is potent still."

12. Finally, we should properly call Panjabi neither an Apabhramsa nor a dialect of Western Hindi but an independent Des Bhakhia or Deshi Bhasha, regional speech which, in its variations covers the whole area from the Sind to the Jumna, and which is as old as the Soanees, Harappans\* and Aryans of this area. Dr. Hiralal Jain says : "I have discussed at some

\*See my articles on the Asuric City Civilization of the West, The Education Journal, Dharwar, in which I have shown that the Mohenjodaro and Harappa and Rugar civilizations situated on the Indus, the Ravi and the Sutlej are described in the Puranas as the Daitya-Danava-Asura City Civilization which had its centre at Moolasthan or Multan and which spread from the Caspian Sea to the Ganges, from the Himalayan foothills to Kathiwar. Of Harappa civilization, Stuart Piggott writes thus in Prehistoric India. "An origin outside India is inherently improbable ... It is an urban and literate culture .. in its use of a written script it is likely to be dependent in the last resort on the inventions of late fourth millenium date in Mesopotamia. But it had become something essentially apart, essentially Indian, too... We shall encounter again and again significant parallels with contemporary Hindu culture. The mature Harappan Culture in the Panjab, then is subsequent to R G III. In the Harappa Culture there was first the aboriginal Proto-Australoid type, perhaps then as now ranking among the under-dogs of the

length the question of the relationship between Deshi Bhasha and Apabhramsa, raised by Dr. Jules Bloch in his letter to me and the various references which have been collected, tend to show that the authors have been using the two names as mutually interchangeable. It is noteworthy that the poets themselves have called their language Deshi Bhasha and have never liked to use the word Apabhramsa for their language while the Grammarians have called it invariably by the latter name." Guru Gobind Singh (1666—1708 A. D.) also calls the vernaculars Des Bhakhias and contrasts them with Dev Bani. He calls the Panjab, Madra Des.

13. The boundaries (with important cities and towns) of the provinces under Akbar must have existed for several centuries before just as they continued for some centuries after. They correspondingly indicate the areas of languages like Multani, Lahauri, Dihlavi, etc. given their regional names by the Muslim writers.

Delhi—Palwal to Ludhiana, from the Sarkar of Rewari to Kumaon hills, bounded by Agra, Khairabad; hills; Agra and Ajmer provinces, and Ludhiana. Cities and Town: Delhi, Badaun, Hansi, Hissar, Sirsa, Sirhind, Thanessar, Hastinapur, Kumaon, Sambhal, Rewari, Saharanpur.

Lahore—Sutlej to Sindh, Bhimbar to Chaukhandi: bounded by Sirhind, Kashmir, Bikaner Ajmer, and Multan.

C. & T.: Lahore, Nagarkot, Shamsabad, Tilla Bal Nath. It contained the five Sarkars of Bist Jullundar Doaba, Bari Doaba, Raehna Doaba, Sindh Sagar Doaba and beyond Panjnad.

Multan—Four Sarkars of Multan, Dipalpur, Bhakkar and Thatta.

Kabul—contained Kashmir, Pakli, Bimbar, Sawat, Bajaur, Qandhar and Zabulistan.

14. In his edited work *Naya kumara chariu* by Nami (10th cent. A. D.), Prof. H. L. Jain says that Nami Sadhu, Kramadishwara and Markandeya mention three kinds of Apabhramsa: Vrachara, Nagara and Upanagara or *Upanagara*, *Abhira* and *Gramya*. Prof. Jain concludes:—

*Apbhramsa has been regarded as one of the Prakrta Bhasas which include all the ancient languages other than Sanskrit. The most simple meaning of the word Prakrta Bhasa seems to be the natural language, i.e. the language of the people. Nami Sadhu even goes so far as to give it a status of seniority over Sanskrit by explaining it as the first produce. But all Prakrta*

social system; second, the predominant Mediterraneans, presumably the main contributors of the agricultural and urban features of the whole Western Indian prehistoric world... It is interesting to note that baked bricks of the standard Harappa proportions occur as far afield as Rupar on the upper Sutlej, Derawar in Bikaner and Rangpur in Kathiawar, as well as at Chanhu-daro and the sites in the Larkana neighbourhood...the Munda group now largely spoken by Proto-Australoids in India is another claimant (to which Harappa language may have belonged) ... The most reasonable hypothesis is that which sees the Indo-European languages evolving among the earliest agriculturists of the South Russian steppes and the lands eastwards to the Caspian Sea...the Brahmi script which itself appears to be of semitic origin...The earliest Indian manuscript is the Buddhist text written on birch-bark in the late 5th cent. A. D. and found in the Jaulian monastery at Taxila. Paper was introduced by the Moslems into India in the thirteenth century...The forts of the *dasyus* are the citadels of the Harappa civilization, wrecked and plundered by the war-bands who invoked Indra... The whole character of medieval Hindu society and the structure of its polity and government seem inevitably a reflection of the Bronze Age civilization of Sind and the Panjab."

grammarians including Hemacandra regard Prakṛta to be derived from Sanskrit. It appears to me that they have done so for a practical convenience because the acceptance of Prakrit justifies their treatment of the language by merely explaining the deviations from the Sanskrit forms.

15. For some of the features of Vrachad Apabhraṃśa see Prof. H. L. Jain's article in N. P. Patrika, 1915. In Harivamśa Purana by Svayambha there is a Kadavak in Dhakka Bhasa of the part of the Panjab known in those days as Takka. According to Prof. Jain the characteristics of this speech are (in Panjabi).

1. ਕਰਤਾ ਕਾਟਕ ਇਕ ਬਚਨ ਦੀ ਬਿਛਗਤੀ ਉ
2. ਫੋਵੀਂ ਬਿਛਗਤੀ -ੜ
3. ਅਨਾਦਿ ਤ ਦੀ ਥਾਂ ਤੇ ਏ
4. ਅਨਯ ਪੁਰਖ ਇਕ ਬਚਨ ਦੇ ਕਿਰਿਆ ਰੂਪ ਭਵਦਿ, ਸਿਭਫਦਿ ।

Other points made by Prof. Jain are : possibly the excessiveness of the murdhanya pronunciation in the oldest Takki of the Panjab may be due to the influence on it of the Dravida speech current in Sindh : another current of Panjab Dhakki or Thakki moved towards Gujerat and there, modified, came to be known as Nagari, derived from the Nagar area in Ahmedabad district. Nagar gave its name to Nagara Brahmanas who probably had come to Nagar in the train of Vallabhi Rajas from the north. They may have come from Nagar Kot (Kangra) in the Panjab which according to the Mahabharata was the homeland of the Abhiras, who later migrated to Gujerat. Abhiri is marked by the use of h for s. (For Apabhraṃśa grammar see Apabhraṃśa Vyakarana, K. K. Shastri, Ahmedabad.) There is another interesting deduction of Prof. Jain, rendered here into Panjabi :—

ਕਾਵਿ ਵਿਚ ਉਹੀ ਭਾਖਾ ਅਪਭਰੰਸ਼ ਨਾਂ ਨਾਲ ਪਰਿਸਿੱਧ ਹੋਈ ਜਿਸ ਦਾ ਸਭ ਤੋਂ ਪੁਰਾਣਾ ਸਰਬੰਧ ਪੰਜਾਬ ਦੀ ਇਕ ਬੋਲੀ ਨਾਲ ਸੀ। ਇਹ ਭਾਖਾ ਜਿਉਂ ਜਿਉਂ ਦੇਸ਼ ਦਿਆਂ ਦੂਜਿਆਂ ਭਾਗਾਂ ਵਿਚ ਖਿਲਰੀ, ਤਿਉਂ ਤਿਉਂ ਇਸ ਦੀ ਕਾਵਿ ਰਚਨਾ ਵਿਚ ਕੁਝ ਬਿਸੇਖਤਾਈਆਂ ਵੀ ਆਉਂਦੀਆਂ ਗਈਆਂ ਜਿਸ ਕਰ ਕੇ ਦੇਸ਼ ਅਨੁਸਾਰ ਇਸ ਦੇ ਕਈ ਛੰਦ (ਪਰਕਾਰ) ਹੋ ਗਏ। ਪਰ ਉਹਨਾਂ ਸਾਰਿਆਂ ਉੱਤੇ ਉਤਲੀ ਅਪਭਰੰਸ਼ ਦੀ ਛਾਪ ਸੀ ਤੇ ਏਸੇ ਕਰਕੇ ਸਾਰੀਆਂ ਰਚਨਾਵਾਂ ਅਪਭਰੰਸ਼ ਹੀ ਅਖਵਾਈਆਂ। ਭਿਨ ਭਿਨ ਦੇਸ਼ੀ ਭਾਖਿਆਂ ਵੀ ਰਚਨਾਵਾਂ ਵਿਚ ਆਪਣੀਆਂ ਆਪਣੀਆਂ ਬਿਸੇਖਤਾਈਆਂ ਦੇ ਰਹਿੰਦਿਆਂ ਹੋਈਆਂ ਵੀ ਇਕ ਸਮਾਨ ਧਾਰਾ ਹੋਣ ਦੇ ਕਾਰਨ ਉਹ ਸਭ ਅਪਭਰੰਸ਼ ਕਹੀਂਦੀਆਂ। ...ਜੇ ਕਾਲੀਦਾਸ ਦੇ ਵਿਕ੍ਰਮੋਰਵਸ਼ੀ ਨਾਟਕ ਵਿਚ ਲੜਕੇ ਅਪਭਰੰਸ਼ ਦੇ ਪਦ ਕਾਲੀਦਾਸ ਹੀ ਦੀ ਕਿਰਤ ਮੰਨ ਲਏ ਜਾਣ ਤਾਂ ਈਸਵੀ ਸਨ 400 ਦੇ ਲਗਪਗ ਅਪਭਰੰਸ਼ ਵਿਚ ਚੰਗੀ ਰਚਨਾ ਹੋਣ ਲਗ ਪਈ ਸੀ, ਇਹ ਸਿੱਧ ਹੋ ਜਾਂਦਾ ਹੈ। ਫੋਵੀਂ ਸਦੀ ਵਿਚ ਅਪਭਰੰਸ਼ ਕਾਵਿ ਸੰਸਕ੍ਰਿਤ ਕਾਵਿ ਤੋਂ ਪ੍ਰਾਕ੍ਰਿਤ ਕਾਵਿ ਦੀ ਬਰਾਬਰੀ ਵਿਚ ਆ ਬੈਠਿਆ ਸੀ, ਇਸ ਵਿਚ ਤਾਂ ਕੁਝ ਸ਼ਕ ਹੈ ਹੀ ਨਹੀਂ। ਅਪਭਰੰਸ਼ ਭਾਖਾ ਵਿਚ ਸਭ ਤੋਂ ਪੁਰਾਣੀ ਕਾਵਿ-ਰਚਨਾ ਦੋਹਾ ਛੰਦ ਵਿਚ ਹੋਈ ਜਾਪਦੀ ਹੈ। ... ਇਹ ਰਚਨਾਵਾਂ ਜ਼ਿਆਦਾਤਰ ਭੱਟਾਂ ਦੁਆਰਾ ਹੀ ਰਚੀਆ ਗਈਆ ਪਤਤੀਤ ਹੁੰਦੀਆਂ ਹਨ। ਦੂਜੇ ਪਰਕਾਰ ਦੀਆਂ ਰਚਨਾਵਾਂ ਸੰਤਾਂ ਦੁਆਰਾ ਹੋਂਦ ਵਿਚ ਆਈਆਂ ਜਿਵੇਂ ਯੋਗਸਾਰ, ਜੋਇੰਦੁ ਕਵੀ ਦੀ। ਦੇਵਸੋਨ (੯੩੩ ਈ: ਦੇ ਲਗਪਗ) ਨੇ ਆਪਣਾ ਇਕ ਕਾਵਿ ਪਹਿਲਾਂ ਦੋਹਿਆਂ ਵਿਚ ਲਿਖਿਆ, ਫੇਰ ਗਾਥਾ ਛੰਦ ਵਿਚ। ਬੋਧੀ ਦੀ ਸਿੱਧ-ਸੰਪਰਦਾ ਵਿਚ ਬਹੁਤ ਸਾਰੀਆਂ ਦੋਹਾਂ ਪਰਧਾਨ ਅਪਭਰੰਸ਼ ਰਚਨਾਵਾਂ ਹੋਈਆਂ। ਅਪਭਰੰਸ਼ ਸਾਹਿਤ ਦੀ ਦੂਜੀ ਸ਼ਾਖ ਸੰਭ-ਕਾਵਾਂ ਦੀ ਹੈ ਜਿਹਨਾਂ ਵਿਚ ਭਾਂਵਨਾਂ, ਉਸਤਤ, ਸੰਲਾਪ, ਛੋਟੇ ਆਖਿਆਨ ਜਾਂ ਕਥਾਨਕ ਮਿਲਦੇ ਹਨ। (ਇਹਨਾਂ ਦਾ ਰੂਪ ਸੰਬਾਦ ਜਾਂ ਗੋਬਟ ਦਾ ਰੂਪ ਹੈ। ਮੋਹਨ ਸਿੰਘ) ਅਪਭਰੰਸ਼ ਦੀਆਂ ਬਹੁਤ ਸਾਰੀਆਂ ਛੁਟਕਲ ਰਚਨਾਵਾਂ ਪ੍ਰਾਚੀਨ ਗੁਰਜਰ ਕਾਵਯ ਸੰਗ੍ਰਹ, ਅਪਭਰੰਸ਼ ਕਾਵਯਤ੍ਰਯੀ ਅਤੇ ਐਤਿਹਾਸਿਕ ਜੈਨ-ਕਾਵਯ ਸੰਗ੍ਰਹ ਵਿਚ ਛਪ ਗਈਆਂ ਹਨ। ਪ੍ਰਾਚੀਨ ਗੁਜਰਾਤੀ ਗਦਯ ਸੰਦਰਭ ਵਿਚ ਚੋਦੁਵੀਂ ਤੇ ਪੰਦੁਰਵੀਂ ਬਿਕਰਮੀ ਸਦੀਆਂ ਦੀਆਂ ਲਗਪਗ ਸੌ ਛੋਟੀਆਂ ਵਡੀਆਂ ਜੈਨ ਕਥਾਵਾਂ, ਧਰਮ ਉਪਦੇਸ਼ ਆਦਿ ਜਮਾ ਹਨ।

According to Dr. S. M. Katre (The Karnatak Historical Review, 1937 A. D., Muslim Contribution to Apabhraṃśa Literature), one Addahman (Abdul Rahman) son of Mir Sen,

possibly of Multan, wrote a long poem of 216 Padas, which is a message sent by a woman to her husband through a traveller. All these Padas are in different Ragas and Raginis. Such Apabhrama poems are called Gita Khand Kavyas.

16. A study of the Apabhramsa literature, in prose and poetry, found in Gujerat, Deccan, etc., leads me to believe that Apabhramsa was at some stage synonymous with Panjabi and that Panjabi writers were producing the same type of poems, stories, praises, histories, ballads, as were Jain and Muslim writers in Rajasthan, U.P., Gujerat and the Deccan right up to the end of the 17th cent A.D. and further that the Dasam Granth contains much that had been till then produced in Apabhramsa outside the Panjab. The prose and poetic moulds were the same as the themes. Some metres and forms common to Jain and Muslim, and Panjab Hindu-Sikh writers were the Doha, the Pada, the Raso, the Bara Musa, the Sanbad, the Katha, Chhapai, Chaupai, Satsai, Chaupadi, Chachari, Phag or Hori. Panjabi equivalents of Doha and Pada are Sloka and Shabad. Sloka means fame or singing of one's fame. The Var is a development of the Sloka or Shalok (Panjabi).

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## Gurmukhi Script-History

The task which Guru Nanak Dev set himself was sevenfold : 1. to re-arrange the alphabet, and give it a new name ; 2. to fix sounds for the letters of the alphabet ; 3. to make the alphabet a fit instrument for writing Arabic-Persian words more correctly and appositely in their original as well as Panjabized pronunciation ; 4. to make the alphabet an equally fit instrument for the various Panjabi dialects all of which he knew by personal travels and contacts ; 5. to beautify, simplify, specify the letters, to avoid confusion and to achieve greater speed and economy ; 6. to illustrate and guide standard spelling-phonetical, and 7. to inculcate his spiritual doctrines through ascription of meanings to the separate letters in the form and style of the Sankrit 'Ekakshri Koshas' (One-letter lexions), the Hebrew Alphabet Poem, and the Hindwi Alphabet poems ascribed to the Panjab 'Kanpate Nathi' poets ('Chauntisi of 34 letters), to Masud the court poet of Mahmud Ghaznawi's son at Lahore ('Si Harfi' or 30 letters, 28 plus 2) and to Kabir who had left a 'Bavan Akhri, found in the Guru Granth Sahib. The last gives the Deva Nagari Alphabet in the current order but strangely enough gives the sounds of the letters not singly as in Sankrit but trebly as in use in Panjabi since Nanak. Obviously there was some one at least out of the 64 alphabets current in India, the letters of which carried trebled sounds.

Two things may be here disposed of once for all. Guru Nanak Deva (1469-1538) has left his alphabet poem, 'Patti' ; so has Guru Amar Das (1479-1574) ; he also calls it 'Patti' ; Guru Angad Deva has left no such poem. A comparative study of the language, structure, music and ideology of the two poems leaves absolutely no doubt that all the poetry of Guru Nanak Deva indited by himself in Gurmukhi script, passed on as the most precious legacy and heirloom to Guru Angad Deva, then to Guru Amar Das and then through Guru Ram Das to Guru Arjuna Deva, the compiler of the 'Adi Granth.' Guru Ram Das composed no alphabet poem. Guru Nanak was not aware of the poetry of Kabir but Guru Arjuna Deva was ; so Guru Arjuna Deva composed an alphabet poem keeping in view the alphabet poem 'Bavan Akhri' of Kabir, and called his own poem 'Bavan Akhri ; further he composed it in the same Raga, 'Gauri', as had been employed by Kabir. Guru Angad therefore had nothing to do with the alphabet, one thing ; another, that the exemplary spellings of Nanak were to be followed and were actually followed in the main by all the other Guru poets except when the exigencies of metre, or the nature of the dialect and of the Raga and of grammatical-syntactical usage demanded a change. 'Patta' means a slab, tablet, plate of metal for inscription or engraving royal edicts, grants etc. ; a patent, document, royal grant or order.

The order of the alphabet as given to us by Nanak is as follows ; S, L, U, Ng ; K, Kh, G, Gh ; Ch, Chh, J, Jh, Nj ; T, Th, D, Dh, Nr ; T (soft), Th, D (soft), Dh (soft d), N ; P, Ph, B, Bh, M ; Y, R, L, V, R (hard) ; H, A. In this poem Nanak calls himself 'Shair', the Persian word for the poet. In another poem attributed to Nanak but not found in the Guru Granth Sahib, the order is U, A, I, S, H, forming the first pentet ; Ng is tagged to the second pentet. The total number of letters in both 'Patti, (authentic) and 'Paintis Akri' (unauthentic) is 35 ; the stanzas in 'Patti' are 35, as also the letters.

Guru Amar Das in his own 'Patti' starts with A, Y, Ng, K, Kh, Gh, and the Sankrit or Devanagari Ree and Lre ; he however gives only 24 sounds in treble pronunciation. He has, in verse, varied the order, which is A, Y, Ng, K, Kh, Gh, L, Chh, B, J, S, M, K, T (soft), Th (soft T), Gh, D (soft), P, Bh, V, Jh, Dh (soft D). G, H, R-24 in all, 11 missing.

It will be noted that the order of the letters admits of a four-fold classification: (1) according to the place from which the single sounds emerge; (2) according to the similarity of the shapes of the letters; (3) according to the importance of speech or meaning of the words; and (4) according to the sounds being vowels or consonants.

### Vowels

Nanak has left no record of how he wanted the vowels to be sounded. But from one instance available I infer that he gave new names as also utilized the current ones of some alphabet; the one instance is of 'Kanna', which is long a (aa). The sounds of the 12 Gurmukhi vowels are, mukta, kanna; siari, biari; ankar, dulankre; lan, dulanvean; hora, kanaura; bindi, tippi. There is an other vowel, compound one, equivalent to aih. The alphabet primer was called Bal Bodh, showing that Gurmukhi script had something to do with Bal Bodh script.

The most important because urgently needed reforms which Nanak had to effect in the Devanagari script were, in the first instance, those relating to the use of the vowels (16 in Devanagari): (1) to make the vowels distinct, avoiding confusion with the shapes of the consonants; (2) to make them more easily writable and readable, and (3) to abolish altogether the conjoint sounds as the mongrel and unlettered population could and did pronounce only two conjoint sounds, r and h, attached to other single sounds; and (4) to discontinue writing a letter twice either horizontally in combination or vertically, one below the other. The last reform was the most economical, comforting, convenient; it not only saved time and energy, and prevented ugliness and confusion from butting in; it also made Gurmukhi truly indigenous to the language and the people. The speech of the peoples or tribes responsible for the birth and growth of Panjabi has one marked characteristic, the doubling of the second consonant and the fourth consonant in two sound and four sound (letter) words. Nanak studied the Persian symbols and decided that when you want to indicate the double sound of a letter just put over the letter, its top hanger, towards the left, a crescent mark, christened by him as "Adhdhak" (Extra, More). The Persian symbol which Nanak shortened from a double crescent, two crescents placed side by side to a single, is called the sign of 'Tashdeed' and has the same sense as Adhika (Sanskrit). Another reform which Nanak introduced in recognition of or in accordance with a speech feature of the masses—Ahirs, Gujjars, Khattris, Aracens, Aroras, Bakarwals, Ods, Bhuts, Pishachs, etc.—was that he represented with a 'bindi', dot, and a dot over a crescent, the quarter and the half nasal sounds, just as he made the semicircle face downwards stand for the full nasal sound. We Panjab Khattris say Ranm; Nanak made us write Raun. This is what Kabir mas. also show. Now the trouble even with these was that both these sounds had no fixed positions; with some letter they joined as firsts, with others as seconds, and they had their own independent positions also: 'R' not only was joined but sometimes placed above the line. This was confusing, delaying, clumsy, ugly. Nanak enjoined that 'r' shall be placed at the foot of a letter, so shall be 'h'; 'r' will be represented by a slanting line and 'h' by a crescent.

There were other defects to be removed; the vowel 'au' had an 'aa' (diphthong) in it which caused confusion and delay for it was represented by two slanting lines above and also a vertical line. The sign for 'ee' consisted of a regular whole letter with a crescent above it which was like the 'r' symbol above the letter. The Guru, therefore, gave distinct, clear, easy symbols. The beauty, simplicity, economy, distinctiveness, clarity, ease, facility and the speediness associated with their use gives Gurmukhi vowel signs a patent superiority over Devanagari vowel signs and points to the directions in which reform should come in the Devanagari script.

Why did Nanak bring in the three vowels 'a', 'u', 'i' and treating them as consonants, made a pentet of them by adding 's' and 'h' and place the pentet even above the guttural, palatal, lingual, dental and labial pentets in this order, and making the last of the seven pentets include besides Y, R, L, V; Rh (hard R). As I have more than once remarked we needed a reformed alphabet for the new Apabhramsa born of a mixture of populations, races, tribes, cultures; we needed a people's script as we had come to have a new people's language-utterance, grammar, syntax and semantics. Nanak found that in the Apabhramsas then existing and being gradually further shaped into Des Bhakhas, u. a and i were actually being used for replacement of consonants, specially second and third consonants in three-consonant words. The middle and end ya was always replaced in popular speech by i. Further any middle or end consonant of a three-consonant word could be and was being replaced by h; and h was itself being changed for s. Thus these five U, A, I, S & H were such popular sounds—letters as did work universally. the work of softening, speeding, slurring, blending; in view of this republican function of theirs, they were grouped into a separate pentet and placed at the head. The place of the hard r (rh) was with the soft r—at least in the same pentet, at the end. In the seventh pentet also the interchangeability amongst themselves and with others was the main cause of their separate grouping—Y, R, L, V, Rh. R and L are interchangeable like S and H; R replaces Rh, and V changes into or replaces both R & L.

Why did not the great Guru drop ng (last of the second pentet), nj (last of the third), nr (last of the third), and rh (last of the seventh)? Because in some of the Sind Sagari Dialects of Panjabi they were and are still being distinctly sounded, for instance, Sanskrit Ang Bahu is in Puthuhari-Anj banh. But the Guru in his alphabet poem made it perfectly clear that ng was really equivalent to g; nj equal to n; nr equal to r; and rh equal to r.

### Another Problem

There was another problem raised by two types of current pronunciations of gh, jh, dh, dh (soft d), bh, and rh, that is, sounds which were really bisyllabic involving an addition of h. The taking over of loan words from Persian further deepened the h-symbol problem: is h to come before, or after, or to be placed at the foot, or altogether dropped. Even in the Sind Sagar Doab two distinct pronunciations are current horizontally as well as vertically, among different places and among the different tribes and castes and classes living in the same place or area. One form is Sangh, with gh as distinct from G plus h; another is Sahng with g; still another is sangh in which the sound of h does come at the end. Still another form would be, were h to be dropped. The Guru took note of all these (Khadha, Khada, Khahda) and allowed and illustrated the use of full latitude and made it clear that even if the h is not represented at the foot—to stand for its pronunciation before, after or conjointly—it will continue to be sounded by the population and one need not bother about this. R was as far as possibly written separately as it actually was uttered as a separate sound. Conjoint bisyllabic or even trisyllabic sounds of Devanagari were and are impossible for the Panjabis and other medieval Indian populations to utter.

There was another speech peculiarity which Nanak took notice of and represented symbolically. Apart from the grammatical or syntactical use, i, a, and u were frequently used by the various provinces and populations so much so that tongues came to be classified as *ikaranta*, *ukaranta* & *akaranta* according as the last consonant was sounded with i, u or a, vowels superadded to it. Sanskrit was *akaranta*. Nanak, when writing Sind Sagari, used u, i symbols properly to such words as were pronounced with a u, i bias, whether of Sanskrit origin or of Arabic-Persian origin.

The only change in the sounds of the alphabet since Nanak has been that Eewarhee has been shortened in articulation to Eerhee, Aairha to Airha, and Tatta is pronounced as Tainka. So far about the order and the pronunciation of the letters of the alphabet. Only one explanation why Nanak started his alphabet poem with S and ended it A; why Guru Amar Das started with A and ended with R; and why Guru Arjuna Deva began with Oa, passed on to S and ended with S. The explanation lies in the stress which each Guru placed on the spiritual and philosophical aspects of the meanings the letters were meant to convey. The most important mystic words (or letters) are Soham, Oang, Rang. The three Gurus stressed them separately, one each.

### Shapes of Letters

I now come to the shapes of the letters, after having done with their sounds and their order according to the similarities of sound or shape or structure. In a true alphabet each sign generally denotes one sound only, writes Dr. David Diringer, and each sound should be represented by a single constant symbol.

To Nanak it was clear that a letter should be 1) beautiful, 2) specific or distinct; 3) simple; 4) fixed; 5) easily joinable; 6) easily writable, economically and speedily, without the writer having to raise the hand very often and to change the basic direction. Now we have only these six full forms to make use of; 1. the dot or the point; 2. the circle; 3. the semi-circle; 4. the crescent; 5. the straight line, vertical or horizontal; and 6. the slanting line. If you have a good look at the vowel signs given by Nanak, you will at once see the scientific precision and aesthetic perfection which he had accomplished.

Talking of the Maheshwari characters, Mr. A. B. Walawalker says: "To study the original characters per Maheshwari Sutras it required to disregard the diacritical marks of the vowels and the inherent A in the letters. The component crescents of vowels and consonant letters are found in a marked system of geometrical patterns. The letters, vowel U and the hard consonants K, P, C, T, take a single crescent A. soft consonants J, B, G, D, semi-vowels H, Y, R, L, V, hard aspirates Kh, Ph, Ch, Th, and sibilants S, S, S take two crescents, I, E, U and soft aspirates Jh, M, Gh, Th, Ph, Dh, take three crescents and the nasals Nj, M, D, Nr, N take one crescent with a small circle to convert the class consonant into a nasal. This is the geometrical resolution of the Indian Alphabet, the generalized system of the Maheshwari notation, supreme, ancient and indigenous."

Let us see what Nanak gave us. He dropped the bisyllabic & trisyllabic sounds like Gya, Kaha, Lri and made no distinction between, Sha, Kha, S. For the remaining 3 vowels and 32 consonants, he re-shaped letters. Amongst other things to be noted is the fact that Nanak did not want to go away far from the ancient business and court and religious alphabets in regional use in his time. You have to notice with great care the reduction that Gurmukhi letters have brought about in the number of strokes, flourishes, etc. required. You write without much altering the direction or raising the hand too often. There is a continuity, speediness, economy, beauty and facility.

A look at the Gurmukhi alphabet will show that (1) each letter stands independently as well as is easily joinable; the connecting horizontal line is not needed for a word (or for a sentence as in Sanskrit); (2) the upper horizontal line easily becomes a part of the letters, the joint in a practised hand becoming a rounded turn; (3) 21 out of 35 letters only require one stroke; you write out the whole letter inclusive of the top or hanger at one stretch without

raising the hand or without changing the direction too often ; (4) of the remaining 14 letters 12 require two strokes and the remaining two alone, th and n, require three strokes. The second and third strokes just consist of a short horizontal line or two, a short slanting line up, down, or sideways. I wish I could give a photo copy of a manuscript prepared in 1701 A. D. at Bhatinda in the Panjab by a Brahmana scribe, Sibbu Ram. You can easily see for yourself the aesthetic beauty of the script which makes use mostly of curves, crescents, semi-circles and circles. The upper hanger becomes a crescent or a curve in quick writing. Another noteworthy feature is the similarity in shapes and a progressive complication of the structure, from the simple to the complex. The alphabet could be rearranged to point out such affinities and progression, facing east, west, down and up.

I will not compare Panjabi and Devanagari but will only say that when from 1925-28 I was at Cawnpore I used to receive letters from Hindi writers of repute ; I noticed how reduced, well-shaped (round) and economical do even Devanagari characters become denuded, in quick private writing, of their stiffness and superfluities ; I noticed, in other words, how close Devanagari letters, thus reduced and rounded off, came to Gurmukhi letters.

I have only one point more to clarify in this article. Originally the name of this alphabet was Gurmukhi (short i) Akhkar or Gurmukhi (short i) Patti ; but later in popular speech the short i was elongated (the rule in modern Panjabi is that the short i is either diphthongized or dropped) and the script as well as the language (& the teachings too) were called Gurmukhi (long i) Akhkar or just Gurmukhi.

As regards model, standard spellings given to us by Guru Nanak, I shall not discuss the details here and will content myself by enunciating the principles he applied, and by saying that Manmukhs or self-willed persons are either staging a return to Sanskrit and Arabic-Persian parent pronunciation and spelling or are corrupting spellings by adopting the forms of corrupt speech as uttered by uneducated, cockney, rustic folk in towns and villages. Standard literary spelling is governed by the following five considerations : (1) It should phonetically represent in writing the spoken word of the middle class with a smattering of education-literacy ; (2) It should not move far away from the parent word and obscure or make doubtful the origin ; (3) It should be in accordance with the phonetic genius of the race, tribe or area ; (4) It should strike a mean or effect a compromise between fixed tradition and continued change ; (5) It should treat all old and new loan words as equal subjects of the republic and subject them to the prevalent phonetic laws. It is to be regretted that the model spellings given in the Guru Granth Sahib are not being followed.

In his booklet *Pre-Ashokan Brahmi* (1951), Shri A. B. Walawalker has said a few very important things. "The cleavage in 'these provincial scripts' was not so wide during the time of the Buddha and even of Ashoka, who encouraged Brahmi as one common 'lipi' for the whole of India on the basis of a compromise for political as well as for religious reasons.... In 1928, I came to the conclusion that in order to find a solution of the problem, a thorough change in the outlines of the letters was highly essential and the syllabic writing of the Nagari must be changed completely to an alphabetic one." Gurmukhi script is not syllabic but alphabetic.

One of the factors that introduces change in scripts, is the frequency of their use in business ; business demands saving of time, clarity, distinctness, secrecy, economy of effort, and speed-all these things at the same time. We recall an event in the life of Guru Nanak Dev ; he was appointed a 'modi' in the 'modikhana' of Daulat Khan Lodhi at Sultaupur Lodhian. Now a 'modi' was a modern storekeeper and accountant combined. The script that the 'modis' used

in the then Punjab is the alphabetic or phonogrammatic script known to us as Munda, Sarafi, Lunda, Mahajani or Takre. Medieval Punjab under Gurjars had a very intimate relation as a member of two successive empires—Gurjar and Rajput, with both Gujerat and the Maharashtra. Now the word 'Modi' brings into our minds the 'modi lipi' of Maharashtra fashioned from the South Indian Brahmi (Damila). Modi, says Mr. Walawalker, has been a ministerial and traditional script of the Marathas since the time of the Yadavas of Devagiri and their Minister Hemadri who introduced it. As against this Modi, was the Balbodh script.

"The Brahmi of Ashoka is not the original Indian alphabet but an adaptation common to all the Indian scripts during the time of Ashoka and adopted for the engraving of his Edicts. This imperial script naturally became universal for the whole of India and was in practice till the fall of the Guptas and the Andhras. It is wrong to hold that the various modern Indian scripts are the direct offshoots of Ashokan Brahmi. It is a fact that after the decline of Buddhism people discarded the Brahmi script in favour of the provincial scripts so much so that the Edicts of Ashoka very soon became unreadable."

The word 'lipi' (verb) means to anoint, to smear: 'lipi' is writing by smearing (not inscribing as was the practice in Egypt, Ur., etc., which may be the cause of lack of ancient inscriptions prior to Asoka). In Panjabi we have the forms, lep, lepnan, lipai, lipp; also leo. Even today the Panjabi boy is asked to bring his 'patti' (wooden writing tablet, also called Takhti), smear it with wet white paint and then to write the alphabet 'patti' on it. Here is a case of the word for the object on which the alphabet is written being used for the writing, for what has been written, the alphabet. But 'lipi' in the Sanskrit sense has never been used in Panjabi. In Panjabi we prefer to use 'akhar' ; compare the Pali 'akharani'—alphabet.

I need hardly add here that there is no proof that the alphabet in use in the Panjab from Panini's time has been Devanagari. As stated in a previous article of mine, the Jain 'Agamas' (168 B. C.) and the Buddhist 'Lalita Vistara' mention 64 alphabets including the Buddhist 'Lalita Vistara' mention 64 alphabets including the Brahmi (not 'lipi' but 'livi'), for example 'Kharotthi, Damila, Gandharva, Nag Livi, Javanaiya, Kayasthi', etc. One should like to know more about Gandharva. I have already referred to the incorrectness of the theory that all the Indian alphabets whether 64 or less current in the days of Jain Agamas and Lalita Vistara were derived from the one script Brahmi. Dr. Diringer's work "The Alphabet" clearly proves two things: (1) 'Alphabets are not derived from picture-writing'; (2) 'It seems probable that the various peoples and tribes on the various continents or blocks of continents developed their early civilizations including writing, more or less, independently.'

As a supplementary note, I refer to the punctuation marks Guru Nanak Deva introduced for the first time; to the norm he set for writing of Sanskrit language in Gurmukhi script, just as he had set the standard for writing Arabic-Persian words duly Panjabized in this script; and to the use of both signs 'ankurh' and 'horha' where the preciseness of representation of a sound midway between o and u demanded it. All this shows how scientific, comprehensive and precise was Nanak's approach and his achievement. We have to note that Nanak's new alphabet symbols, his spellings, his Panjabized forms of Turkish Arabic, Persian, Portuguese words, all forms found in the poetry he wrote himself and in the prose which he may be presumed to have inspired in his own time and under his own patronage, have been scrupulously followed by all Gurmukhi writers and scribes since Nanak's time, even in prose, wherein certain inflectional signs and symbols were not necessary. It is only recently that deviations from Nanak's norm have been started. In his 'Sahaskriti Slokas' the Guru has used at the foot one

sign for Y used conjointly and the whole letters of V or W and N and T below the hanger ; this was a concession to preciseness of symbolic representation in the case of old Hindu religious words still so much in use among the educated classes which would not brook the Apabhrasht forms of such select words. The exceptions are the following : Pustak, dyawai, nihphalantasy, khyatri, Krishnang, Basvadevasy.

## The Siddham or Siddha Matrika Script

Lately it has been argued by some writers that the (Panjabi) Gurmukhi script evolved by Guru Nanak Deva has its basis not only in Brahmi (Post-Asokan) but also in The Siddham script. In an article in the Vedavani\*, Banares, Dr. Raghuvira has made a valuable contribution to this subject.

In several small works in Bhutan, China, Japan and Mongolia, the Siddham lipi current in India in the sixth and seventh centuries A. D. is fully described. Alberuni (11th century A.D.) refers to this script and adds that according to some informants of his the Siddham script is in vogue in Kashmir ; it is also employed in Varanasi (Benaras) and in the area round Kanyakubja (Qannanj). In Malava territory another kind of script is in use ; it is called Nagara. In Sindh the script current is called Archanagari as it is a cross between Siddhamatrika and Nagari.

Four centuries before Alberuni the Chinese traveller Itisung had also talked of Siddham, which script has 49 letters. There was a book on this script called Siddhirastu having 18 chapters. Seven centuries before Itisung there was a custom of the student starting his learning of the script with the utterance of the word Siddham. Dr. Raghuvira opines that in course of time this invocation became synonymous with or denotative of the script itself.

The script was indited with a pen made of Sarkanda shrub, on Tal leaves, about two fingers wide. Only small letters can be written on the leaf. In China the script was used to write out Tantrik Mantras and Baudha Dharanis, on Tal leaves, and, later, on silk, paper, and wooden doors or walls. We have a dharani written by Prajnatara, a scholar of Nalanda, in India, who went out to China and wrote it with the Chinese pen called Tulika, in Siddhim letters.

In China every Siddham letter was taken to stand for a particular spiritual truth or teaching. (This reminds us of the Hebrew Alphabet Poems, Sanskrit Ekakhshri Koshas, and the Panjabi Pattis, Akhris and Harfis. MS)

\*Hindi, April 1956, pp. 17 to 21, illustrated.

A look at the Siddha letters clearly shows that the following letters-shapes are almost the same in Siddhim and Gurmukhi (The Siddha having been replaced by the Guru !!!) :

ਕ, ਗ, ਘ, ਙ, ਚ, ਛ, ਜ, ਝ, ਞ, ਟ, ਠ, ਡ, ਢ, ਣ,  
ਤ, ਥ, ਦ, ਧ, ਨ, ਪ, ਫ, ਬ, ਮ, ਯ, ਲ,  
ਖ, ਸ ।

As regards the vowels signs the four important Gurmukhi vowels are very much there.

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The identity of the letters ਘ, ਛ, ਡ, ਢ, ਣ, ਥ, ਧ, ਪ, ਫ, ਮ, ਖ, ਸ is particularly noteworthy. In respect of these letters there is little affinity between Gurmukhi and Nagari. So then here we have ample proof that Guru Nanak Dev's contact, with the Siddhas Jogis, Naths and his travels in north, south and east were fruitful in a hundred different ways. It may be added that there is noticeable similarity between Sharda and Siddham scripts in respect of some letters.

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## BIOGRAPHICAL AND BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTES (Revised)

(Bibliography—B.)

**Abdulla.** He died in the second half of the 11th century A. H. He is said to have been born in the present Montgomery District. His *Baran Anvaa* is a collection of short tracts in verse, some of which bear dates of their composition. (*Vide Baran Anvaa*, first edition, Jot Singh Sant Singh, Lahore.)

**B.** Panjabi, Persian script : *Prem Kahani* by Bawa Budh Singh, 1933, and *Panjabi Darbar*, monthly, Lahore, January 1930, an article by Q. Fazl-i-Haq.

**Ahmed Yar.** He is said to have been born in 1768, in a village in the present District of Gujrat ; fell in love with a non-Muslim girl and had to leave his home and settle down at another village called Murala. In 1840, he was sent for by Maharaja Gulab Singh at Lahore and commissioned to write a History of the Khalsa which he duly completed in *Pahlavi* and called *Shahanchi Name*, still in MS. Amongst the forty works he composed only a few are available in MS.; and only four in print, *Hir*, *Qissa Chandar Badan*, *Qissa Kamrup—Kam Lita* and *Qissa Raj Bibi*. His other verse mentioned is *Sassi Punnun*, *Laila Majnun*, *Sohni Mahinwal*, *Saif-ul-Muluk*, *Hatim*, *Tafsir-i-Sura-e-Yusuf*, *Tibb-i-Ahmad Yar*, *Qissa Titar*, *Qissa Tamim Ansari*, *Jang-i-Badar*, *Jang-i-Khad*, *Jang-i-Khandaq* and *Tavallud Nama* and *Vafat Nama* of the Holy Prophet.

**B.** *Qissa Hir* was *Ranjha* in Panjabi language, Persian Script, 1928, Lahore.

**Arjan Dev. Guru.** He was born in 1563 of Guru Ram Dass and Bibi Bhani at Goidval and married in 1579 ; ascended the *gaddi* of Guruship in 1581 ; founded the present Golden Temple at Amritsar in 1588 ; was martyred at Lahore in 1606.

**B.** Persian : *Dabistan-i-Mazahib*.

English : *The Spirit Born People* by Puran Singh.

**Bahu. Sultan.** He was born at Sherkot in Multan Division, of Bayazid Muhammad and Bibi Rasti ; died in 1102 A. H. ; left over a dozen Persian poetical works and a few *Baits* in Panjabi ; has ever been honoured as one of the great Indian Sufi Saints with a large following.

**B.** Urdu : *Manaqib-i-Sultani*, a full and detailed biography of Bahu, in prose.

Persian, Panjabi and Urdu : *Madh-i-Sultan-Bahu* in verse, being a collection of tributes by various followers.

**Barkhurdar, Hafiz.** He was a contemporary of Aurangzeb ; was a resident of the area then known as the Province (Suba) of Lahore. A number of his poetical works are still in MS. He is said to have finished his versified version of *Yusuf Zulaikha* in 1090 A. H. ; he also poetized the stories of *Sassi-Punnun* and *Mirza-Sahiban*, and composed in verse an *Anvaa*.

**B.** Panjabi, Persian script : *Prem Kahani* by Bawa Budh Singh and the *Panjabi Darbar*, Lahore, September 1929.

**Bihari Lal Puri.** He was born in 1830, in the present Gurdaspur District ; was educated at Ludhiana ; was employed as a draftsman at Madhopur and Lahore ; founded the *Satt Sabha* at Lahore in 1866 ; died in 1885. Amongst his better known works are *Vidia Ratnakar*, *Charitavali*, *Panjabi Viakaran*, *Pingal Manjari* and *Anek Darshan*.

**Budh Singh, Bawa.** (1878—1931). He was born at Lahore ; joined the Panjab Government, Irrigation Department, in 1902, as Sub-Divisional Officer and was officiating as

Superintending Engineer when he lost his life in a fatal motorcar accident while driving along from Amritsar to Lahore. His *Hans Chog* (1913), *Koili Ku* (1915), *Babiha Bol* and *Prem Kahani* (1933) are well-edited selections from pre-modern Panjabi poetry. Other prose works of his are *Shataks*, *Chandar Hari Natak*, *Daler Kaur*, *Mundri Chhal*, *Nar Naveli*, *Damni* and *Raja Rasalu*. *Pritam Chhob* is a collection of his miscellaneous verses. He was a great patron of Panjabi literature and was one of the founders of the Panjabi Sabha, Lahore.

B. *The Phulcari*, Panjabi monthly, Lahore, for Magghar-Poh, 1988 V.

**Bulhe Shah.** (1680—1753). He was born in Pandok, a village in Lahore District. His father's name was Muhammad Darvesh. In his maturity he made friends with one Sadhu Darshni Nath. Both he and his sister died celibate. His spiritual preceptor was Inait Shah of Lahore. They belonged to the order of Qadiri Shattari Sufis. He left behind several *Kafis*, *Dohras*, *Si Harfis*, an *Athvara*, 1 *Baran Manh* and *Gudhin*, all of which were recently collected and published by Prem Singh of Kasur.

B. English : *Bulhe Shah, and Panjabi Lyrics and Proverbs*, by C. F. Osborne, I. C. S. Urdu—1. *Bulhe Shah* by Zia-ud-Din Barni, 1338 A.H., a translation of Osborne's *Bulhe Shah*,

2. *Halva-e-Panjab*, Lahore.

Panjabi : *Bulhe Shah*, Dr Mohan Singh, University of the Panjab, Lahore, 1931.

**Charan Singh Shahid.** He was born in 1891, started life at 15 in the office of the *Khalsa Samachar*, weekly, Amritsar; published his first novel, called *Sham Sauder* in 1907; started and edited the first Panjabi daily, *Bir*, 1915; was appointed a Court-poet of the Maharaja of Nabha; served for some time as General Secretary to the Ecclesiastical Council in Patiala State; founded the first Panjabi weekly of wit and humour, the *Mauji*, in 1926, and ran it successfully till his death in 1935. He was the President of the Central Panjabi Sabha, Amritsar, since 1931. His numerous works, poems of wit and humour, original and translated novels, satirical and didactic essays, will be found listed in Chapter VII. He had two poetic pen-names, *Shahid*, for his serious poetry, and *Suthra*, for his light verse. His most striking poems are : ਮੇਰੀ ਕਲਮ, ਜੀਭ, ਅਮੀਰ ਦਾ ਬੰਗਲਾ, ਆਦਮ ਕੋ, ਮੁੜ ਚੁੱਗੀ ਦਾ ਚੁੱਗੀ, ਦੌਲਤ ਦੀਆਂ ਦੋ ਠੋਕਰਾਂ, ਬੇਪਰਵਾਹੀਆਂ, ਮਾਲਣ, ਜਿੱਧਰ ਬਹੁਤੇ ਓਧਰ ਹਮ, ਕੰਮ ਤੇ ਘੜੇਮ. (*Badshahian*)

B. Pp. 3—10, a note by Lala Dhani Ram Chatrik in *Badshahian*, 1933, by Charan Singh.

**Dhani Ram, Chatrik.** He was born in 1876. His poems first appeared in the *Khalsa Samachar*, weekly, Amritsar. In 1906 were published his *Bharthri Hari* and *Nal Damyanti* in verse and in 1908, *Dharam Bir* and *Phullan Di Tokri*. He owned the Standard Type Foundry at Amritsar where he had been residing since 1893, except for a break of three years, which he spent at Bombay. He was the Secretary of the Central Panjabi Sabha, Amritsar, since 1931. Died in 1954.

B. *Chatrik Abhinandan Granth*, English, Panjabi and Hindi.

**Farid, Baba.** He was born in 1173, at Khotval in the present Multan Division; studied at Multan; became a spiritual disciple of Qutb-ud-Din Kaki at Delhi; settled down at Pakpattan where he died in in 668 A. H. or 1238 A. D. He wrote poetry in both Persian and Panjabi

B. Urdu. *Panjab Men Urdu* by Shairani. Persian. *Ain-i-Akbari*.

English. *Shrine of Baba Farid* by Miles Irving, J. P. H. S., Volume I, No. 1. 191

**Fazal Shah** He was born at Navankot in the district of Lahore in 1244 A. H.; wrote his *Sohni* in verse at the age of 20 and followed it up after 20 years with his poetical version of *Hir*; also did *Laila Majnun* (1288 A. H.) and *Zulaikhan* (1301 A. H.) and *Tuhfatul Zulal*.

**Ganesha Singh, Mahant.** He was a Nirmala Sadhu, Secretary of the Akhara Panchaiti Nirmala, at Amritsar. Practice of Ayurvedic Medicine was his profession proper

though he pursued literature with no less zeal and proficiency. His spiritual preceptor was Sant Hira Singh. To write his best-known prose history of about 200 Indian religions and sects, *Bharat Mat Darpan*, he travelled throughout the length and breadth of India, finishing his travels in 1903 and completing the work in 1916. The Vaidak Bhandar or Ayurvedic Medicinal Store at Amritsar was run by him. Died recently.

**Gobind Singh, Guru.** He was born of Guru Tegh Bahadar and Mata Gujri at Patna in 1666; ascended the *gaddi* in 1675, at Anandpur; founded the *Khalsa* at Kesgarh in 1699; died in 1708 at Nander in the present Hyderabad State.

B. Panjabi: *Itihas Guru Khalsa* by Sadhu Gobind Singh.

English: *Life of Guru Gobind Singh* by Bhagat Lakshman Singh.

**Gulab Singh.** He was born in 1732 of Raia and Gauri in the village Sekhav in the present District of Lahore; studied Sikhism and Vedanta under Sant Man Singh and acquired mastery of Sanskrit at Kashi. He belonged to the Nirmala Sadhu order. His important poetical works are: *Bhavrasamrit*, 1777; *Mokh Panth* 1778; *Adhyatam Ramayan* (translation), 1782; *Prabodha Chandra Natak*, 1792.

B. Panjabi: *G. S. R.* by Bhai Kahan Singh.

**Gurdas, Bhai.** He was converted to Sikhism in 1579; visited Lahore, Agra, Kashi to propagate the religion of the Sikh Gurus; was the amanuensis employed by Guru Arjan Dev to write the *Adi Granth*; wrote 40 Vars and 556 Kabits, etc.; died at Goindval in 1637.

B. G. S. R. by Bhai Kahan Singh.

**Hamid Shah Abbasi, Hamid.** He is said to have been born in 1161 A. H. in a village in the present District of Gurdaspur. He started writing his *Hir* in verse in 1783. Of his other works the *Jang Nama* is well-known.

B. Panjabi: *Prem Kahani* by Bawa Budh Singh.

**Hasham.** He was born at Jagdeo in the present District of Amritsar in 1166 A. H.; wrote a poetical *Var* about Mahan Singh, the father of (Maharaja) Ranjit Singh in 1702, which won him the attention of the Maharaja and a place at his court; also wrote *Sassi Punnun*, *Sohni*, *Hir*, *Shirin Farhad* and *Laila Majnun*, and the *Dohras*. He was a great friend of Faqir Aziz-ud-Din, a Minister of Maharaja Ranjit Singh. He died at the age of 70.

**Hidait Ullah.** He died during the last decade at Lahore, his native place, at a very ripe age. He was a tailor by profession in the Muhalla of Chabuk Savaran. He studied under Maulavi Hafiz Vali Allah. He has left 11 Si Harfis, one *Baranmanh*, and a few verses in Urdu and Persian.

**Hira Singh, Dard.** He was born in 1899 at Ghagrot in Rawalpindi District; joined the staff of the *Akali*, daily, Lahore, in 1920; was sent to jail during the Akali Gurdwara Reform Movement for 2 years; started his monthly, *Phulvari*, in 1924. His *Dard Sunehe*, a collection of his political and religious poems, came out in 1918; two more were published in 1921. His best poems, according to himself, are: ਅਨੰਦ ਪੁਰੀ ਪ੍ਰੀਤਮ ਦੇ ਦਰਸਨ ਮਾਫੀਫਾੜੇ ਦੇ ਜੰਗਲ ਵਿੱਚ, ਉਪਕਾਰੀ ਹੰਝੂ, ਤੈਂ ਕੋ ਦਰਦ ਨਾ ਆਇਆ, ਵੇਖ ਮਰਦਾਨਿਆਂ ਰੰਗ ਕਰਤਾਰ ਦੇ ।

**Joshua Fazal Din.** He was born at Jhelum in 1903; graduated (B. A.) in 1906 from F. C. College, Lahore; started his monthly, *Panjabi Darbar*, in Persian script, Panjabi language, in 1928, at Lyallpur and later shifted it to Lahore. His was the first attempt to popularize Panjabi written in Persian script. He has begun to employ certain diacritical marks so that Panjabi may be written phonetically.

**Kahan Singh, Bhai.**—He was born in 1861 at Nabha. Under reputed Sikh Pandits of the last century he studied Dharma, Vyakarana, Nyaya, Vedanta, Kavya, etc.; was appointed

tutor to Tikka Ripudaman Singh by the late Maharaja Hira Singh of Nabha in 1887. Later he occupied several positions of trust in the State.

**Kali Das.** He was a native of Gujranwala District. His most popular works in verse are *Prahlad*, *Harichand*, *Puran Bhagat*, *Gopi Chand*, *Rup Basant*, *Haqiqat Rae*, and *Ramain*. He died in 1944 (b. 1865) A. D.

**Kishan Sing, Arif.** He was a resident of Amritsar; the son and the spiritual disciple of Narain Singh and Gulab Das, Sat-i-gur of Chithianvala, respectively. He finished his *Hir* in verse (*Kalian* metre) in 1889. He left a number of other poetical works in Panjabi and Urdu. Died in 1900.

**Mani Singh, Bhai.** He was born in a village in the present Patiala State. He became a Singh in 1704; stayed at Delhi for sometime and reached Damdama in 1705-06; was made the Granthi or Head Priest at Amritsar in 1721, where he wrote a great deal; was tortured to death at Lahore in 1737.

B. G. S. R. by Bhai Kahan Singh.

**Mohan Singh, Vaid.**—He was born at Taran Taran in 1881, fourth son of Bhai Jaimal Singh. He started taking keen interest in Sikh religion and Panjabi literature, while yet in his teens. Besides in Ayurvedic medicine he acquired proficiency in Astrology, the Tantras and Psychology. He owned and edited the first Panjabi monthly magazine "Dukh Nivaran" from 1906 to 1920. The number of his printed works, large and small, reaches a century and a half. For several years he was a member of the Executive Committee of the All India Vaidak and Yunani Tibbi Conference. He was a member of Taran Taran Municipal Committee also. Died in 1936.

B. *The Pritam*, monthly, Jan. 1925.

**Muhammad Buta.** He was a resident of Gujrat District. His most famous poems are: Panj Ganj, Sohni Mahinval and a Baran Manh.

**Muhammad Muslim, Muslim.** He was the son of Maulvi Muhammad Azim. He finished the first Book, *Gulzar-i-Adam*, of his *Ajaib-ul-Qisas* in 1277 A. H. and followed it up with *Gulzar-i-Musa*, *Gulzar-i-Sikandari*, and *Gulzar-i-Muhammadi*.

**Muhammad Shah Din.** He was a resident of Rangpura in Sialkot District. By birth a Qureshi he joined the Qadiri-Sarvari order of Sufis. A list of his Panjabi verse translations from Persian Sufi poets will be found in Chapter VIII. Died recently.

**Nanak Dev, Guru.** He was born of Bedi Kalu Chand and Mata Triptan at Talwandi in the present Sheikhpura District in 1469; took service as Accountant with Daulat Khan Lodhi at Sultanpur in 1485; married Sulakhni Ji in 1487; started on his travels in 1497; settled down finally after his travels at Kartarpur in 1522; died there in 1539.

B. English: Life of Guru Nanak by Sardar Seva Ram Singh.

Guru Nanak as an Occultist by H. C. Kumar.

**Puran Singh, Professor.** He was born in the District of Abbottabad in 1881; before graduation left for Japan in 1900 where he specialized in Applied Chemistry during his stay of 3 years and where at the close of the period he met Swami Rama Tirtha and went over from Buddhism out of love for which he had become a Bhikkhu, to Vedanta. On his return to India he was appointed a Professor at the Forest Research Institute, Dehra Dun.

Later he was at Gwalior in the service of the State. He left that and started managing his estate in Sheikhpura District. His English works are : The Sisters of the Spinning Wheel, The Ten Masters, The Spirit of Oriental Poetry, Unstrung Beads, The Spirit-Born People, Life of Swami Rama Tirtha, Seven Caskets of Prose-Poems, At His Feet, Spirit of the Sikh, and An Afternoon with Self. He died in 1931 at Dehradun. Of his best poems are (*Khulhe Maidan*) :  
 ਭਨਾਂ ਦੀਆਂ ਲਹਰਾਂ, ਸੱਜੀ ਦੀ ਨੀਂਦ, ਪੰਜਾਬ ਦੇ ਮਜ਼੍ਹਰ, ਪੰਜਾਬ ਦੇ ਦਰਯਾ, ਜਵਾਨ ਪੰਜਾਬ ਦੇ, ਰੋਣਕ ਬਜ਼ਾਰ ਦੀ,  
 ਕੁੜੀਆਂ ਦਾ ਸੀ ਤ੍ਰਿੰਵਨ, ਸੋਹਣੀ ਦੀ ਝੁਗੀ, ਹੀਰ ਤੇ ਰਾਂਝਾ, ਰਾਣੀ ਇਛੋਰਾਂ ਦਾ ਉਚਾ ਗੱਮ।

B. English : The Modern Review, monthly, Calcutta. August 1931.

The Khalsa Review, monthly, Lahore, April-May 1931.

**Santokh Singh.** He was born in 1788 at Amritsar, studied poetics and rhetoric under Giani Sant Singh; translated Amar Kosh into his peculiar blend of Hindwi-Panjabi and composed Guru Nanak Prakash in 1823 : was in the employ of Maharaja Karam Singh of Patiala and Bhai Udai Singh of Kaithal ; prepared a commentary on the Jap of Nanak in 1829 ; finished his account of the other 9 Sikh Gurus, called Gur Pratap Suray, in 1843 ; and died the same year at Kaithal. He also translated Atma Purana and Valmiki Ramayana, 1843.

B. Panjabi : G. S. R. by Bhai Kahan Singh.

**Tara Singh, Pandit.** He was a resident of Girvari in district Hoshiarpur. Maharaja Narindar Singh of Patiala extended his patronage to him. Among his better-known works are the prose commentaries of Mokh Panth (1865), Bhagtan Di Bani (1882), and Sri Rag (1889) ; Surtaru Kosh (1876) ; Gurmat Nirnai Sagar (1887) ; Akhal Murat Pradarshan and Gurvansh Taru Darpan (1878) ; Gur Tirath Sangraih (1883) ; and Gurgirarth Kosh (1889). He was by faith a Nirmala Sadhu, a disciple of Sant Gulab Singh.

B. Panjabi : G. S. R. by Bhai Kahan Singh.

**Varis Shah.** He was born at Jandiala Sher Khan in the present Sheikhpura District ; wrote his *Hir* in 1180 A. M. He is said to have been a pupil of Hafiz Ghulam Murtaza. A version of *Sassi-Punnun* and a battle account are also attributed to him.

**Vir Singh, Bhai.** He was born in 1872 ; his father Dr. Charan Singh (b. 1853) was the well-known writer of *Bani Beura*, *Shila*, *Sharab Kaur* and *Kesari Charkha*. Bhai Vir Singh passed his Matriculation examination in 1898. The dates of some of his publications are *Rana Surat Singh*, 1905 ; *Laihran De Har*, 1921 ; *Matak Hulare*, 1925 ; *Bijltan De Har*, 1917 ; *Bharthari Hari*, 1916. He has been editing The Khalsa Samachar, Panjabi weekly, and been managing a Printing Press for a very long time now. He is one of the Directors of the Panjab Sind Bank, Ltd.

B. English : The Spirit of Oriental Poetry and The Nargas by Prof. Puran Singh.

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## ENGLISH TRANSLATIONS FROM PANJABI.

Translator and his work.	Author translated and the work translated.
Attar Singh	... ?, Gur Bilas and Travels of Gurn Tegh Bahadur.
Brijindar Singh	... Gurn Gobind Singh ; Jap, Shabads and Svayyas.
Court, H., History of the Sikhs	... Sarddha Ram, Sikkhan De Raj Di Vithia.
Macauliffe, M. A., The Sikh Religion	... The Sikh Gurus, the Bhagats ; the Adi Granth-a portion.
Puran Singh, Nargas	... Bhai Vir Singh, miscellaneous poems.

Rose, H.A., ; Legends from the Panjab,

A Triplet of Panjabi Songs and the Legends of Khan Khwas and Sher Shah

Siddons	... Guru Gobind Singh, Vichitra Natak.
Skemp, F. W., Multani Stories	... Miscellaneous Multani Folktales.
Temple, R. C.	... Legends, Folksongs, and Folklore.
Trumpp, The Holy Scriptures of the Sikhs	... A portion of the Adi Granth.
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(This list is additional to the works mentioned in the footnotes foregoing.)

## CHAPTER I

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Latif, S. M. ... History of the Panjab  
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J. R. A. S , 1885.

## CHAPTER II

### SOME CHARACTERISTICS OF THE PANJABI LANGUAGE AND PROSODY

- Bailey, T. G. ... Linguistic Survey of India, B. S. O. S , 1921., pp. 134—136 ;  
English Words in Panjabi, B.S.O.S., 1926-28, pp., 783-90.  
Bailey and Cummings ... Panjabi Manual and Grammar, 1925.  
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Newton, Rev. J. ... A Grammar of the Panjabi Language, 1851.  
Starkey, S. C. and Basawa ... A Dictionary, Outlines of Grammar, also Dialogues, 1849.  
Singh  
Tara Singh ... Guru Girarth Kosh.

## CHAPTER III

### THE PERIODS

- Eliot, Sir Charles ... Hinduism and Buddhism, 4 Vols.

## CHAPTER IV

- Eliot, Sir Charles ... Hinduism and Buddhism, 4 Vols.

## CHAPTER IV

### THE PRE-NANK AGE

- Har Dayal ... The Bodhisattava Doctrine in Buddhist Sanskrit Literature  
Horovitz, J. ... Baba Ratan, J. P. H. S., Vol. II, No. 1114.  
Shairani, M. ... Panjab Men Urdu. (Urdu)  
Stulpnagel, C. Rebsch ... The Sikhs, pp. 3-11.

## CHAPTER V

### THE AGE OF NANAK

- Khazan Singh ... The History and Philosophy of Sikhism  
Ganesha Singh ... Bharat Mat Darpan. (Panjabi)  
Greaves, Edwin ... A Sketch of Hindi Literature.  
Johnson, Samuel ... Oriental Religions.  
Keay, F. E. ... Kabir and His Followers.

- Ranade R. I. ... **Mysticism in Maharashtra.**  
 Thomas, F. W. ... **Mutual Influence of Muhammadans and Hindus in India.**

### CHAPTER VI

#### THE LATER MOGHUL PERIOD.

- Brown, James ... **History of the Origin and Progress of the Seikhs, 1788.**  
 Forster, George ... **Journey from Bengal to England through the Panjab, 1798.**  
 Wilkins, Charles ... **Observations of the Seiks and their College. A.S., Vol. I.**

### CHAPTER VII

#### THE AGE OF RANJIT SINGH

- Bailey, Dr. T. G. ... **The Ballad of Ram Singh's two Rebellions and The Ballad of Larn Barn, J. P. H. S., Vol. VIII. 1920.**  
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 Temple, Sir R. C. ... **Vide pp. 620-21, Linguistic Survey of India, Vol. IX, Part I, for a list of his writings.**  
 Vogel, J. Ph. ... **Historical Rhymes and Proverbs of the Panjab, J. P. H. S., Vol. I, No. 2., 1912.**
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## APPENDIX

### Published Books by Dr. Mohan Singh

#### 1. ENGLISH

Guru Nanak Dev (1922)  
Guru Arjan Dev (1922)  
The Origin and Granth of Panjabi  
Guru Gobind Singh As a Poet  
A History of Panjabi Literature  
Characteristics and Tendencies of Modern Urdu Poetry  
Kabir and the Bhakti Movement  
Gorakmath and Medieval Hindu Mysticism  
Mysticism of Time in the Rigveda  
Secrets of Spiritual Life  
New Light on Sri Krishna and Gita  
New Light on the Buddha's First Sermon  
Enemies of Peace  
I am a refugee  
A Double Miracle (Poems)  
Who Am I  
Urdu Literature  
An Introduction to Panjabi Literature  
Mysticism, Philosophy and Religion

#### 2. PANJABI

Panjabi Sahit da Sankhep Itihas (A History of Panjabi Literature)  
Sufian da Kalam (Mystic Poetical Anthology)  
Adhunik Panjabi Kavita (Modern Panjabi Poetry)  
Pankharian (Plays)  
Dhupp Chhan (Poems)  
Devindar Battisi (Short Stories)  
Jitendra Sahitya Sarovar (Critical Essays)  
Jagat Tamasha (Poems)  
Pat Jhar (Poems)  
Kalam Shah Husain (A critical edition)  
Panjabi Bhakti Kavya (Medieval Hindu Poetry)  
Nil Dhara (Poems)  
Panj Ekanki Natak (five plays translated from English and Hindi)  
Japu (Panjabi Language and Prosody)  
Bulhe Shah (A critical edition)  
Nirankari Sakhian (Poems)  
Navin Dip Mala (An anthology of Panjabi prose and poetry)  
Guru Gobind Singh ; Verse translation of the Bhagawad Gita (A critical edition)  
Rang Tamashe (Short Stories)  
Parandi (Short Stories)  
Masti (700 Quatrains)  
Som Ras (Poems)

Bhasha Vigian te Gurmat Gian (Commentaries on Nanak's Jap and Sidhdh Gosht)  
 Science da Parbhan Samaj utte (Translation of B. Russell's The Impact of Science on  
 Society)

### 3. HINDI

Sada Gulab (Short Stories)  
 Svaravali (Problem Plays)  
 Nama Deva (A biography and songs)

### 4. URDU

Kaifiyat (Poems)  
 Dosheeza (Poems)  
 Nai Dunya (Poems)  
 Chutkiyan (Essays of Wit and Humour)  
 Tin Shair (Poems)  
 Naghma-e-Didar-i-Ilahi (Nanak's Jap in Urdu Verse)

### 5. PANJABI, URDU SCRIPT

Shah Husain  
 Salok Farid  
 Shalok Nanak  
 Masti (Quatrains)  
 Hir Waris (A critical edition)  
 Panjabi Adab di Mukhtsar Tarikh  
 Shalok Guru Tegh Bahadur

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## Published Research Articles and Notes.

<b>English</b>	
A Great Sikh	... An article on the late Prof. Puran Singh, the Khalsa Review, April-May 1931.
Modern Panjabi Poetry	... An article, in the Modern Review, Calcutta, Oct. 1931.
The Panjab Tagore	... An article in the Tribune, daily, Lahore, 1st Dec. 1931.
Nazm-i-Panjabi	... Two articles in the Adabi Dunya, monthly, Lahore, June 1929 and Aug. 1929.
Panjab Ke Dehat Aur Panjabi Shairi	... An article in The Sitara-e-Subh, monthly, 1931, Lahore.
<b>Panjabi</b>	
Hir	... Two articles on Hir Literature in the various languages in the Hans, monthly, Amritsar, May 1929 and June-July 1929.

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An inquiry into the origin and growth of the romantic legend of *Sassi Punnun*, containing a full bibliography of Sassi literature; the texts of Sassis in Western Panjabi by Adat and Hasan printed from two mss. in the University Library; summaries in Panjabi of Jot Prakash's Persian poem on Sassi (1136 A. H.) and Salik's Urdu poem on Sassi; and bits of folklore culled from the various Panjabi versions of the legend, *Oriental College Quarterly*, Gurmukhi, Feb. 1929, May 1929, Aug. 1929, Nov. 1929, Feb. 1930, Aug. 1930, and Nov. 1930.

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Mystic-lyrical poems (*Kafis*) of Bulhe Shah (17th cen.), edited with the help of three mss., with an introduction containing the life and teachings of Bulha, historical and biographical notes on allusions, an index, a bibliography, and a glossary.

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*Sufism and Guru Nanak*, a comparative study, Urdu. *Sher-i-Panjab*, Lahore, weekly, June 1935.

The composition of the *Japu*, from a Panjabi Gurmukhi ms. copied in 1701 A.D.

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Three articles on Baba Farid and Sheikh Ibrahim and Farid Sani, *Oriental College Quarterly*, Urdu, Lahore, Feb. 1938, May 1938 and Aug. 1938.

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# MODERN URDU POETRY

(Characteristics and Tendencies)

1867—1925 A. D.

— — —  
*Being a Thesis approved by the Calcutta University for the Degree of  
Doctor of Philosophy*

— — —  
BY

**S. Mohan Singh, Uberoi, Dewana.**

*M. A., Ph. D.,*

**Oriental College, Lahore**

OPINIONS

Prof. S. Khuda Bakhsh, M. A., B. C. L., Bar-at-Law, Calcutta University Professor of Islamic History and Culture, and reputed Scholar and Critic of Arabic, Persian and Urdu:

Mr. Mohan Singh's thesis on Modern Urdu Poetry is, without exaggeration, an achievement of the highest order. It is, so far as I am aware, the only work of its kind in English. The author has dealt with every aspect of Urdu Poetry: dramatic, mystic, descriptive, lyric, epic and narrative, religious and social. And it is noteworthy that in his treatment there always is a sureness of touch and an aptness of illustration. The difference between the older and the newer poetry is excellently brought out. He brings home his points with arguments which at once persuade and convince. Every line of his work points to wide reading and deep thinking. He is always comparative in his method. He unrelentingly unfolds the characteristic weakness of the poets under review. Only one fault I find with him and to that fault I must refer, or else praise would lose the force of equipoise. He is somewhat summary with the national movement as it is reflected in Modern Urdu Poetry. Possibly he will later develop this aspect of Urdu Poetry. To me the national strain is its most vital, enduring aspect, for it is, assuredly, an infallible index to the spirit of the Age. And nowhere is this spirit more genuinely evidenced than in literature! Apart from the pioneer work in criticism done by Mr. Mohan Singh he has given us an exhaustive Bibliography and valuable biographical and historical notes on the poets. The Urdu Section considerably enhances the value of his thesis. It enables the reader to judge for himself the style, the method, the tendencies of Modern Urdu Poetry. He is not only a prose-writer of distinction but is also a poet of rare excellence.

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Let me congratulate you on the production of your thesis which deals with some characteristics and tendencies of modern Urdu Poetry. I have read it from cover to cover together with the anthology of poems which you have attached to it; and I must say that I have been very favourably impressed by your exceedingly interesting work. It shows not only that you have read Urdu Poetry very widely but that you have appraised it with a judgment strengthened by a sound knowledge of English poetry and literary criticism. You have given an illuminating analysis of the characteristics of different forms of Urdu poetry and a splendid survey of its form and content. I am specially pleased with your balanced criticism of the Urdu ghazal and drama and I think you have rendered a distinct service to literature by calling attention to the defects of these forms. I entirely share your opinion that convention has sucked the life-blood out of Urdu lyric, so that it has become now, to use your lively expression, "Patent-Municipal water." It is an admirable piece of literary work for which I congratulate you once more.

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# PANJABI SECTION

## SELECTIONS

GORAKH NATH. ਗੋਰਖ ਨਾਥ

ਰਾਮਕਲੀ

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ਜਾ ਘੀ ਅਨਿਗਤ ਸਰਿ ਸੁਧ ਨਾਹੀ ਆਵੈ ਕਛੁ ਕਹਿਆ ਨ ਜਾਈ ਹੈਰਾਣ ॥ ੧ ॥ ਰਹਾਉ ॥  
ਸੁਨਿ ਬੀਨਾ ਪੰਚ ਚੋਰ ਅਘਾਏ ਸਿਵ ਰਾਤਾ ਅਭਿਮਾਨ ।  
ਸੁਨਿ ਸੁਨਿ ਚੰਚਲ ਮਤਿ ਡਈ ਬਵਰੀ ਰੀਝਿਆ ਮਨ ਸੁਲਤਾਨ ॥ ੧ ॥  
ਉਲਟਿਆ ਕਵਲ ਪਵਨ ਕੋ ਪਲਟਿਆ ਬਾਂਧਿਆ ਮਨ ਪਰਵਾਨ ।  
ਗਗਨ ਮੰਡਲ ਕਾ ਮਾਰਗ ਲੀਆ ਨਿਰਖ ਅਗਮ ਅਸਥਾਨ ॥ ੨ ॥  
ਛੁਟਕਿਆ ਨਾਡ ਦੁਆਦਸ ਆਇਆ ਲਾਗਾ ਤ੍ਰਿਕੁਟੀ ਧਿਆਨੁ ।  
ਉਨਮਨ ਗਤਿ ਗਗਨੰਤਰ ਚੜਿਆ ਬਿਸਰਿਆ ਦੇਹੁ ਪਰਾਣ ॥ ੩ ॥  
ਜੀਵਤ ਮਿਰਤਕ ਹੋਇ ਰਹਿਆ ਜਨ ਕਰਿ ਬਿਮਲ ਇਸਨਾਨ ।  
ਬਦਤ ਗੋਰਖ ਸੁਣਿ ਮੈਣਾਵੰਤੀ ਤੋਰਾ ਅਸਥਿਰ ਭਇਆ ਸੁਜਾਨੁ ॥ ੪ ॥

( P. U. L. MS. No. 374 )

## CHARPAT, ਚਰਪਟਿ

ਸਲੋਕ ਚਰਪਟਿ ਕੇ

ਤਣਿ ਤੀਰਥਿ ਬ੍ਰਹਮਣਿ ਕੇ ਕਰਮਾ । ਪੁੰਨੁ ਦਾਨ ਖਤੀ ਕੇ ਧਰਿਮਾ ।  
ਬਣਿਜ ਬਿਉਪਾਰੁਬੈਸਨੋ ਕੇ ਕਰਮਾ । ਸੇਵਾ ਡਾਉ ਸੁਧਿ ਕੇ ਧਰਿਮਾ ।  
ਚਾਰੋ ਬਰਨਿ ਇਹੁ ਚਾਰੋ ਧਰਮਾ । ਚਰਪਟ ਪ੍ਰਣਿਵੈ ਸੁਣਿਹੋ ਸਿਧੋ  
ਮਨੁ ਵਸਿ ਕੀਏ ਜੋਗੀ ਕੇ ਧਰਮਾ ॥ ੧ ॥

ਸੋ ਕਛੁ ਕਰਹੁ ਜਿ ਬਹੁਰਿ ਨਾ ਕਰਿਨਾ । ਸੋ ਕਛੁ ਧਰਹੁ ਜਿ ਬਹੁਰਿ ਨਾ ਧਰਨਾ ।  
ਸੋ ਕਛੁ ਜਰਹੁ ਜਿ ਬਹੁਰਿ ਨ ਜਰਿਨਾ । ਸੋ ਜਲੁ ਤਰਹੁ ਜਿ ਬਹੁਰਿ ਨ ਤਰਿਨਾ ।  
ਇਹੁ ਕਸਰਤਿ ਜਬਿ ਪਾਵੈ । ਚਰਪਟੁ ਪ੍ਰਣਿਵੈ ਫਿਰ ਗਰਭਿ ਨਾ ਆਵੈ ॥ ੨ ॥

ਹੋਨੇ ਕਾਰਨਿ ਕਥਹਿ ਗਿਆਨੁ । ਹੋਨੇ ਕਾਰਨਿ ਧਰਹਿ ਧਿਆਨੁ ।  
ਹੋਨੇ ਕਾਰਨਿ ਤੀਰਥਿ ਇਸਨਾਨੁ । ਹੋਨੇ ਕਾਰਨਿ ਪੁੰਨੁ ਅਰੁ ਦਾਨੁ ।  
ਹੋਨੇ ਕਾਰਨਿ ਸੁਧ ਸੰਗਰਾਮ । ਹੋਨੇ ਕਾਰਣਿ ਪਚਿ ਪਚਿ ਮੁਆ ।  
ਚਰਪਟੁ ਪ੍ਰਣਿਵੈ ਕੋਈ ਸਾਧੂ ਅਨਿਹੋਨੀ ਹੁਆ ॥ ੩ ॥

ਬਨਿਬਨਿ ਫਿਰੈ ਕੰਦਮੁਲੁਆਹਾਰੁ ਕਰੈ । ਜਲਿ ਤਪੁ ਸੀਤਿ ਕਾਲਿ ਮਧਿ ਖਰੈ ।  
ਅਗਨਿ ਤਪੁ ਉਸਨਿ ਕਾਲਿ ਮਹਿ ਕਰੈ । ਹਠਿ ਨਿਗ੍ਰਹਿ ਕਰਿ ਛੀਜਤੁ ਜਰੈ ।  
ਚਰਪਟੁ ਪ੍ਰਣਿਵੈ ਮਨਿ ਤੇ ਫੂਲਾ ਇਹੁ ਬਾਤਾ ਕਰੈ ॥ ੪ ॥

ਨਿਰਿ ਡਉ ਲੀਲਾ ਨਿਸੰਕੁ ਮਤਾ । ਮਨੁ ਬਿਬਰਜਤੁ ਇੰਦ੍ਰੀ ਜਤਾ ।  
ਸੁਧ ਫਟਕਿ ਮਨੁ ਗਿਆਨਿ ਰਤਾ । ਚਰਪਟੁ ਪ੍ਰਣਿਵੈ ਸਿਧ ਮਤਾ ॥ ੫ ॥

ਬਾਹਿਰ ਉਲਟਿ ਡੁਉਨਿ ਨਹੀ ਜਾਉ । ਕਾਹੇ ਕਾਰਨਿ ਕਾਨਨਿ ਕਾ ਚੀਰਾ ਖਾਉ ।  
 ਬਿਛੁਤਿ ਨਾ ਲਗਾਵੋ ਜਿਉ ਤਰਿ ਉਤਰਿ ਜਾਇ।ਖਰਿ ਜਿਉ ਧੁੜਿ ਲੋਟੈ ਮੋਰੀ ਬਲਾਇ ।  
 ਸੋਲੀ ਨਾ ਬਾਧੋ ਲੋਵੋ ਨਾ ਮਿਗਾਨੀ । ਓਢਉ ਨਾ ਖਿੰਬਾ ਜਿ ਹੋਇ ਪੁਰਾਣੀ ।  
 ਪਤੁ ਨਾ ਪੂਜੋ ਡੰਡਾ ਨਾ ਉਠਾਵੋ । ਕੁਤੇ ਕੀ ਨਿਆਈ ਮਾਗਨੇ ਨਾ ਜਾਵੋ ।  
 ਬਾਸੀ ਕਰਿ ਕੈ ਭੁਗਤਿ ਨਾ ਖਾਵੋ । ਸਿੰ-ਧਿਆ ਦੇਖਿ ਸਿੰਝੀ ਨਾ ਬਜਾਵੋ ।  
 ਦੁਆਰੈ ਦੁਆਰੈ ਪੂਆ ਨਾ ਪਾਵੋ । ਭੋਖਿ ਕਾ ਜੋਗੀ ਨਾ ਕਹਾਵੋ ।

ਆਤਿਮਾ ਕਾ ਜੋਗੀ ਚਰਪਟੁ ਨਾਉ ॥ ੬ ॥

ਲੰਮੀ ਖਿੰਬਾ ਬੋਲ ਮਝੋਲੀ । ਕੰਨਿ ਫੜਾਇ ਮੁਖਿ ਤੰਬੋਲੀ ।  
 ਦਿਹੈ ਭਿਖਿਆ ਰਾਤੀ ਰਸੁ ਡੋਗੁ । ਚਰਪਟੁ ਕਹੈ ਗਵਾਇਆ ਜੋਗੁ ॥ ੭ ॥

ਜੋ ਮ੍ਰਿਤਕੁ ਘੋੜੇ ਪਰਿ ਚੜੈ । ਕਿਉ ਅਕਾਸੁ ਟੁਟਿ ਨਾਹੀ ਪੜੈ ।  
 ਜੋ ਮ੍ਰਿਤਕੁ ਤਨਿ ਲਾਵੈ ਜੋੜਾ । ਅਜਹੁ ਨਾ ਮੁਆ ਲਾਜਿ ਨਿਗੋੜਾ ।  
 ਜੋ ਮ੍ਰਿਤਕੁ ਬਾਧੈ ਧਮਰਾਈ । ਧਿਗੁ ਜਨਨੀ ਵਾ ਕਉ ਲਾਜਿ ਨਾ ਆਈ ।

ਜੋ ਮ੍ਰਿਤਕੁ ਕਛੁ ਹੋਇਆ ਚਾਹੈ । ਚਰਪਟੁ ਪ੍ਰਣਿਵੈ ਜੋਗੁ ਨਾ ਨਿਬਾਹੈ ॥ ੮ ॥

ਭੋਖਿ ਮ੍ਰਿਤਕ ਕਾ ਏਕ ਸੁਭਾਉ ਰੇ ਭਾਈ । ਉਸ ਖਫਨੀ ਓਸਿ ਖਫਨੀ ਲਾਈ ।  
 ਓਸ ਟੋਪੀ ਉਸ ਅੰਚਲਾ ਬਧਾਈ । ਓਹੁ ਨਹੀ ਬੋਲੈ ਓਹੁ ਸੁੰਨਿ ਧਿਆਈ ।  
 ਵਹੁ ਨਿਹਿ ਸਬਦਿ ਓਹੁ ਕਰਮਿ ਗਲਤਾਨੀ । ਵਹੁ ਦਰ ਰਹੈ ਅਸਿਬਾਨਿ  
 ਵਹੁ ਮੜੀ ਮਸਾਨੀ ।

ਜੋਗੁ ਕੀਏ ਤਿਭਵਣਿ ਸਾਰੇ । ਚਰਪਟੁ ਪ੍ਰਣਿਵੈ ਪੂਤਾ ਕਛੁ ਜੋਗੁ ਬੰਪਾਰੇ ॥ ੯ ॥

ਜੋ ਮਨੁ ਮਾਰੇ ਕਿਆ ਪੜੈ ਪੁਰਾਨੁ । ਜੋ ਮਨੁ ਮਾਰੇ ਕਿਆ ਕਥੈ ਗਿਆਨੁ ।  
 ਜੋ ਮਨੁ ਮਾਰੇ ਕਿਆ ਧਰੈ ਧਿਆਨੁ । ਜੋ ਮਨੁ ਮਾਰੇ ਕਿਆ ਬੇਦੁ ਕੁਰਾਨੁ ।  
 ਜੋ ਮਨੁ ਮਾਰੇ ਕਿਆ ਮੜੀ ਮਸਾਨੁ । ਜੋ ਮਨੁ ਮਾਰੇ ਕਿਆ ਪੁੰਨੁ ਅਰੁ ਦਾਨੁ ।  
 ਜੋ ਮਨੁ ਮਾਰੇ ਤਾ ਕਿਆ ਜੁਧੁ ਸੰਗਿਰਾਮੁ । ਜੋ ਮਨੁ ਮਾਰੇ ਕਿਆ ਗੰਗਾ ਇਸਨਾਨੁ ।  
 ਮਨੁ ਮਾਰੇ ਸਿਧਿ ਹੋਈ । ਚਰਪਚੁ ਪ੍ਰਣਿਵੈ ਸਾਧੁ ਬਿਰਲਾ ਮਨੁ ਮਾਰੇ ਕੋਈ ॥ ੧੦ ॥

ਸਾਧੋ ਆਵਹਿ ਸੇ ਘਰਿ ਬਾਰੀ । ਸੇਵਾ ਕਰਹਿਗੀ ਹਮਾਰੀ ।  
 ਹੇਠਿ ਬਿਛਾਵਹਿਗੀ ਤੁਲਿ ਤੁਲਾਈ । ਉਪਰਿ ਉਚਾ ਕਰਿ ਬੈਠਾਈ ।  
 ਜਤਿ ਕਤਿ ਕੀ ਮਾਇਆ ਲਇ ਆਇਆ । ਫੁਲਿ ਬੈਠਾ ਨਿਰੰਜਨੁ ਪਾਇਆ ।  
 ਸਿਖਿ ਕੀ ਘਰਿਨੀ ਲਾਗੈ ਪਾਇ । ਉਸਿ ਕਾ ਰੂਪ ਦੇਖਿ ਉਸਿ ਕਾ ਕਾਮੁ  
 ਢਲਿ ਜਾਇ ।

ਸਿਖਿ ਕੇ ਪੁਤ੍ਰਿ ਕਾ ਮੁਖੁ ਲੇ ਚਰੋਲੈ । ਜੈਸੇ ਕੁਤਾ ਹਾਡਿ ਕਉ ਬਿਰੋਲੈ ।  
 ਸਿਖੁ ਮਰੈ ਗੁਰੂ ਰੋਵੈ । ਨਿਰ ਅਪਰਾਧੀ ਜੋਗੀ ਹੋਵੈ ।  
 ਏਕੁ ਘਰੁ ਤਿਆਗਿਆ ਸੈ ਘਰਿ ਲਿਆਇਆ । ਛੁਟਕਿਆ ਸਾ ਪਰੁ  
 ਬਹੁਰਿ ਭਰਿਮਾਇਆ ।

ਦਇਆ ਨਾ ਉਪਜੀ ਅਰੁ ਗੁਰੂ ਕਹਾਇਆ । ਪ੍ਰਣਵੈ ਚਰਪਟੁ ਤੇ ਨਰਕਿ ਸਿਧਾਇਆ ॥ ੧੧ ॥

ਸਤਿਗੁਰੁ ਐਸਾ ਲੋ ਪਰੇ ਤਿਰੀਆ ਕਾਮੁ ਬਿਬਰਜਿਤੁ ਲੋ । ਮਾਰੀਲੇ ਸਗਲਿ  
 ਕਾਮਨਾ ਧਰਮੁ ਸਦਾ ਦਿਤੁ ਅਸਤਤਿ ਲੋ ।

ਸੈਤੋਖੀ ਜਾਰੈ ਨਾਹੀ ਕਬਹੂ ਅਰਥਿ ਬਿਹੁਨਾ ਸਤੁ ਭਾਖੀ ਲੋ । ਪਰਿਸੁਆਰਥੁ  
 ਅਪੁਨਾ ਨਹੀ ਸੁਆਰਥੁ ਮਨ ਚੋਲਾ ਨਹੀ ਭਇਕੀ ਲੋ ।

ਮੈਲੇ ਪਾਣੀ ਕਪੜੇ ਧੋਵੈ । ਲੋਭੀ ਗੁਰੂ ਮੁਕਤਿ ਕਿਉ ਹੋਵੈ ।

ਗਿਆਨ ਬਿਗਿਆਨੁ ਸਦਾ ਤਤੁ ਸਾਰੁ । ਐਸੇ ਸਤਿਗੁਰਿ ਲੋ ਉਤਰਹਿਗੇ ਪਾਰਿ ।

ਦਇਆ ਨਾ ਉਪਜੀ ਅਰੁ ਗੁਰੂ ਕਹਾਇਆ । ਪ੍ਰਣਵੈ ਚਰਪਟੁ ਤੇ ਨਰਕਿ ਸਿਧਾਇਆ ॥ ੧੨ ॥

ਇਕਿ ਸੇਤਿ ਪਟਾ ਇਕਿ ਨੀਲ ਪਟਾ । ਇਕਿ ਤਿਲਕ ਜਨੇਊ ਲੰਬਿਜਟਾ ।

ਇਕਿ ਫੀਏ ਇਕਿ ਮੋਨੀ ਇਕਿ ਕਾਂਨਿ ਫਟਾ । ਜਬਿ ਆਵੈਗੀ ਕਾਲਿ ਘਟਾ ।  
ਤਬਿ ਫੋਡਿ ਜਾਹਿਗਾ ਲਟ ਪਟਾ । ਜਬਿ ਲਗੁ ਨਹੀ ਉਲਟਿ ਘਟਾ ।

ਕਹੁ ਚਰਪਟਿ ਪੇਟਿ ਨਟਾ ॥ ੧੩ ॥

ਸਰਿਵਾਨ ਨਾਇ ਰਾਗਿ ਨਹੀ ਜਾਹਿ । ਨੇਤ੍ਰਿ ਰੂਪੁ ਨਾ ਦੇਖਿ ਲੁਭਾਂਹਿ ।  
ਨਾਸਿਕਾ ਗ੍ਰੀਧੁ ਪਰਸੁ ਨਹੀਂ ਹੋਇ । ਖਟਿ ਰਸਿ ਕੋ ਜਿਹਿਬਾ ਮਰੈ ਨ ਰੋਇ ।  
ਜੀਤੀ ਨਹੀਂ ਕਾਇਆ ਅਰੁ ਸਿਧੁ ਕਹਾਇਆ । ਚਰਪਟੁ ਪ੍ਰਣਿਵੈ ਤੇ ਨਰਕਿ ਸਿਧਾਇਆ ॥੧੪॥

ਮਨੁ ਬਾਧੈ ਤੇ ਮਨਿ ਕਉ ਪਾਵੈ । ਨਹੀ ਤੋ ਭਰਿਮਤਾ ਜੁਨੀ ਆਵੈ ।  
ਜੋ ਮਨਿਸਾ ਠਹਿਰਾਨੀ । ਤੋ ਮਨਿ ਕੀ ਗਤਿ ਜਾਨੀ ।  
ਮਨਿ ਕੈ ਆਰੀ ਮਨਿਸਾ ਬਸੈ । ਸਰਿਪਨੀ ਹੋਇ ਹੋਇ ਮਨਿ ਕਉ ਡਸੈ ।  
ਉਤਿਰੈ ਨਾਹੀ ਖੋਪਿ ਬਿਖਿਆ ਲੁਭਾਰੀ । ਚਰਪਟੁ ਪ੍ਰਣਿਵੈ ਕੇਤੇ ਮੁਏ ਬਿਕਾਰੀ ॥ ੧੫ ॥

ਬਿਖਿਆ ਡੋਰੀ ਜਗਤਿ ਕੋ ਫਾਸੀ । ਕੇਤੇ ਕਾਰੇ ਫਿਰਹਿ ਉਦਾਸੀ ।  
ਅਰਬੁ ਨ ਖੋਲਿਆ ਫਿਰਹਿ ਚਉਰਾਸੀ । ਫਿਰਿ ਫਿਰਿ ਬਾਧੈ ਜਮਿ ਕੀ ਫਾਸੀ ।

ਐਸੇ ਚਰਪਟਿ ਨਰਕਿ ਸਿਧਾਸੀ ॥ ੧੬ ॥

(H. U. MS. No. 512, copied out in 1711 A. D; also see Shabad Shalok )

### CHAND BARDAI ਚੰਦ ਬਰਦਾਈ

ਇਤੀ ਕਵੀ ਚੰਦ ਵਿਰਚਤੇ ਪ੍ਰਥੀ ਰਾਜ ਰਾਸੈ ਪਦਮਾਵਤੀ ਵਿਵਾਹ ਪਾਤੀਸਾਹ ਗ੍ਰਹਨ । ਅਥ ਮਹੋਬ ਕੋ ਸਮੋ

ਲਿਖਤੋ:- -

ਦੋਹਾ—ਏਕ ਸਮੈ ਬਰਦਾਈ ਵਰ ਭਜਨ ਕਰਤ ਹੋ ਪ੍ਰਾਤ ।  
ਪਰਸ ਕਹਯੋ ਹਰਿ ਸਿਧ ਹਸਿ ਕਹੀ ਪਰਸਪਰ ਵਾਤ ॥ ੧ ॥  
ਕਹੈ ਚੰਦ ਗੁਨ ਛੰਦ ਪਦਿ ਕ੍ਰੋਧ ਉਦੰਗਲ ਸੋਈ ।  
ਚਹੁਵਾਨ ਚੰਦੇਲ ਕੁਲ ਕੰਦਲ ਉਪਜਨ ਹੋਈ ॥  
ਗਯਾਰਾ ਸੈ ਚਾਲੀਸ ਏਕ ਜੁੱਧ ਅਤਲ ਭਰ ਰੋਹ ।  
ਕਾਤਿਗ ਸੁਧਿ ਬੁਧ ਤ੍ਰਯੋਦਸੀ ਸੰਭਰਿ ਸੰਭਰਿ ਲੋਹ ॥  
ਕਿਤੇ ਦਿਵਸ ਬੀਤੇ ਜਹਾ ਆਨਦ ਉਮਗ ਉਛਾਹ ।  
ਪੁਰਬ ਦਿਸ ਕੀ ਖਬਰ ਸੁਨਿ ਰਖਿ ਛਤ੍ਰੀ ਧੂਮ ਰਾਹ ॥  
ਆਠ ਸਹਸ ਅਸਵਾਰ ਸਜਿ ਪਰਸਥਾਨ ਨਿਪੁ ਕੀਨ ।  
ਪੁਰਬ ਦਿਸ ਪਰ ਗਵਨ ਕੀਯ ਸੁਵਾ ਬਚਨ ਸੁਨਿ ਦੀਨ ॥

\* \* \* \* \*  
ਕੋਨ ਕਾਮ ਕੈ ਠਾਮ ਹੈ ਕੋ ਨਰੇਸ ਕੋ ਦੇਸ ।  
ਕੋਨ ਕਾਮ ਸਿੰਗਾਮ ਭਯੋ ਪੂਛੈ ਖਬਰ ਨਰੇਸ ॥  
\* \* \* \* \*

ਕੀਯ ਪਰ ਮਾਲ ਹੁਕਮ ਸੁ ਗਾਜਿ । ਚਲੇ ਸਬ ਰਾਵਤ ਜੰਗ ਹੈ ਸਾਜਿ ॥  
ਚੰਦੇਲ ਵ ਨਾਫਰ ਮੁਖ ਹੈ ਸੂਰ । ਬਘੇਲੇ ਰਗੋਹਿਲ ਰੋਹ ਕਰੂਰ ॥  
ਚਲੇ ਫੂਮ ਲੂਨ ਜਾਗਰਾ ਸੋਈ । ਸਜੇ ਭਰ ਜਾਦਵ ਮਰਦਵ ਹੋਈ ॥  
ਨਿਵਾਜੀ ਈਵੈ ਨਰੇਸ ਹੁਕਮ । ਸਨਮੁਖ ਸੁਕੁ ਸੁਫਕੁ ਰੁਕਮ ॥  
ਚਲੇ ਹਰਦਾਸ ਬਘੇਲ ਬਲਿਸ਼ਟ । ਪੰਜਾਠਿਵ ਸਾਬ ਉਚਾਰਿਵ ਇਸ਼ਟ ॥  
ਸਨੀ ਰਜਪਤਨ ਵਾ ਕੋ ਠੰਗ । \* \* \* \* \*

ਕਹੈ ਰਜਪੂਤ ਸੁਨਯੋ ਤਬ ਧੈਰ । ਸੁਨੈ ਪਰ ਮਾਲ ਕਰੈ ਮਤ ਵੈਰ ॥  
 ਸੁਨੈ ਚਹੁਵਾਨ ਨ ਛਾਡੀ ਹੈ ਦਾਵ । ਕਰੈ ਮਤਿ ਆਜਿ ਚੰਦੇਲ ਉਪਾਵ ॥  
 ਕਰੈ ਪ੍ਰਥੀ ਰਾਜ ਸੋ ਕਾਹਿ ਵਿਰੁੱਧ । ਭਜੋ ਤਜਿ ਖੇਤ ਜੁਰੈ ਤਾਂਹ ਜੁੱਧ ॥  
 ਅਸੀ ਸੁਨਿ ਬਾਤ ਕੀਯੋ ਰਤ ਨੈਨ । ਕਹੈ ਨਿਪ ਮਾਰਹ ਮਾਰਹੁ ਐਨ ॥  
 ਚਲੀ ਸਬ ਸਾਜਿ ਚੰਦੇਲ ਕੀ ਫੌਜ । ਚਲੇ ਰਜਪੂਤ ਨ ਸਨਮੁਖ ਚੌਜ ॥  
 ਮਿਲਿ ਤਬ ਦਿਸੁਟ ਸੁਦਿਸੁਟ ਕਰੂਰ । ਜੁਰੈ ਰਜਪੂਤ ਮਰੌਏ ਮਰੂਰ ॥  
 ਮਿਲੇ ਮੁਖ ਆਈ ਮੁਛਾਲ ਜੁਵਾਨ । ਉਛਰਤ ਆਵਤ ਕ੍ਰੋਧ ਅਮਾਨ ॥  
 ਲਗੇ ਸਰ ਸਾਇਕ ਛਤੀਯ ਆਈ । ਕਿਯੋ ਬਿਖਿ ਪਾਸੀ ਆਸ ਈ ਪਾਈ ॥  
 ਲਗੇ ਉਰ ਸਾਂਗਿ ਸਕਤੀ ਸੋਲ । ਕਰੈ ਦੁਹੁੰ ਬੀਰ ਇਹੀ ਬਿਧਿ ਖੋਲ ॥  
 ਕਟੈ ਧੁਕੀ ਘਾਇਲ ਖੜਗਨ ਕਾਟ । ਖੜਕਤ ਖਾਨਨ ਸੋਲ ਨਿਰਾਟ ॥

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ਛੰਦ ਭੁਜੰਗੀ—ਸੁਨੀ ਬਾਤ ਚੰਦੇਲ ਛੋਪਤੀ ਡਾਖੀ । ਚੜ੍ਹੋਂ ਬੰਗ ਉਦਲ ਹੈ ਵੈ ਨ ਸਾਬੀ ॥  
 ਗਹੈ ਸਾਂਗ ਹੱਥ ਸਮਰਬ ਸਧਾਯੋ । ਲੜੇ ਬਾਗ ਕਾ ਜੈ ਤਮਾਸਾ ਦਿਖਾਯੋ ॥  
 ਦੀਯੋ ਰਾਜ ਫਰਮਾਨ ਭੇਰੇ ਸੁਧਾਯੋ । ਕੀਯੋ ਕਵਚ ਅੰਗੀ ਨਿਹੰਗੀ ਹਕਾਯੋ ॥  
 ਦੀਯੋ ਪਾਂਚ ਹੱਜਾਰ ਸਾਬੰ ਚੰਦੇਲੀ । ਚਲੇ ਬਾਗ ਕਾ ਜੈਸ ਮਾਜੈ ਸੁਝੇਲੀ ॥  
 ਨਿਕੰਠੈ ਗਏ ਬਾਘ ਬਚਨੰ ਪੁਕਾਰੇ । ਕਧੋਂ ਬੀਰ ਛਤੀ ਪ੍ਰਥੀ ਰਾਜ ਬਾਰੇ ॥

\* \* \* \* \*

ਕਰ ਖੰਡ ਖੰਡ ਭੁਸੰਡੇਨ ਮਾਰੇ । ਹਥਯਾਰੰ ਧਰੇ ਦੂਤ ਉਦੱਲਿ ਹਕਾਰੇ ॥  
 ਸੁਨੈ ਨੰਦ ਜਸ ਰਾਜ ਕੇ ਸਾਬ ਵਾਰੇ । ਪ੍ਰਥੀ ਰਾਜ ਕੋਨੋ ਨ ਖੜਗੀ ਉਂਜਾਰੇ ॥  
 ਇਹੈ ਬੋਲੀ ਬਾਨੀ ਦਲੀ ਮੱਧਿ ਆਏ । ਵਿਰੋਚੇ ਬਲੀ ਬਾਹੁ ਅੰਤਰ ਚਲਾਏ ॥

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ਛੰਦ ਹਨੁ ਪਾਲ—ਹਾਹੁਲੀ ਕਾਰਨ ਹੀਰ । ਤਾਜੀ ਸਤੋਜ ਗਹੀਰ ॥  
 ਹੱਮੀਰ ਕਾ ਜੈ ਹੰਸ । ਉਪਜੀਯੋ ਤੁਰਕੀ ਬੰਸ ॥  
 ਗੰਡੀਰ ਕਾਜ ਤੁਰੰਗ । ਰੋਸਮੀ ਰੰਗ ਸੁਰੰਗ ॥  
 ਮਾ ਖੁਲਾਸਾ ਹਮਲ ਕਾਜ । ਦਈ ਖੁਰੀ ਰਾਜ ਸਮਾਜ ॥  
 ਸਾਂਵੰਤ ਔਰ ਕੁਲੀਨ । ਅਨੇਕ ਹੈਵਰ ਦੀਨ ॥  
 ਮੰਗਾਈ ਪੀਲਨ ਰੰਦ । ਬਕਸੀਸ ਕੀਨਵ ਰੰਦ ॥  
 ਗੁਰ ਰਾਜ ਕਾਰਨ ਕੀਨ । ਦੁੰ ਸਹਸ ਹੈਵਰ ਦੀਨ ॥  
 ਮੰਗਾਈ ਪਾਟ ਸਿੰਗਾਰ । ਮਦ ਗਲਿਤ ਮਗਜਿ ਮੰਝਾਰ ॥

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(From MS. No. 4556 P. U. L. containing both Hamir Rasau and Prithi Raj Rasau, copied in 1870 A. D.)

## FARID ਫਰੀਦ

ਸਲੋਕ ਫਰੀਦ ਕਾ

ਸੁੰਨਤਿ ਫਰਜੁ ਫਰੀਦੀਆ ਰੋਜੇ ਰਖੇ ਤ੍ਰੀਹ ।  
 ਯੂਸਬੁ ਖੁਹਿ ਵਹਾਇਆ ਖੁਬੀਆ ਜਿਸੁ ਇਕੀਹ ।  
 ਵੁਢੀ ਵਿਚਿ ਬਜਾਰਿ ਦੇ ਨਾ ਦਹਿ ਲਹੈ ਨ ਵੀਹ ।  
 ਇਬਰਾਹੀਮ ਖਲੀਲ ਨੂੰ ਆਤਜਿ ਭੱਠਿ ਮਿਲੀਹ ।  
 ਇਸਮਾਈਲੁ ਕੁਹਾਇਓ ਦੇ ਕੈ ਸਾਰਿ ਚਪੀਹ ।  
 ਤਖਤੋ ਸੁਟਿਓ ਸਿਲਮਾਨੁ ਢੋਏ ਨਿ ਤਿਹ ਮਿਲੀਹ ।

ਸਿਰ ਤੈ ਚਾਏ ਕਾਂਬੀਆ ਨਾ ਤਿਸੁ ਲਜਿ ਨਾ ਲੀਹ ।  
 ਹਜਰਬਿ ਕਾ ਦਾਮਾਦੁ ਸੀ ਚੜਿਆ ਉਠਿ ਅਲੀਹ ।  
 ਉਠਿ ਚਲੀ ਵਿਚਿ ਬਾਰਿ ਦੈ ਕਰਦੀ ਜਿਕਰੁ ਜਲੀਹ ।  
 ਅਗੈ ਪਰਬਤਿ ਲੜਦੇ ਟਕਰੀ ਓਤੈ ਰਾਹਿ ਚਲੀਹ ।  
 ਉਤੀਨਿ ਲੇਖਾ ਦੇਵਣਾ ਸਿਕਾ ਜਿਵੈ ਕਲੀਹ ।  
 ਜਕਿੜੀਆ ਚੀਰਿਓ ਦਰਖਤਿ ਵਿਚਿ ਕੀਤੋ ਚੀਰਿ ਡਲੀਹ ।  
 ਮਾਬਰੁ ਕੀੜੀ ਡਫਿਆ ਦੋਹੀ ਸਭੁ ਮਲੀਹ ।  
 ਮੁਸਾ ਡੰਨਾ ਮਉਤਿ ਤੇ ਢੁਢੇ ਕਾਇ ਗਲੀਹ ।  
 ਫਰੀਦਾ ਇਹੁ ਸਿਰ ਵਾਣੀ ਤਿਨਾ ਦੈ ਸਾਡੀ ਕੀ ਚਲੀਹ ।

### ਨਸੀਹਤ ਨਾਮਾ

ਵਾਹੁ ਫਰੀਦਾ ਵਾਹੁ ਜਿਨਿ ਲਾਏ ਪ੍ਰੇਮ ਕਲੀ । ਸੁੰਨਤ ਫਰਜ ਤਰਾਬੀਆ ਰੋਜੇ ਰਖਨ ਤੀਹ ।  
 ਜੁਸਬ ਖੂਹ ਵਗਾਇਆ ਖੂਬੀ ਜਿਸ ਇਕੀਹ । ਢੁਢੇ ਵਿਚ ਬਜਾਰ ਦੇ ਨਾ ਦਸ ਲਹੇ ਨ ਬੀਹ ।  
 ਇਬਰਾਈਮ ਖਲੀਲ ਨੂ ਆਤਸ ਡਫ ਮਲੀਹ । ਇਸਮਾਈਲ ਕੁਹਾਇਆ ਦੇ ਕੇ ਸਾਰ ਚਪੀਹ ।  
 ਸਾਬਰ ਕੀੜੇ ਘਤਿਆ ਹੋਸੀ ਵਡਾ ਵਲੀ । ਜਕੜੀਆ ਚੀਰਿਆ ਦਰਖਤ ਵਿਚ ਕੀਤਾ ਡਲੀ ਡਲੀ ।  
 ਤਖਤਹੁ ਸੁਟਿਆ ਸਿਲੇਮਾਨੁ ਢੋਢੈ ਪਿਆ ਮਲੀਹ । ਸਿਰ ਪਰ ਚਾਏ ਕਾਂਬੀਆ ਨਾ ਤਿਸ ਲਜ ਨ ਲੀਹ ।  
 ਹਜਰਤ ਦਾ ਦਾਮਾਦ ਸੀ ਚੜਿਆ ਉਠ ਅਲੀ । ਉਟਹੁ ਸੁਟੀ ਬਾਰਿ ਵਿਚ ਕਰਦੀ ਜਿਕਰ ਜਲੀ ।  
 ਲੇਖਾ ਤਿਨਾ ਡਿ ਦੇਵਣਾ ਸਿਕਾ ਜਾਣ ਕਲੀ । ਬੋੜਾ ਡੁਰਾ ਨੂਹ ਦਾ ਨਉ ਨੇਜੇ ਨੀਰ ਚੜੀ ।  
 ਮੁਸਾ ਨਠਾ ਮਉਤ ਤੇ ਡੁਢੇ ਕਾਇ ਗਲੀ । ਚਾਰੇ ਕੁੰਡਾ ਢੁਢੀਆ ਅਗੈ ਮਉਤਿ ਖਲੀ ।  
 ਹੋਵੈ ਬੀਬੀ ਫਾਤਮਾ ਬੇਟੇ ਦੋਵੇ ਨਹੀ । ਮੈ ਕੀ ਫੋੜਿਆ ਰਬ ਦਾ ਮੋਰੀ ਜੋੜੀ ਖਾਕ ਰਲੀ ।  
 ਮਹਜਤਿ ਅਲੀ ਕੁਹਾਇਆ ਹੋਸੀ ਵਡਾ ਵਲੀ । ਪੀਰਿ ਪੈਕੰਬਰ ਅਉਲੀਏ ਸਿਮਰਨ ਤਿਨਾ ਡਲੀ ।  
 ਬਿਨੁ ਚੇਤੇ ਕਿਛੁ ਨਾ ਮਿਲੈ ਪਹਿਰਾ ਕਰਨ ਕਲੀ । ਉਠ ਕਤਾਰਾਂ ਵੈਦੀਆਂ ਹਜਰਤ ਪਕੜ ਖਲੀ ।  
 ਉਪਰਿ ਉਟਿ ਚੜਾਇਆ ਅੰਡੇ ਦੇਖਿ ਹਲੀ । ਫੋੜਿਆ ਅੰਡਾ ਇਕ ਤਿਨ ਰੋਸਨ ਜੁਗੁ ਚਲੀ ।  
 ਅਗੈ ਦੇਖੈ ਕੁਦਰਤੀ ਸਹਰ ਬਜਾਰ ਚਲੀ । ਬਾਗ ਸਹਰ ਸਭ ਦੇਸ ਤਹ ਰਾਹ ਮੁਕਾਮ ਡਲੀ ।  
 ਤਯਬੁ ਕਹਰ ਖੇਡਦੇ ਦੇਖਿ ਰਸੂਲ ਚਲੀ । ਆਖੈ ਬੋਲੈ ਦੇਖੈ ਆਉ ਚਲੀ ।  
 ਏਕ ਰਾਤਿ ਤਿਸ ਕੇ ਰਹੇ ਕਿਆ ਪਰਤੀਤ ਬਲੀ । ਹਜਰਤ ਡਰਮ ਚੁਕਾਇਆ ਬੋਇ ਇਮਾਨ ਚਲੀ ।  
 ਫਿਰਿ ਕੈ ਆਇਆ ਤਿਤੈ ਰਾਹਿ ਜਿਬੈ ਗਇਆ ਚਲੀ । ਪੂਛੈ ਉਟ ਕਤਾਰ ਨੂੰ ਕਦ ਕੇ ਰਾਹਿ ਚਲੀ ।  
 ਸਭ ਜੁਗ ਚਲਤੇ ਵਾਪਰੈ ਓੜਕਿ ਨਾਹਿ ਅਲੀ । ਸਉ ਸਉ ਉਟ ਕਤਾਰ ਹੈ ਆਗਾ ਪਾਛਾ ਨਹੀਂ ।  
 ਕੁਦਰਤਿ ਤੇ ਕੁਰਬਾਨ ਹਉ ਆਗੈ ਹੋਰਿ ਚਲੀ । ਫਰੀਦਾ ਏਹਿ ਵਿਹਾਣੀ ਤਿਨਾ ਸਿਰ ਸਾਡੀ ਕਿਆ ਚਲੀ ॥

(H. U. MS. No. 512)

### KABIR, ਕਬੀਰ

ਗੋਸਿਟ ਕਬੀਟ ਕੀ ਮਹਲਾ ੧ ॥

ਚਰਨੀ ਲਾਗਿ ਕਰਉ ਬੇਨੰਤੀ ਕ੍ਰੋਪ ਨਾ ਕਰੀਅਹੁ ਦੇਵਾ ।  
 ਅਗਮੁ ਅਗਾਧਿ ਬਿਖਮੁ ਪਦੁ ਕਹੀਐ ਸੋ ਕਿਤੁ ਪਾਈਐ ਸੇਵਾ ॥  
 ਮੋਹਿ ਸਮਿਛਾਇ ਕਰਹੁ ਗੁਰ ਪੂਰੈ ਭਿੰਨ ਭਿੰਨ ਅਰਬੁ ਦਿਖਾਵਹੁ ।  
 ਜਾ ਬਿਧਿ ਪ੍ਰੇਮੁ ਪਦਾਰਥੁ ਪਾਈ ਸਾ ਬਿਧਿ ਮੋਹਿ ਬਤਾਵਹੁ ।  
 ਮਨਿ ਬਠਿ ਕਰਮਿ ਕ੍ਰਿਪਾ ਕਰਿ ਦੀਜੈ ਕਿਉ ਕਰਿ ਮਿਲਿਆ ਚਾਰੈ ।  
 ਚੇਲਾ ਕਹੈ ਸੁਨਹੁ ਸਤਿਗੁਰ ਜੀ ਦੀਜੈ ਸਬਦੁ ਬੀਚਾਰੈ ॥ ੧ ॥  
 ਸਤਿਗੁਰ ਬਾਰੈ ਸੁਣਿਹੋ ਚੇਲਾ ਸਿਖਿਆ ਏਕੁ ਹਮਾਰੀ ।

ਮਨੁ ਤਨੁ ਪਉਣੁ ਕਰਹੁ ਜਬਿ ਏਕੋ ਸੁੰਨਿ ਲਗਾਵਹੁ ਤਾਰੀ ॥  
 ਕਰਮੁ ਅਕਰਮੁ ਏਇ ਬਿਧਿ ਤਿਆਗਹੁ ਸੁਰਤਿ ਨਿਰਤਿ ਬਿਧਿ ਮੋਲਹੁ ।  
 ਨਿਸਿ ਬਾਸਰਿ ਤੁਮਿ ਖੋਜਤਿ ਖੋਜਹੁ ਸਹਜਿ ਕਲਾ ਮਹਿ ਖੋਲਹੁ ॥  
 ਤਜਿ ਮਾਇਆ ਨਿਰਮਾਇਲੁ ਹੋਵਹੁ ਮਨਿ ਕੇ ਤਜਹੁ ਬਿਕਾਰੈ ।  
 ਸਤਿਗੁਰੁ ਬਾਰੈ ਸੁਨਿਹੋ ਚੇਲਾ ਇਤੁ ਬਿਧਿ ਮਿਲੈ ਅਪਾਰੈ ॥ ੨ ॥  
 ਸੁਆਮੀ ਮਾਇਆ ਪਰਬਲੁ ਨਿਰਬਲੁ ਜਨ ਤੋਰਾ ਕਿਉ ਮਨੁ ਅਸਿਬਰ ਹੋਈ ।  
 ਕਾਮੁ ਕ੍ਰੋਧੁ ਬਿਆਪਤੁ ਹੈ ਨਿਸਿ ਦਿਨੁ ਸੁਰਤਿ ਨਿਰਤਿ ਬੁਧ ਖੋਈ ॥  
 ਮਨੁ ਰਾਖਉ ਤਬਿ ਪਉਣੁ ਸਿਧਾਰੈ ਪਉਣੁ ਰਾਖਉ ਮਨੁ ਜਾਈ ।  
 ਸਾਮੀ ਮਨੁ ਤਨੁ ਪਉਣੁ ਹੋਇ ਜਿਉ ਏਕਾ ਸਾ ਬਿਧਿ ਦੋਹੁ ਬਤਾਈ ॥ ੩ ॥  
 ਆਸਣੁ ਦਿਤੁ ਕਰਿ ਬੈਸਹੁ ਪੂਤਾ ਤੋ ਉਨਿ ਮਨਿ ਧਿਆਨੁ ਲਗਾਵਹੁ ।  
 ਭੋਜਨੁ ਅਲਪੁ ਖੰਡਤਿ ਕਰਿ ਨਿੰਦਾ ਕਾਮੁ ਕਰੋਧੁ ਜਲਾਵਹੁ ॥  
 ਦਹਿ ਦਿਸਿ ਰੋਕਿ ਏਕੁ ਦਰੁ ਰਾਖਹਿ ਤਿ ਸੁਰਤਿ ਨਿਰਤਿ ਰਸੁ ਪੀਜੈ ।  
 ਸੋ ਅੰਤਰਿ ਸੋ ਬਾਹਰਿ ਦੇਖਹੁ ਇਹਿ ਬਿਧਿ ਸੁੰਨੁ ਬਸਿ ਕੀਜੈ ॥ ੪ ॥  
 ਕਿਆ ਲੋ ਸੋਵਉ ਕਿਆ ਲੋ ਜਾਗਉ ਕਿਆ ਲੋ ਰਹਉ ਉਦਾਸਾ ।  
 ਕਵਨੁ ਅਗਨਿ ਕੀ ਧੁਈ ਤਾਪਉ ਕਵਨੁ ਮਤੀ ਮਹਿ ਬਾਸਾ ॥ ੫ ॥  
 ਕਰਮੁ ਲੋ ਸੋਵਹੁ ਸੁਰਤਿ ਲੋ ਜਾਗਹੁ ਬੁਹਮਿ ਅਗਨਿ ਤੁਮਿ ਤਾਪਹੁ ।  
 ਨਿਸ ਬਾਸਰਿ ਖੋਜਤਿ ਹੀ ਖੋਜਹੁ ਇਹਿ ਬਿਧਿ ਹੋਵਹੁ ਉਦਾਸਾ ॥  
 ਸਤਿਗੁਰੁ ਕਹੈ ਸੁਨਹੁ ਰੋ ਚੇਲਾ ਏਹਿ ਲਖਣਿ ਤੁਮਿ ਭਾਖਹੁ ।  
 ਗੁਰੁ ਪੁਸਾਇ ਸੁਰਤਿ ਲੋ ਰਾਖਹੁ ਸੁੰਨਿ ਮੰਡਲੁ ਤੁਮਿ ਬਾਪਹੁ ॥ ੬ ॥  
 ਉਹਾ ਜਾਇ ਕਹਾ ਸੰਦੇਸਾ ਕਿਆ ਅਚਰਜੁ ਹੋਇ ਜਾਈ ।  
 ਮਮ ਭੈ ਚਕ੍ਰਿਤੁ ਰਹਉ ਗੁਰਿ ਪੂਰੇ ਸਾ ਬਿਧਿ ਦੋਹੁ ਬਤਾਈ ॥ ੭ ॥  
 ਸਸੀਅਰੁ ਚੜੈ ਦੇਖਹੁ ਸਭਿ ਲੋਕਾ ਤਹਾ ਕੀਟੀ ਭੀਰੁ ਨ ਹੋਤਾ ।  
 ਸਤਿਗੁਰੁ ਬਾਰੈ ਸੁਨਿ ਹੋ ਚੇਲਾ ਇਉ ਮਿਲੈ ਪਰਮੁ ਤਤਿ ਜੋਤਾ ॥ ੮ ॥  
 ਸੋ ਇਹੁ ਬੀਚਾਰੁ ਸੁਨਹੁ ਰੋ ਪੂਤਾ ਇਹੁ ਲਖਣਿ ਤੁਮ ਭਾਖਹੁ ।  
 ਗੁਰੁ ਪੁਸਾਇ ਜੀਅਲੋ ਰਾਖਹੁ ਸੁੰਨੁ ਮੰਡਲੁ ਤੁਮਿ ਬਾਪਹੁ ॥ ੯ ॥  
 ਧੰਨੁ ਧੰਨੁ ਸਤਿਗੁਰੁ ਨਾਨਕੁ ਸੋ ਗੁਰੁ ਪਰਮੁ ਉਦਾਰੁ ।  
 ਜਿਨਿ ਨਿਰਮਲੁ ਦਿਖਲਾਇਆ ਮੁਕਤਿ ਮਿਲਾਵਣਿ ਹਾਰੁ ॥ ੧੦ ॥  
 ਜਬਿ ਹਮਿ ਭਗਤਿ ਭਏ ਗੁਰਿ ਦੇਵਾ । ਤਬਿ ਜਨਕਿ ਬਿਦੋਹੀ ਕੀਆ ਗੁਰੁ ਦੇਵਾ ॥  
 ਕਲਿ ਮਹਿ ਜੁਲਾਹਾ ਨਾਉ ਕਬੀਰ । ਢੁਢਿ ਬਕਾ ਚਿਤੁ ਹੋਇ ਨ ਥੀਰੁ ॥  
 ਬਹੁਤਿ ਭਾਂਤਿ ਤਬਿ ਸਿਮਰਨ ਕੀਨਾ । ਤਉ ਨਾ ਇਹੁ ਮਨੁ ਚੇਚਲੁ ਭੀਨਾ ॥  
 ਹਾਰਿ ਪਰਿਆ ਸਤਿਗੁਰੁ ਕੈ ਦੁਆਰਿ । ਗੁਰੁ ਨਾਮ ਦਾਨੁ ਦੇਇ ਲੀਆ ਉਬਾਰਿ ॥  
 ਕਰਿ ਗਿਆਨੁ ਤਬਿ ਭਇਆ ਉਦਾਸੀ । ਤਉ ਕਾਟੀ ਜਮਿ ਕਾਲਿ ਕੀ ਫਾਸੀ ॥  
 ਜਾਤਿ ਕਮੀਨਾ ਜੁਲਾਹਾ ਅਪਿਰਾਧੀ । ਗੁਰੁ ਕ੍ਰਿਪਾ ਤੋ ਭਗਤਿ ਸਮਾਧੀ ॥  
 ਸਤਿ ਪੁਰਖੁ ਸਤਿ ਗੁਰੁ ਤੋ ਪਾਇਆ । ਤਬਿ ਸਤਿ ਨਾਮੁ ਲੋ ਰਿਦੈ ਬਸਾਇਆ ॥  
 ਮੁਕਤਿ ਭਈ ਸਤਿਗੁਰੁ ਕੈ ਸਬਦਿ ਗਈ ਸੰਸਾ ਸਭੁ ਪੀੜਾ । ਜੁਗੋ ਜੁਗੁ ਗੁਰੂ ਨਾਨਕੁ  
 ਜਪਿਆ ਕੀਟੁ ਮੁਰੀਦ ਕਬੀਰਾ ॥  
 ਉਪਦੇਸਿ ਪੂਰੇ ਸਤਿਗੁਰੁ ਕੈ ਮਨਿ ਮਹਿ ਭਇਆ ਅਨੰਦੁ । ਮੁਕਤਿ ਦਾਤਾ ਨਾਨਕੁ  
 ਗੁਰੁ ਕਿੰਚਿਤਿ ਰਾਮਾਨੰਦੁ ॥ ੧੧ ॥  
 ਨਉ ਨਾਥਿ ਚਉਰਾਸੀ ਸਿਧਿ ਮੈ ਕਿਨੈ ਨਾ ਪਾਇਆ ਥੀਰੁ । ਗੁਰੁ ਨਾਨਕੁ ਸਰਿਬਤਿ  
 ਮਹਿ ਇਉ ਕਹਿ ਰਹਿਆ ਕਬੀਰ ॥ ੧੨ ॥

ਬੁਲਣੇ ਕਬੀਰ ਕੇ

ਭਗਿਵੰਤਿ ਕੇ ਭੋਖਿ ਕੀ ਸੋਸੁ ਮਹਿਮਾ ਕਰੇ, ਸੋਸਿ ਕੇ ਮੀਮਿ ਪਰਿ ਧਿਆਨੁ ਧਾਰੇ ।  
ਅਕਲਿ ਕਉ ਛੋਦਿ ਕੇ ਬੁਹਮਿ ਕਉ ਭੋਦਿ ਕੇ, ਕਾਮਿ ਕਉ ਜੀਤਿ ਕੇ ਕ੍ਰੋਧੁ ਮਾਰੇ ।  
ਪਦਮੁ ਆਸਣੁ ਕੀਆ ਪਉਣਿ ਪਰਿਚਾ ਲੀਆ, ਗਗਨਿ ਮਹਿ ਮਗਨੁ ਹੋਇ ਮਦਨੁ ਜਾਰੇ ।  
ਕਹੈ ਕਬੀਰੁ ਕੋਈ ਜੁਗਤਿ ਜਨੁ ਜਉਹਰੀ, ਕਰਮਿ ਕੀ ਰੋਖਿ ਪਰਿ ਮੋਖਿ ਮਾਰੇ ॥ ੧ ॥  
ਛਕ ਪ੍ਰੇਮ ਕੇ ਨੈਨਿ ਖੁਮਾਰਿ ਮਾਏ, ਰਹੇ ਯਾਰ ਸਿਉ ਪਿਆਰੁ ਦੀਦਾਰੁ ਪਾਵਹਿ ।  
ਸਹੀ ਕਰ ਹਿਕਰਾਰਿਹ ਜਾਰਿ ਬਿਰੀਆ ਬਨੈ, ਤਾਰਿ ਮਨਿ ਯਾਰਿ ਕੇ ਗੀਤ ਗਾਵਹਿ ।  
ਸਦਾ ਏਖਤੋ ਜਉਕਿ ਸਉ ਰਉਸਿ ਏਹੀ, ਸੁਨਿ ਪਾਕਿ ਦਿਲਿ ਬਾਕਿ ਮੁਸਿਤਾਕੁ ਲਾਵਹਿ ।  
ਕਹਤਿ ਕਬੀਰਿ ਅਉ ਭੋਖਿ ਅਨੇਕ ਹੈ, ਲੇਖਿ ਪਰਿ ਮੋਖਿ ਇਹੁ ਮਾਰਿ ਆਵਹਿ ॥ ੨ ॥  
( H. U. MS. No. 512 )

\* SHAH MIRAN JI OF BILAPUR

ਸ਼ਾਹ ਮੀਰਾਂ ਜੀ

( d. 902 A. H. )

*Poetry.*

ਸਬਰ ਮੇਰਾ ਢਲ ਗਿਆ । ਕਰਤਾਰ ਭਾਯਾ ਉਨ ਕੀਆ । ਜੋ ਉਨ ਕੀਆ ਮੈਂ ਸਿਰ ਲੀਆ  
ਜੇ ਕਿਛੁ ਹੁਕਮ ਇਲਾਹੀ ਕਾ ।

ਸਿਫਤ ਕਰੂੰ ਮੈਂ ਅੱਲਾ ਕੋਰੀ ਜੋ ਪਰੀਪੂਰਣ ਪੁਰ ।  
ਕਾਦਰ ਕੁਦਰਤ ਅੰਗੀਕਾਰੋਂ ਨਾ ਨੇੜੇ ਨਾ ਦੂਰ ।  
ਨਾ ਉਸ ਰੂਪ ਨਾ ਉਸ ਰੋਖ ਨਾ ਉਸ ਬਾਨ ਮਕਾਨ ।  
ਨਿਰਗੁਣਾ ਗੁਣਵੰਤਾ ਕਰਦਾ ਕਿੱਸ ਮੁਖ ਕਰੂੰ ਬਖਾਨ ।

ਕਭੀ ਨ ਰੰਗੀ ਮੇਥੀ ਰੰਗੋਂ ਫੂਲੋਂ ਬਾਸ ਨ ਆਯਾ ।  
ਰੰਗ ਨਾ ਰੰਗਿਆ ਏਤੋਂ ਉਸ ਕੇ ਭੀਨੀ ਨਾ ਹਲਦੋਂ ਕਾਯਾ ।  
ਕਹੋ ਮੁੰਵ ਸਿਰ ਸੁਹਾਗ ਅੱਲਾ ਕਾ ਚੜ੍ਹ ਰਹਿਆ ਸੁਹਾਵਾ ।  
ਅਬ ਕਿਉਂ ਸਿਰ ਸੁਹਾਵੇ ਦੂਜਾ ਤੁਮ ਕੋਂ ਨਾਹੀਂ ਠਾਵਾ ॥

ਕਹੋ ਯਹਿ ਸਭ ਹੁਕਮ ਖੁਦਾ ਕਾ ਜੀ ਤੁਮ ਆਖੋਂ ਯੋਂ ।  
ਹਮ ਕੋ ਭਾਵੇ ਯਕ ਅੱਲਾ ਮੈ ਕਰੇ ਵੁਹ ਭਾਵੇ ਤਿਯੋਂ ।  
ਨਾ ਹਮ ਇੱਛੋਂ ਸੁੱਖ ਸੰਸਾਰਾ ਨਾ ਹਮ ਇੱਛੋਂ ਰਾਉ ।  
ਹਮ ਤੋ ਰਾਵਣ ਲੋੜੋਂ ਉਸ ਸੋਂ ਜੋ ਹੈ ਰਾਵਣ ਰਾਉ ।  
ਜੇ ਨਿਰਗੁਨ ਗੁਨੋਂ ਕਾ ਸਬਬ ਨ ਗੁਨੋਂ ਸੋ ਬੂਝੇ ਅੱਬ ।  
ਪੁੱਨ ਪਾਪ ਸਟ ਦੀਜੈ ਆਪ ਸੋਂ ਸ਼ਹੁ ਮੇਲਾ ਹੋਇ ਤਬ ।

ਫਿਅਲ ਸੁਹਾਵਾ ਪੰਥ ਅਲਾ ਕਾ ਜਿਸ ਰਾਹ ਗਏ ਰਸੂਲ ।  
ਗਰਮਖ ਪੰਥ ਪਛਾਨੋਂ ਸੋਹੋ ਜਿਹ ਜੀਵਨ ਕਾ ਮੂਲ ।

ਜਿਸ ਮਾਰਗ ਬੀਂ ਜੀਉ ਸੇਜਰੇ ਸੋ ਹੀ ਮਾਰਗ ਸਾਰ  
 ਮਾਰਗ ਛੋਡ ਚਲੈ ਕੁਮਾਰਗ ਤਿਨ ਕਾ ਹੀਨ ਬਿਚਾਰ  
 ਕਰੈਂ ਜਬ ਹੀ ਵਹੁ ਤੀਰਥ ਪੱਟਨ ਯੋਗ ਅਭਿਆਸ ਧਿਆਨ  
 ਪਾਰੋਂ ਚੀਜ਼ ਰਿਆ ਸੋਂ ਰਾਖੈਂ ਕਿਉਂ ਕਰ ਦੀਜੈ ਮਾਨ  
 ਚੰਦਰ ਸੂਰ ਕੇ ਅਰਥ ਦਿਖਾਵੈਂ ਕਰੈਂ ਅਚੰਡਾ ਜਪ  
 ਜਾਕਿਰ ਹੋ ਮਨ ਦੱਮ ਚਲਾਵੈਂ ਯਹਿ ਡੀ ਧਿਆਨ ਅਲਪ  
 ਲੋਚਤ ਮੂੰਡਤ ਫਿਰੈਂ ਫੋਕਟ ਤੀਰਥ ਕਰੈਂ ਯਾ ਹੱਜ  
 ਥਾਨ ਦੇਖ ਜੇ ਦੇਵੈ ਮਾਨ ਵਹੁ ਡੀ ਮੂਰਖ ਨਿਲੱਜ

ਐਸਿਆਂ ਕੇਰਾ ਕੁਰਬ ਨਾ ਰਾਖੀਂ ਜੇ ਤੂੰ ਹੋਸੀ ਸੂਰਾ ।  
 ਮਾਨ ਰਾਖ ਮੁਰਸ਼ਦ ਮਿਲਾਵੈ ਜਿਸ ਹੈ ਗਿਆਨ ਸਪੂਰਾ ।  
 ਬਨ ਦੇਖਤਿਆਨ ਲਾਗਾ ਖਾਲਕ, ਮੁਖੁ ਨ ਆਵੈ ਖੀਰ ।  
 ਜਿਸ ਕੇ ਅੰਗੋਂ ਭਰਮ ਨ ਜਾਵੈ ਉਸ ਕਿਉਂ ਕਹਿਨਾ ਪੀਰ ।

ਨਫ਼ਸ ਹਵਾ ਕੀ ਮਸਤੀ ਰਾਖੈਂ ਨਾਰੀਆਂ ਸੋਤੀ ਹਾਵਾ ।  
 ਨਾਰੀਆਂ ਦੇਖ ਮਦਨ ਕੀਆਂ ਮਾਤੀਆਂ ਮਨ ਮੈਂ ਰਵਤ ਅਚਾਵਾ ।

ਸੁਅਰ ਕੇ ਗਲ ਬਾਂਧਿਆ ਮੁਸ਼ਕ ਵਹੁ ਕਿਆ ਉਸ ਕਉਂ ਜਾਨੈ ।  
 ਉਸ ਕੇ ਤਾਈਂ ਸਿਰਜਿਆ ਵਹੁ ਸੋਈ ਪਛਾਨੈ ਮਾਨੈ ।

ਮੂੰਵ ਨ ਲੋੜੈ ਅਲਵਾਨ ਨਿਆਮਤ ਭੂਪ ਪਰੀਮਾਲ ਪਾਨ ।  
 ਰੁਖੀ ਸੁਖੀ ਉਪਰ ਸੁਖੀ, ਕਾਹ ਬੜਾਈ ਮਾਨ ।

ਇੱਕਸ ਮਾਟੀ ਮੋਲੀ ਦੇਵੈ ਇੱਕਸ ਮਾਟੀ ਬਾਜ ।  
 (ਕੋਤੀਆਨ) ਕੋਤਿਓਂ ਭੀਖ ਮੰਗਾਵੈ ਕੋਤਿਓਂ ਦੇਵੈ ਰਾਜ ।

ਕੋਤੇ ਗਿਆਨ ਭਗਤ ਬੰਰਾਗੀ ਕੋਤੇ ਮੂਰਖ ਰੀਵਾਰ ।  
 ਇਕ ਜਿੰਨ ਇਕ ਮਾਣਸ ਕੀਤਾ ਏਕ ਪੁਰਸ਼ ਇਕ ਨਾਰ ॥

ਫਹਿਮੰਦਿਆਂ ਕਉਂ ਕਰੇ ਦਿਵਾਨੇ ਸੁਖੀਆ ਲੇਹੁ ਦੁਖੁ ਮੈਂ ਡਾਢੇ ।  
 ਕਰ ਕਰ ਬੰਦਗੀ ਜਰਮ ਰੀਵਾਵੈ ਫਿਰ ਮੁੜ ਤੇਜ ਅਜਬ  
 ਕਿਆ ਰਾਨੇ ।  
 ਮੈਂ ਇਸ ਕਾਰਣ ਬਹੁਤ ਡਰੋਂ ਡਰ ਕਰ ਜਾਓਂ ਕਹਾਂ ।  
 ਜਹਾਂ ਜਹਾਂ ਮੈਂ ਛੱਪਣ ਲੋੜੋਂ ਤੂੰਹੀ ਤਹਾਂ ਤਹਾਂ ॥

ਮਾਤਾ ਜੀ ਬਾਲਕ ਬੀਂ ਰੁੱਸੀ ਜਾਣਾ ਓਨੂੰ ਕਿੱਧਰ ।  
 ਆਪ ਜਿਸ ਮਾਰਗ ਲਾਮੀ ਮੀਰਾਂ ਮੈਂ ਜਾਉਂ ਤਿੱਧਰ ।

ਜੇ ਤੇਰਾ ਹੋਵੇ ਕਰਮ। ਤੋਂ ਟੁਟੇ ਸਭੀ ਭਰਮ।  
ਤੁਝ ਨਿਰਤਾ ਕੋਣ ਜਾਣੈ। ਅਰ ਪੂਰੀ ਸਿਫਤ ਬਖਾਣੈ।

ਹੈ ਤੇਰਾ ਅੰਤ ਨਾ ਪਾਰ। ਕਿਸ ਮੁੱਖੋਂ ਕਰੋਂ ਉਚਾਰ।  
ਸਭ ਹਾਲ ਤੁਝ ਪਰ ਭੱਨਾ। ਰਾਖੋਂ ਤਿਉਂ ਰਹਿਨਾ।

ਯੋਂ ਗੁਰਮੁਖ ਪੰਥ ਪਾਯਾ। ਤੇ ਐਸੇ ਬੋਲ ਚਲਾਯਾ।

*Prose.*

ਹੋਰ ਉਸ ਆਲਮ ਮੈਂ ਸੁਖੀਆਂ ਦੇਵੇਗਾ। ਕਹਿਆ ਹੈ ਆਪਸ ਕੇ ਪਛਾਣੈ ਸੋ ਲੋਕਾਂ ਕੋਂ,  
ਹੋਰ ਪਰਹੇਜ਼ਗਾਰਾਂ ਕੋਂ।

ਹੋਰ ਖੁਦਾ ਕਾ ਸਿਫਤ ਬਹੁਤਾ ਕਰਨਾ, ਬਹੁਤ ਸਰਾਨਾ।

ਪੈਗ਼ਮਬਰ ਕਹੈ ਜੋ ਕੁਝ ਕਾਮ ਕਰੇਗਾ ਕੋਈ ਖੁਦਾ ਕਾ ਸਿਫਤ ਕੀਏ ਬਾਝੁ ਮੋ ਉਸ ਕਾ ਕਾਮ ਨਾ ਹੋਸੀ  
ਹਰ ਦਰੂਦ ਡੋਜਣਾ ਦਿਲ ਕੇ ਜੀਉ ਕੀ ਸੁਸ਼ਨੁਦੀ ਸੋਂ।

ਇਸ ਚਾਰ ਬਾਤਾਂ ਕਾ ਪੰਥ ਹੈ ਤੂੰ ਸਰੀਅਤ ਮੈਂ ਪਹਿਲੋਂ ਪਾਂਵ ਰਖ ਕਿ ਤਰੀਕਤ ਸਰੀਅਤ ਮੰਬ ਹੈ।

ਐ ਈਮਾਨੀ ਯਾਦ ਕਰ ਖੁਦਾ ਕੋਂ ... ..। ਹੋਰ ਯਗਾਨਾ ਹੁਆ ਮਾਲਕ ਅੰਪੜ ਤੂੰ।

ਜੂੰ ਝਾਲਾਂ ਕਾ ਪਾਨੀ ਝੁੰਟ ਹੈ।

ਅਪਣੀ ਪਛਾਣਤ ਸੋਂ ਨੂਰ ਮੁਹੰਮਦ ਕਾ। ਉਸ ਪਛਾਣਤ ਮੈਂ ਬੈਸਨਾ। ਜਯੋਂ ਗੱਵਾਸ ਦਰਿਆ ਮੈਂ ਬੈਸ ਕਰ  
ਮੌਤੀ ਲਿਯਾਤ ਹੈ।

ਖਦਾ ਕਹਿਆ ... .. ਅੰਧਲਾ ... .. ਬਿਸਰਾ ਕਰ ... ..

KAMAL ਕਮਾਲ

ਕਾਫ਼ੀ-(ਠਟਈ)

ਧੁੰਈ ਧਰਮ ਧਿਆਨ ਕੀ, ਸੋਹਲੀ ਸੁਰਤਿ ਅਪਾਰ।

ਫਹੋੜੀ ਸਤ ਸੰਤੋਖ ਕੀ, ਆਸਣ ਦਸਵੇਂ ਦੁਆਰ ॥ ੧ ॥

ਸਚ ਆਖਾ ਦਿਖਾ ਮੈਠੇ ਯਾਰ, ਫਕੀਰਾਂ ਦਾ ਹਾਲ ਕਿਵੇਹਾ ਹੀ।

ਸਿਰ ਟੋਪੀ ਸਾਚੇ ਸਬਦ ਕੀ, ਖੁਸੀ ਕੀ ਖਫਟੀ।

ਲਕ ਮੁਤੱਕਾ ਮਥੇ ਤਿਲਕ ਉਨਮਨੀ।

ਤੁਰੀਆ ਅੰਦਰ ਬੁਲਦੇ ਮਰਮ ਨ ਜਾਨੈ ਕੋਇ।

ਜਗ ਵਿਚ ਦਿਸਨਿ ਬਾਵਰੇ ਹਸ ਦੇਂਦੇ ਨੀ ਆਪੇ ਰੋਇ।

ਮਾਝੇ ਹਾਥੀ ਪ੍ਰੇਮ ਕੇ ਅਠੇ ਪਹਿਰ ਖੁਮਾਰ।

ਪੂੜ ਤਿਨਾ ਦੀ ਜੇ ਮਿਲੇ ਜਨੁ ਮਾਂਗੈ ਦਾਸ ਕਮਾਲੁ।

ਸਚ ਆਖੁ ਵੇਖਾਂ ਮੇਰੇ ਯਾਰ ਫਕੀਰਾਂ ਦਾ ਹਾਲ ਕਿਵੇਹਾ ॥ ਰਹਾਉ ॥

ਸਿਰ ਟੋਪੀ ਸਚ ਸਬਦ ਕੀ ਖੁਸੀ ਕੀ ਖਫਨੀ ।  
 ਕਮਰ ਮੁਤਕਾ ਜਤ ਕਾ ਮਾਥੇ ਤਿਲਕ ਉਨਮਨੀ ।  
 ਧੁੰਦੀ ਧਰਮ ਧਿਆਨ ਕੀ ਸੋਲੀ ਸੁਰਤਿ ਅਪਾਰ ।  
 ਫਹੜੀ ਗੁਰ ਗਿਆਨ ਕੀ ਮਨੁ ਲਾਗਾ ਦਸਵੇਂ ਦੁਾਰ ।  
 ਤੁਰੀਆ ਅੰਦਰਿ ਝੁਲਦੇ ਮਰਮੁ ਨ ਜਾਨੈ ਕੌਇ ।  
 ਜਗ ਵਿਚ ਦਿਸਨਿ ਬਾਵਰੇ ਹਸਿ ਦੇਦੇ ਆਪੇ ਰੋਇ ।  
 ਮਾਤੋ ਹਾਥੀ ਪ੍ਰੇਮ ਦੇ ਅਠੋ ਪਹਿਰ ਖੁਮਾਰ ।  
 ਧੂਰਿ ਤਿਨਾ ਦੇ ਚਰਨ ਦੀ ਜਨੁ ਮਾਗੋ ਦਾਸ ਕਮਾਲ ॥  
 ( P. U. L. MS. No. 374 )

## GURU NANAK ਗੁਰੂ ਨਾਨਕ ਦੇਵ

### ਨਸੀਹਤ ਨਾਮਾ ਬਾਬੇ ਕਾ

ਹਾਜਰਾ ਕਉ ਮਿਹਰਿ ਹੈ । ਗੈਰ ਹਾਜਰਾ ਕਉ ਨਾਮਿਹਰਿ ਹੈ । ਈਮਾਨੁ ਏਸਤੁ ਹੈ । ਬੇਦਿਆਨਤਿ ਨਾਪਾਕੁ ਹੈ ।  
 ਗੁਸਾ ਹਰਾਮੁ ਹੈ । ਨਫਸੁ ਸੇਤਾਨੁ ਹੈ । ਮੋਮਦਿਲਿ ਪਾਕੁ ਹੈ । ਹਿਰਸਿ ਬੇਰੁਨੁ ਹੈ । ਬੇਹਿਰਸਿ ਅਉਲੀਆਉ ਹੈ । ਅਕਿਰਤ  
 ਘਣਿ ਜਰਦ ਰੂ ਹੈ । ਬਿਸਾਸਿ ਘਾਤੀ ਦੁਸਮਨੁ ਹੈ । ਬਦਿਸੁਬਾਨਿ ਪਲੀਤੁ ਹੈ । ਬਦਿ ਨਜਰਿ ਕਸਾਬੁ ਹੈ । ਈਮਾਨ  
 ਮੁਸਲਿਮਾਨੁ ਹੈ । ਸਚੁ ਡਿਸਤੁ ਹੈ । ਦਰੋਗੁ ਦੋਜਕੁ ਹੈ । ਹਿਮਤਿ ਕਿਤਾਬ ਹੈ । ਬਾਂਗ ਬਲੋਲੁ ਹੈ । ਵੁਦੁ ਸਫਾ ਹੈ । ਇਲਮੁ  
 ਹਲੀਮੀ ਹੈ । ਜੋਰੁ ਜੁਲਮੁ ਹੈ । ਜਾਰੀ ਪਲੀਤੀ ਹੈ । ਫਕੀਰੀ ਸਬੂਰੀ ਹੈ । ਨਾਸਬੂਰੀ ਗੁਮਰਾਹੀ ਹੈ । ਦਇਆ ਦਉਲਤ ਹੈ ।  
 ਬਿਦਇਆ ਹੈਵਾਨੁ ਹੈ । ਤੰਗਿ ਮਰਦਾ ਹੈ । ਅਦਲੁ ਬਾਦਸਾਹਾ ਹੈ । ਰਾਹੁ ਪੀਰਾ ਹੈ । ਬੇਰਾਹੁ ਬੇਪੀਰਾ ਹੈ । ਏਤੇ ਫੌਲਿ  
 ਜਾਣੈ ਜਾਣਿ ਰਹੈ । ਤਉ ਨਾਨਕ ਦਾਨਸਬੰਦੁ ਦਰਿ ਕੀ ਖਬਰਿ ਲਹੈ ।

ਮਹਲਾ ੧—ਵਾਰਿ ਬਿਲਾਵਲਿ ਕੀ ਸਲੋਕਾ ਨਾਲਿ—ਪੈਕੰਬਰੀ  
 ਸੁਲਿਤਾਨਿ ਪੈਰੋ ਸਾਹਿ ਕੀ ਵਾਰਿ ਕੀ ਧੁਨੀ ਗਾਵਣੀ ।

ਪਉੜੀ— ... ..

ਅਰਬੁ ਵੈਲਾਇਤਿ ਬਾਨੁ ਹੈ ਖੁਆਜਾ ਹਾਫਜੁ ਸਿਫਤੀ ਰਾਤਾ ।  
 ਇਲੀਆਸੁ ਗਾਜੀ ਲਹੌਰਿ ਕਾ ਨਾਇ ਅਲਹੁ ਸਦਾ ਹੀ ਮਾਤਾ ।  
 ਕੰਛਣਿ ਪੁਰਿ ਕਾ ਨੋਕਿ ਮਰਦੁ ਜਿਨਿ ਸਾਹਿਬੁ ਅਲਫੁ ਪਛਾਤਾ ।  
 ਅਢਕਾ ਗਾਜੀ ਕਸੂਰਿ ਕਾ ਜਿਨਿ ਇਕੋ ਖਸਮੁ ਸਿਢਾਤਾ ।  
 ਨੂਰੁ ਜਮਾਲੁ ਬਜਿਵਾੜੀਆ ਜਿਨਿ ਅਗਮੁ ਪਛਾਣੀ ਬਾਤਾ ।  
 ਮਕੈ ਮੁਹੰਮਦੁ ਪਾਤਿਲਾ ਜਿਨਿ ਅਲਖੁ ਹਜ਼ੂਰੇ ਜਾਤਾ ।  
 ਸਭਿਨਾ ਦਾ ਖਾਲੁਕੁ ਦਾਤਾ ।

ਸਲੋਕ—ਸਚੁ ਮੁਹਬਤਿ ਰਬਿ ਨਾਲ ਲਾਇਨ ਸੇਈ ਪੀਰ ।

ਸੋਖਿ ਮਸਾਇਕੁ ਅਉਲੀਏ ਸੇਈ ਸਾਹੁ ਫਕੀਰ ।

ਪਉੜੀ—ਹਸਰਬੁ ਮੀਰਾ ਬਗਿਦਾਇ ਕਾ ਇਕੁ ਹੁਕਮੁ ਖੁਦਾਈ ਜਾਣੈ ।

ਮਖਿਦੂਮੁ ਜਹਾਨੀਆ ਮੁਲਿਤਾਨਿ ਕਾ ਸਚੁ ਅਲਹੁ ਇਕੁ ਪਛਾਣੈ ।

ਪੂਰਬਿ ਕਾ ਸਾਹੁ ਮਦਾਰੁ ਹੈ ਹੋਰੁ ਦੂਜਾ ਦਿਸਾਇ ਨਾ ਆਣੈ ।

ਮਲਿਕੁ ਦਉਦੁ ਬਗਿਦਾਇ ਦਾ ਵੇਖਿ ਕੁਦਰਤਿ ਸਚੁ ਸਿਢਾਣੈ ।

ਮਕੈ ਸਾਹੁ ਜਮਾਲੁ ਹੈ ਦਰਿ ਲਗਾ ਨੋਹੁ ਰਬਾਣੈ ।

ਸਭੁ ਚਲਨਿ ਤੈਰੇ ਛਾਣੈ ।

ਸਲੋਕ—ਜਿਨਾ ਕਮਾਣੀ ਬੰਦਗੀ ਸਚਾ ਲਾਇਆ ਨੇਹੁ ।

ਪਏ ਕਬੂਲ ਖਸਮਿ ਦਰਿ ਨਾਉ ਤਿਨਾਂ ਕਾ ਲੋਹੁ ।

ਪਉੜੀ—ਮਦੀਨੇ ਕਾ ਸਾਹੁ ਗਦਾ ਹੈ ਜਿਨਿ ਹਉ ਮੈ ਢੇਰੀ ਢਾਹੀ ।

ਰੁਕਨੁ ਆਲਮੁ ਮੁਲਿਤਾਨਿ ਕਾ ਸਚੁ ਪੈਠੈ ਚਲੈ ਰਾਹੀ ।

ਇਮਾਮੁ ਨਾਸਰੁ ਜਲੰਧਰੀ ਓਹੁ ਰਤਾ ਰੰਗਿ ਇਲਾਹੀ ।

ਖੁਆਦਿ ਮੋਨਿਦੀ ਅਜਿਮੇਰ ਕਾ ਓਨਿ ਤੇਰੀ ਸਿਫਤਿ ਸਲਾਹੀ ।

ਦਿਲੀ ਦਾ ਖੁਆਜੁ ਕੁਤਬਦੀ ਓਨਿ ਬੁਝਿਆ ਸਭੁ ਦਿਲਿ ਮਾਹੀ ।

ਸੇਖੁ ਸਰਫੁ ਪਾਣੀ ਪੰਥਿ ਕਾ ਜਿਨਿ ਸਚੁ ਜਿਰਾਇਤਿ ਵਾਹੀ ।

ਸਭੁ ਤੇਰੀ ਸਿਫਤਿ ਕਰਾਹੀ ।

ਸਲੋਕ—ਆਪੇ ਲੇਖੁ ਅਲੇਖੁ ਆਖਿ ਦੂਸਰਿ ਅਵਰੁ ਨਾ ਕੋਇ ।

ਜੋ ਲਾਏ ਤੈ ਬੰਦਗੀ ਸੋ ਜਾਹਰੁ ਤਿਹੁ ਲੋਇ ।

ਪਉੜੀ—ਸੇਖੁ ਟੋਹਰੁ ਮੁਲਤਾਨਿ ਕਾ ਜਿਨਿ ਸਚਾ ਨੇਹੁ ਲਗਾਇਆ ।

ਸੁਹਿਣਾ ਲਾਲੁ ਸਹਿਬਾਜੁ ਹੈ ਕਰਿ ਸਹੀ ਖੁਦਾਇ ਧਿਆਇਆ ।

ਪੀਰੁ ਬਹਾਵਦੀ ਮੁਲਤਾਨਿ ਕਾ ਜਿਸੁ ਤੇਰਾ ਭਾਣਾ ਭਾਇਆ ।

ਪਟਣੁ ਸੇਖਿ ਫਰੀਦਿ ਕਾ ਕਰਿ ਮਿਹਨਤਿ ਅਲਹੁ ਪਾਇਆ ।

ਮਰਿਸੈ ਪਟਣਿ ਜਸੋ ਲੁਹਾਰੁ ਦਿਲਿ ਸਾਹਿਬੁ ਇਕੁ ਵਸਾਇਆ ।

ਪੀਰ ਬਿਨੋਈ ਸਨਾਮਿ ਕਾ ਜਿਨਿ ਦੂਜਾ ਭਾਉ ਚੁਕਾਇਆ ।

ਸਭੁ ਤੇਰੀ ਪਨਹਿ ਖੁਦਾਇਆ ।

ਸਲੋਕ—ਜਿਨੀ ਸਾਹਿਬੁ ਬੁਝਿਆ ਜਾਤਾ ਦਿਲਿ ਹੀ ਮਾਹਿ ।

ਤਿਨਾ ਨੋੜਿ ਨਾ ਆਵਈ ਦੋਜਕਿ ਸੰਦੀ ਭਾਹਿ ।

ਪਉੜੀ—ਪਟਣਿ ਸਾਹਿ ਮੁਕਾਮੁ ਹੈ ਸਵਰੁ ਬਦਰੁ ਦੁਇ ਸੇਖਿ ।

ਰਹੈ ਪਟਣਿ ਮਕੀ ਅਜੀਜੁ ਜਿਨਿ ਸਚੁ ਕਮਾਇਆ ਡੋਖੁ ।

ਸੇਖੁ ਸਾਦੀ ਸੀਰਾਜਿ ਦਾ ਜਿਸੁ ਸਿਫਤਿ ਸਲਾਹੁ ਲੇਖੁ ।

ਹਾਂਸੀ ਮਾਹੁ ਨਿਜਾਮ ਦੀ ਜਿਨਿ ਪਾਇਆ ਸਚੁ ਵਸੇਖੁ ।

ਪਟਣਿ ਜੈਨ ਅਲਾਵਦੀ ਏਹੁ ਨੋੜਿ ਨਜੀਕੀ ਵੇਖੁ ।

ਸੋਰਿ ਗੜਿ ਦਉਦੁ ਸੇਖੁ ਪੀਰਾ ਫਿਰਿ ਸਚਾਵਾ ਲੇਖੁ ।

ਹੋਰੁ ਲੇਖੇ ਰਬ ਅਲੇਖੁ ।

ਸਲੋਕ—ਹਾਜਰੁ ਡਏ ਜਗ ਮਹਿ ਜਿਨਿ ਅੰਦਰਿ ਸਿਫਤਿ ਰਹੀ ।

ਵਗੀ ਕਲਮਿ ਰਬਾਣੀਆ ਜਾਹਿ ਸਚੁ ਸਹੀ ।

ਪਉੜੀ—ਉਹਿਣੀ ਦਾ ਪੀਰ ਕਮਾਲੁ ਹੈ ਹੋਇ ਬੇਦਾ ਅਲਫੁ ਧਿਆਏ ।

ਸੇਖਿ ਸੱਦੋ ਮਾਲਿਨੋਰੀਆ ਉਹੁ ਦੂਜੈ ਚਿਤੁ ਨਾ ਲਾਏ ।

ਕੁਠਾਲੈ ਕਾ ਆਦਰਿ ਮਾਨੁ ਹੈ ਦਰਿ ਸਚੈ ਨੇਹੁ ਲਗਾਏ ।

ਕੁਠਾਲੈ ਮੀਆ ਮਿਠਾ ਰੰਗਿ ਰਤਾ ਸਚੁ ਖੁਦਾਏ ।

ਹਾਜੀ ਰੂਮੀ ਡਟਿਨੋਰੀਆ ਸਚ ਸਿਫਤੀ ਸਿਓ ਚਿਤ ਲਾਏ ।

ਸਾਹਿ ਖੁਰਮ ਇਪਾਲਿਪੁਰ ਮਿਲਿ ਪੀਰੈ ਆਪੁ ਮਿਟਾਏ ।

ਸਭਿ ਚਲਨਿ ਰਬਿ ਰਜਾਏ ।

ਸਲੋਕ—ਜਿਨਿ ਕੈ ਅੰਦਰਿ ਸਚੁ ਹੈ ਤਿਨਿ ਕਉ ਮਿਲਿਆ ਸਚ ।

ਸਚੈ ਸੋ ਸਚੁ ਰਲਿ ਗਇਆ ਦੁਨੀਆ ਕਉ ਨਕਚੁ ।

ਮਾਹਿ ਹਾਤਮੁ ਗੁਜਿਰਾਤਿ ਕਾ ਸੋ ਸਿਫਤਿ ਕਰੈ ਦਰਬਾਰੈ ।

ਹਸਣੁ ਅਬਿਦਾਲੁ ਪਿਸਉਰਿ ਕਾ ਜਿਨਿ ਪੰਜੇ ਦਿਲਿ ਤੇ ਮਾਰੈ ।

ਬਾਬਾ ਕਪੂਰੁ ਕਰਿਨਾਲਿ ਕਾ ਓਹੁ ਸਦਾ ਹੀ ਰਬੁ ਚਿਤਾਰੈ ।

ਸੇਖੁ ਖਟੂ ਗੁਜਿਰਾਤਿ ਕਾ ਓਹੁ ਅਲਹੁ ਨਾਹਿ ਵਿਸਾਰੇ ।  
ਮੁਸਿਤਾਬਾਤਿ ਬਾਬਾ ਭੂਭੁ ਹੈ ਓਹੁ ਦੀਨੀਆਂ ਸੰਗ ਨਾ ਹਾਰੇ ।  
ਅਬਿਦਲੁ ਮਾਲੀ ਹੁਸੈਨਿ ਗਡਿ ਦਿਲਿ ਅੰਦਰਿ ਇਕੋ ਸਾਰੇ ।  
ਮੀਆ ਰਹੈ ਲਹੌਰਿ ਪਿਆਰੇ ॥

ਸਲੋਕ—ਜੋ ਰਚਹਿ ਫਕੀਰੀ ਬੰਦਿਗੀ ਏਹੁ ਰਬਾਣੇ ਵੇਸਿ ।  
ਸਭਿਨਾ ਦੀ ਤੂ ਰਖੁ ਜੀ ਕਰਿ ਬੈਠੇ ਤੇਰਾ ਡੇਖ ।

ਖਉੜੀ—ਪੀਰੁ ਹੁਜੇਰੀ ਪੀਰੁ ਹੈ ਸਬਜਿ ਕਾਕੂ ਨੇਹੁ ਘਨੇਰਾ ।  
ਅਬਿਦਲੁ ਪੀਰੁ ਬਿਲੰਦੁ ਹੈ ਸੇਖੁ ਹਸੂ ਕਰੇ ਬੁਨੇਰਾ ।  
ਮੀਆ ਬਿਲਾਫਲੁ ਖਾਕੀ ਫਕੀਰੁ ਡੇਖੁ ਬੈਠੇ ਨੀ ਕਰਿ ਤੇਰਾ ।  
ਸੇਖੁ ਮੂਸਾ ਸਾਹਿਬੁ ਗਉਹੁਰੋ ਤਿਨਾ ਵਿਚਹੁ ਗਇਆ ਅੰਧੇਰਾ ।  
ਲਹੌਰੁ ਸਹਰੁ ਅਉਲੀਆਨੁ ਹੈ ਪੀਰਾ ਪਾਤਿਸਾਹਾਂ ਦਾ ਡੇਰਾ ।  
ਜਿਨਾ ਸਿਦਕੁ ਸਬੂਰੀ ਬੰਦਿਗੀ ਤਿਨਾ ਨੂ ਅਲਹੁ ਨੇਰਾ ।  
ਸਭਿਨਾ ਨੂ ਤਕੀਆ ਤੇਰਾ ।

... ..  
( H. U. MS. No. 512 )

## †SHAH BURHAN-UD-DIN JANAM OF BIJAPUR.

### ਸ਼ਾਹ ਬੁਰਹਾਨ ਦੀਨ ਜਾਨਮ

ਬਹੁ ਰੂਪ ਪਰਗਟ ਆਪ ਛਪਾਯਾ ਕੋਈ ਨ ਪਾਯਾ ਅੰਤ ।  
ਮਾਯਾ ਮੋਹ ਮੈਂ (ਮਹਿੰ) ਸਭ ਜਗ ਬਾਂਧਿਆ ਕਿਉਂਕਰ ਸੂਝੈ ਪੰਥ ॥

ਅੱਲਾ ਵਾਹਿਦ ਸਿਰਜਨਹਾਰ । ਦੋ ਜਗ ਰਚਨਾ ਰਚਿਆ ਅਪਾਰ ।  
ਸਗਲਾ ਆਲਮ ਕੀਆ ਜ਼ਹੂਰ । ਅਪਨੇ ਬਾਤਨ ਕੇਰੇ ਜ਼ਹੂਰ ।

ਬਾਜ ਆਖੋਂ ਅਪਨੀ ਬੁਝ । ਮਾਲੂਮ ਨਹੀਂ ਕਿਛੁ ਇਸ ਕੀ ਸੂਝ ।  
ਏਕ ਜਮਾ ਸਭ ਪਕੜਿਆ ਬਾਰ ।

ਕੁਦਰਤ ਸੌਂ ਕਰ ਸਭ ਜਗ ਜ਼ੋਰ । ਜਯੋਂ ਓਸ ਡਾਵੈ ਦੇਵੈ ਫੋਰ ।

ਅਲਫ਼ ਵੀਮਾਨ ਅਲਾ ਪਰ ਲਿਆਉ ਉਨ ਸਭ ਜਗਤ ਉਪਾਯਾ ।  
ਐਸੀ ਕੁਦਰਤ ਬਹੁ ਡਾਂਤ ਰਚਿਆ ਆਪਸ ਆਪ ਛਪਾਯਾ ।  
ਜੋ ਜ਼ੀਨਤ ਦੁਨੀਆ ਕਾ ਛੋੜੈਂ ਜ਼ਹਿਮਤ ਜਾਵੈ ਨਾਸ ।  
ਜ਼ਿਆਦਤੀ ਤੋਂ ਹੱਥ ਨ ਆਵੈ ਜ਼ਿਆਨ ਆਪਣੇ ਪਾਸ ।  
ਯਹੀ ਹਾਲ ਵਾਜਲ ਤੋਂ ਬੂਝੈਂ ਸਫ਼ਾ । ਕਿ ਰਮਜ਼ੀ ਖ਼ਡੀ ਹੈ ਸਫ਼ਾ ਦਰ ਸਫ਼ਾ ।

ਯੇ ਜਾਨਮ ਲਿਖਿਆ ਬੋਲ । ਲੋਹੁ ਯਕਾ ਯਕ ਮਾਨਾ ਬੋਲ ।

ਜਗਤਰ ਕੇਰਾ ਤੂੰ ਕਰਤਾਰ । ਸਭਹਨ ਕੇਰਾ ਸਿਰਜਨਹਾਰ ।

ਜਬ ਲਗ ਤਨ ਨਹੀਂ ਛੋੜਿਆ ਜੀਉ ਕੇਂ ਤਬ ਲਗ ਹੋਨਾ ਦੂਰ ।

ਆਪੈ ਜੋਗੀ ਸਭ ਜਗ ਚੇਲਾ । ਆਪ ਅਲੇਖ ਨਾਬ ਰਹੈ ਅਕੇਲਾ ।  
ਜਿਨ ਦੇਖਿਉ ਪੀਯੁ ਆਪਣਾ ਉਸੈ ਅਉਰ ਨਾ ਡਾਵੈ ।  
ਦੁਹੈਂ ਜਗ ਮਾਨੰਦ ਦੇਖਤਿਅਨ ਨਾ ਕੋਈ ਪੀਆ ਕੇ ਆਵ ।

ਕੋਣ ਮਾਰੈ ਕੋਣ ਜਿਲਾਵੈ । ਕੋਣ ਹਿਕਮਤ ਮਹਿ ਯਹਿ ਆਵੈ ।

## PREM-BODH ਪ੍ਰੇਮ-ਬੋਧ

### ਨਾਮ ਦੇਵ NAM DEV

ਹਾਇ ਹਾਇ ਤਿਸੁ ਕਰਤ ਬਿਰਤ ਬਿਹਾਇ । ਅਰੇ ਪ੍ਰੇਮ ਤੂ ਬੁਰੀ ਬਲਾਇ ।  
ਕਬਹੀ ਤ੍ਰਿਨਕੇ ਕਉ ਵਹੁ ਚਣੈ । ਸਭ ਘਟਿ ਮਹਿ ਵਹੁ ਪ੍ਰੀਤਮੁ ਗਣੈ ।  
... .. ਜਉ ਮੁਆ ਜੀਉ ਜੀਵਤ ਫਿਰਿ ਹੋਤਾ । ਤਉ ਪੀਹਿ ਪਕੰਬਰ  
ਕਿਸੁ ਮਰਨ ਨ ਦੇਤਾ ।

ਜੋ ਮੁਆ ਮੁਆ ਸੋ ਜਾਨੁ । ਜੀਵਤੁ ਮਰਹੈ ਏ ਸੁਲਤਾਨ ।  
ਜੋ ਮਾਰੈ ਸੋਈ ਜੀਵਾਲੈ । ਅਉਰੋ ਕਾ ਕਾਮੁ ਨਹੀ ਸਾਹ ਬਾਲੈ ।

ਮੁਆ ਜੀਵ ਨ ਜੀਵਈ ਸੁਨੀਐ ਸਾਹ ਸਲੋਮ । ਗੈਰ ਸਰੈ ਕਿਉ ਕਰਤ ਹੈ ਸਮਝਹੁ ਅਪਨਾ ਨੰਮੁ ।

ਜਉ ਹਠਿ ਪਰਿ ਆਵੈ ਪਾਤਿਸਾਹ । ਕਉਨ ਆਹਿ ਜੋ ਲਿਆਵੈ ਰਾਹਿ ।

... .. ਮਾਰਿ ਅੰਕੁਸੁ ਵਹ ਫਿਰਿ ਤਹ ਲਿਆਵੈ । ਮਾਨੋ ਸਿੰਘੁ ਦੇਖਿ ਗਜੁ ਅੰਕੁ ਕਮਾਵੈ ।

... .. ਹਰਿ ਅਪਨਾ ਬਿਰਦੁ ਸਮਾਰਾ ਡਾਈ । ਜਿਸ ਸਦਹੀ ਹਰਿ ਜਨ ਪੈਜ ਰਖਾਈ ।

.. ਘਾਟਿ ਬਾਟਿ ਨਹੀ ਪਾਈਐ ਪ੍ਰੇਮ ਨ ਹਾਟਿ ਰਿਕਾਇ । ਜਉ ਪ੍ਰੀਤਮੁ ਕ੍ਰਿਪਾ ਕਰੈ ਘਰਿ ਹੀ ਮਹਿ ਉਮਗਾਇ ।... ..

ਕਹਾ ਹੋਤ ਗੁਰ ਗਿਆਨ ਤੇ ਜਉ ਘਟਿ ਪ੍ਰੇਮ ਨ ਹੋਇ । ਪ੍ਰੇਮੁ ਤਬ ਘਟਿ ਹੋਤ ਹੈ ਜਉ ਨੈਨ ਲਖਾਵੈ ਕੋਇ ।

ਇਕ ਸੰਗੀ ਨੇ ਜੁਤੀ ਗੰਢਾਈ । ਬਧੀ ਦਮਰੀ ਤਿਨੇ ਦਿਵਾਈ ।

ਜਬ ਬਿਪਨ ਕੀ ਕਛੁ ਨ ਬਸਾਈ । ਜਾਇ ਰਾਜਾ ਪਹਿ ਚੁਗਲੀ ਲਾਈ ।

... .. ਮੀਰਾ ਬਾਈ ਕੀ ਸੁਨੋ ਕਹਾਨੀ । ਜਿਉ ਪ੍ਰੇਮੁ ਲੀਓ ਉਪਸੁਰਿ ਗਿਆਨੀ ।

ਰੇ ਮਨ ਦੇਖਹੁ ਪ੍ਰੇਮ ਬਡਾਈ । ਜਿਨਿ ਬਿਨੁ ਸਾਧੇ ਹੀ ਸਿਧਿ ਪਾਈ ।

ਜੋਗ ਬੈਰਾਗੁ ਨ ਤਪਸਾ ਕੀਨੀ । ਨਹ ਦੇਹੀ ਕਾਟਿ ਹੁਤਾਸਨ ਕੀਨੀ ।

ਮੂੰਡਾਇ ਮੂੰਡ ਨਹੀ ਕਨ ਫਰਾਏ । ਨਹੀ ਚੇਲੇ ਜੋਰਿਨ ਸਿੰਢੀ ਵਾਏ ।

ਤਟੁ ਤੀਰਥਿ ਜਾਇ ਗੁਫਾ ਨ ਬਾਧੀ । ਨਹੀ ਪਉਣੁ ਸਾਧ ਨ ਪ੍ਰਣਾਮੁ ਕਰਾਧੀ ।

ਜਟਾਂ ਬਧਾਇ ਨ ਨਗਨ ਫਿਰਿਓ ਹੈ । ਨਹੀ ਹੋਮ ਜਗ ਜਲ ਦਾਨੁ ਕਰਿਓ ਹੈ ।

ਪ੍ਰੇਮ ਤੇ ਪ੍ਰੀਤਮੁ ਪਾਇਆ ਨਿਰੰਕਾਰੁ ਸੁਖ ਸਾਰੁ । ਆਨ ਕਰਮ ਭ੍ਰਮ ਜਗ ਮਹਿ ਸਭੇ ਤਿਨ ਮਹਿ ਪ੍ਰੇਮ ਅਪਾਰੁ ॥

ਪੂਰਨ ਕਰੀ ਦਿਆਲ ਦਿਜਿ ਕੀ ਪਰਚੀ ਜਿਉ ਸੁਨੀ । ਜਉ ਸਰਧਾ ਦੇਇ ਗੁਪਾਲ ਰਿਵਦਾਸ ਕੀ ਪਰਚੀ ਅਬ ਸੁਨੋ ॥

## BHAGATS.

### ਮਾਝਾਂ ਭਗਤਾਂ ਦੀਆਂ

ਧਰਤੀ ਜੇਭ ਗਰੀਬ ਨ ਕੋਈ ਇੰਦਰ ਜੇਭ ਨ ਦਾਤਾ,  
ਲਭਮਨ ਜੇਭ ਜਤੀ ਨਹੀਂ ਕੋਈ ਸੀਤਾ ਤੁੱਲ ਨ ਮਾਤਾ ।  
ਧੀਰਜ ਜੇਭ ਮੁਕਾਮ ਨ ਕੋਈ ਗੌਰਖ ਸੇ ਨਹੀਂ ਨਾਬਾ ।  
ਨਾਨਕ ਜੇਭ ਫਕੀਰ ਨ ਕੋਈ ਜਿਨ ਪੁਰਨ ਪੁਰਖ ਪਛਾਤਾ ।

ਤੋਰੇ ਦਰਸ਼ਨ ਕੀ ਸਿਕ ਅਸਾਂ ਕੂੰ ਹੋਇ ਰਹੀ ਬ੍ਰਿਜ ਮਾਹੀ,  
ਇਕ ਕਾਗ ਉਡਾਇਨ ਇਕ ਤੈ ਪੰਥ ਨਿਹਾਰਨ ਇਕ ਘਰ ਘਰ  
ਫਾਲ ਪਵਾਹੀ ।  
ਇਕ ਜੋਗੀ ਜੰਗਮ ਪੁਛਿ ਥਕੇ ਇਕ ਬ੍ਰਿਹੀ ਪੰਥੀ ਮੁਖੇ ਪੁਛਾਹੀ,  
ਦੇਵਾ ਜੀਵਦਿਆਂ ਦੇਹ ਦਰਸਨ ਹਮ ਕੋ ਮਤਿ ਸਿਕਦੀ ਮਰ ਵੈਸਾਹੀ ।

ਸਿਕ ਸਿਕੀਦਿਆਂ ਰਾਹੁ ਤਕੀਦਿਆਂ ਅਸਾਂ ਉਧੋ ਡਿੱਠਾ ਅੱਖੀਂ,  
ਆਪੇ ਆਇਆ ਕੈ ਕ੍ਰਿਸਨ ਪਠਾਇਆ ਸਚੁ ਆਖੀਂ ਡੇਦ ਨ ਰਖੀਂ ।  
ਚਉਖਣ ਕੀਤੀ ਮੈ ਸਦ ਬਲਿਹਾਰੀ ਸੰਈਂ ਹਜਾਰੀਂ ਲਖੀਂ,  
ਦੇਵਾ ਕ੍ਰਿਸਨਾ ਕਿਵੇਂ ਚਿੱਤੁ ਕੀਜੈ ਬ੍ਰਿਜ ਵਡੀਮ ਨੀਹੀ ਪਖੀਂ ।

ਆਜ ਨਿਲਾਜ ਡਿਠੋ ਅਸਾਂ ਕਾਨ੍ਹਾ ਮੁਹੁ ਕੀਤਾ ਹੀ ਕਰਤਾ ਸਾਰੋ,  
ਲੋਕ ਬੇਦਰਦ ਦਰਦ ਨਹੀਂ ਜਾਣਨ ਤੂ ਭਰੇ ਨ ਲੋਕਾ ਚਾਰੋ ।  
ਕਾਨਾ ਛੋਡਿ ਖਿਆਲ ਅਸਾਭਾ ਅਸੀਂ ਖੋਈਆ ਹਾਲ ਰੁਜਗਾਰੋ,  
ਦੇਵਾ ਬਸਤੁ ਦੇਹ ਅਸਾਂ ਅਸਾਂ ਤੋਬਾ ਏਦੁ ਪਿਆਰੋ ।

ਇਹ ਤਨ ਸਾਜਿ ਕੀਯਾ ਸਰਮੰਦਲ ਰੰਗ ਰੰਗ ਦੀਆਂ ਪਈਆਂ ਤਾਰਾਂ,  
ਸੂਲਾਂ ਦੀ ਆਰਾਮ ਬਨਾਈਆ ਕਿਲੀਆਂ ਨਖਾਂ ਦੀਆਂ ਨਖ ਹਾਰਾਂ ।  
ਲੈ ਕਰ ਦਰਦ ਬਜਾਵਨ ਲੱਗਾ ਸੁਢੇ ਬ੍ਰਿਹਿ ਦੀਆਂ ਤਨ ਮਾਰਾਂ,  
ਮੋਦਨ ਹੋਰ ਸਰੋਦ ਨ ਵਜਦਾ ਪਰ ਕੂਕਨ ਯਾਰਾ ਯਾਰਾਂ ।

ਬਿਨ ਮੁਹੱਬਤ ਕੋਈ ਪਾਰ ਨ ਪਉਸੀ ਕਿਆ ਜੇਖ ਮਸਾਇਕ ਹਾਜੀ,  
ਤੀਠੇ ਰਖਣ ਤੈ ਪੰਜ ਗੁਜਾਰਨ ਅਠੇ ਪਹਰ ਨਿਵਾਜੀ ।  
ਜੇ ਸਉ ਵਾਰੀ ਮੱਕੇ ਜਾਵੇ ਹਜ ਗੁਜਾਰਨ ਹਾਜੀ ।  
ਲਾਲ ਖਿਆਲ ਸਾ ਬਾਤ ਨਿਰਾਲੀ ਜਿਤੁ ਸਹੁ ਥੀਵੇ ਰਾਜੀ ।

ਪੀਰਾਂ ਬਾਬ ਮੁਰੀਦ ਨ ਸੋਹਨ ਬੰਮਾਂ ਬਾਬ ਨ ਕੜੀਆਂ ।  
 ਪੁਤ੍ਰਾਂ ਬਾਬ ਨ ਸੋਹਨ ਮਾਵਾਂ ਲਖ ਹੀਰੇ ਮੌਤੀ ਜੜੀਆਂ ।  
 ਕੰਤਾਂ ਬਾਬ ਨ ਸੋਹਨ ਨਾਰੀਆਂ ਜੋ ਹੋਵਨ ਹੂਰਾਂ ਪਰੀਆਂ,  
 ਜੇ ਕਿਉਂ ਮਲਨ ਬਿਭੂਤ ਬਿਹਾਰੀ ਜਿਨਾਂ ਸਿਰ ਸੁਹਾਗ ਦੀਆਂ ਧੜੀਆਂ ।

ਮਹਿਬੂਬਾਂ ਦੇ ਵੇਖਣ ਕਾਰਣ ਕੱਖ ਗਲੀ ਵਿਚ ਬੀਵਾਂ ।  
 ਜਿਉ ਜਿਉ ਘਾਉ ਪੁਰੇ ਦੀ ਵਗੋਂ ਦਰਿ ਤੋ ਜਾਇ ਸੁਟੀਵਾਂ ।  
 ਪੌਹ ਮਾਹ ਦੇ ਪਉਂਦੇ ਪਾਲੇ ਫੋਰੀ ਕੰਮ ਲੁੜੀਵਾਂ ।  
 ਮਿਲ ਮਹਿਬੂਬਾਂ ਢਾਚੀ ਬਾਲੀ ਉਹ ਸੋਕਨਿ ਹਉ ਜੀਵਾਂ ।

ਸਬਦ ਗੁਰੂ ਕਾ ਮਾਂਝੀਆ ਧਾਰਾਂ ਹਉ ਅੰਮ੍ਰਿਤ ਕਰਿ ਪੀਵਾਂ ।  
 ਅਠੇ ਪਹਰ ਤੈ ਚਉਸਠਿ ਘੜੀਆਂ ਹਉ ਬਾਂਣੀ ਸੁਣਿ ਸੁਣਿ ਜੀਵਾਂ ।  
 ਜਿਨੀ ਹਰਿ ਕਾ ਨਾਮੁ ਨ ਜਪਿਆ ਮੁਖ ਤਿਨਾਂ ਦਾ ਨੀਵਾਂ ।  
 ਸਾਧ ਸੰਗਤਿ ਤੇ ਹਉ ਬਲਿਹਾਰੀ ਨਾਨਕ ਧੂੜ ਸੰਤਾਂ ਦੀ ਥੀਵਾਂ ।

ਜੈ ਦੀ ਸਿਕ ਤਹੀ ਦਾ ਸਿਕਾ ਹੋਰ ਸਿਕਾ ਫਿੱਕਾ ਲਗੈ ।  
 ਜੈ ਦਾ ਦਰਦੁ ਤਹੀ ਦਾ ਦਾਰੂ ਹੋਰ ਦਾਰੂ ਕੋਇ ਨ ਲਗੈ ।  
 ਜੈ ਦਾ ਨਾਉ ਨੀਸਾਨ ਤਹੀ ਦਾ ਵਜਿ ਰਹਿਆ ਵਿਚਿ ਜਾਗੈ ।  
 ਮਿਤਾਂ ਕੋਲੋਂ ਮੁਖ ਜੋ ਮੋੜਨ ਸੇ ਦਰਗਹ ਮੂਲ ਨ ਤੋਂਗੈ ।

ਤੀਰਾਂ ਕੰਨੋਂ ਤਿਖੀਆਂ ਅਖੀਆ ਤਕਿ ਤਕਿ ਰਚਨ ਤਕਬੀਰਾਂ ।  
 ਕਾਮਣਹਾਰੀ ਕਾਮਣ ਪਾਏ ਇਹ ਤਨ ਕੀਤਾ ਲੀਰਾਂ ।  
 ਮਹਿਬੂਬਾਂ ਦੀ ਏਹੋ ਵਹਦਤ ਲੂੰ ਲੂੰ ਦੇਂਦੀ ਸੀਰਾਂ ।  
 ਮਹਿਬੂਬਾਂ ਦੇ ਘਾਉ ਬਿਹਾਰੀ ਸਹਣੇ ਪਏ ਫੁਕੀਰਾਂ ।

ਜੋ ਪਲਕਾਂ ਸੋ ਖਬਰ ਨ ਖਲਕਾਂ ਸੋ ਪਲਕਾਂ ਜਾਏ ਜੁੜੀਆਂ ।  
 ਜੋ ਜੁੜੀਆਂ ਸੋ ਮੂਲ ਨ ਮੁੜੀਆਂ ਜੋ ਮੁੜੀਆਂ ਸੋ ਲੁੜੀਆਂ ।  
 ਇਕ ਸਹੁ ਫੋੜਿ ਬੀਆ ਵਲਿ ਰਤੀਆਂ ਸੇ ਵੰਝਨ ਦਾਜੋ ਖੁੜੀਆਂ ।  
 ਫੋਰੀ ਥੀਉ ਗੁਆਲ ਤਿਨਾਂ ਤੋਂ ਜੋ ਲਗਿ ਕੈ ਮੂਲਿ ਨ ਮੁੜੀਆਂ ।

ਪੈਂਡੇ ਉਪਰਿ ਪਵਨਿ ਬਟਾਉ ਕੋਈ ਬੰਨ੍ਹਿ ਨ ਬੈਠੇ ਢੇਰੀ ।  
 ਆਇਆਂ ਹਰਖੁ ਨ ਗਇਆਂ ਦਲਗੀਰੀ ਏਹਾ ਗਲ ਚੰਗੇਰੀ ।  
 ਰਾਤ ਅੰਧੇਰੀ ਹਾਕਮ ਕਰੜਾ ਗਾਫਲ ਚੋਤ ਸਵੇਰੀ ।  
 ਕੂਚ ਨਗਾਰਾ ਥੀਆ ਭਗਤੁ ਵੱਤ ਨ ਮੇਰੀ ਤੇਰੀ ।

ਸਤਿਗੁਰ ਤੋਤਾ ਦੁਆਪਰਿ ਵਰਤਿਆ ਵਰਤਨਗੇ ਜੁਗ ਚਾਰੇ ।  
 ਦਇਆ ਬਰਾਬਰਿ ਤੀਰਥ ਨਾਹੀਂ ਬ੍ਰਹਮਾਂ ਬਿਸ਼ਨ ਪੁਕਾਰੇ ।  
 ਤੀਰਥੁ ਨਾਤਿਆਂ ਇਕ ਫਲੁ ਪਾਇਆ ਸਾਧ ਮਿਲਿਆਂ ਫਲ ਚਾਰੇ ।  
 ਸਤਿਗੁਰ ਮਿਲਿਆ ਪੂਰਾ ਨਾਵਣ ਨਦਰ ਕਰੇ ਤਾਂ ਤਾਰੇ ।

ਜਰਾ ਨ ਭਰਾਂ ਜੇ ਸੁਣ ਘਤੀਵਾਂ ਕੋਈ ਹਾਹੁ ਦੋਸਕ ਤਪੈ ।  
 ਜਰਾ ਨ ਭਰਾਂ ਜੇ ਸਿਣ ਘਤੀਵਾਂ ਕੋਈ ਮਾਤੋ ਹਾਬੀ ਅਗੈ ।  
 ਜਰਾ ਨ ਭਰਾਂ ਬਿਧਾਤਾ ਕੋਲੋਂ ਜਿਨ ਸਚੇ ਅਖਰ ਲਿਖੇ ।  
 ਜਾਏ ਭਰਾਂ ਵਿਛੋੜੇ ਕੋਲੋਂ ਮਤ ਰੱਬ ਵਿਛੋੜਾ ਘਤੈ ।

ਇਕ ਸਨੇਹਾ ਮੁਰਬਦ ਵਾਲਾ ਸੀਨੇ ਅੰਦਰਿ ਪੁੜਿਆ ।  
 ਹੁਣ ਤਾਂ ਮੁੜਦਿਆਂ ਬਣਦੀ ਨਾਹੀ ਸਮੁਖ ਮੱਥਾ ਜੁੜਿਆ ।  
 ਡੰਨੀ ਡੰਨੀ ਪਤਣ ਵੀਜਾਂ ਅਗਹੁ ਬੋੜਾ ਰੁੜਿਆ ।  
 ਤਿਨਾ ਨਾਲਹੁ ਤੁਟੀ ਚੰਗੀ ਸਿਦਕ ਜਿਨਾਂ ਦਾ ਮੁੜਿਆ ।

ਦੁਇ ਮੈਡੀਆਂ ਦੁਇ ਦਿਲਬਰ ਵਾਲੀਆਂ ਚਾਰੇ ਜੁਦਾ ਨ ਬੀਵਨ ।  
 ਕਿਸੈ ਮਹੂਰਤ ਅਖੀਆਂ ਲਗੀਆਂ ਉਲਟ ਪੁਲਟ ਰਸ ਪੀਵਨ ।  
 ਕੋਈ ਰੰਗ ਚੜਿਆ ਖੂਬੀ ਦਾ ਦਿਹੁ ਦਿਹੁ ਲਾਲ ਡਿਸੀਵਨ ।  
 ਚੰਦਾ ਨਹੀਂ ਨਹੁ ਨ ਛੋੜਨਿ ਜਾਂ ਜਾਂ ਤੋੜੀ ਜੀਵਨ ।

ਆਹਿ ਦਰਦ ਮਤਿ ਮਾਰੋ ਕੋਈ ਤੀਨ ਲੋਕ ਜਲ ਜਾਏ ।  
 ਆਹਿ ਦਰਦ ਤੋ ਪੰਖੀ ਭਰਦੇ ਸੁਣ ਸੁਣ ਆਕਾਸ ਭਰਾਏ ।  
 ਆਹਿ ਦਰਦ ਤੋ ਧਰਤੀ ਕੰਬੇ ਮਤ ਉਲਟੀ ਨਦੀ ਵਹਾਏ ।  
 ਧੰਨ ਆਸਕ ਦੀ ਆਹਿ ਬਿਹਾਰੀ ਜਿਥੇ ਆਹਿ ਸਮਾਏ ।

ਕਰ ਮਸਲਤ ਯਾਕੀ ਗੜ ਲੀਚਨ ਮਸਲਤ ਲੋਹੇ ਡੰਨੇ ।  
 ਕਰ ਮਸਲਤ ਦਰੀਆਉ ਤਰੀਵਨ ਸਪ ਕੀਚਨ ਦੇਦ ਡੰਨੇ ।  
 ਸਭ ਕਿਛੁ ਮਸਲਤ ਵੱਸ ਬਿਹਾਰੀ ਇਸ਼ਕ ਨ ਮਸਲਤ ਮੰਨੇ ।

(H. U. MS. No. 513, copied out in 1831 and P. U. L. MS. No. 374, copied out in 1801 A.D.)

### \* JANAM PATRI BABE JI KI

#### ਜਨਮ ਪੱਤਰੀ ਬਾਬੇ ਜੀ ਕੀ

ਤਾਂ ਫੇਰਿ ਪੀਰ ਕਹਿਆ ਨਾਨਕ ਜੀ ਮੈਨੂ ਹਿਕੁ ਕਾਤੀ ਲੁੜੀਦੀ ਹੈ ਤੈ ਕੰਨੇ ਹੋਵੈ ਤਾਂ ਦੇਹਿ । ਏਹੁ ਜੁ ਸਾਰ ਦੀ ਕਾਤੀ ਹੈ ਤੈ ਨਾਲਿ ਜੋ ਜਨਾਵਰ ਕੁਸਦਾ ਹੈ ਸੋ ਹਲਾਲੁ ਬੀਦਾ ਹੈ । ਪਰੁ ਏਹੁ ਜੋ ਬੀਦਾ ਹੈ ਇਸ ਦੇ ਗਲਿ ਵਗੈ ਤਾ ਏਹੁ ਮੁਰਦਾਰ ਬੀਦਾ ਹੈ । ਮੈਕੁ ਸਾ ਕਾਤੀ ਦੇਹਿ ਜੈਦਾ ਕੁਠਾ ਮਾਣੁ ਹਲਾਲੁ ਬੀਵੈ ... .. ਹਿਕੁ ਖੁਦਾਇ ਦੀ ਵਾਰ ਅਸਾ ਨੋ ਆਖਿ ਸੁਣਾਈਐ । ਜੋ ਖੁਦਾਇ ਦੀ ਵਾਰ ਗਵਾਹਾ । ਪੀਰ ਦਾ ਮਖਸੂਦ ਏਹੁ ਜੁ ਏਹੁ ਬਗੈਰ ਵਾਰ ਹੋਦੀ ਨਾਹੀ । ਦਿਖਾ ਦੂਜਾ ਖੁਦਾਇ ਦਾ ਸਰੀਕ ਕਉਣ ਪੈਦਾ ਕਰਸੀ ॥

ਫੇਰਿ ਬਾਬਾ ਜੀ ਓਬਹੁ ਚਲਿਆ ਦਿਪਾਲਪੁਰ ਚੁਹਣੀਆਂ ਵਿਚਦੇ ਕੰਕਣਪੁਰ ਕਸੂਰ ਹੈਬਤਪੁਰ ਪਟੀ ਵਿਚਦੇ ਅਗੈ ਆਏ । ਗੋਵਿੰਦਵਾਲ ਵਿਚਦੇ ਵੈਰੋਵਾਲ ਵਿਚਦੇ ਸੈਦ ਪੁਰ ਸਲੋਏਵਾਲ ਜਾਇ ਨਿਕਲੇ । ਅਗੈ ਪਠਾਣਾ ਦੇ ਘਰਿ ਵੀਵਾਹੁ

ਹੈਨਿ । ਪਠਾਣ ਨਚਦੇ ਹੈਨਿ ਸਾਰਗੀਆ ਵਜਾਇਦੇ ਹੈਨਿ ਖਰਾ ਬਹੁਤ ਖੁਸੀ ਦੇ ਘਰਿ । ਬਾਬਾ ਜੀਉ ਕਿਤਨਿਆ ਕੁ ਫਕੀਰਾ ਨਾਲਿ ਜਾਇ ਨਿਕਲਿਆ । ਘਰ ਘਰ ਵੀਵਾਹ ਸੇ । ਬਾਬੇ ਨਾਲਿ ਜੋ ਫਕੀਰ ਸੇ ਤਿਨਾ ਬਾਬੇ ਨੇ ਆਖਿਆ ਜੀਉ ਭੁਖੇ ਹਾ । ... .. ਓਨਾ ਸੁਆਲ ਘਤਿਆ ਕਿਨੈ ਕਿਹੁ ਨ ਪਾਇਆ । ਫਕੀਰ ਭੁਖ ਨਾਲਿ ਬਹੁਤੁ ਆਜਜੁ ਹੋਏ । ਜਿਤਨੇ ਘਰ ਫਿਰੇ ਤਿਤਨੀ ਘਰੀ ਡਿਖਿਆ ਨ ਪਾਈ । ਬਾਬਾ ਜੀਓ ਓਨਾ ਫਕੀਰਾ ਦੇ ਵਾਸਤੇ ਬਹੁਤੁ ਗਿਲੇ ਵੰਦ ਹੋਆ । ਕਿਨੈ ਖਬਰ ਨ ਲਈ । ... .. ਹੁਕਮੁ ਹੋਆ ਤਿਲੰਗ ਕਰਿ । ਮਰਦਾਨੇ ਤਿਲੰਗ ਕੀਤੀ । ਬਾਬਾ ਬੋਲਿਆ : ਜੈਸੀ ਮੈ ਆਵੈ ਖਸਮ ਕੀ ਬਾਣੀ ਤੈਸਾ ਕਰੀ ਗਿਆਨ ਵੇ ਲਾਲੋ ... .. ਜਾ ਏਹੁ ਸਬਦੁ ਹੋਆ ਤਾ ਇਕ ਬਾਮਣ ਹਜੂਰ ਘੜਾ ਬਾ ਓਸ ਦੇ ਘਰ ਵੀਵਾਹ ਸਾ ਧੀਉ ਦਾ । ਤਾ ਤਿਨਿ ਕਿ ਕੀਤਾ ਡਰਕੇ ਚੰਗੇਰ ਮੇਵੇ ਕੀ ਅਤੇ ਮਿਠਿਆਈ ਕੀ ਡਲੀ ਰੀਤ ਨਾਲਿ ਬਾਬੇ ਦੇ ਅਗੈ ਰਖੀਸੁ । ਤਾ ਬਾਮਣ ਕਹਿਆ ਜੀਉ ਮਿਹਰਵਾਨ ਹੋਈਐ ਅਤੇ ਜੀਉ ਏਹੁ ਸਬਦੁ ਹੋਆ ਹੈ ਸੁ ਬਖਸੀਐ । ਗੁਰੂ ਬਾਬੇ ਆਖਿਆ ਸੁਆਸੀ ਫਿਰ ਨਹੁ ਗਲ ਰਹੀ ਹੈ ਵਗੁ ਮੁਕੀ । ਪਰੁ ਤੂੰ ਬਖਸਿਆ ਹੈ । ਜਾਹਿ ਏਥੇ ਕੋਹਾ ਬਾਰਹ ਤੇ ਫਲਾਨਾ ਫੋਡਾ ਹਈ ਓਥੇ ਲੈ ਜਾਇ ਟਬਰ ਬਹਾਲਿ । ਐਏ ਰਹਣਾ ਨਾਹੀ ਐਥੇ ਰਹਗੁ ਮਾਰੀਅਗੁ । ਅਤੇ ਜੰਖ ਜੋ ਤੇਰੇ ਘਰ ਆਵਦੀ ਹੈ ਤਿਸਨੋ ਆਦਮੀ ਘਲਿ ਓਨਿ ਬਾਮਣ ਏਵੈ ਕੀਤਾ । ਉਹੁ ਬਖਸਿਆ ਤਾ ਬਾਬਾ ਓਥਹੁ ਰਮਿਆ ਜਿਥੈ ਡਲਕ ਹੋਆ ਤਿਥੈ ਮੀਰ ਬਾਬਰ ਪਇਆ ਸੈਦਪੁਰ ਸਲੋਏ ਵਿਚ ਜੋ ਪਿੰਡ ਸੀ ਸਭ ਕਤਲਾਮ ਹੋਈ ... .. ਗੁਰੂ ਬਾਬਾ । ਜਗਤ ਮੇਲਣੇ ਦੇ ਵਾਸਤੇ ਕਰਤਾਰਪੁਰ ਬਧਾ । ਓਤੈ ਥਾਇ ਨਿਵਾਸ ਕੀਤੇਨੁ । ਸਭ ਸੰਸਾਰ ਦੀਅਹੁ ਪਰਕਿਰਤਹੁ ਪਾਕੁ ... .. ਜਗਤ ਵਿਚਿ ਸੋਭਾ ਉਡਰੀ । ... .. ਗੁਰੂ ਬਾਬੇ ਦਾ ਡਿਰਾਓ ਸੀ ਉਨ ਆਇ ਕਰਿ ਗੁਰੂ ਬਾਬੇ ਬੇ ਬੋਨਤੀ ਕੀਤੀ ਜੀਉ ਬੇਟੀ ਦਾ ਵੀਆਹੁ ਹੈ ਹਉ ਇਕਲਾਪਾ ਹਾ ਮੈਥੀ ਕਿਛੁ ਨਾਹੀ ਹੋਦਾ ਕਿਛੁ ਪਰਮੇਸਰ ਦੇ ਅਰਥ ਮੇਰਾ ਅਗੀਕਾਰ ਕੀਚੈ । ... ..

ਜਿਉ ਲਖਮਣ ਚਰਣਾ ਬਣ ਕਰਦਾ ਸਾ ਤਿਉ ਮਥੈ ਤੇ ਪਕੜਿ ਕਰਿ ਕਢਿ ਸਿਰੇ ਸਿਰਿ ਪਇਓਸੁ । ਕਹਣ ਲਾਗਾ ਰੇ ਬੋਧੇ ਹਉ ਚੰਡਾਲ ਆਪਣਾ ਮਾਰੁ ਬਾ ਜੁ ਡਾਲਦਾ ਫਿਰਦਾ ਹਾਂ ਮੈਨੂੰ ਤੈ ਕੋਹਾ ਆਇ ਇਹਾੜਾ ਕੀਤੇ । ਮੇਰਾ ਖਾਜੁ ਤੁਧੁ ਗਵਾਇਆ ... .. ਮੈ ਵਤਿ ਆਵਾਗਾ ਨਾਹੀ । ਤਾ ਲਗਾ ਆਖਣ ਜੋ ਫਿਹਿ ਆਵੈਗਾ ਤਾ ਮਾਰੀਗਾ ਬਾਈ । ਆਖਣ ਲਗਾ ਤੁਧੁ ਜਾਤੋ ਜੋ ਫੋਰਿ ਇਥੈ ਆਇਓ । ਤਾ ਲਖਮਣ ਭੰਨਾ । ਤਾ ਲਖਮਣ ਆਖਿਆ ਡਾਈ ਹਉ ਮੁਆ ਸਾ ਪਰ ਮਰਪਿਣ ਉਬਰਿਆ । ਨਠਾ ਓਥਹੁ । ਜਿਉ ਭੰਨਾ ਜਾਦਾ ਸਾ ... .. ਇਕ ਸੂਰੀ ਚਾਇ ਕੁਠੀ ਸੀ ਬੈਠਾ ਉਖਾਲਦਾ ਹੈ । ਤਾ ਲਖਮਣ ਆਖਿਆ ਡਾਈ ਹਾਲ ਇਸਦਾ ਕੋਈ ਨਹੀਂ । ਪਰ ਰਾਮ ਚੰਦ ਕੀ ਆਗਿਆ ਹੈ ਹਉ ਜਾਈ ॥ ... .. ਬਾਬਾ ਲੰਦੇ ਹੀ ਸਮਾਇ ਗਇਆ । ਪਠਾਣ ਧੂਹ ਸਮਸੇਰੀ ਖੜੇ ਹੋਏ ਹਿੰਦੂਆ ਨੋ ਨੋੜੇ ਢੁਕਣ ਨਾ ਦੇਨਿ । ... .. ਜਦਿ ਮਰਦਾਨਾ ਧਰਮਸਾਲਾ ਆਇਆ ਤਾ ਲੋਕੀ ਆਖਿਆ ਮਰਦਾਨਿਆ ਬਾਬਾ ਸਮਾਣਾ ਅਤੇ ਲੋਕ ਬਾਬੇ ਦੀ ਚਿਖਾ ਉਪਰਿ ਗਏ ਹੈਨਿ । ਮਰਦਾਨੇ ਟੋਪੀ ਧਰਤੀ ਨਾਲਿ ਮਾਰੀ ਅਤੇ ਮਾਰਦੇ ਹੀ ਭੰਨਾ । ਪੁਕਾਰਦਾ ਗਇਆ ਮੇਰਿਆ ਬਾਬਾ ਮੇਰਿਆ ਬਾਬਾ ਮੈਨੂੰ ਦਰਸਨ ਦੇਹਿ । ਓਹਿ ਜਿ ਲੋਕ ਬੇ ਪਠਾਣ ਮੁਸਲਮਾਨ ਤਿਨੀ ਮਰਦਾਨਾ ਫੜਿ ਰਖਿਆ । ਗੁਰੂ ਬੇ ਜਾਣਿ ਦੇਨਿ ਨਾਹੀ । ਮਰਦਾਨਾ ਹਾਇ ਹਾਇ ਬਿਲੀ ਪਾਤ ਕਰੈ । ਅਤੇ ਪੁਕਾਰੈ ਜੀ ਮੈਨੂੰ ਦਰਸਨ ਮਿਲੈ ॥

### GOSHT JANAK BHAGAT KI. ਗੋਸ਼ਟ ਜਨਕ ਭਗਤ ਜੀ ਕੀ

ਤਬ ਰਾਜਾ ਜਨਕ ਹਸਿਆ ਖਰੇ ਬਿਗਸੇ ਬਹੁਤੁ ਖੁਸੀ ਹੋਏ । ਕਹਣੇ ਲਾਗੇ ਜੋ ਧੰਨ ਹਮਾਰੇ ਭਾਗ ਜੋ ਆਜੁ ਆਗਿਆ ਸਿਰੀ ਪਾਰ ਬ੍ਰਹਮ ਪਰਮੇਸਰ ਕੀ ਆਈ । ... .. ਰਾਜਾ ਜਨਕੁ ਭਗਤ ਚਲਤਾ ਹੈ । ਦਰਸਨ ਕਰਣੇ ਸਫ ਆਏ । ... .. ਤਬ ਧਰਮ ਰਾਇ ਕਉ ਖਬਰ ਡਈ ਰਾਜਾ ਜਨਕ ਮੇਰੀ ਪੁਰੀ ਦੇਖਣੇ ਕੋ ਆਵਤਾ ਹੈ । ਆਇ ਕਰਿ ਨਮਸਕਾਰੁ ਕੀਆ । ਨਮਸਕਾਰ ਕਰਕੇ ਆਪਸ ਮੈ ਅੰਗਦੇ ਮਿਲੇ । ਮਿਲਿ ਕਰਿ ਬਹੁਤੁ ਕੁਸਲ ਪੂਛਿਆ । ... .. ਤਬ ਰਾਜੇ ਜਨਕ ਕਹਿਆ ਨਿਸਤਾਰਣ ਹਾਰ ਤੁਮਹੀ ਹਉ ਪਰ ਹਮ ਡੀ ਦਰਸਨ ਕੀ ਲੋਚਾ ਥੀ ਸੋ ਲੋਚਾ ਪੂਰਨ ਡਈ ॥

(P. U. L. MS. No. 4141)

## \* GATHA. ਗਾਥਾ

ਪੂਤਾ ਕਤੰਚ ਜੀਅਲੇ ਗ੍ਰਿਹ ਭਾਰੀ । ਪੂਤਾ ਕਤੰਚ ਜੀਅਲੇ ਬਨਿਤਾ ਦ੍ਰਿੜਅੰ ਬੈਰਾਰੀ । ਉਦਿਆਨ ਬਾਸਾ  
ਭੂਤ ਹਿਤੰ । ਪੂਤਾ ਗੋਪੀਚੰਦਾ ਕਤੰਚ ਤਿਆਗਿਓ ਗੜ ਮੰਡਪਹਿ ॥

ਮਾਤਾ ਕਤੰਚ ਰਾਜੇ ਕਤੰਚ ਭੋਗੰ । ਤਜੰਤ ਬਨਿਤਾ ਦ੍ਰਿੜੰਤ ਜੋਗੰ । ਗੁਰ ਕਿਰਪਾ ਲਿਲਾਟ ਪਤਿਅੰ । ਸਾਧ ਦਰਸਨ  
ਨਿਤ ਬੰਦਨੰ । ਨਹਿ ਨਹਿ ਮਿਟੰਤ ਭਾਵਨੀ ਮਾਤਾ ਜੋ ਲਿਖੀ ਦੇਵ ਨਿਰੰਜਨੰ । ਕਤੰਚ ਮਾਤਾ ਕਤੰਚ ਪਿਤਾ । ਕਤੰਚ ਬਨਿਤਾ  
ਭੂਤ ਹਿਤ ਸੁਨਹਿ । ਕਤੰਚ ਕਨਕ ਕਾਮਨੀ ਹੈਵਰ ਕਤੰਚ ਤਖਤ ਚਵਰ ਆਸਨੰ । ਨਹਿ ਨਹਿ ਮਿਟੰਤ ਭਾਵਨੀ ਮਾਤਾ  
ਜੋ ਲਿਖੀ ਦੇਵ ਨਿਰੰਜਨੰ । ਮਾਤਾ ਤਜੰਤਿ ਕਾਮੰ ਤਜੰਤ ਕ੍ਰੋਧੰ ਤਜੰਤ ਲੋਭੰ ਲੰਪਟ ਬੰਧਨੰ । ਨਹਿ ਨਹਿ ਮਿਟੰਤ ਭਾਵਨੀ  
ਮਾਤਾ ਜੋ ਲਿਖੀ ਦੇਵ ਨਿਰੰਜਨੰ । ਖੰਬਾ ਤ ਚੌਲੀ ਲਿਲਾਟੰ ਪਤਿਅੰ । ਫੁਮ ਸੁਖਮਨਾ ਬਿਭੂਤ ਹਿਤੰ । ਜੋਰਿ ਪਦਵੀ  
ਉਨਮਨ ਧਿਆਨੰ । ਏਹਿ ਗੁਰ ਤੋ ਪ੍ਰਾਪਤਹਿ । ਕਬੰਤ ਗੋਪੀ ਚੰਦ ਮੈਣਾ ਵੰਤੀ ਮਾਤਾ ਹਮ ਆਏ ਗੁਰ ਮਜਨੰ । ਨਹਿ ਨਹਿ  
ਮਿਟੰਤ ਭਾਵਨੀ ਮਾਤਾ ਜੋ ਲਿਖੀ ਦੇਵ ਨਿਰੰਜਨੰ । ਮੁੰਦਾ ਤ ਸਿੰਠੀ ਫਰੁਆ ਤ ਭੰਡਿਅੰ । ਅਲਪ ਅਹਾਰੰ ਨਿੰਦ੍ਰਾ ਤ ਖੰਡਿਅੰ ।  
ਵਿਸਨਾਨ ਅਠ ਸਠ ਮਜਨੰ । ਨਹਿ ਨਹਿ ਮਿਟੰਤ ਭਾਵਨੀ ਮਾਤਾ ਜੋ ਲਿਖੀ ਦੇਵ ਨਿਰੰਜਨੰ । ਕੰਦ ਮੂਲ ਅਹਾਰ ਖਾਇਅੰ ।  
ਨਗਰੀ ਤਜੀਅਲੇ ਉਦਿਆਨ ਪਾਇਅੰ । ਮਨ ਪਵਨ ਕਾ ਬੰਧ ਕੀਓ । ਉਨਮਨਿ ਧਿਆਨ ਜੋਗ ਦ੍ਰਿੜ ਲੀਓ । ਦੁਇ ਪਖ  
ਹਾਰ ਅਪਖ ਰਹਿਅਨੰ । ਨਹਿ ਨਹਿ ਮਿਟੰਤ ਭਾਵਨੀ ਮਾਤਾ ਜੋ ਲਿਖੀ ਦੇਵ ਨਿਰੰਜਨੰ । ਨਿਰ ਜੋਗ ਕਰਣੰ ਨਹਿ ਜਨਮ  
ਮਰਣੰ । ਗੁਰ ਸਬਦੁ ਦ੍ਰਿੜੀਅੰ ਨਹਿ ਪਿੰਡ ਪੜੀਅੰ । ਜਨਮ ਮਰਣ ਨਹਿ ਕੋਟਿ ਢਾਹਿਐ । ਨਹਿ ਨਹਿ ਮਿਟੰਤ ਭਾਵਨੀ ਮਾਤਾ  
ਜੋ ਲਿਖੀ ਦੇਵ ਨਿਰੰਜਨੰ । ਕਵਨ ਜੋਗ ਗ੍ਰਹਿ ਤਜੀਅਲੇ ਪੂਤਾ ਕਵਨ ਜੋਗ ਠਹਿਰਾਇਲੇ । ਕਵਨ ਜੋਗ ਅਹੰ ਤਜੀਅਲੇ  
ਨਿਰਬਾਣ ਜੋਗ ਕਿਹ ਪਾਇਲੇ । ਮਾਤਾ ਤੀਨ ਪੰਚ ਨਵ ਗ੍ਰਿਹੁਤ ਖਾਇਅੰ । ਸਤ ਸਤਾਈ ਕਰਿ ਭਸਮ ਲਾਇਅੰ । ਅਠ  
ਅਠਾਰਹ ਧਰ ਪਗ ਤਲੰ । ਚਾਰਿ ਚਰੁਦਹਿ ਗੁਰ ਸਬਦ ਦਲੰ । ਏਹੁ ਉਦਾਸ ਦ੍ਰਿੜੀਅਲੇ ਮਾਇਅੰ । ਗੁਰ ਧਿਆਨ ਧਰਣੰ  
ਨਹ ਜਨਮ ਮਰਣੰ । ਦਸਾ ਦੁਇ ਆਦੰਸ ਕਰਣੰ । ਓਹੁ ਉਦਾਸ ਦ੍ਰਿੜੀਅਲੇ ਮਾਤਾ ਗੁਰ ਪ੍ਰਸਾਦਿ ਨਹਿ ਜਨਮ ਮਰਣੰ ।  
ਅਹਿਨਿਸਿ ਜੋਗ ਅਭਿਆਸ ਕਰਣੰ । ਰੂਖੀ ਤ ਬਿਰਖੀ ਧੁਨਿ ਲਾਇ ਬਹੁਣੰ । ਦੁਰਮਤਿ ਦੁਬਿਧਾ ਗੁਰ ਸਬਦਿ ਖਾਇਅੰ ।  
ਗੁਰ ਪ੍ਰਸਾਦਿ ਅਟਲ ਪਦਵੀ ਪਾਇਅੰ । ਪਾਰਸੁ ਛੋਟੇ ਚੰਦਨ ਹੋਵੈ ਮਾਤਾ ਫਿਰ ਫਿਰਨ ਕਾ ਪੰਥ ਖੋਵੈ । ਮਰਮ ਪਾਇਆ  
ਦਸ ਪੰਚ ਮਾਤਾ । ਅਠ ਸਠ ਮਜਨਿ ਗੁਰ ਸਬਦਿ ਨਾਤਾ । ਖੜਗ ਗਿਆਨ ਗੁਰ ਹਾਥ ਦੀਅੰ । ਇਹ ਜੋਗੁ ਮਾਤਾ ਹਮ ਮਨ  
ਦ੍ਰਿੜੀਅੰ । ਮਨ ਮਰਤੋ ਕਾ ਬੰਧ ਪਾਇਅੰ । ਤਉ ਭਇਆ ਉਦਾਸ ਮੈਣਾ ਵੰਤੀ ਮਾਇਅੰ । ਗੁਰ ਸਬਦੁ ਦੀਨਾ ਤਾਂ ਖੁਲੇ  
ਕਪਾਟੈ । ਬੋਜੀ ਤ ਨਗਰੀ ਅਠ ਸਠਿ ਹਾਟੰ । ਦ੍ਰਿੜ ਜੋਗ ਪਾਇਆ ਨ.ਵਘਟਿ ਘਾਟੰ । ਜਨਮ ਮਰਣ ਕਾ ਪੰਥ ਖੋਵੈ । ਇਹੁ  
ਉਦਾਸ ਦ੍ਰਿੜ ਜੋਗ ਹੋਵੈ । ਪੁਰਬ ਤ ਪਛਮ ਜੋਗੁ ਕਰਣੰ । ਉਤਰ ਦਖਣ ਦੇ ਤਲੇ ਚਰਣੰ । ਕਉਲਾਸ ਪੇਪਿਆ ਹੋਇ ਪਵਣ  
ਅਹਾਰੀ । ਬਦਤ ਗੋਪੀ ਚੰਦ ਸੁਣਿਹੋ ਮਹਤਾਰੀ । ਪੰਚ ਤਤ ਮਨ ਸਹਜ ਰਹਿਅੰ । ਆਸਣ ਸੋਧਿ ਨਿਰਾਲਮੁ ਸਹਿਅੰ । ਨਿੰਦ੍ਰਾ  
ਤ ਪਲਕੰ ਅਹਾਰੋ ਤ ਅਲਪੰ । ਪਿੰਡ ਅਸਥਿਰੁ ਕਲਾ ਰਹੈ । ਸੁਣਹੋ ਮਾਤਾ ਮੈਣਾ ਵੰਤੀ ਜੋਗ ਲਛਣ ਪੂਤ ਕਹੈ । ਸੁਨਿ ਮੰਡਲ  
ਧਿਆਨ ਕਰਣੰ । ਇਹ ਕਲਾ ਮਾਤਾ ਜੋਗ ਧਰਣੰ । ਸੁਆਦ ਸਹਜਿ ਮਨ ਮਾਹਿ ਜਰਣੰ । ਬਕਤੇ ਕਹਤੇ ਕੀ ਕਲਾ ਗਵਾਈ ।  
ਏਹੁ ਜੋਗ ਸੁਣ ਮੈਣਾਵੰਤੀ ਮਾਈ । ਪੰਚ ਅਗਨਿ ਜਲ ਮਾਹਿ ਪਾਇਅੰ । ਦੁਰਮਤਿ ਦੁਬਿਧਾ ਭ੍ਰਮਤਿ ਢਹਾਇਅੰ । ਗੁਰ ਪ੍ਰਸਾਦਿ  
ਇਹ ਕਲਾ ਪਾਈ । ਬਦਤ ਗੋਪੀਚੰਦ ਸੁਣਹੋ ਮਾਈ । ਪੰਚ ਇੰਦ੍ਰੀ ਗੁਰ ਸਬਦਿ ਪਰਬੋਧਿਅੰ । ਗਿਆਨ ਤ੍ਰਿਪਤਿ ਮਨ ਸਹਜਿ  
ਸਮੋਧਿਅੰ । ਤ੍ਰਿਬੋਣੀ ਕਾ ਤਬ ਮਜਨ ਪਾਇਅੰ । ਏਹੁ ਜੋਗੁ ਸੁਣਿ ਮੈਣਾ ਵੰਤੀ ਮਾਇਅੰ । ਸੁਰਤਿ ਦੁਧ ਤਨ ਬਾਸਨ ਹੋਵੈ ।  
ਸਚੁ ਜਾਮਨ ਦੇ ਰਿਦਾ ਜਮਾਇਅੰ । ਗਿਆਨ ਮਥੇ ਬਿਨ ਤਤ ਨ ਪਾਇਅੰ । ਬਿਨੁ ਜੋਗੁ ਮਾਤਾ ਜਨਮ ਗਵਾਇਅੰ । ਬਸਗਤਿ  
ਕੀਏ ਪੰਚ ਦੂੜੇ । ਗੁਰ ਸਬਦਿ ਚੀਨਿ ਅਵਧੂੜੇ । ਇੰਦ੍ਰੀ ਤਜੀ ਤਾਂ ਗੁਰ ਸਬਦ ਪਹੁੰਚੈ । ਅਨਹਤ ਦ੍ਰਿੜੀਆ ਜਬ ਸੁੰਨ  
ਰਾਤਾ । ਕਹੈ ਗੋਪੀ ਚੰਦ ਸੁਣਹੋ ਮਾਤਾ । ਪਵਨ ਪਲਟੰ ਉਲਟ ਕਵਲੰ । ਤਜੀ ਮਮਤਾ ਤਬ ਭਏ ਉਜਲੰ । ਅਸਥਿਰ ਭਈਅਲੇ  
ਜਬ ਲੋਭੁ ਭਾਲੰ । ਜੋਗ ਲਛਣ ਸੁਣਹੋ ਮਾਇਅੰ । ਗੋਪੀ ਚੰਦ ਅਸਥਿਰੁ ਨਾਥ ਤੋ ਪਾਇਅੰ । ਈਸਰ ਤ ਗੋਰਖ ਗੁਰੂ ਭਣੀਅਤੇ  
ਚਰਪਟ ਚੰਬਾ ਬੰਧਪਹਿ । ਭਰਬਰੀ ਗੋਪੀ ਚੰਦ ਅਸਥਿਰੁ ਨਿਰਬਾਣ ਜੋਗੁ ਜਿਨ ਲਧਪਹਿ । ਆਦਿ ਅੰਤਿ ਕੋਟ ਜੁਗ ਜੁਗ

\* Gorakh Nath appears as much in the Panjab as in Bengal & Maharashtra. For Gorakh & Gopi Chand in Bengal see D. C. Sen, History of Bengali Language & Literature, pp. 57, 59, 164, 497; 28, 29, 376. For Gorakh Nath in Maharashtra see R. D. Ranade, Mysticism in Maharashtra, pp. 19, 29, 48 & 377.

ਨਹਿ ਪੜਤ ਕੰਧਪਹਿ । ਕਬੰਤ ਗੋਪੀ ਚੰਦ ਗਾਬਾ ਸੁਨਹੋ ਮਾਤਾ ਅਚਰਜੁ ਕਥਾ । ਨਿਰਬਾਨ ਜੋਗੁ ਮਨ ਕਰਮ ਇਤੀਅੰ । ਨਹਿ ਫਿਰੰਤ ਗੋਪੀ ਚੰਦ ਮਾਤਾ । ਮਨ ਮੰਤ ਕਰਤ ਕਤ ਹਰਖਾ । ਕਹਾ ਸੰਤਾਵਹੁ ਜੋਗਿੰਦੁ ਪੁਰਖਾ । ਲਿਲਾਟ ਭਾਵੀ ਕੋਇ ਨਾ ਮਿਟਾਇਅੰ । ਅਬ ਜੋਗ ਵਿੜਿਆ ਗੁਰ ਸਬਦੁ ਆਇਅੰ । ਕੁਮਤਿ ਤਜੀਅਲੇ ਲੇਪੁ ਨਾ ਸਾਹੀ । ਬਦਤਿ ਗੋਰਖੁ ਜੁਤਿ ਫਿਰਹਿ ਨਾਹੀ । ਹੈਵਰ ਤ ਗੋਵਰ ਨਹਿ ਬਸਤੁ ਪਹਰਲੇ । ਉਸਨ ਸੀਤ ਹੋਇ ਨਗਨ ਰਹਲੇ । ਕਨਕ ਕਾਮਨੀ ਤਿਆਗ ਰਵਿਅੰ । ਭਏਲੇ ਬੈਰਾਗੀ ਸਭ ਧਰਨ ਭਇਅੰ । ਬਦਤਿ ਗੋਰਖ ਸੁਨਹੋ ਰਾਣੀ । ਜੁਤੀ ਨ ਫਿਰਈ ਕਿਆ ਭਈ ਇਆਣੀ । ਆਸਾ ਤ ਪਰਮ ਦੁਖੰ । ਨਿਰਾਸਾ ਤ ਪਰਮ ਸੁਖੰ । ਆਸਾ ਨਿਰਾਸਾ ਤੇ ਭੂਤਵਹਿ । ਸੁਖ ਸਵੰਤੀ ਹੋ ਰਾਣੀ ਪਿੰਗੁਲਹਿ ॥

(P. U. L. MS. No. 374, 1804 A. D.)

## GOSHT NIRANKAR

### ਗੋਸਟਿ ਨਿਰੰਕਾਰਿ ਨਾਲਿ ਹੋਈ ਬਾਬੇ ਨਾਨਕ ਕੀਤੀ

ਏਹੁ ਅਸਾਨੁ ਪੂਜੀ ਮਿਲੀ ਹੈ ਜਦਿ ਕਦਿ ਵਸਤੁ ਖਸਮਿ ਦੀ ਹੈ । ਪਰੁ ਜਾ ਬਾਬਾ ਦੇਖੇ ਚਿਤੰਨ ਹੋਇ ਕੈ ਤਾ ਇਹੁ ਸਿਮਰਣੁ ਤੈ ਸੇਵਾ ਅਸਾਡਾ ਲਾਹਾ ਹੈ ਏਹੋ ਭੋਟਿ ਚੜਾਈਐ । ਤਾ ਬਾਬੇ ਸਵਾ ਰਤੀ ਸਿਮਰਣਿ ਕੀਆ ਢਾਈ ਟੰਕਿ ਸੇਵਾ ਸਵਾ ਟੰਕੁ ਪ੍ਰੀਤਿ ਪੰਜਿ ਵਿਸੁਵੇ ਪ੍ਰੇਮੁ ਸਾਢੇ ਤਿਨਿ ਟੰਕਿ ਦਇਆ ਅਢਾਈ ਵਿਸੁਵੇ ਮੁਹਬਤਿ ਏਹੁ ਬਾਬੇ ਪਰਿਦਖਣਾ ਦੇਇ ਕੈ ਹਥ ਜੋੜਿ ਕਰਿ ਲੈ ਖੜਾ ਹੋਇਆ । ਜੀਉ ਪਾਤਿਸਾਹਿ ਏਹੁ ਵਸਤੁ ਤੇਰੀ ਹੈ ਹੋਰੁ ਕਿਛੁ ਹੈ ਨਹੀ ਜਿ ਤੇਨੁ ਦੇਇ ਕਰਿ ਰਾਜੀ ਕਰੀਐ । ਤਾ ਨਿਰੰਕਾਰ ਬੋਲਿਆ ਵਾਹੁ ਵਾਹੁ ਨਾਨਕ ਵਾਹੁ ਵਾਹੁ ਸਾਰੇ ਜਗਿ ਵਿਚਿ ਏਹੁ ਵਸਤੁ ਅਗੈ ਕਿਨੈ ਵਿਖਾਲੀ ਨਾਹੀ ਜੋ ਤੁਹਿ ਭੋਟਿ ਚੜਾਈ ਹੈ । ਏਸੁ ਦਾ ਮੁਲੁ ਅਸਾਂ ਤੇ ਹੋਦਾ ਨਾਹੀ ਇਹੁ ਅਮੋਲਕੁ ਹੈ । ਏਸੁ ਦੇ ਤੁਲਿ ਧਰਤੀ ਅਕਾਸੁ ਨਾਹੀ ਦੀਪ ਲੰਇ ਪਿਆਲੁ ਨਾਹੀ । ਏਹੁ ਸਫਸਿ ਤੇ ਉਚੀ ਹੈ । ਤਾ ਨਿਰੰਕਾਰਿ ਹੋਰੁ ਖਸਿਮਾਨਾ ਕੀਤਾ ਖਸਿਮਾਨਾ ਹੋਆ ਨਿਰੰਕਾਰਿ ਕਹਿਆ ਕਿਛੁ ਅਸਾਡਿਅਹੁ ਸਿਰਹੁ ਡਾਰੁ ਉਤਾਰਣਿ ਜੋਗਾ ਆਪੁਣੀ ਜਾਹਿਗਾ ਬੈਠਾਲਣਿ ਜੋਗਾ ਸੇਵਕੁ ਪੈਦਾ ਹੋਇਆ ਹੈ । ... .. ਨਾਮੁ ਦਾਨੁ ਇਸਨਾਨੁ ਕੀਆ ਹਛਿ ਕੋਠੜੀਆ ਹਵਾਲੈ ਕੀਤੀਆ । ਜਿਉ ਤੇਰੈ ਜੀਅ ਹੈ ਤਿਵੈ ਵਰਿਤਾ ਏਨਾ ਦੇ ਉਪਰਿ ਮੁਹਰਿ ਛਾਪਿ ਬਾਬੇ ਦੀ ਹੋਈ ਜਿ ਇਹੁ ਵਸਤੁ ਤੁਹੈ ਜਾਣਹਿ । ... . ਫੋਰਿ ਬਾਬੇ ਅਰਦਾਸਿ ਕੀਤੀ ਅਜੀ ਸਚੇ ਪਾਤਿਸਾਹਿ ਤੇਰਾ ਹਥ ਆਵਦਾ ਕੁਛੁ ਨਾਹੀ ਤੁ ਦੇਇ ਕੈ ਖੋਹਿ ਭੀ ਲੈਦਾ ਹੈ ਤੇਰਾ ਭਰਿਵਾਸਾ ਕਛੁ ਨਾਹੀ ਤੁ ਭਰਿਮਾਇਦਾ ਹੈ । ਤਾ ਨਿਰੰਕਾਰੁ ਬੋਲਿਆ ਹਉ ਜਿ ਦੇਇਕੈ ਲੈਦਾ ਹਾ ਸੋ ਕਿਤੁ ਬਿਧਿ ਲੈਦਾ ਹਾ । ਫੋਰਿ ਬਾਬੇ ਅਰਦਾਸਿ ਕੀਤੀ ਅਜੀ ਸਚੇ ਪਾਤਿਸਾਹਿ ਦੇਇ ਕੈ ਤੁ ਭਰਮਾਇਦਾ ਮਨੁ ਵਧਾਇਦਾ ਹੈ । ਅਗਿਲਾ ਜਾਣਿਦਾ ਹੈ ਏਹੁ ਵਸਤੁ ਮੇਰੀਆ ਹੀ ਹੈਨਿ ਉਸਿ ਦਾ ਮਨੁ ਵਧਿਦਾ ਹੈ । ਤੁ ਖੋਹਿ ਲੈਦਾ ਹੈ ਤਾ ਹੁਕਮੁ ਹੋਇਆ । ਵਾਹੁ ਵਾਹੁ ਨਾਨਕਿ ਤੁਧੁ ਨੋ ਉਚੀ ਮਤਿ ਆਈ ਹੈ ਅਹਿਆ ਚੋਰੀ ਮੇਰੇ ਵਿਚਿ ਹੈ ਸੋ ਤੁਧੁ ਪਾਈ ਹੈ । ਪਰੁ ਮੈ ਤੁਧੁ ਨੂ ਏਹੁ ਗਲਿ ਬਖਸੀ ਤੇਰਾ ਮਨੁ ਵਧਾਈਗੁ ਨਾਹੀ ਤੁਧੁ ਨੋ ਵਸਤੁ ਨਿਹਚਲ ਦਿਤੀ । ਤਾ ਬਾਬਾ ਹਥਿ ਜੋੜਿ ਕਰਿ ਪੈਰੀ ਪਇਆ ਜਿ ਵਾਹੁ ਵਾਹੁ ਤੇਰਾ ਬੋਲਣਿ ਸਤਿ ਹੈ । ਹੁਣਿ ਅਸਾਡੀ ਨਿਸਾ ਹੋਈ ਨਾਮ ਜਪਹਿਗੇ ॥

ਚਲੇ ਚਲੇ ਇਕਤੁ ਨਗਰੀ ਆਏ ਓਤੁ ਨਗਰੀ ਆਇਕੈ ਪੁਛਿਣਾ ਕੀਤਾ ਜਿ ਕੋਈ ਸਿਖੁ ਏਤੁ ਨਗਰਿ ਹੈ । ਕਿਨੈ ਆਖਿਆ ਜੁ ਹੈਨਿ ਆਖੀਏ ਨਿਰੰਕਾਰੁ ਤੈ ਕੁਦਰਤਿ ਉਤਿ ਡੇਰੇ ਆਏ ਪੈਰੀ ਪਉਣਾ ਏਨਾ ਆਇ ਕਹਿਆ ਅਗੈ ਤੇ ਓਹੁ ਸਿਖ ਵਿਭਿਭਿ ਗਏ ਓਤੁ ਸਾਇਤੁ ਉਨਾ ਤੇ ਹੋਇ ਆਯਾ ਨਾਹੀ । ਨਿਰੰਕਾਰੁ ਤੈ ਬਾਬਾ ਬਹਿ ਗਏ ਡੇਰੇ ਵਾਲੇ ਹੈਰਾਨੁ ਹੋਇ ਰਹੇ ... .. ਉਹੁ ਡੇਰੇ ਵਾਲੇ ਬਾਬੇ ਦੇ ਮੁਖਿ ਵਲਹੁ ਵੇਖਣਿ ਲਗੇ । ਓਨਾ ਕਉ ਕਿਛੁ ਸੀਤਿਲਾਈ ਆਵਣਿ ਲਗੀ ਜਿਉ ਧੂਪਿ ਤੇ ਮਨੁਖੁ ਛਾਇਆ ਆਇ ਬੈਠਿਤਾ ਹੈ ਤਿਉ ਉਨਿ ਕਉ ਤਉਜੀਰਿ ਹੋਇ ਆਈ । ਓਨਾ ਜਾਤਾ ਕਹਿਓ ਨੈ ਜੁ ਕੁਛੁ ਭਲਾ ਜੇਹਾ ਬੋਲਿਏ ਹੈਨਿ ਤਾ ਓਨਾ ਪ੍ਰਸਾਦਿ ਕਾ ਆਹਰੁ ਕੀਤਾ ਚਾਰਿ ਘਰਿ ਸੋ ਚਉਹਾ ਘਰਾਂ ਨੂ ਕਹਿਆ ਸਿਖਿ ਆਏ ਹੈਨਿ ਭਾਈ ਦੇ ਬੋੜਾ ਬੋੜਾ ਇਕਠਾ ਕਰਿਕੈ ਲੈ ਆਵਹੁ । ਤਾ ਇਕਠਾ ਕਰਿਕੈ ਅਗੈ ਆਣਿਕੈ ਰਖਿਆ ਜੀ ਮਿਹਰਵਾਨ ਏਹੁ ਤੁਸੀ ਮੁਹਿ ਪਾਇਓਹੁ । ਤਾ ਪ੍ਰਸਾਦੁ ਮੁਹਿ ਪਾਇਆ ਤਿਉ ਸਿਖਿ ਉਠਿ ਚਲੇ ਤਾ ਓਨਾ ਸਿਖਾ ਤੇ ਹੋਇ ਆਈਆ ਨਾਹੀ ਜਿ ਚਾਰਿ ਕਦਮਿ ਅਗੇਰੇ ਜਾਹਿ ਏਨਾ ਸਿਖਾ ਪਾਸਹੁ ਖੁਸੀ ਲੋਹਿ ।

ਤਾ ਨਿਰੰਕਾਰੁ ਬੋਲਿਆ ਏਨਾ ਨੂੰ ਛਾਇਆ ਹੀ ਹੈ । ਮੁਸਿਕੁ ਨਾਹੀ ਆਇਆ ਫੇਰਿ ਅਗੈ ਦੂਸਰੇ ਡੇਰੇ ਗਏ ਓਥੇ ਜਾਇ  
ਖੈਰੀ ਪਉਣਾ ਕਹਿਆ । ਤਾ ਸਿਖਿ ਆਇਕੈ ਖੜੇ ਹੋਏ ਕੁਛੁ ਅਸਾਡਾ ਖਸਿਮਾਨਾ ਹੋਇਆ ਗੁਰੂ ਸਿਖਿ ਡੇਜੇ ਤਾ ਸਿਖਾ  
ਮੰਸਾ ਵਿਛਾਇ ਦਿਤਾ ਪਖਾ ਹਥਿ ਲੇ ਕੈ ਝਲਣਿ ਲਗੈ ਜੁ ਓਨਾ ਦੇ ਡਲੀ ਵਸਤੁ ਸੀ ਸੋ ਪ੍ਰਸਾਦੁ ਕਰਿ ਲੈ ਆਏ ।  
ਸਿਖਾਹ ਹਥਿ ਜੋੜੇ ਡਾਈ ਏਹੁ ਦਾਣਾ ਗੁਰੂ ਦਾ ਹੈ ਡਾਵਨੀ ਅਸਾਡੀ ਬਾਇ ਪਵੈ । ਤਾ ਸਿਖਿ ਉਠਿ ਚਲੇ । ਸੰਗਤਿ  
ਹਥਿ ਜੋੜੇ ਗਰੀਬ ਨਿਵਾਜਿ ਡੇਰਾ ਵਸਿਦਾ ਰਹੈ । ਤੁਸਾਡਾ ਪੈਰੁ ਪਉਦਾ ਰਹੈ । ਪ੍ਰੀਤਿ ਨਾਲਿ ਸਿਖੁ ਅਗੈਰੈ ਦਸਿ  
ਕਦਮਿ ਗਇਆ ਹਥਿ ਜੋੜੇ ਖੜਾ ਹੋਇਆ ਜੀ ਪਾਤਿਸਾਹਿ ਗੁਰੂ ਚਿਤਿ ਆਵੈ ॥

( H. U. MS No. 512 )

## PRAN SANGLI ਪ੍ਰਾਨ ਸੰਗਲੀ

ਪਿਆਉ ਦਸ ਅਵਤਾਰਾ ਕਾ ਚਲਿਆ । ਪਿਆਉ ਪੰਧਕਾਰ ਕਾ ॥

ਕਲਜੁਗ ਕਾ ਵਰਤਾਰਾ ਕੋਹਾ ਚਲਿਆ । ਕਾਮ ਕ੍ਰੋਧ ਪਸਾਰਾ ਹਉਮੈ ਲੋਭ ਮੋਹ ॥  
ਬੁਠੁ ਗੁਮਾਨੁ ਕੂੜਿਆਰ ਕਲਿ ਵਿਚਿ ਵਾਪਰੇ । ਬਟਵਾੜੇ ਚੋਰ ਜਾਰ ਨਿੰਦਕ ਸਾਧਕੇ ॥  
ਦੁਰਾਚਾਰੀ ਜੁਆਰੀ ਬਿਸਾਸ ਘਾਤੀ ਫਾਹੇ ਗਲ । ਧ੍ਰੋਹੇ ਲਾਇਤਬਾਰ ਇਕ  
ਦੋਖੀ ਨਾਮ ਕੇ ॥

ਇਕਿ ਛੇਖ ਕਰਨਿ ਅਤਿ ਡਾਰਾ ਸਾਧ ਸਦਾਇਦੇ । ਓਹਿ ਮੰਗਿ ਜਾਣਨਿ ਪ੍ਰਹਿਆਰਾ  
ਜਿਨਿ ਅੰਦਰੁ ਸਚੁ ਨਾਹਿ ॥

ਇਕਨਾ ਅੰਦਰਿ ਸਚੁ ਕਰਾਰਾ ਓਇ ਪਾਪ ਨ ਛਿਪਨੀ । ਜਪ ਤਪ ਕਾ ਪਾਹਾਰਾ  
ਵਰਤਿਆ ਕਲੀ ਜੁਗਹ ॥

ਕੌਣੀ ਨਾਮਿ ਰਹੈ ਲਿਵ ਲਾਇ ਤਿਸਦੀ ਮੁਕਤਿ ਹੋਇ । ਠਾਕੁਰ ਡਗਤਾ ਕਾ  
ਪਿਆਰਾ ਓਸੁ ਜਾਤਿ ਨ ਡਾਵਈ ॥

ਨਾਮਾ ਛੀਪਾ ਰਵਿਦਾਸ ਚਮਾਰਾ ਉਧਰੇ ਡਗਤਿ ਕਰਿ । ਕਬੀਰ ਜੁਲਾਹਾ ਬਾਲਮੀਕ  
ਚੰਡਾਰਾ ਮੁਕਤੇ ਨਾਮੁ ਜਪਿ ॥

ਬੰਨਾ ਜੱਠ ਤੁਮਾਰਾ ਗਊ ਚਰਾਵਣੇ । ਕਲਿਜੁਗ ਕੇ ਅਵਤਾਰ ਅਥਰਬਣ ਆਇਆ ॥  
ਸਚਾ ਸਿਰਜਣ ਹਾਰੁ ਸਿਮਰਹੁ ਸੰਤ ਜਨ ॥

( P. U. L. MS. No. 4141 )

ਲੰਗੋਟ ਬੰਧੁ ਕਸਿ ਰਹੈ ਲੰਗੋਟ । ਤਿਸੁ ਕਬਹੂ ਨ ਲਾਗੈ ਜਮ ਕੀ ਚੋਟ ॥  
ਕਸੈ ਲੰਗੋਟੀ ਮਨੁਆ ਹਾਰੈ । ਤਸਕਰ ਪੰਚਿ ਲੇ ਗਰਦਨ ਮਾਰੈ ॥  
ਅਲਹੁ ਲਹੈ ਸਭ ਢੁਢ ਮਿਟਾਵੈ । ਆਪੁ ਛਾਡਿ ਤਨੁ ਖਾਕਿ ਰੁਲਾਵੈ ॥

ਖੁਦੀ ਖੋਮ ਸਿਰਿ ਉਪਰਿ ਮਾਨੈ ( ੨੭ ) ॥

ਦਰਵੇਸੁ ਸੋਈ ਜੋ ਦਰਦੁ ਪਛਾਨੈ । ਕੁਦਰਤਿ ਦੇਖਿ ਰਹਿਆ ਹੈਰਾਨੈ ॥

ਕੁਦਰਤਿ ਤੇ ਹੀ ਅਲਹੁ ਜਾਪੈ । ਜਾਕਾ ਵਰਨੁ ਚਿਹਨੁ ਕਿਛੁ ਨਾਹਿ ਸਿਵਾਪੈ ॥

ਅਲਹੁ ਆਲੀਮ ਬੀਰਿ ਸਮਾਇਆ । ਬੋਲਤ ਦੀਸੈ ਪਰੁ ਵਰਨੁ ਛਪਾਇਆ ॥

ਦਰਦ ਵੰਦੁ ਹੋਇ ਦੁਖਰੇ ਡੀਠਾ । ਨਾਨਕ ਸੋ ਦਰਵੇਸੁ ਦਰਿ ਲਾਗਾ ਮੀਠਾ ( ੨੮ ) ॥

ਓਹਿ ਕਿਲ ਬੁਝਤ ਤੁਮ ਜਾਇ ਉਧਾਰਹੁ । ਨਾਮੁ ਦਾਨੁ ਇਸਨਾਨੁ ਉਚਾਰਹੁ ॥

ਵਾਹੁ ਵਾਹੁ ਕਾ ਮੰਤ੍ਰੁ ਕਮਾਈਐ । ਹੋਇ ਨਿਰਮਲੁ ਉਜਲੁ ਦਰਿ ਆਈਐ ॥

ਭਗਤਿ ਕਰੈ ਸੋ ਉਜਲ ਹੋਵੈ । ਜਨਮ ਜਨਮ ਕੀ ਸਭ ਮਲੁ ਖੋਵੈ ।  
ਮਾਧ ਸੰਗਤਿ ਕੀ ਜੋ ਮਿਤਿ ਪਾਵੈ । ਨਾਨਕ ਸੋ ਦਰਿ ਜਾਇ ਸਮਾਵੈ ( ੩੫ ) ॥

ਨਿਰਗੁਣ ਸੁਰਗੁਣ ਕਹਾ ਵਖਾਣੈ । ਗੁਰਮੁਖਿ ਅਪਨਾ ਆਪੁ ਪਛਾਣੈ ॥  
ਜੋ ਤੁਮ ਜਾਤਾ ਅਪਨਾ ਆਪੁ । ਤਉ ਲਾਗਿਨ ਲਾਗੈ ਪੁੰਨ ਨਾ ਪਾਪ ॥  
ਅੰਛੈ ਮਾਹਿ ਜਿਉ ਅੰਛੁ ਸਮਾਨਾ । ਤਾਕਾ ਆਵਾਗਉਨੁ ਮਿਟਾਨਾ ॥

### ਪਿਆਉ ਦਸਾ ਅਰਿਤਾਰਾ ਕਾ

ਕਲਿ ਜੁਗ ਕਾ ਵਰਤਾਰਾ ਕੋਹਾ ਚਲਿਆ । ਕਾਮੁ ਕਰੋਧ ਪਾਸਾਰਾ ਹਉਮੈ ਲੋਭੁ ਮੋਹੁ ॥  
ਬੂਠੁ ਗੁਮਾਨੁ ਅਹੰਕਾਰਾ ਕਲਿ ਵਿਚਿ ਵਾਪਰੇ, ਬਟਵਾੜੇ ਅਤੇ ਚੋਰ ਜਾਰਾ ਸਿਧਿ ਸਾਧਕ ਸਾਧੂ ਜਨਾ ॥  
ਨਿੰਦਕ ਅਤੇ ਦੁਰਾਚਾਰਾ ਪਾਪੀ ਤਿਨਕਾ ਅੰਤੁ ਨਾਹਿ, ਨਜਰਿ ਬਾਜ ਅਤੇ ਜੁਆਰਾ ਬਿਸਾਸ  
ਘਾਤੀ ਫਾਹੇ ਗਲਾ ॥

ਇਕ ਧੁੰਹੀ ਲਾਇਤਬਾਰਾ ਇਕ ਦੋਖੀ ਨਾਮ ਦੇ । ਉਹੁ ਮੁਹਿ ਜਾਨਿ ਧੁੰਹਿਆਰਾ ਜਿਨਾ  
ਅੰਦਰਿ ਸਚੁ ਨਾਹਿ ॥

ਇਕਨਾ ਅੰਦਰਿ ਸਚੁ ਕਰਾਰਾ ਉਇ ਪਾਪਿ ਨ ਲਿਪਨੀ ( ੨੪ ) ॥

ਜਪ ਤਖ ਕਾ ਪਾਹਾਰਾ ਵਰਤਿਆ ਕਲੀ ਕਾਲਿ । ਕੋਈ ਰਾਮ ਨਾਮਿ ਰਹੇ ਲਿਵਤਾਰਾ  
ਤਿਸੁ ਦੀ ਮੁਕਤਿ ਹੋਇ ॥

ਠਾਕੁਰੁ ਭਗਤਾ ਕਾ ਪਿਆਰਾ ਓਸੁ ਜਾਤਿ ਨ ਭਾਵਈ । ਨਾਮ ਦੇਉ ਰਿਵਿਦਾਸ ਚਮਾਰਾ  
ਉਧਰੇ ਭਗਤਿ ਕਰਿ ॥

ਕਬੀਰਾ ਅਤੇ ਬਾਲਮੀਕੁ ਚੰਡਾਰਾ ਮੁਕਤੇ ਨਾਮੁ ਜਪਿ । ਤਰਿਆ ਧੰਨਾ ਜਟੁ ਤੁਮਾਰਾ ਗਉ ਚਰਾਇਦਾ ॥

ਕਲਜੁਗ ਦਾ ਬੀਚਾਰਾ ਅਥਰਬਣੁ ਬੇਦੁ ਆਖਸੀ । ਸਾਚਾ ਸਿਰਜਣ ਹਾਰਾ ਸਿਮਰਹੁ ਸੰਤ ਜਨੋ ॥

ਬੇਦੁ ਅਥਰਬਣੁ ਤੇ ਕਲੀ ਕਾਲੁ ਭਾਰਾ ਭਈ ਹੈ ਚਉਕੀ ਦੁਹਾਂ ਦੀ ( ੨੫ ) ॥

### ਰਾਗੁ ਤਿਲੰਗੁ ਮਹਲਾ ੧ । ਗੋਸਟਿ ਮਕੈ ਹੋਈ

ਦਿਲਿ ਮਹਿ ਮਿਹਰਿ ਮਸੀਤਿ ਮਦੀਨਾ ਦਿਲਿ ਮਹਿ ਗੋਰਸਿਤਾਨੋ ॥

ਹਕੁ ਹਲਾਲੁ ਦੇਉ ਦਿਲਿ ਭੀਤਰ ਮੁਲਾ ਲੋਹੁ ਪਛਾਨੋ ॥

ਮੁਲਾ ਦਿਲਿ ਸੈ ਦਿਲੈ ਮਿਲਾਵਉ । ਖਾਲਕੁ ਖੁਲਕਿ ਖੈਰੁ ਸਭੁ ਖੁਦੀ ਯਾ

ਦਿਲਿ ਹੀ ਤੋ ਪਾਵਹੁ ( ੧ ) ਰਹਾਉ ॥

ਦਿਲਿ ਮਹਿ ਦਹਾ ਮੁਜਾਵਰੁ ਤਕੀਆ ਦਿਲਿ ਮਹਿ ਤਹਿਮਦੁ ਬਾਣਾ ॥

ਦਿਲਿ ਮਹਿ ਹਸਨੁ ਹੁਸੈਨੁ ਬੀਬੀ ਫਾਤਿਮਾ ਦਿਲਿ ਹੀ ਮਾਹਿ ਮਉਲਾਣਾ ( ੨ ) ॥

ਦਿਲਿ ਮਹਿ ਕੁਜਰਤਿ ਕਲਿਮਾ ਕੂਜਾ ਪੰਜਿ ਨਿਵਾਜਿ ਮੁਸਲਾ ॥

ਦਿਲਿ ਮਹਿ ਮਕਾ ਬਾਗਿ ਮੁਕਰਿਬਾ ਤਹਾ ਬਸਤੁ ਹੈ ਅਲਾ ( ੩ ) ॥

ਦਿਲਿ ਪੀਰੁ ਮੁਰੀਦੁ ਮੁਕਾਮ ਖੁਦਾਈ ਇੰਦਿ ਚੰਦੁ ਸਭੁ ਤਾਰੇ ॥

ਯਾ ਦਿਲਿ ਭੀਤਰਿ ਸਭੁ ਕੁਛੁ ਮੁਲਾ ਖੋਜਹੁ ਦਿਲੈ ਬੀਚਾਰੇ ( ੪ ) ॥

ਦਿਲਿ ਮਹਿ ਸੋਮਰਾਤਿ ਸਤੁ ਦੀਵੈ ਦਿਲਿ ਮਹਿ ਤਸਿਬੀ ਤੋਸਾ ॥

ਯਾ ਦਿਲਿ ਭੀਤਰਿ ਚੜੈ ਸਰੀਣੀ ਸਕਰਿ ਖੰਝੁ ਸਮੋਸਾ ( ੫ ) ॥

ਦਿਲਿ ਮਹਿ ਤਲਬਿ ਤਿਪਤਾ ਤਕੀਆ ਦਿਲਿ ਮਹਿ ਖਤਨਾ ਕਾਖਾ ॥  
 ਯਾ ਦਿਲਿ ਡੀਤਰਿ ਸਭੁ ਕਿਛੁ ਪਾਵਹੁ ਖੋਜਹੁ ਦਿਲੈ ਸਿਤਾਬਾ ( ੬ ) ॥  
 ਕੁਰਾਨੁ ਕਤੋਬਿ ਦਿਲਿ ਮਹਿ ਕਮਾਵਹੁ ਦਿਲਿ ਮਹਿ ਹਰਫਿ ਸੀਪਾਰੇ ॥  
 ਯਾ ਦਿਲਿ ਡੀਤਰਿ ਡਿਸਤੁ ਪਰੇਸਤੋ ਮੁਲਾ ਦੇਹੁ ਬੀਚਾਰੇ ॥  
 ਦਿਲਿ ਮਹਿ ਦਸਿਵਾ ਦਿਲਿ ਮਹਿ ਬੀਸੁਵਾ ਦਿਲਿ ਮਹਿ ਰਬੁ ਰਸੂਲ ॥  
 ਨਾਨਕੁ ਡੇਦੀ ਦਿਲਿ ਕਉ ਖੋਜੈ ਦਰਗਹਿ ਪਏ ਕਬੂਲ ( ੮ ) ( ੧ ) ॥

### ਰਾਗੁ ਤਿਲੰਗਿ ਨਸੀਹਤ ਨਾਮਾ । ਮਹਲੁ ੧

ਕੀਚੈ ਨੋਕਿ ਨਾਮੀ ਜਬਿ ਦੇਵੈ ਖੁਦਾਇ । ਜੋ ਦੀਸੈ ਜਿਮੀ ਪਰਿ ਸੁ ਹੋਸੀ ਫਨਾਇ ॥  
 ਦਾਇਮ ਨਾ ਦਉਲਤਿ ਕਸੇ ਬੇ ਸੁਮਾਰ । ਨਾ ਰਹਨਿ ਗੀਆ ਕਰੋੜੀ ਨਾ ਰਹਨਿ ਗੀ ਹਜ਼ਾਰਿ ॥  
 ਦਮਿੜਾ ਤਿਸੀ ਕਾ ਖਰਚੈ ਜਿ ਖਾਇ । ਦੇਵੈ ਦਿਲਾਵੈ ਖੁਦਾਇ ਰਜਾਇ ॥  
 ਹੋਤਾ ਨਾ ਰਾਖੈ ਅਕੋਲਾ ਨਾ ਖਾਇ । ਤਿਹਿਕੀਕੁ ਦਾਨੀ ਓਹੀ ਡਿਸਤ ਜਾਇ ( ੨ ) ॥  
 ਕੀਚੈ ਤਵਜਹ ਨਾ ਕੀਚੈ ਗੁਮਾਨੁ । ਨਾ ਰਹੋਗੀ ਦੁਨੀਆ ਨਾ ਰਹੋਗਾ ਦੀਵਾਨੁ ॥  
 ਹਾਥੀ ਵ ਘੋੜੇ ਲਸਕਰਿ ਹਜਾਰਿ । ਹੋਵਹਿਗੇ ਗਰਕਿ ਉਸ ਲਾਰੀਗੀ ਨਾ ਬਾਰਿ ( ੩ ) ॥  
 ਦੁਨੀਆ ਕਾ ਦੇਵਾਨਾ ਕਹੈ ਮੁਲਖ ਮੇਰਾ । ਆਈ ਮਉਤਿ ਸਿਰਿ ਪਰਿ ਮੇਰਾ ਨ ਤੇਰਾ ॥  
 ਕੋਤੀ ਦੇਖਿ ਚਲੀ ਵਾਜਾ ਵਜਾਇ । ਓਹੀ ਏਕੁ ਰਹੋਗਾ ਜਿ ਸਾਰਾ ਖੁਦਾਇ ( ੪ ) ॥

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### NAM DEV ਨਾਮਦੇਵ

ਬੈਰਾਗੀ ਰਾਮਹਿੰ ਗਾਉਂਗਾ । ਸਬਦ ਅਤੀਤ ਅਨਾਹਦ ਰਾਹਦ ਰਾਤਾ, ਆਕਲ ਕੈ ਘਰਿ ਜਾਉਂਗਾ ।

॥ ਟੇਕ ॥

ਤੀਰਥਿ ਜਾਉਂ ਨਾ ਜਲ ਮੈਂ ਪੈਸੋਂ ਜੀਵ ਜੰਤ ਨਾ ਸਤਾਉਂਗਾ ।

ਅਠ ਸਠਿ ਤੀਰਥ ਗੁਰੂ ਲਖਾਯਾ ਘਟਹੀ ਭੀਤਰ ਨੁਾਉਂਗਾ ।

ਬੇਦ ਪੁਰਾਨ ਸਾਸਤਰ ਗੀਤਾ ਕਵਿਤ ਕਵ ਨਾ ਸੁਣਾਉਂਗਾ ।

ਅਖੰਡ ਮੰਡਲ ਨਿਰਾਕਾਰ ਮੈਂ ਅਨਹਦ ਬੰਨ ਬਜਾਉਂਗਾ ।

ਇੜਾ ਪਿੰਗੁਲਾ ਸੁਖਮੁਨ ਨਾਰੀ ਪਵਨਾ ਮੰਬਿ ਸਮਾਉਂਗਾ ।

ਚੰਦ ਸੂਰ ਦੋਊ ਸਮਿ ਕਰਿ ਰਾਖੋਂ ਏਹਮ ਜੋਤਿ ਮਿਲਿ ਜਾਉਂਗਾ ।

ਖੰਭ ਸੁਭਾਈ ਮਨ ਕੀ ਸੋਭਾ ਭਲਾ ਬੁਰਾ ਨ ਕਹਾਉਂਗਾ ।

ਨਾਮਦੇਵ ਕਹੈ ਮੈਂ ਕੋਸੋ ਧਯਾਉਂਗਾ ਸਹਜ ਸਮਾਧਿ ਲਗਾਉਂਗਾ ।

॥ ਰਾਗ ਬਸੰਤ ॥

ਮਾਧੋ ਮਾਲੀ ਏਕ ਸਯਾਨਾ, ਅੰਤਰ ਗਤਿ ਰਹੈ ਲੁਕਾਨਾ ।

॥ ਟੇਕ ॥

ਆਪੈ ਬਾੜੀ ਆਪੈ ਮਾਲੀ, ਕਲੀ ਕਲੀ ਕਰਿ ਜੋੜੀ ।

ਪਾਕੇ ਕਾਢੇ ਕਾਢੇ ਪਾਕੇ ਮਨਿ ਮਾਨੈ ਸੋ ਤੋੜੀ ।

ਆਪੈ ਪਵਨ ਆਪ ਹੀ ਪਾਣੀ ਆਪੈ ਬਰਿਖੈ ਮੋਹਾ ।

ਆਪੈ ਪੁਰਿਖ ਨਖੰਠ ਪੁਨਿ ਆਪੈ ਆਪੈ ਨੋਹ ਸੰਨੋਹਾ ।

ਆਪੈ ਚੰਦ੍ਰ ਸੂਰ ਪੁਨਿ ਆਪੈ ਆਪੈ ਧਰਨਿ ਖਕਾਸਾ ।

ਰਚਨ ਹਾਰ ਬਿਧਿ ਐਸੀ ਰਚ ਹੈ ਪ੍ਰਣਵੈ ਨਾਮਦੇਵ ਦਾਸਾ ।

MISCELLANEOUS LINES.

ਕਹਤ ਨਾਮਦੇਵ ਮਮਿਤਾ ਜਾਇ, ਸਾਧ ਸੰਗਤਿ ਮੈ ਰਹੈ ਸਮਾਇ ।  
ਜਾ ਕਰਨੀ ਜੋਗੇਸ਼ੁਰ ਮੁਯੇ, ਤਾਸ ਧਰਨਿ ਮੈਂ ਜਾਉਂਗਾ ।

ਨਾਮਦੇਵ ਸਤਗੁਰਿ ਸਾਹੀਲਾ ਬੰਦ ਚਰਨ ਸਮਾਉਂਗਾ ।  
॥ ਰਾਗ ਗੈਂਡ ॥

ਮਨ ਬਿਰ ਹੋਇ ਰੇ ਬਾਨ ਹੋਇ, ਐਸਾ ਚਿਹਨ ਕਰੈ ਸੰਸਾਰ । ਭੀਤਰਿ ਮੈਲਾ ਧੋਵਤ ਫਿਰੈ ਕਯੋਂ ਉਤਰੈ ਡੇ ਪਾਰ  
॥ ਟੇਕ ॥

ਰੁਦ੍ਰਖਸ ਖਾ ਜਪ ਮਾਲਾ ਮਾਂਡੈ ਤਾਕੋ ਮਰਮ ਨ ਜਾਨੈਂ ਕੋਈ ।  
ਆਪਾ ਨ ਦੇਖੋਂ ਔਰ ਦਿਖਾਵੈਂ ਕਪਟ ਮੁਕਤਿ ਕਯੋਂ ਹੋਈ ।  
ਸਿੰਗੀ ਜਟਾ ਬਿਭੂਤ ਨ ਲਗਾਵੈਂ ਸੰਬਰ ਸਿੱਧ ਕਹਾਵੈਂ ।  
ਨਾਥ ਨਉ ਲਖੇ ਮਰਮ ਨ ਜਾਨੈਂ ਭਾਵ ਚਿੰਡਾਲੀ ਲਿਯਾਵੈਂ ।  
ਬ੍ਰਹਮਾ ਪਥਿ ਗੁਨਿ ਬੰਦ ਉਚਾਰੈ ਮਨ ਕੀ ਭ੍ਰਾਂਤਿ ਨ ਜਾਈ ।  
ਕਰਮ ਕਰੈ ਜਗ ਸੂਝੈ ਨਾਹੀਂ ਬਹੁਤ ਕਿਕਰਮ ਕਰਾਈ ।  
ਮਾਮ ਦਿਵਸ ਲਗ ਰੋਜਾ ਰਾਖੈਂ ਕਲਮਾਂ ਬਾਂਗ ਪੁਕਾਰੈਂ ।  
ਮਨ ਮੈਂ ਕਾਤੀ ਜੀਵ ਸੰਘੋਰੋਂ ਨਾਵ ਅਲਹੁ ਕਾ ਸੋਰੋਂ ।  
ਕੇਵਲ ਬ੍ਰਹਮ ਸਤਯ ਕਰਿ ਜਾਨੈਂ ਸਹਜ ਸੁੱਨਿ ਮੈਂ ਧਯਾਯਾ ਰੇ ।  
ਪ੍ਰਣਵਤ ਨਾਮਦੇਵ ਗੁਰ ਪ੍ਰਸਾਦੈਂ ਪਾਯਾ ਤਿਨੋਂ ਲੁਕਾਯਾ ਰੇ ।

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RAIDAS ਰੈਦਾਸ

ਖਾਲਿਕ ਸਿਰ ਕਸਤਾ ਮੈਂ ਤੇਰਾ, ਦੇ ਦੀਦਾਰ ਉਮੇਦਗਾਰ ਬੇਕਰਾਰ ਜੀਵ ਮੇਰਾ ॥ ਟੇਕ ॥  
ਅਵਲਿ ਆਖਿਰ ਇਲਮ ਆਦਮ, ਮੌਜ ਫ਼ਰੋਸਤਾ ਬੰਦਾ,  
ਜਿਸ ਕੀ ਪਨਹ ਪੀਰ ਪੈਕੰਬਰ ਮੈਂ ਗਰੀਬ ਕਯਾ ਗੀਦਾ ।  
ਤੂੰ ਹਾਜਰਾ ਹਜੂਰ ਜੋਗ ਏਕ ਅਵਰ ਨਹੀ ਦੂਜਾ,  
ਜਿਸ ਕੀ ਇਸਕ ਆਸਿਰਾ ਨਾਹੀ ਕਯਾ ਨਿਮਾਜ਼ ਕਯਾ ਪੂਜਾ ।  
ਨਾਲੀਏ ਜਹਨੋਂ ਜਬੋ ਬਖਤ ਕਮਿ ਖਿਜਮਤਗਾਰ ਤੁਮੁਾਰਾ,  
ਦਰਿ ਮਾਦਾ ਦਰਿ ਜਨਾਬ ਨ ਪਾਵੈ ਕਹੈ ਰੈਦਾਸ ਬਿਚਾਰਾ ।

ਅਬ ਹਮ ਖੂਬ ਵਤਨ ਘਰ ਪਾਯਾ । ਉਂ ਜਾ ਬੋਰਿ ਸਦਾ ਮੇਰੇ ਡਾਯਾ ॥ ਟੇਕ ॥  
ਬੇਗਮ ਪੁਰ ਸਹਰ ਕਾ ਨਾਂਉਂ, ਫਿਕਰ ਅੰਦੇਸ ਨਹੀਂ ਤਿਹਿੰ ਠਾਉਂ ।  
ਨਹੀ ਸੀਸ ਖਰਲ ਤਨ ਮਾਰ, ਹੈਫ ਨਾ ਖਤਾ ਨ ਤਰਸ ਜੁਵਾਲ ।  
ਆਵਨ ਜਾਨ ਰਹਮ ਮਹਸੂਦ, ਜਹਾਂ ਗਨਿਯਾਵ ਬਸੈ ਮਾਬੂਦ ।  
ਜੋਈ ਮੈਲ ਕਰੈ ਸੋਈ ਡਾਵੈ, ਮਹਰਮ ਮਹਲ ਮੈਂ ਕੋ ਅਟਕਾਵੈ ।  
ਕਹੈ ਰੈਦਾਸ ਖਲਾਸ ਚਮਾਰਾ, ਜੋ ਨਹਿੰ ਸਹਰਿ ਸੋ ਮੀਤ ਹਮਾਰਾ ।

ਯਾਰ ਮਾ ਏਕ ਤੂੰ ਦਾਨਾ, ਤੇਰਾ ਆਦੂ ਬੈਸਨੋਂ ਤੂੰ ਸੁਲਿਤਾਨ ਸੁਲਿਤਾਨਾਂ ਬੰਦਾ ਸਕਤਿ ਰਸਾਨਾ ॥ ਟੇਕ ॥  
ਮੈਂ ਬੇ ਦਿਯਾਨਤ ਬਦ ਨਜਰ ਦੇ ਜਰ ਬਦ ਬਰਖੁਰਦਾਰ,  
ਬੇ ਅਦਬ ਬਦ ਬਖਤ ਬੀਰਾਂ ਬੇ ਅਕਲ ਬਦਕਾਰ ।  
ਮੈਂ ਗੁਨਹਗਾਰ ਗਰੀਬ ਗਾਫਿਲ ਕਮ ਦਿਲਾਂ ਕਰਤਾਰ,  
ਤੂੰ ਦਰ ਕਦਰ ਦਰਿਯਾਵ ਜਿਵਾਂਵਨ ਮੈਂ ਹਸਿਯਾਉ ਸਿਯਾਰ ।

ਯਦੁ ਤਨ ਹਸਤ ਖਸਤ ਖਰਾਬ ਖਾਤਿਰ ਅੰਦੇਸਾ ਬਿਸਿਯਾਰ,  
ਰੈਦਾਸ ਦਾਸ ਹਿੰਡੋਲ ਸਾਹਿਬ ਦੇਹੁ ਅਬ ਦੀਦਾਰ ।

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### DADU ਦਾਦੂ

ਦਾਦੂ ਨਫ਼ਸ ਨਾਂਵ ਮੂੰ ਮਾਰਿਏ ਗੋਸਮਾਲ ਦੇ ਪੰਦ,  
ਦੁਈ ਹੈ ਸੋ ਦੁਰਿ ਕਰਿ ਤਬ ਘਰਿ ਮਹਿ ਆਨੰਦ ।  
ਦਾਦੂ ਮੁਸਲਮਾਨ ਜੁ ਰਾਖੋ ਮਾਨ, ਸਾਈ ਕਾ ਮਾਨੈ ਫੁਰਮਾਨ ।  
ਸਾਰੂੰ ਕੂੰ ਸੁਖਦਾਈ ਹੋਇ, ਮੁਸਲਮਾਨ ਕਰ ਜਾਨੂੰ ਸੋਇ ।  
ਦਾਦੂ ਮੁਸਲਮਾਨ ਮਿਹਰ ਗਹਿ ਰਹੈ, ਸਬ ਕੂੰ ਸੁਖ ਕਿਸ ਹੀ ਨਹੀ ਦਹੈ ।  
ਮੁਚਾ ਨ ਖਾਇ ਜੀਵਤ ਨਹੀਂ ਮਾਰੈ, ਕਰੈ ਬੰਦਿਗੀ ਰਾਹ ਸੰਵਾਰੈ ।  
ਸੋ ਮੋਮਿਨ ਮਨ ਮੈਂ ਕਰਿ ਜਾਣਿ, ਸਤ ਸਬੂਰੀ ਬੈਸੈ ਆਂਣਿ ।  
ਚਾਲੈ ਸਾਂਚ ਸੰਵਾਰੈ ਬਾਟ, ਤਿਨ ਕੂੰ ਖੁਲੇ ਡਿਸਤ ਕੋ ਪਾਟ ।  
ਸੋ ਮੋਮਿਨ ਮੋਮ ਦਿਲ ਹੋਇ, ਸਾਈ ਕੂੰ ਪਹਿਚਾਨੈ ਸੋਇ ।  
ਜੋਰ ਨ ਕਰੈ ਹਰਾਮ ਨ ਖਾਇ, ਸੋ ਮੋਮਿਨ ਡਿਸਤ ਮੈਂ ਜਾਇ ।  
ਦਾਦੂ ਅਪਨੇ ਅਮਲੂੰ ਛੁਟਿਏ ਕਾਹੂੰ ਕੋ ਨਾਹੀਂ ।  
ਸੋਈ ਪੀੜ ਪੁਕਾਰਿਸੀ ਜਾ ਦੂਬੈ ਮਾਹੀ ।  
ਸਾਚਾ ਨਾਂਵ ਅਲਾਹ ਕਾ ਸੋਈ ਸਤਿ ਕਰਿ ਜਾਣਿ ।  
ਨਿਹਿਰਲ ਕਰਿ ਲੋ ਬੇਦਗੀ ਦਾਦੂ ਸੋ ਪਰਵਾਣਿ ।  
ਦਾਦੂ ਕਾਯਾ ਹਮਾਰੀ ਕਤੇਬ ਬੋਲਿਏ ਲਿਖਿ ਰਾਖੋਂ ਰਹਿਮਾਨ ।  
ਮਨ ਹਮਾਰਾ ਮੁਲਾਂ ਬੋਲਿਯੇ ਸੁਰਤਾ ਹੈ ਸੁਬਹਾਨ ।  
ਦਾਦੂ ਕਾਯਾ ਮਹਲ ਮੈਂ ਨਿਮਾਜ ਗੁਜਾਰੋਂ ਤਹਾਂ ਔਰ ਨ ਆਵਣ ਪਾਵੈ ।  
ਮਨ ਮਣਕੋਰਿ ਤਸਬੀ ਫੋਰੋਂ ਤਬ ਸਾਹਿਬ ਕੋ ਮਨਿ ਭਾਵੈ ।  
ਦਾਦੂ ਦਿਲ ਦਰਿਯਾ ਮੈਂ ਗੁਸਲ ਹਮਾਰਾ ਉਜੁ ਕਰਿ ਚਿਤ ਲਾਉਂ ।  
ਸਾਹਿਬ ਆਗੈ ਕਰੋਂ ਬੰਦਿਗੀ ਬੋਰ ਬੋਰ ਬਲਿ ਜਾਉਂ ।  
ਪੰਥੁ ਸਗਿ ਸੰਭਾਲੋਂ ਸਾਈ ਤਨ ਮਨ ਤੋ ਸੁਖ ਪਾਉਂ ।  
ਪ੍ਰੇਮ ਪਿਯਾਲਾ ਪੀਵ ਜੀ ਦੇਵੈ ਕਲਮਾਂ ਲਏ ਗਲੈ ਲਾਉਂ ।  
ਦਾਦੂ ਹਰ ਰੋਜ ਹਜ਼ੂਰੀ ਹੋਇ ਰਹੂੰ ਕਾਹੋ ਕਰੋ ਕਲਾਪ ।  
ਮੁੱਲਾਂ ਤਹਾਂ ਪੁਕਾਰਿਯੋ ਜਹਾਂ ਅਰਸ ਇਲਾਹੀ ਆਪ ।  
ਦਾਦੂ ਦੁਈ ਦੋਗ ਲੋਗ ਕੋ ਭਾਵੈ ਸਾਈਂ ਕੋ ਸਾਂਚ ਪਿਆਰਾ ।  
ਕੋਣ ਪੰਥ ਹਮ ਚਲੈਂ ਕਹੋਂ ਧੂੰ ਸਾਧੋ ਸਾਧੋ ਕਰੋ ਬਿਚਾਰਾ ।  
ਦਾਦੂ ਕਰਿਬੇ ਵਾਲੇ ਹਮ ਨਹੀਂ, ਕਹਿਬੇ ਕੂੰ ਹਮ ਸੂਰ ।  
ਕਹਿਬਾ ਹਮ ਖੋਂ ਨਿਕਟਿ ਹੈ ਕਰਿਬਾ ਹਮ ਬੈਂ ਦੂਰ ।  
ਤੂੰ ਮੁਝ ਕੋਂ ਮੋਟਾ ਕਹੈ ਹੋਂ ਤੁਝੈ ਬਭਾਈ ਮਾਨ ।  
ਸਾਈ ਕੂੰ ਸਮਝੈ ਨਹੀਂ ਦਾਦੂ ਝੂਠਾ ਜਾਨ ।  
ਦਾਦੂ ਬੁਹਮਾ ਬਿਸ਼ਨ ਮਹੋਸ਼ ਕਾ ਕੋਣ ਪੰਥ ਗੁਰਦੇਵ ।  
ਸਾਈ ਸਿਰਜਨਹਾਰ ਤੂੰ ਕਹਿਏ ਅਲਖ ਅਭੇਵ ।

ਜਗੀ ਜੰਗਮ ਸਿਵੜੇ ਬੰਧ ਸਨਯਾਸੀ ਸੇਖ । ਖਟ ਦਰਸਨ ਦਾਦੂ ਰਾਮ ਬਿਨ ਸਬੈ ਕਪਟ ਕੋ ਡਿਖ ।

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ਗੁਰੂ ਰਾਮ ਦਾਸ ਜੀ

GURU RAM DAS (1534-1581 A. D.)

ਰਾਗ ਮਾਝ ਚਉਪਦੇ

ਆਵਹੁ ਭੈਣੇ ਤੁਸੀ ਮਿਲਹੁ ਪਿਆਰੀਆ  
 ਮੋ ਮੇਰਾ ਪ੍ਰੀਤਮੁ ਦੱਸੈ ਤਿਸ ਕੈ ਹਉ ਵਾਰੀਆ  
 ਮਿਲਿ ਸਤ ਮੰਗਤਿ ਲਧਾ ਹਰਿ ਸਜਣੁ ਹਉ ਸਤਿਗੁਰ ਵਿਟਹੁ ਘੁਮਾਣੀਆ ਜੀਉ ।

ਗੁਰਿ ਪੂਰੈ ਹਰਿ ਨਾਲਿ ਦਿਖਾਲਿਆ ਹਉ ਸਤਿਗੁਰ ਵਿਟਹੁ ਸਦ ਵਾਰਿਆ ਜੀਉ ।

ਸਭ ਇਕਾ ਜੋਤਿ ਵਰਤੈ ਭਿਨਿ ਭਿਨਿ ਨ ਰਲਈ ਕਿਸੈ ਦੀ ਰਲਾਈਆ ।  
 ਗੁਰ ਪਰਸਾਈ ਇਕੁ ਨਦਰੀ ਆਇਆ ਹਉ ਸਤਿਗੁਰ ਵਿਟਹੁ ਵਤਾਇਆ ਜੀਉ ।  
 ਜਨ ਨਾਨਕੁ ਬੋਲੈ ਅੰਮ੍ਰਿਤ ਬਾਣੀ ਗੁਰ ਸਿਖਾਂ ਕੈ ਮਨਿ ਪਿਆਰੀ ਭਾਣੀ ।  
 ਉਪਦੇਸੁ ਕਰੈ ਗੁਰੁ ਸਤਿਗੁਰੁ ਪੂਰਾ ਗੁਰ ਸਤਿਗੁਰੁ ਪਰਉਪਕਾਰੀਆ ਜੀਉ ।

ਰਾਗ ਗਉੜੀ ਪੂਰਬੀ

ਕਰਹੁ ਕ੍ਰਿਪਾ ਜਗ ਜੀਵਨ ਦਾਤੇ ਮੇਰਾ ਮਨੁ ਹਰਿ ਸੰਤੀ ਰਾਚੇ ।  
 ਆਪੇ ਸਾਹ ਵਡੇ ਪੁਛ ਸੁਆਮੀ ਹਮ ਵਣਜਾਰੇ ਹਹਿ ਤਾਚੇ ।

ਮੇਰੇ ਮਨ ਸੇ ਪ੍ਰਭੁ ਸਦਾ ਨਾਲਿ ਹੈ ਸੁਆਮੀ ਕਹੁ ਕਿਥੈ ਹਰਿ ਪਹੁ ਨਸੀਐ ।  
 ਤੇ ਸਾਕਤ ਚੋਰਾ ਜਿਨਾ ਨਾਮੁ ਵਿਸਾਰਿਆ ਮਨ ਤਿਨ ਕੈ ਨਿਕਟਿ ਨ ਭਿਟੀਐ ।

ਗਉੜੀ ਮਾਝ

ਆਉ ਸਖੀ ਗੁਣ ਕਾਮਣ ਕਰੀਹਾ ਜੀਉ ।

ਮੇਰੈ ਮਨੁ ਤਨਿ ਪ੍ਰੇਮੁ ਲਗਾ ਹਰਿ ਢੋਲੇ ਜੀਉ ।

ਮਨੁ ਏਵਾਂ ਸੰਤਾਂ, ਮੇਰਾ ਪੁਛੁ ਮੇਲੇ ਜੀਉ ।  
 ਵਸੁ ਮੇਰੇ ਪਿਆਰਿਆ ਵਸੁ ਮੇਰੇ ਗੋਵਿਦਾ  
 ਹਰਿ ਕਰਿ ਕਿਰਪਾ ਮਨਿ ਵਸੁ ਜੀਉ ।

ਹਰਿ ਆਪੇ ਦਾਨੁ ਉਪਾਇਦਾ ਮੇਰੇ ਗੋਵਿਦਾ ਹਰਿ ਆਪੇ ਗੋਪੀ ਖੋਜੀ ਜੀਉ ।  
 ਆਪੇ ਮਰਣਿ ਪਵਾਇਦਾ ਮੇਰੇ ਗੋਵਿਦਾ ਹਰਿ ਭਗਤ ਜਨਾ ਰਾਖ ਲਾਜੈ ਜੀਉ ।

ਪਉੜੀ ਮ: ੪ ॥

ਸਚੁ ਸਚਾ ਸਭਦੂ ਵਡਾ ਹੈ ਮੋ ਲਏ ਜਿਸੁ ਸਤਿਗੁਰੁ ਟਿਕੈ

ਸਾਰਾ ਦਿਨ ਲਾਲਚ ਅਟਿਆ ਮਨਮੁਖਿ ਹੋਰੇ ਗਲਾ  
 ਰਾਤੀ ਉਘੈ ਦਬਿਆ ਨਵੇਂ ਸੋਤ ਸਭਿ ਢਿਲਾ

ਮਨੁਖਾ ਦੇ ਸਿਰਿ ਜੋਰਾ ਅਮਰੁ ਹੈ ਨਿਤ ਦੇਵਹਿ ਭਲਾ ।  
 ਜੋਰਾ ਦਾ ਆਖਿਆ ਪੁਰਖ ਕਮਾਵਦੇ ਸੇ ਅਪਵਿਤ ਅਮੋਧ ਖਲਾ ।  
 ਕਾਮਿ ਵਿਆਪੇ ਕੁਸੁਧ ਟਰ ਸੇ ਜੋਰਾ ਪੁਛਿ ਚਲਾ ।  
 ਸਤਿਗੁਰ ਕੀ ਆਖਿਐ ਜੋ ਰਲੈ ਸੋ ਸਤਿ ਪੁਰਖੁ ਭਲ ਭਲਾ ।  
 ਜੋਰਾ ਪੁਰਸ ਮਭੁ ਆਪਿ ਉਪਾਇਨੁ ਹਰਿ ਖੋਲ ਸਭਿ ਖਿਲਾ ।  
 ਸਭ ਤੋਰੀ ਬਣਤ ਬਣਾਵਣੀ ਨਾਨਕ ਭਲ ਭਲਾ ।

ਮਤਿਗੁਰ ਕੀ ਰੀਸੈ ਹੋਰਿ ਕਚੁ ਪਿਚੁ ਬੋਲਦੇ ਸੇ ਕੂੜਿਆਰ ਕੂੜੇ ਭੜਿ ਪੜੀਐ ।  
 ਓਨਾਂ ਅੰਦਰਿ ਹੋਰ ਮੁਖਿ ਹੋਰੁ ਹੈ ਬਿਖੁ ਮਾਇਆ ਨੋ ਭਖਿ ਮਰਦੇ ਕੜੀਐ ।

### ਸਲੋਕ

ਜਿਨੁ ਅੰਦਰਿ ਕਪਟੁ ਵਿਕਾਰੁ ਝੂਠੁ ਓਇ ਆਪੇ ਸਚੈ ਵਖਿ ਕਢੇ ਜਜਮਾਲੇ ।  
 ਸਚਿਆਰ ਸਿਖ ਬਹਿ ਸਤਿਗੁਰ ਪਾਸਿ ਘਾਲਨਿ ਕੂੜਿਆਰ ਨ ਲਭਨੀ ਕਿਤੇ ਥਾਇ ਭਾਲੇ ।  
 ਜਿਨਾ ਸਤਿਗੁਰ ਕਾ ਆਖਿਆ ਸੁਖਾਵੈ ਨਾਹੀ ਤਿਨਾਂ ਮੁਹ ਭਲੋਰੇ ਫਿਰਹਿ ਦਯਿ ਗਾਲੇ ।  
 ਜਿਨ ਅੰਦਰਿ ਪ੍ਰੀਤਿ ਨਹੀ ਹਰਿ ਕੋਰੀ ਸੇ ਕਿਚਰ ਕੁ ਦੋਰਾਈਅਨਿ ਮਨਮੁਖ ਬੋਤਾਲੇ ।  
 ਸਤਿਗੁਰ ਨੋ ਮਿਲੈ ਸੁ ਆਪਣਾ ਮਨੁ ਥਾਇ ਰਖੇ ਓਹੁ ਆਪਿ ਵਰਤੈ ਆਪਣੀ ਵਬੁ ਨਾਲੇ ।  
 ਜਨ ਨਾਨਕ ਇਕਨਾ ਗੁਰੁ ਮੇਲਿ ਸੁਖ ਦੇਵੈ ਇਕਿ ਆਪੇ ਵਖਿ ਕਢੈ ਠਗਵਾਲੇ ॥

ਜਿਨਾ ਅੰਦਰਿ ਨਾਮੁ ਨਿਧਾਨੁ ਹਰਿ ਤਿਨ ਕੇ ਕਾਜ ਦਯਿ ਆਏ ਰਾਸਿ ।  
 ਤਿਨ ਚੁਕੀ ਮੁਹਤਾਜੀ ਲੋਕਨ ਕੀ ਹਰਿ ਪੁਛੁ ਅੰਗੁ ਕਰਿ ਬੈਠਾ ਪਾਸਿ ।  
 ਸਾਹੁ ਪਾਤਿਸਾਹੁ ਸਭੁ ਹਰਿ ਕਾ ਕੀਆ ਸਭਿ ਜਨ ਕਉ ਆਇ ਕਰਹਿ ਰਹਰਾਸਿ ।  
 ਕੋਈ ਨਿੰਦਕੁ ਵਡਿਆਈ ਦੇਖਿ ਨ ਸਕੈ ਸੋ ਕਰਤੈ ਆਪਿ ਪਚਾਇਆ ।  
 ਜਨ ਨਾਨਕ ਗੁਣ ਬੋਲੈ ਕਰਤੈ ਕੇ ਡਗਤਾ ਨੋ ਸਦਾ ਰਖਦਾ ਆਇਆ ।

### ਪਉੜੀ

ਮੋਹੁ ਕੁਟੰਬੁ ਦਿਮਿ ਆਵਦਾ ਸਭੁ ਚਲਣਹਾਰਾ ਆਵਣ ਜਾਣਾ ।  
 ਜੋ ਬਿਨੁ ਸਚੇ ਹੋਰਤੁ ਚਿਤੁ ਲਾਇਦੇ ਸੇ ਕੂੜਿਆਰ ਕੂੜਾ ਤਿਨ ਮਾਣਾ ।  
 ਨਾਨਕ ਸਚੁ ਧਿਆਇ ਤੁ ਬਿਨੁ ਸਚੇ ਪਚਿ ਪਚਿ ਮੁਵੈ ਅਜਾਣਾ ।

### ਸਲੋਕ

ਅਗੈ ਦੇ ਸਤ ਭਾਉ ਨ ਦਿਚੈ ਪਿਛੋਦੇ ਆਖਿਆ ਕੰਮਿ ਨ ਆਵੈ ।  
 ਅਧ ਵਿਚਿ ਫਿਰੈ ਮਨਮੁਖੁ ਵੇਚਾਰਾ ਗਲੀਂ ਕਿਉ ਸੁਖੁ ਪਾਵੈ ।  
 ਜਿਸੁ ਅੰਦਰਿ ਪ੍ਰੀਤਿ ਨਹੀ ਸਤਿਗੁਰ ਕੀ ਸੁ ਕੂੜੀ ਆਵੈ ਕੂੜੀ ਜਾਵੈ ।  
 ਜੋ ਕ੍ਰਿਪਾ ਕਰੇ ਮੇਰਾ ਹਰਿ ਪੁਛੁ ਕਰਤਾ ਤਾਂ ਸਤਿਗੁਰੁ ਪਾਰਬ੍ਰਹਮ ਨਦਰੀ ਆਵੈ ।  
 ਤਾ ਅਪਿਉ ਪੀਵੈ ਸਬਦ ਗੁਰ ਕੋਰਾ ਸਭੁ ਕਾੜਾ ਅੰਦੇਸਾ ਡਰਮੁ ਚੁਕਾਵੈ ।  
 ਸਦਾ ਅਨੰਦਿ ਰਹੈ ਦਿਨੁ ਰਾਤੀ ਜਨ ਨਾਨਕ ਅਨੰਦਿਨ ਗੁਣ ਗਾਵੈ ।

ਫਿਰਿ ਚੜੈ ਦਿਵਸੁ ਗੁਰਬਾਣੀ ਗਾਵੈ ਬਹਿਦਿਆ ਉਠਦਿਆ ਹਰਿ ਨਾਮੁ ਧਿਆਵੈ ।

ਜੋ ਬਿਨੁ ਸਤਿਗੁਰ ਸੇਵੇ ਖਾਏ ਪੈਨਦੇ ਸੇ ਮੁਏ ਮਰਿ ਜੀਮੈ ਕੋੜੇ ।  
ਓਇ ਹਾਜਰੁ ਮਿਠਾ ਬੋਲਦੇ ਬਾਹਰਿ ਵਿਸ ਕਢਹਿ ਮੁਖਿ ਘੋਲੇ ।

ਸਲੋਕ ਸਫਾ ੩੦੬

ਮਲੁ ਜੂਈ ਡਰਿਆ ਨੀਲਾ ਕਾਲਾ ਖਿਯੋਲੜਾ ਤਿਨਿ ਵੇ ਮੁਖਿ ਵੇ ਮੁਖੈ ਨੋ ਪਾਇਆ ।  
ਪਾਸਿ ਨ ਦੇਈ ਕੋਈ ਬਹਿਣ ਜਗਤ ਮਹਿ ਗੁਹ ਘੜਿ ਸਗਵੀ ਮਲਿ ਲਾਇ ਮਨਮੁਖੁ ਆਇਆ ।  
ਪਰਾਈ ਜੋ ਨਿੰਦਾ ਚੁਗਲੀ ਨੋ ਵੇਮੁਖੁ ਕਰਿ ਕੇ ਡੋਜਿਆ ਓਥੈ ਡੀ ਮੁਹੁ ਕਾਲਾ ਦੁਹਾ ਵੇਮੁਖਾ ਦਾ ਕਰਾਇਆ ।  
ਤੜ ਸੁਟਿਆ ਸਭਤੁ ਜਗਤ ਵਿਚਿ ਡਾਈ ਵੇਮੁਖੁ ਸਣੈ ਨਫਰੈ ਪਉਲੀ ਪਉਦੀ ਫਾਵਾ ਹੋਇ ਕੈ ਉਠਿ  
ਘਰਿ ਆਇਆ ।  
ਅਗੈ ਸੰਗਤੀ ਕੁੜਮੀ ਵੇਮੁਖੁ ਰਲਣਾ ਨ ਮਿਲੈ ਤਾ ਵਹੁਟੀ ਭਤੀਜੀ ਫਿਰਿ ਆਣਿ ਘਰਿ ਪਾਇਆ ।  
ਹਲਤੁ ਪਲਤੁ ਦੋਵੈ ਗਏ ਨਿਤ ਭੁਖਾ ਕੂਕੈ ਤਿਹਾਇਆ ।  
ਧਨੁ ਧਨੁ ਸੁਆਮੀ ਕਰਤਾ ਪੁਰਖੁ ਹੈ ਜਿਨਿ ਨਿਆਉ ਸਚੁ ਬਹਿ ਆਪਿ ਕਰਾਇਆ ।  
ਏਹੁ ਅਖਰੁ ਤਿਨ ਆਖਿਆ ਜਿਨਿ ਜਗਤੁ ਸਭੁ ਉਪਾਇਆ ।

ਸਾਹਿਬੁ ਜਿਸ ਕਾ ਨੰਗਾ ਭੁਖਾ ਹੋਵੈ ਤਿਸ ਦਾ ਨਫਰੁ ਕਿਬਹੁ ਰਜਿ ਖਾਏ ।  
ਜਿ ਸਾਹਿਬ ਕੈ ਘਰਿ ਵਬੁ ਹੋਵੈ ਸੁ ਨਫਰੈ ਹਥਿ ਆਵੈ ਅਣਹੋਦੀ ਕਿਬਹੁ ਰਜਿ ਖਾਏ  
ਜਿਸ ਦੀ ਸੇਵਾ ਕੀਤੀ ਫਿਰਿ ਲੇਖਾ ਮੰਗੀਐ ਸਾ ਸੇਵਾ ਅਉਖੀ ਹੋਈ ।

ਪਉੜੀ

ਨਾਨਕ ਵੀਚਾਰਹਿ ਸੈਤ ਜਨ ਚਾਰਿ ਵੇਦ ਕਹੰਦੇ ।  
ਭਗਤ ਮੁਖੈ ਤੇ ਬੋਲਦੇ ਸੇ ਵਚਨ ਹੋਵੰਦੇ ।  
ਪੁਗਟ ਪਾਹਾਰਾ ਜਾਪਦਾ ਸਭਿ ਲੋਕ ਸੁਣੰਦੇ ।  
ਓਇ ਲੋਚਨਿ ਓਨਾ ਗੁਣੈ ਨੋ ਓਇ ਅਹੰਕਾਰਿ ਸੁਣੰਦੇ ।  
ਜੋ ਮਾਰੇ ਤਿਨਿ ਪਾਰਬ੍ਰਹਮਿ ਸੋ ਕਿਸੈ ਨ ਸੰਦੇ ।  
ਪੇਡ ਮੰਢਾਹੁ ਕਟਿਆ ਤਿਸੁ ਡਾਲ ਸੁਕੰਦੇ ।

ਸਲੋਕ ਮ: ੪ ॥

ਅੰਤਰਿ ਹਰਿ ਗੁਰੁ ਧਿਆਇਦਾ ਵਡੀ ਵਡਿਆਈ ॥  
ਤੁਸਿ ਦਿਤੀ ਪੂਰੇ ਸਤਿਗੁਰੁ ਘਟੈ ਨਾਹੀ ਇਕੁ ਤਿਲੁ ਕਿਸੈ ਦੀ ਘਟਾਈ ॥  
ਸਚੁ ਸਾਹਿਬੁ ਸਤਿਗੁਰੁ ਕੈ ਵਲਿ ਹੈ ਤਾਂ ਬਖਿ ਬਖਿ ਮਰੈ ਸਭੁ ਲੋਕਾਈ ॥  
ਨਿੰਦਕਾ ਕੋ ਮੁਹੁ ਕਾਲੇ ਕਰੇ ਹਰਿ ਕਰਤੈ ਆਪਿ ਵਧਾਈ ॥  
ਜਿਉ ਜਿਉ ਨਿੰਦਕ ਨਿੰਦ ਕਰਹਿ ਤਿਨ ਪੈਰੀ ਆਣਿ ਸਭੁ ਪਾਈ ॥੧॥

ਮ: ੪ ॥

ਸਤਿਗੁਰ ਸੋਤੀ ਗਣਤ ਜਿ ਰਖੈ ਹਲਤੁ ਪਲਤੁ ਸਭ ਤਿਸ ਕਾ ਗਇਆ ॥  
ਨਿਤ ਝਹੀਆ ਪਾਏ ਝਗੁ ਸੁਟੇ ਝਖਦਾ ਝਖਦਾ ਝੜਿ ਗਇਆ ॥  
ਨਿਤ ਉਪਾਵ ਕਰੇ ਮਾਇਆ ਧਨ ਕਾਰਣਿ ਅਗਲਾ ਧਨੁ ਡੀ ਉਡਿ ਗਇਆ ॥  
ਕਿਆ ਓਹੁ ਖਟੇ ਕਿਆ ਓਹੁ ਖਾਵੈ ਜਿਸੁ ਅੰਦਰਿ ਸਹਸਾ ਦੁਖੁ ਪਇਆ ॥  
ਨਿਰਵੈਰੈ ਨਾਲਿ ਜਿ ਵੈਰੁ ਰਚਾਏ ਸਭੁ ਪਾਪੁ ਜਗਤੋ ਕਾ ਤਿਨਿ ਸਿਰਿ ਲਇਆ ॥  
ਓਸੁ ਅਗੈ ਪਿਛੈ ਢੋਈ ਨਾਹੀ ਜਿਸੁ ਅੰਦਰਿ ਨਿੰਦਾ ਮੁਹੁ ਅੰਝੁ ਪਇਆ ॥

ਜੇ ਸੁਇਨੋ ਨੋ ਓਹੁ ਹਥੁ ਪਾਏ ਤਾ ਬੋਹੁ ਸੋਤੀ ਰਲਿ ਗਇਆ ।  
 ਜੇ ਗੁਰ ਕੀ ਸਰਣੀ ਫਿਰਿ ਓਹੁ ਆਵੈ ਤਾ ਪਿਛਲੋ ਮ.ਉਗਣ ਬਖਸਿ ਲਇਆ ।  
 ਜਨ ਨਾਨਕ ਅਨਦਿਨ ਨਾਮੁ ਧਿਆਇਆ ਹਰਿ ਸਿਮਰਤ ਕਿਲ ਵਿਖ ਪਾਪ ਗਇਆ ।

### ਪਉੜੀ

ਤੂ ਹੈ ਸਚਾ ਸਚੁ ਤੂ ਸਭ ਦੂ ਉਪਰਿ ਤੂ ਦੀਖਾਣੁ ॥  
 ਜੇ ਤੁਧੁ ਸਚੁ ਧਿਆਇਦ ਸਚੁ ਸੇਵਨਿ ਸਚੇ ਤੇਰਾ ਮਾਣੁ ॥  
 ਓਨਾ ਅੰਦਰਿ ਸਚੁ ਮੁਖ ਉਜਲੋ ਸਚੁ ਬੋਲਨਿ ਸਚੇ ਤੇਰਾ ਤਾਣੁ ॥  
 ਮੇ ਭਗਤਿ ਜਿਨੀ ਗੁਰਮੁਖਿ ਮਾਲਾਹਿਆ ਸਚੁ ਸਬਦੁ ਨੀਸਾਣੁ ॥  
 ਸਚੁ ਜਿ ਸਚੇ ਸੇਵਦੇ ਤਿਨ ਵਾਰੀ ਸਦ ਕੁਰਬਾਣੁ ॥ ੧੩ ॥

ਸਲੋਕ ਮਃ ੪ ॥

ਧੁਰਿ ਮਾਰੇ ਪੂਰੈ ਸਤਿਗੁਰੂ ਸੋਈ ਹੁਣਿ ਸਤਿਗੁਰਿ ਮਾਰੇ ।  
 ਜੇ ਮੇਲਣ ਨੋ ਬਹੁਤੇਰਾ ਲੋਚੀਐ ਨ ਦੇਈ ਮਿਲਣ ਕਰਤਾਰੇ ।  
 ਸਤਸੰਗਤਿ ਵੋਈ ਨਾ ਲਹਨਿ ਵਿਚਿ ਸੰਗਤਿ ਗੁਰ ਵੀਚਾਰੇ ।  
 ਕੋਈ ਜਾਇ ਮਿਲੇ ਹੁਣਿ ਓਨਾ ਨੋ ਤਿਸੁ ਮਾਰੇ ਜਮ ਜੰਦਾਰੇ ।  
 ਗੁਰਿ ਬਾਬੋ ਫਿਟਕੇ ਸੇ ਫਿਟੇ ਗੁਰ ਅੰਗਦਿ ਕੀਤੇ ਕੂੜਿਆਰੇ ।  
 ਗੁਰ ਤੀਜੀ ਪੀੜੀ ਵੀਚਾਰਿਆ ਕਿਆ ਹਥਿ ਏਨਾ ਵੋਚਾਰੇ ।  
 ਗੁਰੁ ਚਉਥੀ ਪੀੜੀ ਟਿਕਿਆ ਤਿਨਿ ਨਿੰਦਕ ਦੁਸਟ ਸਭਿ ਤਾਰੇ ।  
 ਕੋਈ ਪੁਤੁ ਸਿਖੁ ਸੇਵਾ ਕਰੇ ਸਤਿਗੁਰੂ ਕੀ ਤਿਸੁ ਕਾਰਜ ਸਭਿ ਸਵਾਰੇ ।  
 ਜੇ ਇਛੈ ਸੇ ਫਲੁ ਪਾਇਸੀ ਪੁਤੁ ਧਨ ਲਖਮੀ ਖਤਿ ਮੇਲੇ ਹਰਿ ਨਿਸਤਾਰੇ ।  
 ਸਭਿ ਨਿਧਾਨ ਸਤਿਗੁਰੂ ਵਿਚਿ ਜਿਸੁ ਅੰਦਰਿ ਹਰਿ ਉਰ ਧਾਰੇ ।  
 ਸੇ ਪਾਏ ਪੂਰਾ ਸਤਿਗੁਰੂ ਜਿਸ ਲਿਖਿਆ ਲਿਖਕ ਲਿਲਾਰੇ ।  
 ਜਨੁ ਨਾਨਕ ਮਾਰੈ ਧੂੜਿ ਤਿਨ ਜੋ ਗੁਰਸਿਖ ਮਿਤ ਪਿਆਰੇ ॥ ੧ ॥

ਮਃ ੪ ॥

ਜਿਨ ਕਉ ਆਪਿ ਦੇਇ ਵਡਿਆਈ ਜਗਤੁ ਡੀ ਆਪੇ ਆਣਿ ਤਿਨ ਕਉ ਪੈਰੀ ਪਾਏ ।  
 ਡਰੀਐ ਤਾਂ ਜੇ ਕਿਛੁ ਆਪ ਦੂ ਕੀਚੈ ਸਭੁ ਕਰਤਾ ਆਪਣੀ ਕਲਾ ਵਧਾਏ ।  
 ਦੇਖਹੁ ਡਾਈ ਏਹੁ ਅਖਾੜਾ ਹਰਿ ਪ੍ਰੀਤਮ ਸਚੇ ਕਾ ਜਿਨਿ ਆਪਣੇ ਜੋਰਿ ਸਭਿ ਆਇ ਨਿਵਾਇ ।  
 ਆਪਣਿਆ ਡਗਤਾ ਕੀ ਰਖ ਕਰੇ ਹਰਿ ਸੁਆਮੀ ਨਿੰਦਕਾ ਦੁਸਟਾ ਕੇ ਮੁਹੁ ਕਾਲੇ ਕਰਾਏ ।  
 ਸਤਿਗੁਰ ਕੀ ਵਡਿਆਈ ਨਿਤ ਚੜੈ ਸਵਾਈ ਹਰਿ ਕੀਰਤਿ ਡਗਤਿ ਨਿਤ ਆਪ ਕਰਾਏ ।  
 ਅਨਦਿਨੁ ਨਾਮੁ ਜਪਹੁ ਗੁਰ ਸਿਖਹੁ ਹਰਿ ਕਰਤਾ ਸਤਿਗੁਰੁ ਘਰੀ ਵਸਾਏ ।  
 ਸਤਿਗੁਰ ਕੀ ਬਾਣੀ ਸਤਿ ਸਤਿ ਕਰ ਜਾਣਹੁ ਗੁਰਸਿਖਹੁ ਹਰਿ ਕਰਤਾ ਆਪਿ ਮੁਹੁ ਕਵਾਏ ।  
 ਗੁਰਸਿਖਾ ਕੇ ਮੁਹ ਉਜਲੋ ਕਰੇ ਹਰਿ ਪਿਆਰਾ ਗੁਰ ਕਾ ਜੈਕਾਰੁ ਸੰਸਾਰਿ ਸਭਤੁ ਕਰਾਏ ।  
 ਜਨੁ ਨਾਨਕੁ ਹਰਿ ਕਾ ਦਾਸੁ ਹੈ ਹਰਿ ਦਾਸਨਿ ਕੀ ਹਰਿ ਪੈਜ ਰਖਾਏ ॥ ੨ ॥

### ਪਉੜੀ ॥

ਤੂ ਸਚਾ ਸਾਹਿਬੁ ਆਪਿ ਹੈ ਸਚੁ ਸਾਹ ਹਮਾਰੇ ।  
 ਸਚੁ ਪੂਜੀ ਨਾਮੁ ਦ੍ਰਿੜਾਇ ਪ੍ਰਭ ਵਣਜਾਰੇ ਬਾਰੇ ।  
 ਸਚੁ ਸੇਵਹਿ ਸਚੁ ਵਣੀਜਿ ਲੋਹਿ ਗੁਣ ਕਬਹਿ ਨਿਰਾਰੇ ।  
 ਸੇਵਕ ਛਾਇ ਸੇ ਜਨ ਮਿਲੇ ਗੁਰਸਬਦਿ ਸਵਾਰੇ ।





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